COMMODIFICATION OF RELIGION THROUGH TELEVANGELISM: A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF SELECTED CHARISMATIC PROGRAMMES IN KENYA

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DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATION

Declaration

This Thesis is my original work and has not been submitted in its current form to this or any other University for the award of a degree to the best of my knowledge.

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Recommendation

We wish to confirm that this thesis was prepared under our supervision and is recommendation for presentation and examination at Egerton University.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to my family: my wife and children, for their prayers and continuous encouragement. Their presence around me was a source of much inspiration which guaranteed stability of mind and soul, for the accomplishment of this arduous task. For their love and understanding, I will forever be grateful.

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ABSTRACT

Commodification of religion through televangelism is a growing phenomenon in Kenya that is scarcely explored by media scholars. Televangelism is marked by the increasing popularity of Charismatic preachers who utilize television to propagate the Christian gospel message. The current study sought to establish commodification of religion: by identifying the dominant human afflictions used by televangelists to trigger commodification of religion; determine the rhetorical strategies employed in televangelism to accomplish commodification of religion and, evaluate the mass media ecological influences on commodified religion through television in Kenya. The study utilized Kenneth Burke's rhetorical criticism to examine rhetorical strategies applied in televangelism to achieve persuasion. Being a qualitative study, the author employed an interpretative research design, which aided in making inferences for meanings and purposes of the programmes. Data comprised of charismatic television programmes recorded from two local TV channels – KBC and Aviation TV - that regularly hosted religious programming on a weekly schedule basis. Purposive sampling was used to obtain the sample for analysis. Data was then analyzed by subjecting programme excerpts to rhetorical analysis in examining the preacher's motivation for message construction. The study's findings showed that human afflictions identified with audiences in the programmes, present a rhetorical situation for televangelists to develop content for TV mediation. Further, charismatic preachers employ both linguistic and visual techniques as part of rhetorical strategies to appropriate human afflictions in commodifying religion; using live audiences as exemplifications of spiritual power at play. The study also revealed how mediation of church services via television present possibilities for a broader heterogeneous audience to connect with enterprising preachers, by way of channelling money to their accounts; as a consequent reciprocate process for the spiritual benefit obtained. Consequently, the study concludes that televangelism has availed opportunities whereby, some aspects of religion such as prayers and prophecy that were conventionally acknowledged for their social value, are now commodified as 'mediated spirituality' for capitalistic exchange. The findings form a basis for expansion of knowledge and understanding on the commodification of religion through the medium of television and further, shed light and elicit debate on the media and communication dynamics that shape religion in the contemporary society.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLE

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ACRONYMS

BHB   Biblia Husema Broadcasting

CCM   Contemporary Christian Music

DVD   Digital Video Device

KBC   Kenya Broadcasting Corporation

KTN   Kenya Television Network

MBCI   Mission for the Body of Christ International

NTV   Nation Television

SAYARE   Sauti ya Rehema

SABC   South African Broadcasting Corporation

USA   United States of America

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Commodification of religion through Televangelism is a growing phenomenon in Kenya that is scarcely explored by media scholars. Charismatic preachers, the most notable users of television for religious mediation, are seen to exploit audiences by commercialising the gospel message through provision of miracles and prayers. The 'spiritual experience' so provided, gets transformed into a product for value exchange that earns financial profits for the preacher. Various human afflictive conditions such diseases, poverty and demonic oppression are appropriated for material benefit with their remedy getting attached to monetary value.

The term 'televangelism' is derived from the combination of "television" and "evangelism" with reference to the phenomenon of a conventional breed of Christian evangelists who use the medium of television to preach the gospel to the masses (James &Shoesmith, 2008). It is rooted in the Pentecostal movement in which preachers who advocate for 'charismatic theology', preach the gospel by affirming the power of faith in God through demonstration of the gifts of the Holy Spirit with signs and wonders.

Televangelism is a thriving phenomenon in Kenya, where religious sermons are conducted by influential charismatic pastors who often propagate unconventional theological ideas such as miraculous healing and seed sowing practices. For many preachers, this is a lucrative enterprise from which they earn huge proceeds of money to meet both their own personal needs and those of the ministry. This trend has, however, prompted concerns with the general public and government alike, in that preachers are perceived to be exploiting the commitment of their followers by deploying unethical means to enrich themselves using religion.

In Kenya, most televangelists are not overseen by established religious communions or national religious broadcast conventions for integrity and financial accountability; as evidenced by the doctrinal diversity and the controversy that shrouds most Televangelistic programmes. Out of a few incidents of misconduct that have found their way into the public domain, concerns abound that televangelists are prone to abusing viewers' trust and engage in fraudulent use of donated monies (Zeina, 2010).

However, discourses within religion advance the view that televangelism helps to uplift viewers spiritually, through their participation in the weekly mediated worship rituals; by way

of separating them from the world and legitimating their beliefs (Armstrong, 2006). The popular charismatic notion which holds that "target audiences are a special people to God" reinforces the hope which they need to cope with challenges of secular society. This view is supportive of the use of 'human afflictions' as bridges by Kenyan televangelists, for conversations that aid in consolidating a substantial clientele for religious programming that can conveniently be commercialized through reciprocation of the benefits obtained.

The electronic church has evidently taken root in Kenya and many churches have their presence on WebPages in addition to televised sermons. The exponents of charismatic theology i.e. the belief in the manifestation of the gifts of the holy spirit, such as Deliverance Church's Bishop Mark Kariuki, Pius Muiru of 'Maximum Miracle Center' and Bishop Maina Nganga of 'Neno Evangelism' among others; have settled on television as an evangelistic tool to reach wide audiences in the country. Their respective programmes are aired mainly on KBC, KTN and other faith-based channels such as SAYARE TV and GBS, whose establishment was occasioned by the digital broadcast protocol that has effectively, expanded space for religious programming in Kenya.

These opportunities, as availed by the information and communication media, have enabled new Christian denominations to adopt new worship practices. Followers and worshipers are now increasingly informed indoors, at the comfort of their homes through TV and radio programmes, engaging with the preachers via telephone texted messages. In most cases, these conversations facilitate a financial transaction between the preacher and the viewer, thus heralding commodification of the sacred and the associated services.

Kenya is a multi-religious state in which some scholars posit that 80% of its religious community is Christian i.e. Catholics, Protestants and Pentecostals (Githaiga, Minnie &Bussiek, 2011). This presupposes that a significant demographic would possibly subscribe to religious programming at any one time; a situation that portends sufficient ground for exploitation of the audience by televangelists in fulfilling their outreach aims.

In the recent past, local televangelists have attracted media attention for conflicting with authorities after evidence emerged of their unscrupulous dealings involving fake miracles and financial fraud (Editor, 2014).In response, the government proposed a policy to regulate religious activities as an attempt to tame the wayward preachers. The absence of an elaborate religious broadcast regulatory framework has hampered efforts to streamline issues of religious

content, and hence the existing lacuna could be responsible for the occasional controversial Televangelistic content finding its way to the airwaves.

In 2014, the government through the Attorney General published "The Religious Societies Rules" that were aimed at streamlining the activities of churches and mosques by instilling accountability for preachers and imams. This was precipitated by a public outcry in which preachers of charismatic orientation broadcasting their sermons via different media, and imams preaching in mosques, were accused of conning and brainwashing their followers respectively, and occasioning radicalization by propagating false doctrines (Ombati, 2016). According to Ombati, the authorities' fears were premised on the fact that religious teachings were getting commercialized as mosques became breeding grounds for radicalization of the youth.

The religious marketplace is characterized by diverse commodities that span consumerism and drive the religious economy. Ranging from the sacred objects like rosaries, religious attire, books and other associated materials like the latest products of digital media that include film and music, religion has become an arena for capitalistic exchange. These products have over the years, defined the commodification of religion and the commercialization of the sacred. However, there is scarce scholarly attempt to understand how the 'spiritual experience' is implicitly commodified at the place of mediation under the facade of faith, honouring and thanking God. The current study has thus sought to unravel the rhetorical approaches deployed in commodifying religion through televangelism.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Commodification of religion is a growing phenomenon in Kenya where television has become a viable platform for expression of religious ideas, beliefs and practices. However, concerns abound that televangelism is being utilized by enterprising preachers to subtly exploit audiences by transforming the 'spiritual experience' into a sellable product for earning financial profits. This aspect of commodification through televangelism is a scarcely explored subject by media scholars both locally and beyond. The present study thus, sought to investigate commodification of religion by identifying the dominant human afflictions used in charismatic TV programmes, and determine the rhetorical strategies employed by televangelists to accomplish commodification of religion in Kenya.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this study was to establish how commodification of religion is accomplished through televangelism in the context of Pentecostal charismatic sermons in Kenya, and more specifically:

i. To establish the dominant human afflictions used by televangelists to trigger commodification of religion in Kenya;

ii. To determine the rhetorical strategies employed by televangelists in accomplishing commodification of religion; and

iii. To evaluate the mass media ecological influences on religious commodification through the medium of television in Kenya.

1.4 Research Questions

i. What are the dominant human afflictions used by televangelists to trigger religious commodification in Kenya?

ii. What are the rhetorical strategies employed by televangelists to accomplish commodification of religion?

iii. How does the mass media ecology influence commodification of religion through the medium of television in the Kenyan context?

1.5 Justification

Although Televangelism appeals to the faith needs of most Christian religion consumers, the widespread concern that religious TV programmes are rapidly metamorphosing into commercial ventures seems to threaten the authority and sacred value of religion as an important social institution that advances morality and social stability. As such, questions abound as to the role of mass media in the representation of religion and religious beliefs, and how that portrayal impacts on the sacred and social value of contemporary religion.

There is little evidence of critical research in the area of media and religion, and particularly televangelism and the representation of varied religious brands in Kenya. This inadequate scholarly attention to the subject, coupled with the oblique concept of religious commodification warrants an empirical study that can expand knowledge and understanding on the media and communication dynamics that shape religious practice today. Equally relevant, are the resultant insights into requisite policies and guidelines that may be of necessity for the regulation of religious broadcast and programming in Kenya.

1.6 The Scope and Limitations

The scope of this study is televangelism as practiced by Pentecostals/charismatic preachers in Kenya. It has specifically sampled Television programmes for a limited period of four weeks and thus may not account for seasonal changes that naturally impact on programmes' characteristics over long periods of time.

The researcher recorded four different programmes with a minimum of two episodes each for four consecutive weeks. That period was deemed reasonable duration for obtaining requisite data that could be representative of the general pattern and character of the target population; hence a fair representation of the phenomenon upon analysis.

The study was limited to charismatic programmes for investigation of commodification of religion and may not have accounted for other forms of televised religious expressions that are likely to constitute commodification in different ways.

1.7 Definition of key Terms

Charismatic: refers to the genre of Christianity where the mark of true faith is baptism in the Holy Spirit and the emphasis in manifestation of spiritual gifts such as prophecy, speaking in tongues (glossolalia) divine healing and exorcism.

Commodification of religion: refers to transforming spiritual products and services such as prophecy, prayers and miracles, which are conventionally valued for their spiritual and social worth, into sellable products that can be purchased and sold.

Human Afflictions: refer to conditions of needs and pain that affects humanity; impedes wellness and holistic living, such as diseases and poverty, which become exigencies for rhetorical situations in crafting charismatic TV messages.

Media ecology: refers to media environments comprising of interactions between actors, practices and technologies influencing content and structure of communication.

Spiritual experience: is the state of one's spiritual condition with ramifications on the physical and material wellbeing, as a result of ministration by a religious minister for the purpose of spiritual nourishment; the notion of transcendent divine experience.

Spiritual commodity: refers to a religious service or object, which has transcended its use value and attained exchange value at appropriation by the consumer; and at mediation by the provider who earns monetary or material benefit from supplying it.

Televangelism: form of evangelical Christian outreach that uses the medium of television to propagate the gospel message to the masses.

Rhetor: refers to the creator of the message for the purpose of persuading the audience - in this case, the televangelist (preacher) for the programme.

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews literature on televangelism and commodification of religion, by critically assessing the character of the dual phenomena with respect to media and communication scholarship. The author presents the discussion in thematic sections comprising of convergence of media and religion, mediated spirituality and contemporary Televangelism; commercialization of religion and the religious economies; explored Human afflictions for commodification of religion, rhetorical strategies in televangelism for commodification of religion and media ecological influences on commodification of region through the television medium. The chapter also introduces the theoretical framework utilized for the study.

2 .1 Commodification of Religion

Modern social science has defined religion as institutional entities that compliment or substitute state functions in the provision of social welfare. It has also treated religiosity as verbal adherence to the existence of God or membership to a religious community (Grigoriadis, 2012). This verbal adherence is central to the articulation of religious ideas as practiced in televangelism, drawing on the ability of the deity in addressing a myriad of human survival challenges through religious rituals like prayers and prophecy.

Definitions of religion are generated from different ideological orientations depending on the philosophical underpinnings of those diverse disciplines. Sociologists, psychologists and anthropologists all look at religion from their respective perspectives. Wole Soyinka views religion as 'a collection of cultural systems and moral values, which help in defining the existence of a particular race; hence, it controls the people's spirituality by enhancing what is sacred and the obligation of man to God or gods' (Nwosu & Marchie, 2015, pg. 4). The current study settles on this understanding of religion, in which people's spirituality is reflected in their worship practices, morality and rituals that define a particular religious community like the Pentecostal Charismatics and, how those practices and rituals are utilized for commodification of religion.

Commodification is a capitalistic ideological from the political economy perspective. Marx defines a commodity as something that organizes both material-like and social relations in a capitalistic society. He further describes a commodity as the basic unit of social relations in

capitalism) that is used for value exchange (Graham, 2007). These definitions well resonate with religion as a social institution where religious practices operate on the premise of social relations with religious commodities as drivers of these relations.

Religious commodification has come in various forms. Kitiarsa (2008) observes that the concept of religious commodification is a rising methodological orientation that focuses on how religious and the market forces are being linked by the process of commodification and consumption of specific objects. But the challenge has been how to theorize this encounter through embedded ethnographic data. A popular culture like televangelism presents features that can aid in generating important data for critically analysing how religion is commodified through mass media.

Einstein (2008, p.70) identifies commodification of religion in faith branding that is reflected in packaging of religion, as a 'product for purchase' mainly using sacred objects and religious artefacts. Einstein also situates televangelists as a representation of faith brands; religious products and services that are part of a cohesive marketing plan to create products that resonate with today's consumer-conscious religious shopper. Cultural forms such as religious holidays, particularly 'Christmas' have been identified as sources of commodification of religion that promote consumerism. Observance of these Holy days is marked by acquisition of different items out of materialism and consumption based culture of seeking happiness (Golden, 2006). According to Einstein (2008), the common religious products that have characterized the Christian marketplace and legitimated commodification are primarily books and movies. Books that contain religious text like the Bible and the Quran, Christian literature and films which articulate religious themes have culturally superseded their use value. Their production and distribution is largely exchange value based, considering the involvement of secular business interests like publishers and media houses. Christian literature like the 'Purpose Driven Life' that is popular within the Christian Community world over is a good example. Although most of these initiatives are not driven by institutional religion, they however play a key role in spurring the religious economy in diverse ways.

The idea of commodity thrives in a capitalistic context where goods are produced for market value. In respect to the current study that context is the media infrastructure and specifically television. Thomas (2009, p.60) argues that "neo-Pentecostal theologies validate the seamless flow of media and non-media products between the pulpit, the home and the market, thus contributing to the strengthening of the local-global Christian economy". As such, the way a

'spiritual experience' can be commodified at mediation is the central focus of the present study in seeking to advance our understanding of media and religion today; where televangelism is deemed as a major avenue for commodification of religion in the contemporary media saturated social and religious environment.

2.1.1 The Convergence of Media and Religion

Religion and media are no longer separate spheres but their convergence has been occasioned by important changes in society. One of these changes is the advancement in technology, which is characterized by the mediatisation of social institutions like religion. The media sphere is undergoing considerable transformation that has witnessed proliferation of channels and sources of information, which facilitate the expression of religious beliefs and symbols through mass media (Hoover, 2006).

In the contemporary society, media and religion have converged in very fundamental ways such that they are increasingly coming together to occupy the same space. People are increasingly identifying ways of religious expression and spirituality more in mediated space than in conventional places (Hoover, 2012). Some charismatic preachers purchase airtime at local TV stations that cost a fortune; just to reach believers beyond those congregated in enclosed walls. The media, equally, have to become religious by adopting religious themes to remain relevant to religious audiences.

Hjarvard (2006), in his mediatization thesis, locates religion as one of the major social institutions that have been subsumed by the media logic, in terms of its symbolic content and individual practices. As a channel of communication characterized by disparate technologies like television, the media have become the primary sources of religious ideas where virtually all religious strands have found a degree of mediation to the consumers.

The most notable area of media's convergence with religion is found in the domain of Christianity and particularly the Pentecostal movement. Pentecostalism, especially in the United States of America (USA), has successfully appropriated media technologies into its worship through televangelism, and this has spurred a culture of consumerism and commercialization of goods and services within religious sphere in many societies across the globe.

Hjarvard explicates mediatisation to represent the way the media transforms the arena of religion in modern society by becoming the primary sources of information about religious and spiritual issues (Hjarvard, 2006). The fact that one can receive spiritual nourishment outside

the confines of a church congregation through a television or mobile phone is evidence of the extent to which communal religion has been invaded by the media. Any form of religion and spirituality that aspires to be more than an individual experience of transcendent feeling, has to be mediated through some form of media such as television thus, validating the process of mediatisation (Hepp& Veronica, 2008).

Pentecostal churches in Africa have increasingly appropriated media technologies such as television, radio and print media in their worship (Togarasei, 2012). This has allowed these religious formations to spread the gospel faster and wider, a process which Togarasei (2012) argues, has contributed to the commodification of religion.

More and more media are accessible at different times and locations, yet the challenge of religious communication today is that religion cannot situate itself in the "media age" outside of mediatisation anymore (Hepp& Veronica, 2008).Jessie et al. (2012) observe that the exchange of communication in a mediatised environment is in the transforming nature of transactions in the religious marketplace. Churches have been compelled by the prevailing information environment to adapt to various media forms in conducting their business with the larger publics.

The church's use of media technology has raised ecclesiological issues (doctrine of the meaning and function of the church) which situate an assembly of congregation as a major function of the church and authentic religion. A church is about relationship between believers (Togarasei, 2012). People, who receive faith through media programmes, Tele-converts, without associating with any assembly, fall short of this criterion. This raises questions of motive and the effectiveness of Televangelists in converting people to faith; or commercializing their activity remains the main outcome. This study posits that the experiences of a live audience can become commodified to the virtual audience at home through exciting desire for similar experiences, but with prescribed pre-conditions such as seed sowing via money transfer platforms such as M-pesa. Other than their material contributions, these virtual audiences are rarely accountable to the church for their moral obligations as is expected of a conventional church community.

Since the 1960s, scholars have traced a trend of mass mediatisation and the mass consumption of religion; characterized by the emergence of the electronic church and the evangelical radio via network broadcasting, particularly in the US. Other regions especially Africa and Asia took cue with the influence of the Pentecostal revivalist movement (Schulz, 2009; Jessie, Shirlena

& Pauline, 2012). Television as a story teller is intrinsically linked to the dimensions of goods and services in the context of capitalism and competition (Thomas & Lee, 2012). Modern televangelism has as a result, reshaped the religious marketplace by skilfully packaging solutions that appeal to a wide range of social and economic problems manifest in complex human afflictions like diseases and poverty. Thomas and Lee (2012) observe that these commodities, such as CDs, DVDs and books are part of larger circuits of religious production, distribution and consumption that are validated from pulpits and from other public religious events to implicitly commercialize religion.

Pentecostalism, for example, expressed through the charismatic movement, has within the last three decades been elevated to the centre of Christian life in Africa (Asamoah, 2005). This has been made possible by the unprecedented use of mass media at enhancing the visibility and influence of these formations and the personalities behind them. Most charismatic clergy globally, own TV and Radio stations.

In Kenya, the advent of digital broadcast protocol heralded a proliferation of Christian Gospel channels mostly owned by charismatic Televangelists such as Aviation TV by Apostle Peter Manyuru, MBCI by John Kimani William in Nakuru and Lately SASA TV by Bishop Maina Ng'ang'a, who previously used the national broadcaster KBC for mediation of their worship services.

In the current information dispensation, people choose where and how to "worship", courtesy of media and communication technology. One outcome of these developments though, is that, with the newly established churches and particularly Charismatics, religiosity seems to be more focused on personalities (cult figures) and profit making rather than traditional religious values and personal spiritual nourishment. These cult figures seem to have capitalized on the media to advance personal aggrandizement through capitalistic exchanges of the spiritual experience

2.1.2 Mediated Spirituality and Contemporary Televangelism

Einstein (2008) opines that televangelism in the new millennium is riding high on the prosperity gospel and the feel-good sermons. While the commodity form has always been an aspect of "material' religion, televangelism has provided a platform for the expansion of theologies of generosity and reinforced new spaces for material religiosity (Thomas & Lee, 2012). The place of televangelism in the commodification of religion is however an area of much contestation and therefore ripe for empirical academic research as the current study.

11

Hadden and Swann in Armstrong (2006) opine that televangelism's roots date back more than a century and a half ago, tracing the revivalist movements of the nineteenth century America. Razelle in James and Shoesmith (2008) goes a step further to show that televangelism today is a direct descendant of the revival ministries of Charles Finney, Dwight Moody and Billy Sunday, who were leading charismatic televangelists in the United Sates at the time. It is thus a phenomenon which has its origin in the United States of America before spreading into other continents.

The growth of televangelism rests in the preachers' recognition of television's ability to surmount both cultural and geographical barriers in spreading the gospel of "Good News" (Mokaya, 2015). Through a telecast, a typical Kenyan preacher can connect to a wide and narrow audience simultaneously, with the same airtime slot; effectively eliminating both territorial and spatial constraints with ease. Consequently, the need to stage crusades in every other town continues to diminish due to this mass media capability.

It is through Televangelism that the prosperity gospel emerged in the western world. The Pentecostal theology teaches that divine rewards are not reserved for the afterlife; rather, God intends for humans devoted to him to enjoy the material comforts of the present life (Mitchell et al., 2014). Prosperity preachers, who are in essence contemporary televangelists, emulate the biblical characters such as Abraham and Solomon, who were men of great wealth in ecclesiastical context, making such the basis for their prosperity teachings.

Implication of the prosperity theology has been to warp the promises of God into some type of lottery where everyone is told they can be a winner, but in order to win, a seed offering must be given which will return a greater financial benefit (Philip, 2015). There are many, though, who benefit from this word of faith appropriation, though majority remain distraught when it does not work for them and end up feeling defrauded especially where financial commitments abound.

Researches in prosperity beliefs have been largely qualitative, but Koch (2009) used statistical analysis to establish whether material wealth is a sign of God's blessings. Though the scale had reasonable internal reliability, it was not certain whether the process of items developed adequately captured prosperity beliefs (Mitchell et al., 2014). The 'needs' gospel (afflictions) and the promises advanced to the audiences is what defines charismatic televangelism in

Kenya, where the notion of reciprocation for the expected blessing is a major theme in most televangelistic messages.

This team of researchers, using Marx Weber's work ethic, and model advanced that the beliefs about honouring God (which is central to commodification of the sacred) may be a reciprocal response to past benefits. They argued thus: if the person has been the recipient of a gift or benefit, an appropriate response is to be thankful. In turn, gratitude promotes reciprocal beneficial behaviour, even at some cost to the person who is grateful (Mitchell et al., 2014, p.134).

Honouring God represents a belief that is generally accepted by a range of religious traditions. The specific strategies and conditions through which this kind of engagements thrives remain vague, and the current study has attempted to unravel these processes in establishing commodification of religion through televangelism.

Chukwuma and Uhembe (2014), in their work on "Materialism & Commodification of the Sacred" in Nigeria, locate a conscious effort in televangelism to rule the airwaves in a deliberate attempt to create a window display of various spiritual products. Healings, miracles, breakthroughs and curse-breakings form the bulk of these products. Their study, however, did not explore how such litany of spiritual products is transformed into commodities of the 'spiritual experience' in the religious marketplace, and how they are appropriated for value exchange to be able to trace the existence of spiritual commercialization in the process.

2.1.3 Commercialization and the Religious Economies

In the process of communication, the media reinforces the material and symbolic qualities of religious texts in terms of information and experiences. In turn, religious material culture has tended to thrive on consumer capitalism, supported by a model of industrial transmission that locates production in the hands of publishing and broadcasting houses through which religious material culture operates (Jessie et al., 2012). Moreover, religion and religiosity have not been spared by neo-liberal ideologies of global commercialization of goods and services as religious artefacts continue to succumb to the rules of supply and demand, sometimes oblivious of the sacred nature of such products.

The discourse on commercialization of religion can be located within the transformation of Christianity from the 16th and 17th centuries; a period that was marked by the emergence of the protestant movement. That reformation had profound impact on the rise of capitalism during

the early years of industrialization as observed by Deutschmann (2012). The protestant movement, led by Martin Luther, was motivated by a dislike of the then contemporary commercialization of the church such as "trading of indulgence letters", and the monopolistic practices of big trading companies that were perceived to cause mass poverty (Deutschmann, 2012, p.4). Religious authority was seen to be misused as leaders' allure of money heralded commercialization of the sacred in support of wealth interests.

Today, churches have attracted the wealthy in society as the rich seek to maintain their status through prayers and promises of increase provided by the preachers. In return, prolific preachers utilize such followers to establish viable enterprises cryptoned as religious 'ministries'; but which reflect commercial dimensions as evidenced by advertising qualities of religious TV and programme fee by other users of the platforms.

Christianity, and particularly charismatic Protestantism, has benefited from these modes of mass consumerism in shaping its theological ideology (Arvidsson, 2014). Religious ideologies are frequently used to explain the differences in consumption habits of the people in different regions of the world, thus defining the interaction between religious and the commercial spheres. Religious people are viewed as dogmatic due to their strong commitment to their faiths (Varapa, Moschis& Shannon, 2015), making them to develop ethnocentric products thus diversifying the religious marketplace, considering that there exists an avalanche of religious brands. At times, religion has stimulated entrepreneurial activity while in other occasions; commerce has shaped the marketplace for specific religious products and practices (Einstein, 2008).

This entrepreneurial activity is of essence in the management of religious economies that are peculiarly defined by various components such as salaries for the clergy, communication materials, and purchase of religious artefacts and building of sanctuaries among others. Proceeds from televangelism in Kenya have seen prominent preachers erecting mega church structures in their locality such as Jesus Celebration Centre in Mombasa. The Ministry headed by Bishop Wilfred Lai has also built formal private schools and a theological college, entities that ideally generate considerable revenues for the church economy.

The religious economies paradigm also assumes that people are fairly reasonable, and that the religious choices they make, are those which will reward them most. Religion is seen as an exchange between the deity, religious organizations and individuals (Mokaya, 2015).

Worshippers participate in religious activities in anticipation of religious rewards that are in the future. This participation may take the form of enrolling as a member of a religious community through giving of offerings as witnessed in most Televangelistic sermons.

As this study established, this expectation of reward hinged on participation portends a capitalistic exchange within the religious marketplace; as those who participate are seen as interested buyers of the 'spiritual experience' so provided by preachers, in addressing diverse spiritual needs and some of afflictions discussed here.

2.2 Human Afflictions for Commodification of Religion in Televangelism

The cultural, social and economic disposition of the Kenyan society is characterized by diverse human life challenges that are fodder for religious interventions and the invocation of the transcendent power of the almighty God. Religion is arguably the all-important estate in society in the appropriation of interventions for human survival challenges; through religious and faith practices, as espoused in televangelism. As such, Charismatic TV programmes tend to attract an audience base that is characterized by a canopy of spiritual, physical and psychological needs whose interventions resonate with charismatic ideology and Christian evangelism.

Some Scholars in media and religion have attributed the success of televangelism to the fact that televangelists appeal to the viewers' worst fears about the world, as an instrument of creating a worldview that is full of anxiety, fear and distrust. This kind of reasoning is imbued with a message framing philosophy advanced by most televangelists, in which financial contribution is attached to the provision of information and encouragement that is needed to cope with the world perceived as evil, threatening and immoral (Armstrong, 2006). This view suggests that peoples' experiences in life, be it psychological social or economic, are a potentiality for opening conversations with Televangelists who pose as solution providers for these life challenges and a myriad of other human existential inadequacies.

It is instructive to note that televangelism is a product of the 'New charismatic movement' in Kenya that is a consequence of charismatic churches whose leaders in turn, produce charismatic television programmes that are the focus of the present study. There are certain features that define charismatic churches which disparately transcend to charismatic programmes. These qualities form appeals for audiences whose needs resonate with charismatic services.

Kagema &Wachera (2014) located some of the factors that are responsible for the growth and popularity of charismatic movement in the contemporary Kenyan society, as those constituting dimensions of life including the economic, social, political, psychological, cultural and religious factors.

The main factors coalescing around the aforementioned dimensions comprise of hopelessness, psychological pain, need for sense of belonging, poverty, sickness, spiritual needs and unanswered life questions (Kagema &Wachera 2014). These issues which threaten the state of wellness and holistic living for humanity can rightly be referred to as 'human afflictions', as they constrain human happiness and cause psychological and physical pain. The charismatic ideology as advanced and expressed by televangelists, seem to provide relief for these afflictions through miracles, healings, exorcism and prophecy; thereby conveniently connecting with TV audiences which are accordingly afflicted.

This category of afflictions plus others that fall within the cited dimensions, have over time defined the character of charismatic TV programmes' audiences, and largely constitute the basis for rhetorical situations in mediated dialogues and spiritual experiences, between preachers and the audiences. Charismatic theology is viewed as integral to commodifying religion usually because of its attribute of manifestation of supernatural power: the premise upon which human afflictions are addressed. Discourses in religion indicate that Charismatic Televangelists are arguably keen at appropriating the gifting's of the Holy Spirit in remedying the afflictions through prayers, exorcism and prophecy. The afflictions considered here are those of poverty, demonic oppression, fear of death (under anxiety), and disease.

2.2.1 Poverty

Kagema &Wachera (2014) identify Poverty as one of the major factors leading to the growth of charismatic movements in Kenya contingent upon charismatic values that are seen to provide hope and encouragement to human life and existential challenges. Kenya being a developing country is home to a significant segment of its population living below poverty line, thus experiencing unfavourable socio-economic and political conditions.

There are varied manifestations of poverty within the Kenyan society which include squalid habitats like the 'kibera' slums and 'Mukuru kwa Njenga', lack of employment and lack of investment opportunities. Such unfavourable conditions propel people into spaces where they can find hope and encouragement; and where solutions for their predicaments are apparent.

The 'New Charismatic Movements' through Televangelism, seem to provide remedies for such afflictive conditions as poverty through miracles and prayers offered by the clergy in these churches.

Poverty is the ant-thesis of prosperity, in which the proponents of prosperity gospel assert that financial blessings and wealth is the will of God for everyone. This perspective emphasizes that faith, positive speech and donation to Christian ministries will always increase material wealth (Asamoah, 2013).Followers of prosperity preachers are variously reminded that they cannot escape poverty unless they give large donations to ministries. This view has however been discounted in cases where faithful believers do not reap the promised benefits. In contemporary Kenya, poverty is leading many people to look for any means of obtaining their daily bread, including tricks and corruption. This has become a maxim that equally motivates pastors to turn to televangelism as an avenue of earning money and enhancing their living standards.

Prosperity preachers and faith healers attempt to detach wealth from the principles of production and labour; giving it some mystical aura and nourishing the existing popular beliefs that some kind of spiritual assistance is necessary in order to acquire wealth (Lindhardt, 2018). This kind of narrative promising mystical escape from poverty is potentially very attractive to many a financially struggling individual, thus the popularity of charismatic programmes.

Charismatic Televangelists in Kenya such as Bishop Mark Kariuku, J.B.Masinde, Margaret Wanjiru and Wilfred Lai; who are exponents of the prosperity gospel, have challenged the urban poor to rise above their social-economic deprivations, and belief in a Mighty God that is able to meet their physical and spiritual needs (Parsitau &Mwaura, 2010). It follows then that those afflicted by poverty are most likely to constitute the audiences of the programmes that are associated with these preachers, as they seek remedies for their predicaments.

2.2.2 Diseases

According to medical sociology, disease is an adverse physical state consisting of physiological dysfunction within an individual (Cockerham, 1992). The World Health Organization defines disease as an abnormal pathological state that affects parts of an individual. Due to the poor living conditions and limited economic power for the majority of Kenyans, sickness and lack of health is a constant theme in the local social-cultural and economic landscape. The rich and wealthy of society are also not spared, considering lifestyle diseases like diabetes and high

blood pressure that are majorly associated with the high social class. Stress and dysfunctional families occasioned by divergent worldviews also predispose people to psychological torture that calls for prayers and need for spiritual encouragement and comfort.

As is common in most societies, health facilities in Kenya are characterized by an avalanche of health afflicted populations seeking medical attention for a myriad of sickness and diseases. Where conventional medical interventions do not seem to answer their quest for health, most people turn to churches for divine healing promised by charismatic pastors; under a cloud of anxiety and mystical beliefs. One way in which such constituents connect with divine healers is through TV programmes where they witness testimonies of other previously afflicted victims and the displayed contacts provided for the purpose of reaching the "healer preacher" for the said healing ministry.

Healing of diseases is a dominant theme popularized in charismatic TV programmes in Kenya; where preachers who ostensibly possess healing powers attempt miracles through non-conventional means of using spiritual powers. Healing has become a thriving church industry by which healing pastors variously occupy media space with healing and miracles services (Nwadialor, 2014). There is a proliferation of TV channels beaming recorded and live healing services in Kenya today. Miracles are a most cherished product that easily attracts people to charismatic preachers, and this public display of miracles attracts even the high and mighty of society to join such religious movements; forming part of a growing audience for charismatic programmers and mediated beliefs.

2.2.3 Demonic oppression

Demonic oppression is a spiritual space that is majorly ventured into almost exclusively, by charismatic preachers; owing to the belief in the gifts of the Holy Spirit that are necessary in exorcising demons. Pentecostal Charismatics subscribe to a "deliverance theology"; the notion that the Holy Spirit can deliver the true believer from whatever demons that could be afflicting their lives (Siegel, 2013). Such demons may be personalized where ancestral spirits have committed descendants to unholy covenants with evil forces or impersonal, in which demons are said to be responsible for certain cultural and social misfortunes like bareness, divorce or poverty (Siegel, 2013).

From the charismatic's perspective, any form of illness is attached to issues demonic attacks and therefore faith coupled with powerful prayers, are seen as vehicles for deliverance.

Charismatic pastors Like Apostle Maina Nganga of 'Neno Evangelism' who is known to possess spiritual powers for exorcising demons are normally overwhelmed by the demands for attention from people who flock their sanctuaries in Nairobi, with demonic oppression cases. This is very evident through TV programmes that are mediated through KBC and lately the church owned 'SASA' TV. Apostle peter Manyuru of Aviation TV is also known to exorcise demons.

2.2.4 Anxiety (fear of death)

Everyone aspires to lead a holistic life in terms of emotional, social, physical and psychological wellbeing. This helps to assuage anxiety and any fears that may compromise one's ability to face life challenges. Unfortunately, the individualistic lifestyles of many Kenyans alienates them from their families, cultures and also from reality (Kagema &Wachera, 2014), making them subjects of untold anxiety, loneliness and fear of the unknown.

Socially, when people lack a sense of belonging within the precincts of a family or caring community neighbourhood, they tend to fall into depression, loneliness and fear. Kenya's political atmosphere aggravates this state of affairs, since it is disparately a scene of social turmoil characterised by ethnic tensions, political violence and economic uncertainties that motivate people to seek comfort and assurance from religious spaces.

People report fears of losing their lives (fear of death) to police stations on disparate accounts, fear of losing their careers and businesses during every election cycle. Charismatic churches (movements) have become a place of refuge where psychologically stressed and anxiety ridden victims find spiritual, emotional, physical and psychological healing (Kagema &Wachera, 2014), "I was a slave of witchcraft and I feared being bewitched, I couldn't touch or walk over anything strange, but after the pastor prayed, the chain was broken" (Kagema &Wachera 2014, pg.40 pp. 2). This is a confession of a fear stricken adherent who supposedly got relieved of the problem after prayers by Apostle Maina Nganga- offered through a 'NENO LITAKUWEKA HURU' TV programme.

For Pentecostal/Charismatics, witches ancestors and other spiritual beings commonly associated with African traditional worship are real and, spiritually potent diabolic beings (Lindhardt, 2018). Their existence impacts on people's faith and wellbeing and thus, spiritual protection against such is imperative. This stance which portends spiritual empowerment, protection and deliverance, provides plausible grounds upon which people afflicted, easily

identify with charismatic preachers (including televangelists) who exhibit attributes which apparently address such spiritual complexities.

2.3 Rhetorical strategies for Commodification of Religion in Televangelism

This section discusses some of the most common rhetorical strategies used by Televangelists in some popular charismatic programmes in Kenya. The rhetorical strategies considered here espouse such rhetorical devices as amplification, Exemplification, visual depiction and analogies. In religious communication like televangelisms, speakers deploy a range of strategies as they seek agreement with audiences concerning their arguments and standpoints in matters faith and religion.

Rhetorical strategies are the methods speakers or writers apply in order to persuade their target audience. This involves a communicator organising evidence and connecting facts into a sequence; providing clusters of information to convey an argument. The strategies of evangelical television cannot be examined apart from the people it addresses (Peck, 1988). When analysing rhetorical strategies for televangelism one needs to consider the social-cultural and psychological disposition of such audiences.

Televangelists are prone to employ formats and construct appeals which resonate with such predispositions of the people they target. These predispositions define audience characteristics that are reflected in a set of afflictions discussed in section 3.3 that largely influence messaging style, for accomplishment of rhetorical aims of many a televangelist.

Burke (1969) opines that for a speaker who seeks to persuade his audience into cooperation, they must take into consideration the patterns of experience for that audience, in choosing the right form of appeal that will induce action. It is not however, sufficient enough to saying the right thing in applying those forms; but identifying what the audience considers desirable and important, and crafting rhetoric for it to speak to the fulfilment of those desires is imperative. The nature of the affliction for which the receiver calls attention must evoke linguistic and visual innovations that seem to address it. Televangelists are seen to employ a range of rhetorical devices such as analogies, visual depictions and exemplifications, in form of testimonies to enhance their power of appeal in the above regard.

2.3.1 Visual depictions

Visual depictions constitute visual units of meaning that are defined by the medium in which they are produced as isolable and self- contained representations (Foss, 2004).These could be framed images for film and television, pages of a newspaper or photographs. Visual depictions are visual arguments that concretize verbal expressions and are analysed under the domain of visual rhetoric's in communication. Visual rhetoric's explicate how representational images work to influence beliefs, attitudes and opinions of the readers of a visual text. Televangelists, just like other public speakers have exploited the persuasive power of images in persuading audiences to identify with capture their reasoning dimensions in matters faith and religion.

A theoretical treatment of visual persuasion does not only identify individual variables which reveal visual appeals in a given situation, but it also attempts to explicate how images exert their rhetorical influence and how people respond to them (Hill.et.al, 2004). Conventional wisdom dictates that representational images tend to override the rational faculties of a reader, resulting in a response that is not reflective.

Through a film rhetorical variable: mise-en-scene (everything within the frame of a shot), producers of televangelistic programmes place emphasis on certain aspects of a programme through editing and camera angles in order to construct viewpoints that are favourable to the rhetor's verbally expressed idea. For example depictions of visa cards and M-pesa represent financial appeals, even in the absence of verbal articulation.

The concept of presence articulated by Perelman &Olbrechts refers to the extent which an object concept or idea is foremost in the consciousness of the audience members (Hill.et.al, 2004). It is linked to the visual perception and carries more epistemic force than verbal description because the existence of an image proves the existence of its subjects. TV religious programmes occasionally use repeated visual depictions as illustrations to reinforce the preacher's viewpoint and evoke emotions to secure conviction.

Displays can move the viewers to think about certain ideas, generate insights, shape value commitments and also challenge conventional beliefs (Warner, 2002). Visual depictions in televangelism are thus deliberately designed and remain to be exploited not only for religious persuasion but for commercial purposes as well.

2.3.2 Analogies

Analogy compares two things or events, which are alike in several respects, for the purpose of explaining or clarifying some unfamiliar or difficult idea or object by showing how the idea or object is similar to some familiar one (Harries, 2013). An analogy serves the more practical purpose of explaining a thought process or line of reasoning and it's a persuasive technique in hermeneutics in conveying a preferred view of reality when interpreting a biblical account in terms of relevance to an existing situation.

Televangelists are accustomed to appropriating biblical accounts in bringing audiences into agreement with their arguments, and thus induce action. The idea is that if viewers identify with the subject being discussed they will embrace the arguments and therefore be more concerned about the outcome of the message.

2.3.3 Loaded Language

Loaded language refers to wording that attempts to influence an audience using appeal to emotion or stereotypes. The term "loaded Language" implies words, phrases and overall verbal and written communication that is intended to inspire emotion in the reader or listener (Macagno& Walton, 2010) .This use of language to appeal to emotions is a familiar technique in communication that is often used by politicians, public figures and in advertisements where cooperation is sought from an audience. Religious leaders as public figures, who seek to inspire society, variously find themselves employing this device when delivering religious messages to secure agreement and encourage attitude and behaviour change for their followers.

Loaded language is considered a persuasive technique that is used to gain support, swing opinions or push an agenda (Macagno& Walton, 2010). In religious sermons, exhortation is the synonym of loaded language which involves speakers using loaded expressions including illustrations, challenging listeners and viewers concerning opinions and convictions they value, which they want them to adopt.

Televangelists are among public speakers who appropriate loaded language as a tool of touching people's emotions for such subjects as death, sickness and disease and deprivations like poverty which may afflict people. Phrases like 'the soul that sins shall die' and 'no one knows about tomorrow' reverberating from church pulpits evoke fear and anxiety which makes people place value on the message, and that drives them to seek escape from the associated

fears and anxieties through prayers and words of encouragement from the preacher by either connecting online, mobile phone or attending subsequent church services.

2.3.4 Exemplifications

Testimonies are shared stories of how God has acted in the life of an individual. They are declarations of faith or professions of evidence of God's actions (Nyabwira &Kagema, 2014). In Pentecostal charismatic fellowships in Kenya, testimonies are used as exemplifications of God's deeds, and are often encouraged in developing a sense of expectancy and moderate attitudes of those who would need to experience divine acts, in addition to cultivating faith virtue for the beneficiaries of God's grace.

Telling those stories involves the experiential nature of narrative (Nyabwira &Kagema, 2014), by one drawing a distinction of their previous and present situations on account of the 'spiritual experience' so administered by a church minister.

Charismatic Televangelists have a tendency of parading before the screen, beneficiaries of healings, miracles and deliverances as exemplifications of their spiritual power in providing solutions to the afflictions of those who attend their services. This visual/linguistic technique is tailored at motivating the viewer to imagine that they can equally benefit from similar experiences; when they connect with the man of God. Testimonies are a powerful persuasive tool in charismatic TV programmes for inciting desire and luring people with needs into participating and or joining the services and subscribe to the preacher's doctrinal teachings, and any other instructions that may be given on the screen, for remedy of their affliction.

2.4 Mass Media Ecological Influences for Commodification

The concept of media ecology speaks to the media environments and the affordances of media technologies that tend to drive social change in today's information society. The McLuhan media ecology perspective, which posits that media should be understood ecologically, advances the view that media environments comprising of technology, techniques and modes of communication can influence human perceptions and understanding of their symbolic environment in very profound ways (West & Turner, 2010). Following that understanding, the choice of TV by televangelists is a plausible strategy for shaping people's attitudes and behaviours to be able to appropriate the afflictions in commodifying religion.

Contemporary African Pentecostal/Charismatics have made extensive use of the mass media, with some churches running their own publishing houses, radio and TV stations while several churches rent airtime on national television channels in order to broadcast videotaped services (Lindhardt, 2018). This adoption of media has aided these formations, in extending their influence beyond the confines of a church, and asserting their presence in the public sphere through such mass media strategies as Televangelism.

2.4.1 Multi-channel environment

The role of mass media in the commodification of religion in Kenya cannot be underestimated owing to increased broadcast access and the economic imperatives of media ownership. The country enjoys a proliferation of faith–based broadcasters, which are established as community or private commercial stations such as Family TV and SAYARE. This growth in religious media emanates from the provisions of article 34 of the Constitution of Kenya (2010), which speaks to the establishment of broadcast institutions and media freedom, effectively opening opportunities for new establishments (AG, 2014).

Consequent upon liberalization of airwaves, Television mediation in Kenya has grown exponentially from 17 channels in 2013 to 220 by 2015 (Maina, 2016). The highest rise in growth was registered in 2014 with the advent of digital broadcast protocol, which witnessed an influx of community and faith-based channels taking advantage of the migration. There was an avalanche of faith TV and radio channels with evangelical preachers and churches acquiring airwaves to facilitate propagation of the gospel. Radio and television are the most preferred media against total population; with radio taking a share of 64% as opposed to TV with 30% of total population that watch Television (Maina, 2016). This scenario is arguable a reasonable catchment for charismatic TV preachers.

A critical observation of faith-based programming in Kenya reveals that Christian programmes are mediated on commercial stations largely during weekends, as opposed to the faith channels where weekly programming is dominated by Christian based programmes. About 4 different charismatic programmes are aired on KBC TV on Saturdays and 6 on Sundays every week. Each of the other private channels namely KTN ,CITIZEN, NTV AND K24 dedicate Sunday mornings to Christian religious programming, airing programmes such as 'Tukuza' live show at KTN, 'Kumbamba' at CITIZEN; three charismatic Programmes on K24 and 'crossover' at NTV all tailored for the Christian faith viewership. KTN, however, is an exception among

commercial stations in that it hosts Christian programmes during weekdays such as 'Turning Point' and "Commanding your Morning".

Faith-based channels like Family TV, MBCI, Hope TV and SAYARE among others, dedicate space to Christian gospel teachings, religious films, gospel music and prime time news bulletins. This array of TV channels available for mediation of religious content is fair representation of a vibrant mass media ecology in which diverse religious ideas can thrive. However, subject theme is key in crafting messages that can appeal to both the audience and the media channel of residence. For Charismatics, human afflictions form the exigency for rhetorical situations (need for conversation) warranting production of a TV programme.

As a consequence, Christian evangelism has increasingly shifted its traditional itinerant modus-operandi of staging crusades in every other town, into televised sermons; where preachers perform almost all their religious rituals and worship on TV as mediated spirituality. However, this expansion in mass media accessibility has tended to sustain the presentation of religion in the form of goods and services to the public, in the style and character of trade and commerce; commensurate with secular business models (Nwadialor, 2014). As such, religion is embedded into various forms of media representations where certain ethics of electronic media like commercialization and marketing of spiritual services, is injected into the mission and vision of charismatic Pentecostalism, through such concepts as televangelism. This multi-channel environment has reinforced spaces for religious communication as evidenced in charismatic preachers renting airtime in more than one stations for their programmes.

2.4.2 Multi-mediality and accessibility

The development and the ubiquity of digital media technologies has significantly impacted on mediated communication in the public sphere as can be exemplified in the domain of religion and faith practices. Digitalization has opened up new spaces for mediation of religious information (Naggar, 2014), with the internet providing capabilities for religious communities to circulate and popularise their messages. The proliferation of religious websites, forums, blogs, e-books and DVDs, is now a recognised domain known as e-religion, within the digital media landscape (Naggar, 2014).

Some churches have put their programmes and services on WebPages in addition to launching YouTube channels which market them to international audiences. Messages are subsequently uploaded on these social media platforms as they are equally disseminated through DVDs.

These options allow for emergence of individualised religions that are susceptible to commodification by the creators of the said content. People can subscribe to these channels and make downloads of sermons which they retain for consumption at a later date in addition to opening online conversations with the source, thereby posting fees for platform providers on account of religious products.

Digital options for religion are a modern day phenomenon that has invaded institutionalized religion in very profound ways. But the e-religion has its share of challenges, even as it disrupts the traditional sources and authority of religion. There is an upsurge of competing religious views within the digital space that is seen to promote unaccountable individualised religions (Naggar, 2014). Some disgruntled faithful have variously posted offensive material on the webs and challenged or castigated high profile clergy; questioning their credibility and thus, compromising commitment of followers of such ministries. For example, Prophet TB Joshua has on several occasions suffered severe criticism and accusations on social media, where individuals open YouTube accounts dedicated at maligning his personality.

Through digital platforms, charismatic clergy have cultivated a formidable international appeal. Most have followership across the globe with adherents of their doctrines subscribing to their live services on YouTube, blog spots and on Instagram. Rev Francis Oracle of the 'Mountain of Deliverance' in Nakuru is an example of a contemporary Televangelist who has effectively appropriated digital media platforms to construct a transnational audience through YouTube, Skype and the Facebook. It is instructive to note that much of the content mediated through digital platforms is first generated for television as televangelism, before re-distribution. References are equally made to websites to follow teachings on YouTube or announcements. Twitter and church WhatsApp groups are now adopted strategies for maintaining fellowships and communicating church decisions.

Although mobile telephony has been widely acknowledged in studies for voice data transmission, its versatility is evident in how televangelism appropriates the medium for mediating financial donations in support of TV programmes. In Kenya, MPESA (mobile money transfer) images are usually displayed on screens during transmission to direct viewers on how to support the programme. Virtually all charismatic programmes on TV leverage on this medium in appealing for funds, and its convergence with TV to enhance and commodify religion cannot be underestimated. Online banking products such as PayPal and MasterCard are equally instruments appropriated by televangelists for the same purpose.

2.4.3 Regulatory framework

The Kenya information and Communication Act 2013 is the legal framework for establishment and operation of broadcast stations in the country (AG, 2014).Through the communications Authority, individuals, organisations including religious entities have been licensed to run radio and TV stations subject to certain prescribed conditions. Regulation can determine who or what information is permitted into the homes of the populace; even though admission does not translate into the programme being watched (Smith, 1996). Regulation implies access or prohibitions of airwaves that limit or allow reception of certain messages.

Religious programming and broadcasters have a significant and valuable presence on the airwaves in Kenya and their existence has continued to impact and fragment audiences in terms of preferences and faith attitudes. Kenya's media regulatory framework has also favoured an increase in airwaves, and facilitated more religious groups and individuals to open additional TV and Radio channels for propagation of their teachings as cited in section 2.4.1

The liberalization of broadcast media and the increase in global concentration of media ownership has exposed weaknesses in the law, for failing to sufficiently regulate and control media in Kenya particularly on issues of broadcast content (Magnusson &Skogstrom, 2010). The revenue imperatives of the authorities that issue licenses, inhibits them from delving deep enough; in ensuring content obligations are observed to prevent public exploitation through media power. The legal concept of 'freedom of worship and religion' discourages interference and therefore regulatory agencies like Kenya Film Classification Board (KFCB) have not sufficiently ventured into censoring religious content like it happens for the secular content

This perceived inadequacy in the law has not only benefited churches through mushrooming of religious channels, but has also created opportunities for commodifying religion through potential exploitation by religious "conmen" who stage fake miracles in their church services. Recent events on religious programming in Kenya generated controversies over the "seed sowing" theology advanced by one Peter Kanyari of the 'Salvation Healing Ministries'. The pastor was accused of trading fake miracles using the media in his mediated sermons (Editor, 2014). The scenario exposed serious gaps in regulation of religious mediation, for which attempts were made to streamline religious activities through a proposed 'Religious Societies rules' by the Attorney General as cited in 1.1, pp.10. The move was however, vehemently opposed by the Kenyan clergy who have been severally fronting for self-regulation.

Exploitation of audiences through religious airwaves has however been taken care of by the introduction of a Programming code for 'free-to-air' radio and television services, by the Communications Authority of Kenya (CAK) in 2016. Section 12 on religious programming code stipulates that:

> Broadcasters shall ensure that religious programmes do not improperly exploit any susceptibilities of the audience for such a programme, in a manner that religious personnel misuses religion or exploits audiences by asking them to support them financially or abuse of a person's belief in order to convince that person to change her /his belief and subscribe to the beliefs of the person challenging her/him (General, 2016 pg.15).

This regulatory attempt by government however, was after realization of the mass media's capabilities of commodifying religion through unethical conduct of some unscrupulous preachers, who have taken advantage of the proliferation of mass media platforms to raise funds from audiences. Under the current law, religious groups have continued to enjoy substantial liberty to produce and mediate content that promotes individual theological philosophies and doctrines; that are variously twisted to commodify the sacred aspects of religion. The broadcast regulatory environment in Kenya thus, is, to a considerable extent integral to the phenomenon of commodification of religion.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

This study utilized Kenneth Burke's (1969) rhetorical perspective in analysing the use of rhetorical devices in charismatic Television programmes to establish commodification of the spiritual experience. The textual analysis was complimented by a contextual analysis of the mass media ecology in which commodification thrives through the medium of television in Kenya. The visual and verbal elements which comprised the text were analysed concurrently using Burke's dramatistic criticism, so as to capture their complementarity at achieving persuasion.

2.5.1 Kenneth Burke's Rhetorical Theory

The Burkean rhetorical theory was the instrument for examining the rhetorical strategies used in message construction by the rhetor: messages which are characterized by acts of preaching, prayer and prophecy; the dominant features of televangelism in Kenya. The theory is anchored on the principle of 'Dramatistic Pentad' which is a set of basic terms through which people

most commonly discuss human motives and actions (Griffin, 2012). The Pentad comprises five rhetorical elements representing all narratives of human action. These elements of human drama are the: **act, agent, agency, scene and purpose.** The Act refers to what was done; Scene refers to context, setting or circumstance of the act; Agent refers to who performed the act; Agency refers to the means through which the act is performed and Purpose refers to the agent's stated or implied goal for the act (Griffin, 2012).

Burke (1969) posits that an evaluation of relative emphasis accorded to each of the elements by human drama enables a determination of the motive by its characters. This instrument is very plausible at analysing how speakers persuade audience members to adopt their view of reality (Tracy, 2013). The method is equally appropriate for visually rich text because of its reliance on the visuals to analyse persuasive strategies.

According to Burke, motivation of a communicative text could be obtained by use of a "ratio analysis"; a paring of the elements of the pentad and assess their influence on each other (Kuyers, 2016). To perform the analysis, the five elements are characterized by drawing a terministic relationship with terms used by the rhetor in the text. The critic directs attention to each of the Pentadic terms and characterizes them with conceptual terms in the text to form a Pentadic set.

For example, the Agent in this context may be characterized as the speaker (rhetor), who delivers the message. The critic then continues to pair the terms into 'ratios' to discover how one term affects the nature and character of the other. The term which seems privileged over the other suggests a preferred view of the message by the rhetor. This pattern is replicated for every Pentadic set formed and aids the critic in determining the rhetor's motive of communication for the entire artefact.

In reference to this study, each of the Pentadic terms is characterized with corresponding terms extracted from the message as appropriated by the Televangelist to draw a terministic relationship that explains the act of human drama. For instance, the **Act** is some instances characterized as the rhetor's presentation of a major action such as preaching, prophecy prayer or deliverance and acts of other actors within the given text. This is replicated for all the other elements and a Pentadic set is formed for analysis. Through the 'ratio analysis', the researcher was able to locate the motives behind the communication by uncovering dominant patterns in

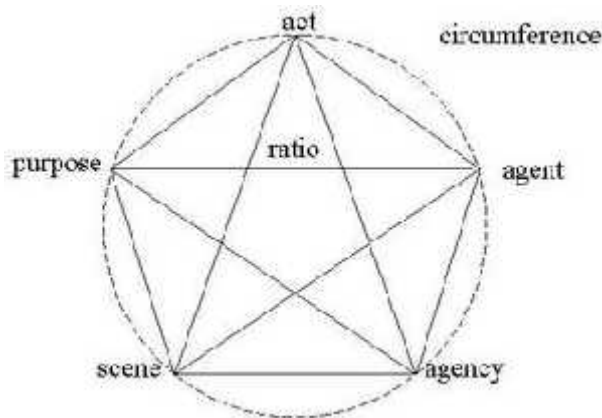the televised programmes. Figure 1 presents a diagrammatic illustration of Burke' Pentadic Ratios.

Figure 1: Burke's Pentadic Ratios

Source: Adopted from Tracy (2013)

To account for the choice of television as an important visual communication tool in this study, the framework provides for analysis of visual rhetorical elements along with the linguistic elements to capture the communicative aspect of images, and thereby locate the visuals' contribution to the persuasion process. Blakesley (2004) locates film as an appeal and assertion of identity in the audience through cinematic techniques. Visual elements such as camera angles**,** mise-en-scène, visual repetitions and proxemic patterning, operate predictably and can be used to generate a variety of meanings useful in analysing visual text.

Though Burkes' theory focused on maintaining social relations through persuasion, this study appropriates the theory to understand negative persuasion: where televangelism may be used exploitatively as 'mediated spirituality', by structuring audiences' perspectives of reality, using human afflictions and employing rhetorical strategies for remedy of the afflictions from the rhetor's perspective.

2.5.2 Media ecology

Media ecology refers to the multi-disciplinary approach of both environments as media, and media as environments. Different environments especially communication technologies form environments which foster different kinds of biases, preferences for space and time, in a manner to configure social relations (Anton,2017).The present study employs a media ecological

framework in contextualizing the media environment of televangelistic programmes for commodification of religion.

This is accomplished by evaluating the TV ecological influences on the commodification of religion, guided by the results for objective one and two of the study. Contemporary Media ecology does not only invite insights on the modes of human agency as enabled by various communication technologies, a view commensurate with the notion of 'technological determinism', but it also provides a framework for predicting possible side effects that emerge from dominant communication technologies such as the television.(Anton, 2017).

Trere and Mattoni (2016) identify four ecological perspectives in the field of media which scholars can use when analyzing media, as embedded in and used in society. These ecological orientations includes: the medium theory on technological determinism as advanced by McLuhan, the informational ecology by Nardi and O'Day, which evaluates human activity, practices and values that technology brings into communication, the communication ecology which deals with meanings and the media ecology perspective of agency and material objects. This contextual analysis aligns to the informational perspective of the media ecological framework which explores the interactions between actors, practices and technologies.

The informational perspective is useful in generating insights and making inferences on how the use of TV has affected the design and framing of religious messages into commodity forms. It helps to reveal how the TV logic influences people's perceptions and emotions, triggering responses and cultural forms that precipitate commodification of religion through mediation of the spiritual experience. These popular cultural forms as reflected in replication of religious TV content on other media like YouTube and mobile phones for realisation of financial transactions, plus an enabling regulatory environment, are variously seen to impact commodification of religion in their own respects.

CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodology the author employed to investigate commodification of religion in televangelism, in answering to the research objective. It incorporates the research design, target population, sample and sampling procedure, data collection instruments and the data analysis procedure that the author used to arrive at the findings and conclusions for the study.

3.1 Research Design

According to Kothari (2004) a research design constitutes the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data with the aim of combining relevance to the research purpose. This study considered qualitative interpretive approach as the appropriate design for investigating commodification of religion through televangelism as a social process. Interpretive research paradigm is based on the assumption that social reality is not singular or objective but is rather shaped by human experiences and social context of the phenomenon of interest by reconciling the subjective interpretations of its various participants (Bhattacherjee, 2012).

Interpretive approach views knowledge as social constructions through language and interactions and reality can be known through society's cultural and ideological categories (Tracey, 2013). Televangelism (subject of the study) is a cultural phenomenon that advances religious ideologies, well resonates with this approach for analysis of motivations for message constructions to influence attitudes and beliefs to induce actions and construct religious truths. For the current study, this approach favours use of expressive language whereby, documentation of verbal and non-verbal language of subjects, form integral components of the interpretive analysis (Tracey, 2013)

The advantage of interpretive research is that it is deemed appropriate for context specific unique events and processes and therefore ideal for new explanations of phenomena. It is also suitable for exploring hidden obscure reasons behind complex, multi-faceted social processes.

The convergence of media and religion is a multi-disciplinary space that presents complex realities that invite exploration of social constructions occasioned by such convergence .Thomas (2010) further notes that the interpretive paradigm is underpinned by the process of

observing and interpreting information by drawing inferences through matching given information with some abstract pattern which the focus of the current study.

3.2 Target Population

The target population for the current study comprised Charismatic Television programmes aired on local television channels in Kenya categorized into public service, faith-based and private/commercial channels. Television programmes are part of cultural artefacts and technological media which provide vehicles for meaning making, through textual analysis (Jensen, 2002).

3.3 Sample and Sampling Procedure

The researcher used purposive sampling to obtain data by applying given parameters of interest to arrive at TV programmes as sample units of the target population**.** Purposive sampling is a non-probability method in which the subjects selected are judged as being representative of the population in the market (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003).The technique provides for selection of units that bear the set out attributes only, and thus saves time for unnecessary volumes of data(Crouch &Cronn-Mills, 2015). It has low chances of external validity but for this study, maximum variation from among six channels adequately accounted for credibility and objectivity of data.

The researcher obtained samples of charismatic Television programmes by recording episodes of different Televangelists hosted by the following local TV channels; KBC and AVIATIONTV, which satisfied regular religious broadcast schedul**e** on a weekly basis, that is to say: at a specific time and day of the week, a given charismatic programme is routinely transmitted on the identified channel of interest (See Table 1 below). However, programmes aired in some targeted stations fell short of the predefined parameters of interest; making KBC a major source of the sample frame. This was determined by observing the presence of predefined features such as financial appeals and miracles discussed below.

For instance, programmes aired on GBS, KTN, NTV, K24 and SAYAYRE did not meet the parameters of interest for the sample unit, which required features such as demonstration of miracles and exorcisms, which formed key variables for analysing message constructs for commodification. Programmes presenting these attributes were largely obtainable at KBC (See Table 1 below).

Sampling of units was criteria based, in which programmes were selected because they possessed the following features that were descriptive of central themes: a) Charismatic nature; Holy Spirit doctrine (b) Financial appeals (c) Testimonies, Exorcism and (d) live audience.

Table 1: Break down of the sample

Programme Title	Televangelist	Channel	No of Episodes	Day and Time of Transmission
Neno Litakuweka Huru(The Gospel will set you Free)	Apostle Maina Nganga	KBC	2	Saturday:8:00 AM
Kuna Nuru Gizani (Light in Darkness)	Pastor Pius Muiru	KBC	2	Sunday: 8:00 AM
Jesus Teaching Ministry	Apostle Peter Manyuru	AVIATION TV	2	Thursday:10:00AM Sunday: 8:30 AM
Gospel Evangelism	Bishop Robert Wafula	KBC	2	Sunday:8:00 AM

3.4 Data Collection Tools and Instruments

Data collection was by documentation. The researcher assembled video dubbing equipment and recorded programmes on tapes while on transmission from the identified channels in episodes of fifteen minutes during specific days of broadcast as tabulated in Table 1 above.

This method has been used before to investigate South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) as a credible source of news, using prime time news bulletin for textual analysis by Nikoala(2015).Similarly, the researcher recorded transmitted programmes onto tapes for a period of four weeks using parameters of interest as captured in the sampling procedure in (3.3) above.

3.5 Data Analysis

The qualitative data collected was transcribed and coded into excerpts comprising of verbal and visual representations for analysis. The researcher extracted excerpts from each sample for analysis using researcher independent rules (See 3.6.1).The excerpts were subjected to coding of pre-defined terms, to derive dominant concepts and message themes then analysed using

Kenneth Burk's rhetorical framework. The analysis led to interpretation of data to assign meanings for the verbal and visual representations used in the programmes. The results were then presented in narrative form.

The researcher examined how the design and framing of charismatic Television sermons precipitates commodification of religion through a capitalistic exchange of the spiritual experience, between the preacher and the viewer. The author followed the stages as stipulated below in performing the analysis:

Step 1: The author conducted inductive coding (Thomas, 2006) by extracting text units of significance to form excerpts; representing thematic message segments for each programme.

*Step 2***:** The author identified dominant human afflictions in the programmes by extracting dominant terms and concepts that framed the theme for each excerpt.

*Step 3***:** The author determined the rhetorical strategies by examining the use of words, phrases and visual elements by operationalizing the theoretical factors of analysis.

Step 4: The author identified dominant patterns and attributes present in each of the excerpts to establish motive of the rhetor for creating the message, and drew inferences for commodification of religion in the programme.

Step 5: Using the results obtained for objective 1 and 2, and acquired media knowledge; the author then evaluated the mass media ecological influences for commodification of religion by contextualizing the rhetorical analysis of the programmes.

3.5.1 Analytical Construct

The analytical construct in Figure 2 illustrates the association of human afflictions and rhetorical strategies in a given mass media environment for commodification of religion. The model posts an assumption of commodification religion in the analysis of the programmes.
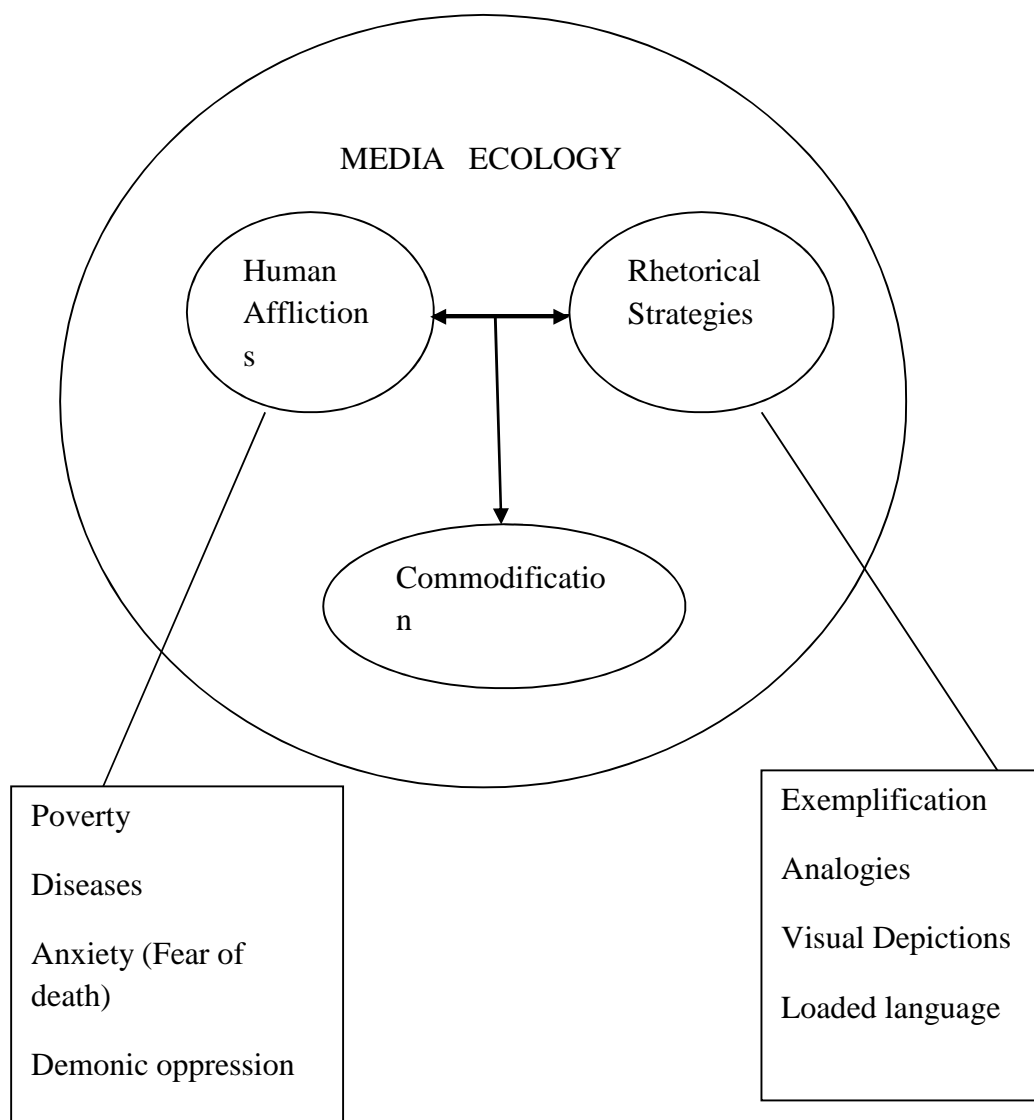
```
                    MEDIA   ECOLOGY

        Human                      Rhetorical
        Affliction    <------->    Strategies
        s
                         |
                         v
                  Commodificatio
                  n
```

```
Poverty                        Exemplification

Diseases                       Analogies

Anxiety (Fear of               Visual Depictions
death)
                               Loaded language
Demonic oppression
```

Figure 2: Analytical Construct

3.6 Ethical Considerations

Ethical consideration is a moral imperative in research involving both human and non-human subjects, and accords attention to respect, beneficence and justice (Croucher &Cronn-Mills, 2015). The author obtained a research permit from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) for the purpose of conducting the current study and

to obtain requisite data (see Appendix 1). The researcher acknowledges that charismatic programmes are a subject of mass mediation and are open to the general public for consumption and discussion; hence, issues of individual vulnerabilities are minimal in this respect. To achieve credibility of data, the author adequately accounted for time and space of transmission, by recording a minimum of two episodes of actual transmission on disparate dates that lasts an average of fifteen minutes for each programme recorded.

3.7 Credibility and Dependability

The methodology employed for this study has provided adequate details about the phenomenon and its social context and therefore allows readers to independently authenticate the interpretive inferences put forward. The credibility of interpretive research can be improved by maintaining meticulous data management and analytic procedures such as verbatim transcriptions of interviews (Bhattacherjee, 2012)

Credibility of data collected was ensured through primary data capture, enhanced by recording actual broadcast of the programmes: that were directly mediated to the audiences at specific times and days, thus leaving no room for manipulation of content. The current study is dependable to the extent that the instruments used are considered as elaborate as to meet standard replicability levels in a manner that facilitates conduct of a similar interpretive inquiry. As such, it is possible when employing similar procedures to obtain agreeable results putting into consideration the ideological, philosophical and contextual consonance.

CHAPTER FOUR
DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of data resulting from the methodological steps taken in chapter three, followed by a discussion of the research findings. Data were collected by recording charismatic Television programmes aired on two local television channels on disparate dates; over the period November-December 2016. The channels were identified on the basis of regular transmission of Christian religion sermons on a weekly schedule, for specific days and time.

In order to conduct the analysis, the author refined data into four excerpts (units of significance) derived from the programmes sampled. The excerpts comprised of verbal and visual representations of key statements and depictions of the messages in the programmes. The author arrived at the excerpts by evaluating the verbal and visual elements that exemplified the rhetor's bias in discussing a single idea around a given theme within the programme, thus; pointing to a dominant concept which formed the subject of the sermon delivered. The analysis entailed identification of concepts representative of human afflictions that are used in message themes to devise rhetorical strategies, for appropriation of the afflictions to accomplish commodification of religion.

4.1 Analysis of Programmes for Human Afflictions

This section addresses objective number one of the study, in identifying the dominant human afflictions used by televangelists to trigger commodification of religion through televangelism in Kenya. The author uses key statements and depictions in the programme to extract a unit of meaning (excerpt), and examines the use of words, phrases and images, which form a theme around a dominant concept. This reveals how such representations are emphasised by the rhetor to advance a single idea within the programme, to precipitate commodification of the spiritual experience and service.

Human afflictions are captured in this study as conditions of need present among audiences and which form exigencies for the rhetorical situation. The afflictions most used by preachers to interact with audiences in the programmes were identified through inductive data analysis by selectively coding text into units of meaning (Thomas, 2006): to derive dominant concepts from the verbal and visual representations in the programmes. The author coded for statements

and phrases coupled with freezed video clips which represented emphasis of a spiritual, physical or psychological condition seen to define the theme of the message. Afflictions are here treated as equivalents of the amplified concepts present in the programmes and are expressive of a spiritual condition, economic, physical, emotional or psychological need (2.2); and whose intervention calls for application of spiritual gifts (charismatic) through prayers and prophecy by the preacher in the programme.

4.1.1 Poverty as an affliction for commodification of religion

According to Pradip Thomas in Servaes (2008), poverty is a lack of resources that people need to develop themselves. Absence of these resources namely: money, food, proper housing and clothing, represent depressive social and economic conditions for the affected. Poverty is a recurring theme for mediated spirituality in Kenya, with many preachers promising remedy for the affliction by invoking religious rituals such as prayers and prophecy. Under this section, the author examines the excerpt for existence of the concept of poverty by locating how the subject is elevated as the controlling idea in message construction, to precipitate commodification of religion, and linking remedy for the affliction to monetary exchange.

In excerpt 1 below, the preacher discusses the subject of poverty as captured in a predefined message theme "change your status". He anchors his message on Genesis 27:40, analogising real life experience with a Bible character (Esau) who was subjected to slavery by his brother (Jacob).Metaphorically, that slavery/hardship imply that the man was a poor oppressed individual, who needed to free himself from the condition. The preacher exhorts the congregation/ viewer through word and gesture, that such a person can have a better life. The preacher locates faith in God as the agency through which one's life can get better. Later, a congregant who ostensibly had acted on faith by giving an offering testifies how his status had changed on account of giving. Poverty thus, emerges as a dominant concept and the controlling idea that drives the message theme, effectively constituting the exigency for the rhetorical situation in connecting viewers with the preacher; and the affliction that is appropriated in the programme for commodification of religion.

Excerpt 1: Bishop Wafula, KBC; Sunday, December 11th, 2016

Theme	Affliction	Verbal Representation	Visual Representation
Change your status	Poverty	Change your status, Genesis 27:40. "You will live by the sword and you will serve your brother. But when you grow restless, you will throw his yoke from off your neck".....Your status is the way you live, the way you think, perceive yourself, your income, home and education........Start changing your status by the way you GIVE............." **Testimony:** "My name is Luka.....last meeting I was here you taught us about giving, I believe in giving and decided to give an offering. Today as we speak am building a house at home worth 300 thousand shillings". **Preacher:** I believe God has used me to minister to your need, stand with me in this work and send your support offering using this MPESA number. (this is a pre-recorded caption, always brought after the end of every sermon)	The preacher in action on pulpit as financial appeals display on screen Congregant gives a testimony on his changed economic status **Agency-Purpose** The rhetor making a financial appeal both verbally & visually. MPESA images displayed as the channel

(Gospel Evangelism –KBC)

4.1.2 Disease as Afflcitions for commodification of religion

Diseases are a source of physiological discomfort and pain, and precipitate a search for meanings of the afflictive experience for humanity. In the search, religion provides relief and opportunity to find meanings for such experiences through religious rituals like prayers and prophecy, as illustrated by charismatic programmes. Under this section, the author analyses the excerpt for existence of the concept of diseases: where the subject is elevated as the controlling idea in message construction, to precipitate commodification of religion.

Excerpt 2 below depicts a church session in which the preacher discusses the role of a priest in biblical context. He proceeds to demonstrate his presupposed ability to heal diseases as God's anointed messenger. This assertion is reinforced by his adorning of a white Lab coat to represent a medical doctor who ideally administers healing to the sick. The white Lab coat symbolically inculcates a sense of belief among audiences, in the preacher's ability to heal diverse diseases; as a "doctor". The phrase "I have made you into medicine to heal people", presupposes an audience afflicted with diseases. For about twenty minutes, the preacher dwelt on the oppression of sicknesses and diseases. Disease thus, is emphasised in the programme as a dominant concept and the controlling idea that drives the message theme, forming the affliction discussed in the programme. It thus constitutes the exigency for the rhetorical situation to connect the preacher with his presupposed audience, in precipitating commodification of religion by promising healing of diverse diseases.

Excerpt 2: Apostle Maina Nganga –KBC; Saturday, November 26th, 2016

Theme	Affliction	Verbal Representation	Visual Representation
The role of a priest	Disease	Hebrews 5:1 Every high priest is selected from among men and is appointed to represent them in matters related to God…." Preacher: this is where you get to know the work I do for you, so that you are not coerced to help me and to pray for me as well....... ....This is the prophecy "Put away all that troubles you and see another side, the old is gone now everything is new, I have made you into medicine to heal people".............. At some stage during the service the preacher prays for the sick enacting the italicised phrase above (the work I do for you)	The Rhetor spots a white lab coat to symbolically represent a doctor administering healing to the sick. The program is concluded with a pre-recorded clip appealing for financial support

(The Gospel will set you free –KBC)

4.1.3 The Affliction of the Fear of Death(Anxiety)

In excerpt 3 below, the preacher exegetes Luke 7:15 to construct his messsage on the 'Fear of death' as the exigency for a rhetroical situation to connect with viewers. The message is developed from the understanding that the kenyan society is laden with a myriad of anxieties due to diverse social, economic and psychological problems. From the said account, the preacher presuposes an audience that is contending with the subject of death, and therfore brings death to the mind as an imminent occurence in life. He analogises the events in the scripture with real life experiences. The visual depiction of the word 'death' and the accident scene, promotes the theme of death, pointing the viewer to possible means through which death can occur and thus, think about it.

The 'fear of death' in this programme represents the dominant concept and the controlling idea that drives the message theme thus, forming the affliction used in the programme. It constitutes the exigency for the rhetorical situation to connect with viewers in advancing a remedy through a 'spiritual experience'(prayers to cancel death): for commodification of religion. At the end of the sermon, the preacher explicitly challenges the viewer to committ some money in stated amounts, for the purpose of cancelling death. The 'fear of death' is hence qualified as the controlling idea and the affliction in the progeamme to commodify religion.

Excerpt 3: Pastor Pius Muiru –KBC; Sunday, November 13th, 2016

Theme	Affliction	Verbal Representation	Visual Representation
I shall not die	Fear of Death	I want us to look at the Bible in Luke chapter 7 verse 15, "And he that was dead sat up, and began to speak and Jesus delivered him to his mother". The spirit of death had invaded that family but Jesus broke it. Who among you has the spirit of death began to reign? God has sent me to pray with you and declare that the power of death cannot rule over you. People are getting their lives terminated through road accidents haphazardly. (at the end of the sermon on fear of death,) Today I give you a challenge to give God a special offering for the purpose of opposing death in your family. I expect everybody to give from Ksh. 300, 500, 1000 to 3000 as a prophetic seed to cancel death.	 The word death eclipsed against sky blue colure fills the screen to signify the unknown Accident scene, suggesting a possible means through which death comes.

(There is Light in the Darkness –KBC)

4.1.4 Demonic Oppression as an Afflcition for commodification of religion

Demonic oppression is a spiritual space that is majorly ventured into almost exclusively by charismatic preachers. Pentecostal Charismatics subscribe to a "deliverance theology": the notion that the Holy Spirit can deliver the true believer from whatever demons that could be afflicting their lives (Siegel, 2013). For most charismatic congregations in Kenya, demonic manifestation is a common feature for which pastors conduct exorcisms on the demonically oppressed followers.

In excerpt 4 below, the author examines the programme for existence of the concept of 'demonic oppression' in message construction for commodification of religion. The preacher exegetes Eccl 3:1, and introduces a message theme he dubs 'Restoration and dedicating your enemies'. He derives his theme from the referent scripture that "everything has a time" by declaring that its restoration season. In the wordings, the preacher presupposes an audience that is oppressed by evil spirits, referring to the condition as "captivity", from which they need deliverance. He charges that God will restore his people from whatever bondage they could be in. In the cause of the sermon, deliverance from captivity is alternatively referred to as "opening your vision" implying they cannot progress and thus need deliverance. This change of semantics is meant to entice people to embrace the invitation for deliverance, from whatever that may have bound them. During the prayer session, recipients of prayers manifest with demons as 'evil spirits' inside them circum and make confessions. This framing of words such as 'restoration', 'captivity' and depictions of sessions of deliverance, emphasises 'exorcism' as the dominant concept and the controlling idea that drives the message. Restoration from demonic oppression thus constitutes the exigency for rhetorical situation to connect the preacher and his potential audiences; and is thus, the identified affliction upon which the message is anchored for the programme to trigger commodification.

Excerpt 4: Apostle Peter Manyuru –AVIATION TV; Sunday, September 16th, 2019

Theme	Affliction	Verbal Representation	Visual Representation
Restoration Dedicating your enemies	Demonic oppression	We are coming to the end of the season of restoration; even those watching us on TV God will restore you. Ecclesiastic 3:1; there is a time for everything. This a time for restoration. ......unless you come out of captivity you will not be restored........ . Pastor "the bible says a gift opens the way for the giver, open your vision with good money for you to go far"..... **Prayer:** receive the anointing, whatever you desire, whatever bondage binding you, it is broken. .....the anointing am going to release will deliver you and deliver your money..... **Commentator:** viewers, what you are seeing on the screen are people getting delivered from whatever binds them........ Viewers, this sister X who has been delivered after giving an offering for her restoration. She has also received instant healing today, completely delivered and set free.	 Congregants are asked to stand in front with a dedication offering for prayer Preacher lays hands on people raising envelopes as he prays for them A woman receiving deliverance Testimony guided by commentator

(Jesus Teaching Ministry –AVIATION TV)

4.2 Analysis of Programmes for Rhetorical Strategies in commodifying religion

This section responds to objective number two of the study, in establishing the rhetorical strategies employed by televangelists to accomplish commodification of religion. The author analyses programmes for rhetorical strategies used by the televangelists, and makes inferences for commodification. To obtain that objective, the study's theory is operationalized on the programmes' excerpts represented in section 4.1, and tests the use of afflictions for patterns and attributes of commodification in the programmes.

A rhetorical strategy in this context constitutes the method employed by the rhetor to alter the attitudes and beliefs of his target audience and induce action as preferred. Using linguistic and visual elements, the preacher is able to convey presupposed remedies for the afflictions that affect his existing and potential audiences. In order to determine the rhetorical strategies used in the programmes, the author applied Kenneth Burke's rhetorical framework which provides for factors of analysis in the form of 'dramatistic pentad' explicated in section 2.5. (On theoretical framework). The five elements of drama which form the pentad are characterized with corresponding terms in the excerpts, to draw a terministic relationship between the terms and form a Pentadic set. These Pentadic elements are: the Act –what is done; Agent –who does it; Agency –through what means; Scene –the background or circumstance of the act, physical, social or spiritual condition that calls for the rhetorical situation; and Purpose –the reason for the act from the rhetor's perspective. The Pentadic set is exemplified as; the Agent, in the context of this study may be characterized as the speaker (rhetor) who delivers the message. The author then proceeds to pair the elements in pairs to form 'ratios' which help discover how one characterized term influences the other, in what Burke calls 'ratio analysis'. The element which seems to dominate the discussion over the other suggests a preferred view of the subject by the rhetor. This pattern is replicated for every Pentadic set formed, and aids the author in determining the rhetor's motive of communication for the entire programme.

4.2.1 Appropriating poverty for commodification of religion

Under this section, the author examines the programme for rhetorical strategies used in appropriating the affliction of poverty for commodification of religion. Section 4.1.1, excerpts 1, which represents the preacher discussing the subject of poverty embedded in the theme: "change your status". He anchors his message on Genesis 27:40, expounding how the unpleasant condition of poverty could be cured.

In this example, the author identifies economic hardship denoting poverty, as the dominant affliction and the exigency for the rhetorical situation for message construction in the programme (Section 4.1.1)

To determine the rhetorical strategy employed in appropriating poverty for commodification of religion, the author constructs a Pentadic set by characterizing some of the linguistic and visual elements in the excerpt with corresponding elements of the pentad to draw a terministic relationship for analysis as below;

Act: 'Removing the yoke'

Agent: Testimony (by a follower)

Scene: situation of hardship, poverty

Agency: offering (M-pesa)

Purpose: changing status

Act-Scene: the preacher narrates on a Bible character that experienced poor living conditions, exemplified as slavery and hardship which portends poverty; and effectively paints a picture of poverty for the viewer. He analogizes the situation with a presupposed condition affecting the viewer, and with a metaphorical phrase "removing the yoke" denoting acting, suggests Giving as the means to change their status. **Act-Agent:** the preacher parades a congregant who ostensibly has removed the yoke and reaped the benefits of giving. This serves as an example of those who would want their status of poverty to change. **Act-Agency:** 'removing the yoke' which is tantamount to removing poverty, can only be actualized through belief and acting on the word taught, by giving. The preacher provides the means for channelling the offerings in form of M-pesa displays, in between the sermon and at the end. **Act-Purpose**: the analogy of 'removing the yoke' to change one's status suggests the need for some implicit action which the preacher defines as 'support offering'. The Act results in changing one's status and as such, the need to reciprocate for the knowledge given. The testimony, as an exemplification of a changed man from poverty to riches, becomes a persuasive tool that speaks to the viewer through words and visual depiction.

This ratio analysis reveals a dominant pattern where the term 'removing the yoke' is a recurring theme in all ratios where the Act is paired with other elements. In every other ratio, the rhetor

seems biased towards the need for 'removing the yoke' as being instrumental to changing one's status; and the means, Agency, as an all important factor in changing that status.

Exemplification: to reinforce his claim, the preacher employed exemplification as a rhetorical strategy by parading the testimony of a beneficiary of the act of giving: to demonstrate to the viewer that giving to the ministry can actually result in changing ones status of poverty. This method potentially motivates the viewer to emulate the actions of the beneficiary in order to be liberated from poverty. Ultimately, the preacher implores the viewer to use the displayed channels to give, in support of the programme as reciprocation for having been ministered to. This translates into trading his services in terms of knowledge, encouragement and prayers in exchange for an offering thus, commodifying the affliction of poverty (subject of the programme), and effectively commodifying religion.

Analogy: The preacher deploys analogy in calling attention to the status of the biblical character that was oppressed of hardship and poverty. The rhetor equates the act of 'removing the yoke' with what the viewer in similar circumstances is encouraged to do. This charge given to the character in the Bible is seen as an appropriate route to his blessing. Comparing similar situations is a persuasive technique that situates the reasoning of the subject of persuasion to appreciate an otherwise complex circumstance, and agree with the persuader and act accordingly.

This programme accomplishes commodification in two respects, one, where the preacher uses the testimony of an alleged beneficially of the act of giving to demonstrate that his prayer results in such benefits and thus, influence a needy person to emulate. Secondly, the rhetor makes a passionate financial appeal verbally and with images, giving his ministration as the motivation for the viewer to appropriately respond hence; commodifying the gospel message that he shares in the programme. To the extent that faith in God is construed to mean giving an offering for having received information on how to escape poverty, the message potentially becomes a commodity for exchange and thus, commodified religion.

4.2.2 Appropriation of Diseases for Commodification of Religion

This section examines the programme for rhetorical strategies used in appropriating the affliction of 'diseases' for commodification of religion. Excerpt 2 Section4.1.2, represents identification of disease as an affliction in the programme. In the excerpt, the rhetor presupposes an audience afflicted with diseases and sickness and proceeds to encourage them

from a Bible text on how God enabled his servant to heal people. He situates himself in that position by symbolically projecting the image of a 'medical doctor' that is associated with administering healing to the sick; as he equates "Doctor" with a spiritual priest.

In determining the rhetorical strategy employed to appropriate diseases for commodification of religion, the author constructs a Pentadic set by characterizing some of the linguistic and visual elements in excerpt 2, with corresponding elements of the pentad to draw a terministic relationship for analysis as below;

Act: Heal the Sick

Agent: Preacher

Agency: Prayer

Scene: Church session with people supposedly afflicted with diseases.

Purpose: Help (assisting the preacher)

Act-Agent: the preacher locates a bible text which supports his presupposed role of a priest chosen by God to help people, which he equates with healing those afflicted with diseases. **Act-Agency:** using the scripture, he exhorts the viewer to acknowledge his position as a priest unto God, who is tasked to minister to the people, calling attention to the fact that he is divinely obligated to his audience. **Act-Scene: "**Put away all that troubles you and see another side, the old is gone, now everything is new, I have made you into medicine to heal people". This phrase presupposes an audience afflicted with ailments which require the preacher's intervention in his capacity as a healer. Note the adorning of a lab coat to paint a picture of a doctor meant to ignite a sense of belief among the audience.

Act-Purpose: the preacher appeals for help in advance before ministering healing, just to let the audience aware of his expectation upon receiving healing prayers, "this is where you get to know the work I do for you, so that you are not coerced to help me" the preacher opines that the service he renders is worthy of reciprocation by those who receive it; by requiring them to help him whenever called upon. Later, when the preacher prays for the sick, this phrase is potentially reminiscent in the audience's mind to motivate assistance as had been suggested earlier. At the end of the service the preacher in a pre-recorded clip, appeals for support to fund the programme. Strategically, the recipient of prayers in the church and virtually, is invited to

donate monies. The previous phrase "so that you are not coerced to help me" now comes into play through this appeal in accomplishing the purpose for the healing, i.e. to support the preacher. That healing service is effectively commodified to the extent that the preacher calls for financial assistance as reciprocation for his 'work' in the guise of supporting the programme.

In the above analysis, the message centres on the role and duties of the priest (preacher) to the audience using the affliction 'diseases', as the dominant concept in message construction. By projecting himself as a healer and linking his service to possible reciprocation, either materially or socially, the rhetor effectively commodifies the spiritual service for beneficiaries and potential seekers of his service; who may attach credence to his representations. Religion is commodified here in the sense that the analogies the preacher employs to cultivate his persona are Bible-based. Explicitly, it would seem like ordinary spiritual nourishment, but implicitly an element of reciprocation marked by the phrase "This is where you get to know the work I do for you so that you are not coerced to help me", represents commodification of the spiritual service rendered: considering the Act -Purpose ratio, where emphasis is put on the reason for the Act.

Visual depiction:this strategy is employed by having the preacher adorn a white coat Lab, and symbolically represent a medical Doctor. This depiction serves to influnce the attitudes and belief of the victims of disease to accommdate the healing claims advanced by the preacher.
*Analogy:*The preacher appropriated this strategy by comparing a spiritual priest with a medial doctor, able to administer healing to the sick. By drwaing such analogy vernbally and visually, the rhetor managed to bring the audience into agreement with his arguments and embrace the messaage outcome hoping for procalimed results as promised, "old is gone every thing is new"

4.2.3 Appropriating the Fear of Death for commodification

Excerpt3 represented in section 4.1.3. Shows segment of a sermon by televangelist Pius Muiru as mediated on KBC television. Under this section, the author examines the excerpt for rhetorical strategies used in the programme, which suggest how the 'fear of death' has been appropriated for commodification of religion. Using Kenneth Burkes rhetorical framework, The author constructs a Pentadic set by characterizing some of the linguistic and visual elements derived from the excerpt, with corresponding Pentadic elements to draw a terministic relationship for analysis as below;

Act: Cancelling death

Agent: Preacher

Agency: Prayers

Scene: A congregation apprehensive of death

Purpose: M-PESA account, PayPal visa cards

Act-Scene: the preacher presupposes an audience afflicted with the fear of death, as ordinarily people are always anxious about dying for no one likes to die. **Act-Agent:** Having convinced himself that viewers potentially face death, he loads his voice with 'heavy words' and exuding authority, evokes fear and expounds how he can help them cancel imminent death. An image of the word 'death' against a 'blue sky' serves to emotionally tell the viewer that he/she could meet God soon: symbolising the unknown and therefore, fearful. **Act-Agency:** the preacher promises to pray for those anxious about death in order to help them escape that imminent scenario "God has sent me to pray with you and declare that the power of death cannot rule over you". **Act-Purpose:** through speech and visual depiction, the preacher implores the viewer to give a special offering to God in order to avert possible death. Images of online money platforms of PayPal and Visa Card are displayed on the screen to guide the viewer on how to channel the sacrifice. And to emphasise the importance of giving to avert death, the preacher suggests a figure of Ksh 3000, meant to incite specific response.

In this ratio analysis, the element **Act** cuts across the ratios and the need to cancel death is highly emphasised by the rhetor in every stage through image and word. The rhetor provides a clear path for cancelling death reflected in the reason for the viewer to actualize that **purpose,** by motivating him with an offering. The preacher effectively connects deliverance from the 'fear of death' to a special offering prescribed for the afflicted thus, suggesting a reciprocate act for the spiritual benefit obtained: effectively putting the solution for sale in commodifying the prayers he has provided.

Visual depiction: Taking advantage of the general anxiety people have about death, the rhetor uses this strategy as a persuasive tool to inject fear and anxiety. Images of death help concretize the verbal articulations in appealing to emotions, and connect viewers with the

projected reality. Financial appeals are also reinforced through display of money transfer media of PayPal, to raise money.

Loaded language: with verbal intensity and authority when expounding on the biblical account of death, the preacher applies this strategy to paint a picture of a world laden with uncertainties. He helps the viewer to be able to relate with the scenario of that story and thus act as appropriate or as recommended in order to escape the predicament.

4.2.4 Appropriating Demonic oppression for commodification of religion

Excerpt 4 Section 4.1.4 on the affliction of 'Demonic oppression', depicts a deliverance service in which the preacher makes an invitation to the pulpit for people to be restored from diverse spiritual bondages called 'captivity'. In the process, the congregants are asked to give a good offering to secure their release dubbed 'opening your vision'. Holding envelopes high, the preacher prays for the expectant lot in a line, as some of them manifest with evil spirits and attract attention for exorcism.

To determine the rhetorical strategies employed in appropriating demonic oppression for commodification of religion, the author constructs a Pentadic set as in the previous cases, by characterizing some of the linguistic and visual elements derived from excerpt 4, with corresponding elements of the pentad to draw a terministic relationship for analysis as follows;

Act: Exorcising evil spirits

Agent: Preacher

Agency: Prayer /offering

Scene: At the church's pulpit

Purpose: Testimony (declaration)

Act-Scene: the preacher presupposes an audience that is held 'captive' by evil powers and thus needs deliverance. He promises that God will restore them from their presumed oppression. "Unless you come out of captivity you will not be restored". **Act-Agent:** obviously the preacher being God's representative as a prophet, is the one to execute the deliverance. ".....receive the anointing, whatever you desire, whatever bondage binding you is broken". "....the anointing am going to release will deliver you and deliver your money". **Act-Agency:** Pastor "the bible

says a gift opens the way for the giver; open your vision with good money for you to go far". The preacher prays only for those lining in front with offering envelops as gifts for their impeding deliverance. The prayers for deliverance in pursuit of restoration from one's bondage, is mediated with an offering, amounting to trading the prayer with offerings.

Act-Purpose: all the Acts of the preacher culminate in announcements to the TV audience by a church commentator, who is apparently tasked to making observations and reporting live on camera about the happenings, **"**viewers, what you are seeing on the screen are people getting delivered from whatever binds them" the commentator gets on camera those beneficiaries of deliverance, and testifies on their behalf as she parades them for evidence of the workings of the man of God. She is keen to emphasise that the deliverance obtained was as a result of an offering given: effectively attaching the spiritual experience to the money.

In the above analysis, once the actor establishes that people needed deliverance (his services), he designs a set of obligations on the part of the afflicted for them to fulfil in order to receive. There is a recurring theme across the ratios on the importance of the agency (means to receive), to the understanding that the victim of bondage has a part to play in order to receive. Phrases like "unless you come out of captivity" in ratio 1, to "God will deliver your money" in ratio 2, and "open your vision with good money" in ratio 3 are all emphatic of that obligation thus, privileging the agency as what is important to the rhetor in constructing his message.

Visual depiction: this persuasive technique deploys the logic of TV of 'sheer presence' and 'immediacy', in creating a reality for the viewer to authenticate deliverance of 'demonic oppression': by focusing on the actual act of exorcism and parading the same victim who was delivered. These images serve to moderate attitudes and beliefs of those viewers who would otherwise doubt the truthfulness of the services offered by the televangelist. In view of the depictions, an afflicted viewer is likely to be sufficiently influenced that on account of giving an offering; one can get restored or delivered from whatever bondage.

Exemplification: The preacher applies this strategy in influencing the views of the viewer concerning deliverance, by parading a beneficiary of an act of exorcism through a commentator; who attributes the experience to an offering. Exemplification in the of form testimonies is an effective persuasive tool to the reader saying: 'it can happen to you if you do likewise' i.e. give.

In this programme, the preacher deployed visual depictions and exemplification to commodify religion. Prayers for deliverance from demonic oppression are provided to those who come with offerings in their envelopes as a condition. The programme is equally designed to demonstrate to the viewer that by the act of giving one can obtain the spiritual experience they desire. This is accomplished through parading testimonies of beneficiaries whose experience is attributed to giving a sacrificial offering in order to secure their deliverance.

This section has sought to answer to objective no 2 of the study, in determining the rhetorical strategies used by televangelists to commodify religion. The author, using Kenneth Burk's rhetorical criticism has examined programmes for rhetorical strategies by analysing message designs and framing to establish the appropriation of afflictions in commodifying the 'spiritual experience' and thus accomplish commodification of religion.

4.3 The Mass media Ecological Imperatives for Commodification of Religion

This section answers to objective three of the study, in evaluating the mass media ecological influences on commodification of religion in Kenya. It has contextualized the use of human afflictions and rhetorical strategies in charismatic programmes, by situating the inferences of commodification within the media ecology of the television medium in Kenya. According to Trere and Mattoni (2016), the media ecological perspective employs a variety of analytical tools which scholars can use for analysing media, as embedded in and used in society as cited in 2.2. This analysis aligns to the informational perspective of the media ecological framework, which explores the interactions between actors, practices and technologies.

The informational ecology gives insights into a system of people (such as the religious communities), their values, practices and the technologies of use in a local information environment (Trere Mattoni, 2016).The author makes inferences of commodification by evaluating the place of TV logic in the framing and design of messages into commodity forms: which are seen to influence people's attitudes and emotions in triggering commodification of religion through televangelism.

Televangelists appear to effectively employ visual and linguistic techniques in seeking to induce preconceived acts from viewers affected by the identified afflictions, without the audiences necessarily affiliating to the church or the faith in question. Indeed premised upon Gerbner's et.al.'s(1986) cultural indicators perspective, the exposure to these programmes has

the effect of introducing a new cultural reality to the viewer as pertains to the faith preached (Morgan et.al., 2009).

Thus, based on the interactions, the tele-church inadvertently acquires more members who translate into both numerical and material strength. This scenario has potential for exploitation as reflected in the rhetor's intent through display of telephone contacts for counselling and bank accounts for channelling monies.

Televangelists capitalise on the fact that the human body (subject of human afflictions), is a fundamental medium of charisma and therefore, the hold that television can have on its viewers is not in doubt. The media ecology theory advances the view that mass media are constructed on the analogy of human speech and vision (Cooper, 2014), in which the television medium is a fair example of extension of these faculties and the effect on human behaviour and attitudes.

Conversations and representations of human afflictions on television create an immediate connection with the viewer in agreement with those sensory human faculties. Televisual codes of communication, creates a reality through a magnetic and charismatic pull of sheer presence and immediacy (Cooper, 2014). People can connect emotionally and psychologically in relation to the affliction affecting them as it is addressed on the screen because of the effect of the TV logic which resonates with the human sensory faculties.

There exist possibilities for the televangelist to appropriate afflictions for commodification and affect the viewer using different rhetorical strategies such as exemplification, loaded language and visual depictions, and induce desired action for the viewer. The Images of M-pesa and other Money transaction platforms displayed on screens are designed to provoke financial donations, just like those of death designed to trigger fear and anxiety; motivating viewers to seek prayers from the preacher. These depictions of money transfer models and advertisements of social media platforms like the YouTube, email address and the face book, open new spaces for replication of televised messages in the present mediatised environment: where content distribution and reception can be highly individualised, enhancing chances of commodification of the programmes.

Television as a source of information exposes people to a range of products, lifestyles, facts about people and places: which in turn impact on their attitudes and choices. Portrayals on TV programmes are prone to affect people's preferences in terms of the choices they make in addressing their needs. For instance, the testimonies paraded by Televangelists serve as

positive outcomes of spiritual ministration and therefore effectively erect bridges through which the afflicted person and preacher interact. This affords chances for expression of the maxims of giving and receiving for healings and miracles purposes.

The proliferation of mass media platforms such as TV makes it possible for viewers to access sermons at the comfort of their homes and develop Para-social connections with the preacher. The media channels are thus partners with the church in 'mediated spirituality' in commodifying religion through subscribed viewership. The electronic church occupies a special place in media institutions in Kenya, since it possesses an audience base that the institutions strategically view as commodities: whose character and existence is potentially objectified for market value.

In commodifying the audience, televangelists aid the media institutions by constructing an audience that can as well be useful to the market in terms of viewership ratings and advertisements. The home audience is incidentally exposed to the experiences of a televised church, which serves as an inspiration for others to covet similar experiences. In essence, the televised audience is indirectly objectified, commodified and sold to the home audiences through media stations' accrued profits and material responses to the preacher. Thus, as the church in Kenya executes its functions through the media, these mass media dynamics will undoubtedly continue to shape the way religion is commodified as mediated spirituality, through Television and other media.

CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the findings, conclusions and recommendations for policy, practice and further research.

5.1 Summary of Findings

There were three key study objectives that led to collection and analysis of data to establish commodification of religion through televangelism as follows; a) identification of dominant human afflictions used in programmes to trigger commodification of religion, b) the rhetorical strategies employed by televangelists to accomplish commodify religion and c) evaluation of the mass media ecological influences for commodification of religion through the television medium in Kenya.

5.1.2 Human Afflictions for Commodification of Religion

The study has established that for the design and framing of televangelistic messages, human afflictions work as exigencies for rhetorical situations in organising an atmosphere of needs and anxiety; to mediate solutions for those needs through televangelistic sermons. In the absence of afflictions, charismatic television mediation would be devoid of the magnet that attracts viewers to the programmes. Televangelists invoke presuppositions for the existence of such afflictive conditions as sickness, poverty and demonic oppression among targeted audiences, to appropriately craft messages that resonate with those conditions. This provides them with a basis for engagement with the audience in providing remedies for the conditions as well as information and encouragement to cope with related anxieties.

There are diverse afflictions located as dimensions of spiritual, physical and psychological conditions of inconvenience, that are easily identifiable with the Kenyan society. These dimensions are seen to impede on human wellness and holistic living, and therefore constitute fodder for charismatic spiritual interventions in the form of miracles, prayer and prophecy. The provision of these services is however, in most cases attached to a reciprocate act of giving offerings.

Chukwuma and Uhembe (2014) locate a conscious effort in televangelism to dominate the airwaves in a deliberate attempt to create a window display for various spiritual products that resonate with the ideal audiences. The study reveals that different diseases, poverty, demonic oppression and psychological dispositions associated with anxiety like 'fear of death', formed major concepts upon which televangelists define the path for extra mundane interventions for the afflicted in the contemporary Kenyan society.

5.1.3 Rhetorical Strategies for Commodification of Religion

As observed in the preceding analysis on the appropriation of afflictions for commodification presented in sections 4.2.1 to 4.2.4,charismatic preachers employ linguistic and visual persuasive techniques to advance their view of reality; with the hope of convincing viewers through exercising of spiritual gifts (spiritual power)on the afflictions with a live audience. Verbal articulation and intensity in form of 'loaded language' analogies, exemplification and visual depictions: are used in most programmes as rhetorical strategies for advancing the rhetor's preferred view in order to incite a capitalistic exchange for a spiritual experience, and hence commodify the service rendered.

The analysis of programmes reveal patterns that link the spiritual service provided with some envisaged material substance behaviour through offerings. An element of reciprocation is implicitly and explicitly advanced, by associating the service rendered; with financial contributions from the audience. For instance, in section 4.2.3 where the author examines rhetorical strategies in appropriating the 'fear of death' for commodification, the rhetor explicitly cites giving specific offerings as a condition for cancelling death as an image of Ksh.3000 is visually depicted for emphasis. This observation corroborates Armstrong's view that televangelists attach financial contribution to provision of information and encouragement that is necessary to cope with diverse life problems (Armstrong, 2006). Incidentally, the form in which that information is provided is what this study refers to as 'mediated spirituality': a non-material or intangible religious benefit that is implicitly commodified by strategically packaging a TV programme message designed to accomplish the preacher's objective of eliciting material response.

In section 4.2.4,for appropriation of 'demonic oppression' in commodification of religion, the exemplification of a 'delivered' victim through a testimony, implicitly serves as a currency for attraction and enhanced viewership that can provoke a potential clientele in yearning for the same spiritual experience as depicted. Enhanced viewership and broadened client base means

increased offerings and programme support donations for the preacher. Revenues for the platform provider (channel) are also enhanced, effectively commodifying the programme in question.

Although propagation of the gospel is fronted as the overt purpose for the programmes, Bible text becomes a major source of analogies that are used to motivate audiences into engaging with the preacher through the programme. This is achieved by presenting experiential parity between Bible characters and the target audience thus: deriving largely uncontested credibility for the preacher in influencing the audience perception on certain realities. Considering that Kenya is arguably 80% Christian (Githaiga, Minnie &Bussiek, 2011), televangelists are keen at appropriating Bible text as a rhetorical device; by drawing analogies of the afflictions prevalent in audiences with those bible narratives. This pattern is consistently evident in most of the charismatic programmes aired on television in Kenya today.

In varied cases, the objective for eliciting material benefit is not a direct occurrence, but is implicitly crafted through rhetorical strategies by drawing a path through which the 'spiritual experience' so desired, is obtained through a reciprocate act that is commensurate with paying for the service obtained. The pattern of a reciprocate behaviour for the spiritual benefit is what the author opines here as constituting a capitalistic exchange, and can be reasonably inferred as 'commodified spirituality' and commodified religion, as a consequence.

5.1.4 Media Ecological influences for Commodification of Religion

With the ubiquity of mass media technology and the choice of Television for charismatic sermons mediation, virtual audiences easily become part of a church service as they communicate through mobile phone contacts and bank accounts that are provided for purposes of prayers and offerings. This triggers a pattern of material exchange behaviour between the preacher and the virtual audience.

Preachers creatively use the medium to exploit the religious ritual of offertory, by imposing the burden of monetary contribution upon the flock.

Live audience, with whom the preacher engages directly, is apparently useful to the viewer in authenticating the services offered, particularly those to do with exorcism, curing of diverse diseases and miracles. The live audience is an exemplification of a commodity that is sold to the virtual audience by depicting the events of a live church service such as ministering healing of diseases and testimonies of miracle recipients. By mediation of those experiences, the virtual audience is predisposed to engage with the preacher by electing to attend future live services for remedy of their possible afflictions or, engage through telephone contacts provided, as explicated in section 4.2 in the analysis of rhetorical strategies.

The power of television is affirmed by the fact that it represents a voice in the house and provides companionship to the otherwise lonely viewer. Viewers and particularly those who may suffer diverse afflictions as cited in section 4.1 are more likely to develop para-social relationships with the televangelist who seems to provide remedy for the affliction. This interaction provides an avenue for exploitation and can be viewed as the genesis of commodifying religion as 'mediated spirituality' by many an enterprising Kenyan preacher.

The mediation of spiritual services via television has created opportunities for some unfettered, unscrupulous preachers within the Christian fraternity to operate and defraud audiences through promise of fake miracles. Incidentally, 'mediated spirituality' is a modern day phenomenon in which mass media systems are creatively utilized by religious content producers to connect with consumers and engage them at personal levels, without any form of scrutiny through religious conventions. The lack of sufficient religious broadcast regulation has enabled replication of personalized media like YouTube and mobile phones for religious related interactions. These alternative avenues of evangelisation have promoted personal religiosities that are discreetly commodified as channels of soliciting funds. As such, the media ecological environment in Kenya is a canopy of ubiquitous media technologies, religious actors and regulatory inadequacies that have propelled televangelism into a critical arena for commodified religion.

5.3 Conclusions

To a large extent, the activities conducted by charismatic televangelists culminate into constructing a favourable profile for the preacher, and in establishing trust and credibility that could disparately become avenues for manipulation and exploitation of the target audience. This study has revealed how a range of presupposed audience characteristics become monetized through mediation of religious content in contrast to conventional religious orthodoxy; where the grace of God is not supposed to be exchanged with money as stipulated by the scriptures in Mathew 10:6.

Production and mediation of charismatic programmes is largely influenced by individual entrepreneurial inclinations of the actors. This use of mass media to advance religious ideas has proven to be a profitable endeavour for both the televangelists and broadcasters, by appropriating religious mediation to market and build their entities. Live audiences are critical for preachers to be able to advance a preferred view of reality through the mediated programmes. It is evident that such live audiences can become a currency for value exchange. This is made possible by having their televised experiences packaged in a manner to influence a virtual audience by closing perceptual division, and becoming part of the programme from wherever they may be. In this regard, it is actually the use of such mass media avenues like television that facilitates exchange of ideas, leading to an implicit and sometimes explicit commodification of spiritual services.

5.4 Recommendations

For the practice, the findings of the current study provide reasons for mapping the growing trend of religious frauds in Kenya, and for the actors to fully appreciate the communication dynamics that define religious mediation in the contemporary information environment. The revelations put forward by the study, make it convenient for broadcasters to locate audience vulnerabilities with respect to religious 'fakes' and thus, invent standards on content production and mediation, even as they seek to balance public interest against commercial imperatives.

The study provides insights for policy makers to re-examine religious broadcast protocol in order to guide religious programming in the country and hopefully, safeguard the consumer from exploitation by invoking accountability on the part of creators of religious content. The knowledge generated by the study is useful in identifying and isolating the commodity forms that offend religious orthodoxy, and reconstruct religion as generally understood by the majority of religious communities.

For communication research, the findings provide a basis for further inquiry; one, an audience survey of religious broadcast consumers, to further understand general perceptions on the appropriation of human afflictions on TV programmes, and secondly, through a political economy paradigm in gauging the influence of televangelism on media structures and the place of materiality for religious broadcast in Kenya today. The findings equally add into the body of knowledge in communication, a broader understanding of the media- religion dynamics within the contemporary mass media ecology.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: RESEARCH PERMIT

CONDITIONS

1. You must report to the County Commissioner and the County Education Officer of the area before embarking on your research. Failure to do that may lead to the cancellation of your permit.
2. Government Officer will not be interviewed without prior appointment.
3. No questionnaire will be used unless it has been approved.
4. Excavation, filming and collection of biological specimens are subject to further permission from the relevant Government Ministries.
5. You are required to submit at least two(2) hard copies and one (1) soft copy of your final report.
6. The Government of Kenya reserves the right to modify the conditions of this permit including its cancellation without notice

REPUBLIC OF KENYA

National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation

RESEACH CLEARANCE PERMIT

Serial No.A 14459

CONDITIONS: see back page

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MR. PATRICK MUTURI KARANJA
of EGERTON UNIVERSITY, 1493-20100
Nakuru,has been permitted to conduct
research in *Nakuru   County*

on the topic: *COMMODIFICATION OF RELIGION THROUGH TELEVANGELISM:A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF CHARISMATIC PROGRAMS IN KENYA*

for the period ending:
19th June,2018

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/17/89186/17495
Date Of Issue : 19th June,2017
Fee Recieved :Ksh 1000

....
Applicant's
Signature

....
Director General
National Commission for Science,
Technology & Innovation

APPENDIX II: ATTACHED CHECKLIST OF OBSERVATIONS

PROGRAMME	SEGMENTS	FEATURES	KEY STATEMENTS
NenoLitakuwekaHuru **Apostle James MainaNganga**	Praise and worship Teachings Deliverances and prayers	Teachings, prayers for the sick, Exorcism Financial appeals at the close of programme	I will make you into medicine to heal people. Get to know the work I do for you so that you are not coerced to help me
Jesus Teaching Ministry(JTM) **Apostle peter Manyuru**	Praise and Worship Announcements Teachings Deliverance prayers	Teachings, Prayers Prophetic declarations Giving dedication sacrifices, Exorcism Testimonies	Restoration season Unless you come out of your captivity you will not be restored
"Kuna NuruGizani" **Pastor Pius Muiru**	Programme Signature Teachings Prayers	Prophetic declarations Visual illustrations Loaded language Financial appeals	I shall not die God has sent me to declare that the power of death cannot rule over you
Gospel Evangelism **Bishop Robert Wafula**	Programme Signature Praise & Worship Prayers	Teachings Testimonies Financial appeals	Change your status Start changing your status by the way you give

Commodification of Religion- Nov 20th 2018

APPENDIX III: DATA SOURCES

Programme	Televangelist	Channel	Topic	Date of Transmission
Neno Litakuweka Huru (The Gospel will set you Free)	Apostle Maina Nganga	KBC	1:The roles of a priest 2:Getting your blessing	Nov 26th ,2016 Dec 10th ,2016
Kuna Nuru Gizani (Light in Darkness)	Pastor Pius Muiru	KBC	1: I shall not die 2:No harm will come your way	Nov 13th,2016 April 2016
Jesus Teaching Ministry	Apostle Peter Manyuru	AVIATION TV	1:Restoration and dedication of your enemies 2:Evil Alters	Sept 16th, 2019 Nov 17th,2016
Neno Evangelism (Gospel Evangelism)	Bishop Robert Wafula http://youtube	KBC	1:Change your status 2: Turn to me and be saved	Dec 11th, 2016
Programmes also replicated on YouTube				
Neno Litakuweka Huru	https://www.youtube.com/Apostle Maina Nganga+roles of a priest			
Kuna Nuru Gizani	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gjQRIpsAgxQ-			
Gospel Evangelism	https://www.youtube.com/Bishop Robert wafula+2016-2017			
Jesus Teaching Ministries	https://www.youtube.com/apostle petermanyuru+live+stream			