

**ELECTORAL CAMPAIGNS AND POLITICAL COMMUNICATION: A COMPARATIVE
ANALYSIS OF EFF AND ANC'S FRAMING OF THE LAND QUESTION AND
UNEMPLOYMENT DURING 2019 ELECTIONS**

MORAKA FRANS MEHALE

DISSERTATION

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DECLARATION

I, Moraka Frans Mehale declare that the study titled “Electoral campaigns and political communication: A comparative analysis of EFF and ANC’s framing of the land question and unemployment during the 2019 elections” is my own work and has not previously been submitted for academic purpose. All the sources used in this study have been pivotally acknowledged. It is submitted for the Degree of Master of Arts in Communication Studies at University of Limpopo.

Moraka Frans Mehale

2022

DEDICATION

I dedicate this research to the Mehale family, particularly my mother, Mmakwena Mehale and my siblings, Khomotso, Katlego and Onicca Mehale. This work further goes to my grandmother, Rahab Mehale and my late grandfather, John Mehale. I will not forget to also dedicate it to my dad, Stephen Thamaga whose words of wisdom and encouragement fuelled my academic focus. This is to recognise the support they have shown and given me through all odds and adversities to make it to this end. May the good Lord bless you and escalate wisdom and light upon your lives.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANC-African National Congress
ANCYL-African National Congress Youth League
BRICS-Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
COSATU-Congress of South African Trade Unions
DA-Democratic Alliance
DRDLR-Department of Rural Development and Land Reform
EFF-Economic Freedom Fighters
eNCA-eNews Channel Africa
EWN-Eye Witness News
IEC-Independent Electoral Commission
IOL-Independent Online
NEC-National Executive Committee
RDP-Reconstruction Development Programme
SABC-South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACP-South African Communist Party
SOEs-State Owned Entities
STATSSA-Statistics South Africa
TREC-Turfloop Research Ethics Committee
VBS-Venda Building Society

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate the approach to land and unemployment as main electoral themes during 2019 elections in South Africa by the ANC and EFF. A qualitative, exploratory research was conducted to determine how these issues were articulated and approached using emotional and cognitive messages in the production of political content. This was to determine the implications of their use regarding issues of emphasis and ownership by political parties on the decision of constituencies. The hubs of data collection for this study were political street posters and Facebook advertisements. This study paid particular focus on the manners in which both parties framed the subjects of land and unemployment. Thus, thematic content analysis was used to determine the themes that emerged from the Facebook advertisements while semiotic analysis was applied on the data that emanated from street posters. The selection of the posters and Facebook political advertisements was guided by the issues the researcher intended to study which reflected on the ANC and EFF political advertisements. A total of 8 posters (N=8) were selected and analysed (4 for each party) and a total of 10 Facebook advertisements (5 for each party) were used for the generation of data in this study. A semi-structured interview was also conducted. The findings revealed that there are connections among political issues, images of politicians and the decision of voters. People vote based on these connections. The study therefore recommends that areas of content production need to be improved in the production of political advertisements, and that scholars need to improve the existing literature on political communication to educate the public (voters) about the persuasive strategies of the political parties.

Key concepts: ANC, EFF, Land and unemployment issues, Street posters, Social media, Political advertisements, Political images and Electorates participation.

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction and background

The aim of this study was to explore questions of land and unemployment that formed part of Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) and African National Congress's (ANC) political electoral campaign advertisements during 2019 plebiscite in South Africa. Elections are part of democratic rituals that allow participation of citizens to elect or run for public office. Since 1994, South Africa has afforded its citizens an opportunity to run for public office and be elected in a system of universal suffrage that provides for citizens to exercise their right to choose the leaders who best represent their interests. In relation to citizens' choices, political parties' advertisements remain one of the most important pillars of this ritual as parties contest for votes based on what they are promising the voters (Olujide, Adeyemi & Gbadeya, 2010).

Thus, strategic political communication anchors this whole democratic process, as this is where political parties gain or lose electoral support. Each political party has objectives that need to be attained and it is through political communication that citizens are persuaded by political parties to give support to different political parties. Therefore, parties launch their manifestos outlining their objectives to the citizens and market them through various platforms. However, political communication remains the centrepiece of this political marketing. The election periods have brought different shades of political campaign themes and points and in most developing economies those parties competing for votes speak to the lived realities of the populace. They robustly articulate issues of land, economy, unemployment, security, development and service delivery.

South Africa's democracy has been a dream deferred for the majority who remain shackled by poverty and lack of service delivery (Nicoli & Seekings, 2001). This study paid particular attention on EFF and ANC's political advertisements on Facebook and street posters with specific focus on how these parties framed land and unemployment

issues. ANC and EFF are counted among South Africa's major political parties that stressed the issues of land and unemployment. Discussions on land and unemployment pertained to arguments on whether or not land should be expropriated without compensation and the escalating unemployment rates which continue to hit South Africa. Hence the researcher's choice to explore how these political parties framed the land and unemployment issues. Land and unemployment were at the centre of this study because they were differently articulated in the political advertisements of ANC and EFF and they seem to have had great influence on the choices of voters.

South Africa is considered to be a liberal democracy and it is viewed as one of democratic states in Africa although it is not yet developed in terms of service delivery. Liberal democracy is the degree at which a political system allows democratic rule and political liberties (Bollen & Paxton, 2000). Political liberty exists when the citizens of a country have the freedom to express a variety of political opinions in any media and the freedom to form party and political association (Bollen & Paxton, 2000). But the issues of land and unemployment in South Africa remains disease with a lack of remedy to the citizens. In 2018, the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform released the land audit report which indicated the state of land ownership in South Africa. According to the land audit report as released by the department, 82% of the land is owned by private ownership while farmland equate to 96% (DRDLR, 2018).

Thus, farms and agricultural holdings with total of 37 078 289 ha farms by race shown that 72% of farmland is owned by whites, coloured 15%, Indians 5% and Africans 4%, (DRDLR, 2018). Consequently, the audit report indicate that whites own more hectares of land in provinces of South Africa where their highest average size at 2 191 ha is in Northern Cape, followed by Mpumalanga at 968 ha, Eastern Cape at 487 ha, Free State at 374 ha, Western Cape at 249 ha, North West at 196 ha, Limpopo at 139 ha, and Kwa-Zulu Natal their lowest at 98 ha except in Gauteng with average of 10 ha, (DRDLR, 2018). According to Phuhlisani (2017) there is emanating challenge of land redistribution in South Africa which becomes replication of Apartheid land redistribution due to factors such as the strength of private property rights enshrined in the constitution, such that

existing landowners can object if their rights are likely to be infringed by a new development. Hence, this caused debate in South African Parliament pertaining Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) call on the amendment of section 25 of the constitution to allow land expropriation without a compensation. But Phuhlisani (2017) postulate that a focus should be on reforming the spatial of differentiation to dismantle cadastral system instead of challenging the exclusivity of rights related to the existing land parcels with entrenched property rights which majority are in the hands of whites. This could assist to deal with a space of differences demarcated by long histories of social engineering which opened up only to those who can afford to pay and reinforced race-class segregation as well as strengthening rich- poor polarisation.

South Africa's unemployment rate increased by 0,1% to 29,1% in the third quarter of 2019. According to the stats released by Statistics South Africa, this was the highest unemployment rate as compared to the percentage of previous years (StatsSA, 2019). Despite the government's attempts to stimulate job creation in the wake of the global recession, more South Africans are still fighting hard to deal with scourge of unemployment. Therefore, political advertisements during elections are important tools for parties to disseminate their electoral messages. Advertisements infuse political customs and language while shaping political distinction. The researcher looked at themes that emerged from these parties' advertisements and discussions on land and unemployment issues by ANC and EFF. According to Southall (2019) the context of 2019 general elections in South Africa was the environment dominated by the campaigns focusing on the land redistribution, allegations of state corruption, unemployment and the state of economy. This is a comparative analytical study because it examined the ANC and EFF's framing of land and unemployment issues. This study particularly explored how land and unemployment formed the visual and linguistic strategies of the two parties' campaigns during 2019 elections to reveal the findings on themes covered.

ANC was formed on the 8th of January 1912 with aim to fight for black people against white minority (Ellis & Sechaba, 1992). This was because of the struggle which was imposed on the black population by the apartheid system. Thus, the ANC was formed to

fight against racial discrimination and social injustice for equal treatment. All these black population struggles contributed to the inception policy of ANC which details what should be done and not done to the people by government. It remained an underground party for black people until the 2nd of February 1990 when Nelson Mandela was released from prison (Ellis & Sechaba, 1992). In 1994 on 27 April, first democratic elections took place in South Africa and ANC became the ruling party. Even after 1999, 2004, 2009, 2014 and 2019 general elections, ANC occupied office as the ruling party in South African government regardless of its percentage decline during 2019 elections results. This connects particularly with rational choice and hope of citizens concerning service delivery in communities.

In 2013 Julius Malema, former African National Congress Youth League president (ANCYL) established his political party called Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) which contested 2014 general elections and had 25 seats in parliament. The party was formed as a splinter from the ANC faction which its president who affectionally known as commander in chief continued to make disclaimer that they are children of garden boys and kitchen girls. This is to show the appreciation of African parents during Apartheid regime who fought the war of liberation. Thus, the party got inspired by working class. Moreover, as a populist party, the EFF had its own cardinal pillars such as nationalization of mines and banks, land expropriation without compensation as the believes that land was stolen from black people, the abolition of tenders in government as well as free quality education.

According to Mbete (2015) the EFF's analysis of South Africa during the party's inception was that, since 1994 people have been used as mechanisms for gaining seats in parliament while they remain powerless because power and economy still reside in white minority's hands. But one has to agree that EFF has managed to capitalise on the Marikana massacre, protest of Relela and Nkandla issue to win public opinion. Its political style was a way of differentiating the party from other political parties. In addition, EFF got 44 seats in parliament after 2019 elections (Independent Electoral Commission, 2019). Both ANC and EFF had land and unemployment issues on their marketing political platforms during

2019 elections contestation. Hence the current researcher studied their advertisements on these issues. Lirola (2014: 247) explains that “Political posters are a means through which parties and candidates present themselves to the electorate”. Democratic Alliance (DA) is another opposition party in South Africa formed in 2000 which contested for 2019 elections and managed to have 84 seats in parliament. It contested for these general elections but what made the researcher to choose EFF and ANC is both parties’ address to the land issue—which was not a predominant idea for DA. Hence the DA was not selected for this study despite the fact that it also addressed unemployment in its advertisements.

According to Johnston (2006) it is important to analyse the content of political posters and parties’ advertisements on social media to understand rhetorical strategy over the course of the campaign. This study analysed ANC and EFF’s content on street posters and advertisements on Facebook focusing on their discussions of unemployment and land issues. Themes may be generated from raw information or generated deductively from theory or prior research (Boyatzis, 1998). In this study, the researcher focused on the themes that emerged from the collected data. Since media play major role in keeping citizens informed, ANC and EFF used Facebook to upload political adverts and street posters during 2019 elections to reach perspective voters. According to Dumitrescu (2011), political posters are seen as exceptionally important for political candidates to publicise their campaigns during election times. Moreover, election posters display the opinions of political candidates and their parties. The posters also disclose political candidates’ programmatic messages and the images they try to convey.

This study added to the burgeoning body of research on the role of political communication in the form of media such as social media and campaign posters (Ojekwe, 2015, Dumitrescu, 2011, Kreiss, 2014, Girish & Williams, 2013). This study was unique as it investigated the issues of land and unemployment in the South African context whereas other reviewed studies generally focused on political campaigns. What made this study unique was its contextualisation of land issues and unemployment into South African politics. This is because in South Africa, land and unemployment issues were not

the main focus of most of the previously conducted studies. Most previous studies were conducted internationally and paid specific attention to climate change, ageing population, unemployment, immigration and global security—issues of which most international political parties put emphasis on (Lirola, 2016; Ojekwe, 2015; Dumitrescu, 2011; Kreiss, 2014; Girish & Williams, 2013). In contexts where posters were studied, Shea (1996: 210) claims that they “...were analysed by researchers looking at linguistic and visual strategies observing how politicians were represented”. It can be argued based on the above assertion that, although extensive studies have been conducted, no study exists which explored political adverts, especially those that paid particular attention to land and unemployment issues in South Africa. Hence, this study looked at the themes that emerged from ANC and EFF 2019 political advertisements on street posters and Facebook.

1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM

1.2.1 Background of the problem

It is through political advertisements that prospective voters are provided with different points of view on issues, choice of candidates, parties and their policies to decide which party to elect. Based on the aforementioned information, it was important to investigate the rise of political advertisements on social media and street posters in South Africa and their democratic implication for political parties’ electoral flow of information. Political parties used available resources including social media platforms and street posters to campaign for their parties to perspective voters during election time. According to Kaid (2004), political communication is understood as the important role of communication in the form of persuasion within political process to anchor elections.

1.2.2 Problem statement

The land and unemployment issues are some of the most important campaign issues in South African political contexts. The issues of land and unemployment, as expressed and popularised through marketing strategies of EFF and ANC, were central in the 2019

political contestation. Therefore, the main problem that the dissertation attempts to discuss is how ANC and EFF framed the issues of land and unemployment in their advertisements on street posters as well as social media in campaigning for the 2019 elections. In South Africa, issues of land reform and unemployment have been problematic for a long time (StatsSA, 2019). It is important for this study to be conducted to find out the implications of the issues mentioned above in the campaigns of ANC and EFF. The researcher achieved this when data were gathered on Facebook pages of ANC and EFF (which have prospective voters' comments and street posters) as well as semi-structured interview data were analyzed.

1.3 LITERATURE REVIEW

The assessment of political advertisements has been done where much attention put on the images of politicians during elections rather than political issues in the process of political advertisements. Therefore, this study reviewed the global, African and South African scholarly works to note what other scholars found, their theoretical frameworks, methodology and the crucial role the current study plays to form part of existing knowledge. Thus, this study attempted to ascertain the role of political issues during election contestations.

1.3.1 Political advertising and elections

According to Tak, Kaid and Lee (1997: 175), "political advertising is an overt function to persuade voters". Tak, Kaid and Lee (1997) argue that it is through political advertising that citizens are exposed to political campaigns to make choices. Berger (2004: 87) sees political advertising as "A tool that enables politicians to send their messages to large number of people who tend to be apolitical and are not particularly interested in political campaigns". The above claim suggests, in Berger's words (2004), that political advertising allows parties' electoral message to reach the citizens. However, a major problem with this kind of evidence always remains that the interests of citizens and the impacts of the adverts on the citizens are not considered.

However, this study addressed the political issues that were covered by ANC and EFF political advertisements with focus on the themes these parties used. Berger's (2004) definition of political advertising carried some weakness. For example, Berger's case failed to acknowledge the mass media that used to carry political adverts to people within societies. This study considered the involvement of political issues and the voters' comments on the parties' adverts because, politicians design them to attract voters through suitable channels of communication.

According to Kaid and Holtz-Bacha (2006:3) political advertisements are "A means through which parties and candidates and sometimes other groups represent themselves to the electorate through different types of media". Whereas Gurevitch and Bulmer (2000: 25) argue that "Political communication could virtually be defined as the transmission of messages and pressures to and from individuals who are demonstrably unequal: the highly powerful and pitifully powerless, the highly involved and the blissfully indifferent".

Political communication is understood as the role of communication during political process (Kaid, 2004). Lirola (2015) argues that political communication is an interdisciplinary field of study that takes into consideration concepts such as rhetoric, sociology, political history, communication and political science. Political communication in political adverts helps voters to form a perception about political reality as political parties in democratic states are responsible for their electoral communication to canvass for their votes, and this could be achieved through interpretation of political events. On contrary, very little was known about multimodality and lexicogrammar which this study critically explored and their emerging role for political parties during elections.

However, Kaid and Lirola's (2004) views on political communication carry some weaknesses because the scholars did not discuss the importance of political issues on the formation of political communication as well as the context's role. This, therefore, gave rise to the question one would ask as to, "What is put in during political advertisements?"—which was discussed in this study. There was symbiotic relationship

between political adverts and communication. According to Noris (1999) political communication's role can be witnessed in the media where newspapers, radio and television news cover political contestation during electoral period. Noris's (1999) argument was important because communication cannot occur in a vacuum but needs tools to be performed to the targeted audiences. Furthermore, party-initiated communication involves political process as parties create campaign leaflets, canvassing and local elections meetings.

1.3.2 Political posters

Political posters carry political information to reach the audiences so that they can make decisions about party of their preference. These political posters include linguistics and visual presentations which are aimed at influencing citizens. According to Lirola (2015), political posters are a means through which parties and candidates present themselves to the electorate. Originally, these political posters have been used for propaganda purposes and persuasion during electoral campaigns (Popova, 2012). In addition, "Political posters can be used to manipulate or to inform depending on the readers to add deconstruction meaning of posters" (Lirola, 2015: 247).

In this study, the meaning of ANC and EFF political posters were analysed to understand how these political parties contested for elections using unemployment and land as focal issues. Lirola (2015) argued that as political practices have some depicted characteristics that other political genres do not have, posters are seen many times during campaigns. The potency of these posters was that they conveyed intended messages to the audience, even though audiences cannot hear from them directly. Lirola's argument urged the current researcher to carefully analyse the ANC and EFF posters to reveal characteristics claimed to be depicted during elections.

According to Dumitrescu (2011), political posters are channels of spreading political messages within public domains to citizens. Dumitrescu (2011) further claimed that posters allow one to study the logical patterns of competition between political parties

canvassing for elections. Political parties used posters as vehicles of reaching voters particularly those who cannot afford other media platforms in their geographical areas. This was done in consideration of the strategic difference against their competitors for elections. Posters are dominant media of political advertising in many countries around the world (Plasser, 2009). They are important visual medium of political communication and are distributed mostly in rural villages to reach citizens for them to engage with politician's image and the textual message (Maarke, 2011).

However, Shea (1996) argues that political posters cannot provide extensive information about the parties' candidates without involving persuasion in their political campaigning. The literature about the political posters discussed above assisted the researcher to analyse the importance of different linguistics and visual elements that ANC and EFF posters had in their political advertisements. This was done to examine their meanings in contexts and their effects on audiences' ideologies. The linguistic strategy in this study referred to the kind of language that ANC and EFF used during elections for their political advertisements, whereas visual elements refer to images used to inform the voters.

1.3.3 Electoral campaigns and social media

According to Statista (2019), South Africa had 31,18 million active internet users who spend an average of 8 hours and 32 minutes surfacing the net daily. Moreover, the study of Shava and Chinyamurindi (2018) found that 41, 80% males and 58.20% females use Facebook. The study conducted by Enli and Skogerbo (2013) examined how politicians use social media to persuade voters in Norway. Their study found three main motives of social media usage during election campaigns: marketing, mobilization and dialogue between electorate and politicians. The first aspect (marketing) focused on the positioning of political party within public sphere. This assists in keeping followers updated about the political parties they follow. The second aspect (mobilisation) refers to the use of social media to encourage voters to participate in elections. Lastly, social media in terms of dialogue presented an opportunity to connect and engage with voters in discussion on issues that affect them as well as receiving feedback on political issues.

According to Brun and Highfield (2013), social media form part of election campaigns. Additionally, growth in social media use is more than likely to result in social media becoming present in political campaigns (Brun & Highfield, 2013). During the election period in 2004, digital media were integrated in the communication system in Europe for parties that contested for votes (Howard, 2006). The current researcher looked at integration of digital media in the communication system of ANC and EFF during 2019 elections campaign in South Africa. Social media converge with traditional media to assist traditional media to assess public mood about elections (Kreis, 2016). The study of Kreis (2016) carried some weakness because the researcher did not explain further the public mood assessed and its implication on running elections.

Other studies have also examined the impacts of digital media on different types of political engagements and suggested an overall positive effect (Bachmann, Kaufhold, Lewis, & Gil de Zúñiga, 2010; Kenski & Stroud, 2006; Mossberger et al., 2008; Shah, Kwak & Holbert, 2001; Weber, Loumakis & Bergman, 2003). However, the issues that are carried by political parties' adverts on digital media were not of concern because they focused on how parties use media for mobilization and persuasion. According to Vaccari (2008), the internet benefits only those political parties that have internet penetration. Study conducted by Gibson and Ward (1998:2) of the 1997 United Kingdom general elections concluded that "far from leaving minor parties behind from campaigning, the internet appears to be doing more to balance the publicity of these parties' political ideas to the electoral compared to other media, particularly, the traditional media".

According to Gibson and Ward (1998), the internet has been noted to enable persuaders to communicate with supporters. This study introduced South African political parties (ANC and EFF) on the political issues they covered using internet to connect on Facebook for their political advertisements and consider how the digital world and the social media allow them an opportunity to influence voters' rational choice. Furthermore, the nature of Web 2.0 technologies like Facebook is viewed as effective tool to provide a lifeline to disadvantaged minor political parties. It allows a wider communication of

political candidates with supporters and provides new hub of supports (Gueorguieva, 2008).

1.4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The Framing Theory was relevant in this study because it is holistic in nature and it considered how something is presented to the audience within public space. Framing Theory historically links to Robert Entman's explanation of framing looking at clarification of fractured paradigm. According to Entman (1993), framing offers a way to describe power of communicating text. He argues that it involves selection and salience of some aspects of reality and make them more meaningful communicating texts. "Politicians seeking support are thus compelled to compete with each other and with journalists over news frames" (Entman, 1993: 55). Framing Theory explains how an idea or issue presented to the audience, influences the choice people make about how to process the information they receive. It is used to explain the creation of frame through introduction of news items with predefined and narrow contextualization. Frames can be designed to enhance understanding or used as cognitive shortcuts to link stories to the bigger picture.

According to Hemphill, Otterbacher and Shapiro (2013), political parties typically employ different frames within issue debates. With specific reference to the US political context, Hemphill et al. (2013: 5) discuss framing: "for instance, Republicans frame abortion discussions around the baby or child and specific abortion procedures by using words such as 'aby' and 'procedure', while Democrats frame the same issue around women and choice by using words such as 'women' and 'right' (Monroe, Colaresi & Quinn, 2008). Similarly, South African political parties employed frames relevant to South Africa. This included issues such as creation of more jobs, rural development, land reform, food security, education, health and fighting corruption. Two aspects that were of concern to this study were land and unemployment. This study examined how the ANC and EFF frame their positions on the issues land and unemployment. This was done through a thorough analysis of their advertisements on social media such as Facebook and print media such as Street posters.

1.5 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

1.5.1 Aim of the study

The aim of this study was to conduct a comparative analysis regarding how ANC and EFF framed issues of land and unemployment for their political advertisements in 2019 national elections.

1.5.2 Research objectives

- To compare the approaches of ANC and EFF on issues of land and unemployment in their marketing strategies used for advertisements.
- To determine the themes that emerge from ANC and EFF Street posters and Facebook advertisements.
- To assess the reactions of prospective voters towards political advertisements of ANC and EFF on the issues of land and unemployment.

1.5.3 Research questions

- How did the ANC and EFF address unemployment and land as core issues on their electoral posters and Facebook advertisements?
- How can people make sense of the themes on street posters and social media of political parties?
- What is the significance of the images that EFF and ANC used to highlight land and unemployment themes in their political advertisements?

1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this study, a qualitative research method was applied to collect and analyse data. Qualitative research is an approach for discovering and understanding the meaning individual or groups ascribe to a social or human problem (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). This study presented findings and made some analysis of data in words to draw themes.

Furthermore, the qualitative methodology enabled the researcher to explore and present significant reasons and point of views of interview respondents.

1.6.1 Research Design

The term 'research design' in this study was used to name the specific method that was used by the researcher to conduct the research. According to Akhtar (2016), research design is the structure of research in which all elements of research are included for the collection and analysis of data in manner that objectives and aim of the study can be attained. This study used exploratory design. Although the concept of political advertisements on street posters and Facebook is not new around the globe, the use of land and unemployment in South Africa was not predominant in previous political advertisements. Hence the current researcher aimed to gain new insight into this phenomenon in South Africa. According to Cornell (2018: 3) "Exploratory research design deals with "a topic that has not been researched before to give it tentative analysis or existing topic is explored in order to produce new ideas". The current topic was not researched before. Although studies were conducted about political advertisements, the uniqueness of this study was the issues in investigation to provide their implication on ANC and EFF advertisements.

1.6.2 Sampling

A non-probability sampling was used in this study, under which purposive sampling was adopted. Purposive sampling enabled the researcher to target only those units of analysis that were appropriate for the study. Purposive sampling is a random selection of participants within a population, whom the researcher deems to be more informative to the concept under enquiry. The purposive sampling strategies are typically used when focusing on a limited number of informants, who are selected strategically so that their in-depth information gives optimal insight into an issue about which little is known (Degu & Yigzaw, 2006). In this study, ANC and EFF Facebook election advertisements and street posters were perceived suitable as were both encapsulated in electoral campaign information of the selected parties. Thus, the current researcher sought to analyse such

information to generate findings regarding their impacts on the selected parties' campaigning strategies.

1.6.3 Data collection

The researcher used social media content which referred to Facebook adverts of the 2019 elections from the ANC and EFF Official Facebook pages. This occurred when the researcher, as complete observer, looked at how prospective voters' comment on the advertisements of the ANC and EFF. The comments that were regarded as influential of enhancing the findings of this study on the five selected online advertisements of both parties were screenshot. According to Cresswell (2017), complete observer looks at the situation from a distance. Digital ethnography plays crucial role on digital communication and it was used to guide the current research during online data collection. According to Varis (2014), digital ethnography is an approach to capture the nature and shape of communication process online where people circulate semiotic material and texts. Digitalisation has offered scholars of language and communication and ethnographers with opportunities to easily collect, store and sort data (e.g. by 'tagging' contents in electronic databases) 'logs' of interaction, i.e. "characters, words, utterances, messages, exchanges, threads, archives, etc." (Herring 2004: 15).

This study utilized a digital ethnography approach with analysis of political advertisements of EFF and ANC on Facebook to address research questions. According to Fraenkel and Wallen (2009), the advantage of analysing content in a digital ethnography is that it is unobtrusive and that the information that might be impossible generate through other methods is easily assembled and the researcher is not limited to time and space. Thereafter, the researcher collected data on street posters of ANC and EFF. In guidance of this study, four street posters from each party were selected based on the issues discussed in the current study. The digital ethnographer takes on the role of processing the collection of texts and graphics made available on digital mediums and engages in making sense of the meanings portrayed through texts or graphics. The research forwarded semi-structured interview questions to ANC and EFF political parties.

1.6.4 Data analysis

Language is the main tool that plays crucial role for politicians to win elections. Thus, the analysis of political discourse is equally important to understand the use of language by politicians. Furthermore, language creates social structure; it is used in social relations to build relationships to reveal power differences and social ideology (Fairclough, 2002). This study used thematic content analysis to reveal the themes on political advertisements of ANC and EFF in South Africa. Thematic content analysis attends "...to the repositions of frequency of features, their proportion within a text, consequent assumptions about significance. The percentage of advertisement of certain type within a newspaper may, for instance be significant" (Burton 2005:49).

According to Berger (1993), researchers generally perform thematic content analysis when they attempt to obtain a substantial amount of material to examine from comparative point of view. Thus, this study uses thematic content analysis to analyse the issues and emotional appeal in the political advertisements of ANC and EFF. Thematic content analysis is used to analyse political messages. As noted by Wigston (2009:35), "content analysis allows us to research situational, semantic and political aspects of messages". This method of analysis allowed the researcher to employ open coding when dealing with the collected data. Thematic content analysis enabled the researcher to interpret results, compare them with the existing theory and to draw conclusion based on the categories that emerged from the synthesised data. Since the thematic content analysis assumes that the researcher knows what important prior analysis is, it has some weakness because of the limit which other analysis can explain as part of the researcher (Ezzy, 2002). In this study, themes were determined deductively.

1.7 QUALITY CRITERIA

The quality criteria of the study are often regarded as the trustworthiness of the study. Sekhukhune (2013), citing Shank, (2006), defines the trustworthiness of the study as the

degree to which people can depend on and trust given research findings. The research earned trustworthiness through adherence to credibility, transferability, confirmability and dependability.

1.7.1 Credibility

Credibility in this study was earned by using relevant research methodology to ensure that research objectives of this study were attained. The researcher ensured that the sources' dates are correct and linked to political parties in focus of this study.

1.7.2 Confirmability

Confirmability implies that the researcher takes steps to demonstrate the findings that emerge from the data gathered and not their own predisposition (Shenton, 2004). This is the strategy to ensure neutrality and it means that the findings are free from bias. The researcher provided possible explanations and reason for choosing tools such as thematic content for this study. The researcher refrained from bias and only interacted with what was covered in ANC and EFF Street posters and Facebook advertisements to generate data.

1.7.3 Dependability

Dependability refers to the stability over time, for example, if the work is to be repeated in the same context, within the same week and with the same methods and participants, similar results should be obtained to ensure reliability (Guba & Lincoln, 1985). In order to address the issue of dependability more directly, the researcher reported the process under the study in detail to enable future researchers to discover the current research's result and method used.

1.7.4 Transferability

Transferability refers to the probability that certain research findings have meaning to others in similar situation (Guba & Lincoln, 1985). The researcher has the responsibility to provide a clear description of the research context and enough descriptive data to allow the reader to access and evaluate the applicability of data to another context (Shenton, 2004). Similarly, the researcher in the present study used proven data collection method to ensure that the findings are likely to be the same if another study is to be carried out under similar conditions in another environment.

1.8 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study seeks to play important role in South African political contexts by enhancing the understanding of the effects that political advertisements such as street posters and Facebook have on voters. This was achieved through an exploration of how politicians frame issues to persuade voters. The recommendations of this study are deemed viable for assisting political parties to improve their electoral campaigns. The establishment of this study was potent in helping African and international politicians to understand what implicate political marketing strategies. Furthermore, it is anticipated that this study will help in political contexts to educate prospective voters about the importance of their reactions to the electoral campaigns. This study also expanded the body of existing literature on political advertisements using street posters and social media platforms and lays foundation upon which other studies can be conducted pertaining political advertisements. The study also sought to create advocacy on the role of political issues as well as their influences on rationality of voting decision.

1.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATION

The researcher obtained ethical clearance letter from University of Limpopo, Turfloop Research Ethics Committee (TREC). The researcher ensured that identity of those who commented on the ANC and EFF Facebook advertisements during 2019 elections are

not disclosed. Moreover, the study ensured that both parties' electoral messages in this study are treated equally to avoid biasness. The interview respondents were informed about the aim of this study and its significance. Thus, the researcher informed the respondents that there would be no remuneration for their participation in the study. That is, their participation was voluntary, and should they wish to withdraw from the study, they have the rights to do so.

In addition, the security, confidentiality and protection of participants' identity were ensured to them. The major ethical concerns regarding social media big data research are the possible misuse and abuse of the information gathered. When conducting massive data processes and projects, it is nearly impossible to receive consent from every individual from whom the data are collected hence correct sampling method gets applied. In the case of this study, the researcher ensured that electorates who commented in the ANC and EFF Facebook advertisements are not disclosed but remain anonymous.

1.10 REPORT LAYOUT

Chapter one presents general introduction of the study. The discussion in this chapter outlines the detailed study background, problem statement, purpose of the study, ethical considerations and quality criteria. Furthermore, the chapter explains the theory applied together with existing literature and methodology to obtain the objectives of this study.

Chapter two provides cursory look in the existing literature on political advertisements. This chapter reveals and critiques the understanding and knowledge that other scholars have discovered regarding political campaigns. Credible scholarly works and relevant sources were used in this chapter to generate more understanding on political advertisement, political posters, electorates and the role of social media for political participation and engagement.

Chapter three outlines the study methodology and design chosen for this study. It also presents justifications to the researcher's choices of the applied methods and tools of data collection and analysis. The discussion of the procedures undertaken during data collection, analysis and interpretation has been linked to those of the pre-existing studies of this nature.

Chapter four presents the findings, analysis and interpretation of the data collected regarding the political advertisements of the ANC and EFF. The chapter begins by describing the important events that unfolded during political campaigning and uses thematic content and semiotic approaches on the data to develop themes. This is the chapter within which approaches of land and unemployment issues by ANC and EFF during pre-elections in 2019 are studied to determine the link with constituencies' decision.

Chapter five presents the summary of key findings of this study. Moreover, it provides recommendations that seek to assist scholars that deal with political literature and political parties on what they could improve in the content production of their political advertisements. The chapter further discusses the limitations and suggestions for the future in the continuum of this study

1.11 CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided an overall introduction of the study. It has highlighted the factors that motivated the existence of this study. The main problem that this study attempted to address has been identified and discussed in this chapter to give readers a glimpse of the originality of this dissertation. Lastly, this chapter has provided summative presentations of how chapters are structured in this study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews the literature for the study of comparative analysis of EFF and ANC's framing of the land question and unemployment during 2019 elections. The works of prominent authors in this subject were put together to draw firm arguments in the subject of this study. The methodologies and theories these authors used were carefully and critically assessed to understand the crucial role of the current study within burgeoning body of knowledge. In similar vein, the researcher evaluated the findings of other studies to illustrate how the current study will add to the ongoing research on political campaigns and adverts on street posters and social media. This study addressed political advertising of EFF and ANC and paid attention to how the issues of land and employment that formed their political marketing strategies for 2019 elections in South Africa.

The debate around the assessment of political advertising has been that political advertisements concentrate on images rather than the political issues of the time and hinder citizens from making informed decisions about which political parties to vote for (McNair 1999, 2007; Scammell & Langer 2006; Fourie 2008; Fourie & Froneman, 2003). This study analysed the findings of the existing literature to determine if ANC and EFF put much attention on the images of political principals more than issues of land and unemployment on their political advertisements. This assisted the researcher to take a stance on the findings in chapter four as linked to those of the reviewed literature.

2.2 POLITICAL ADVERTISING

Political advertising gives political parties the opportunity to transmit their political messages to the perspective voters through various communication platforms. It is through political marketing that parties achieve their objectives or fail to attain their wishes

after elections. According to Sindane (2010) the inception of political advertisement in South Africa started in 1994 which marked open elections when there was permission for parties to advertise on billboards, radio, newspapers and posters to reach the desired electorates. Therefore, it is important for researchers to study the main purpose and ideas that politicians consider when they run their campaigns. According to McNair (1999), political advertising refers to the purchase and use of advertising space, paid for at a commercial rate, to transmit political messages to an audience. McNair (1999: 92) argues that “The focus lies on the image, which in many cases results in emotional rather than logical vote choice, while a rational voter’s decision making is presumed to be linked to logical and issue-oriented information”. McNair’s (1999) argument helped the researcher to focus on the issues covered herein to note how the ANC and EFF framed land and unemployment issues at the forefront of their campaigns. It further assisted the researcher to analyse the parties’ advertisements to examine if there was rationality or attention considered on emotional appeal to win votes. Berger (2004) sees political advertising as a tool that enables politicians to send their messages to large number of people who tend to be apolitical and are not particularly interested in political campaigns. The above assertion suggests that political advertising allows parties’ electoral message to reach the citizens (Berger, 2004). However, a major problem with Berger’s perspective is that it does not address the potential impacts of political advertising on interested citizens.

Meanwhile, Kaid and Holtz-Bacha (2006:3) view political advertising as “A means through which parties and politicians represent themselves to the electorate mostly through mass media”. They argue that paid media give politicians the opportunity to drive their political ideas without constraints. Free media or free coverage is constrained by the usual journalistic constraints while paid media allow politicians, parties and sometimes other interested groups to decide how they want to present themselves to the target audience (voters) within public domain (Kaid & Holtz-Bacha, 2006). This argument implies that the responsibility of ensuring that the intended messages of the advertisements are not distorted lies solely in the hands of the politicians. Gurevitch and Bulmer (2000: 25) state that “Political communication could virtually be defined as the transmission of messages

and pressures to and from individuals who are demonstrably unequal: the highly powerful and pitifully powerless, the highly involved and the blissfully indifferent". This evidence gets supported by societal classes i.e., low, middle and upper classes and political communication anchors the whole democratic process of elections, as this is where political parties gain or lose electoral support due to lack of finance and political marketing strategies.

According to McQuail (2000:12), campaigns share, in varying degrees, the following characteristics: "It has specific aims and plans to achieve these, it has a definite time span, usually short, it is intensive and aims at wide coverage; it is not necessarily popular with its audience and has to be 'sold' to them, it is usually based on a framework of shared values". Thus, McQuail (2000) states that political election campaigns attempt to provide information and public service advertising through mass media. According to Africa (2010) political communication structures in a way that the dissemination of the message impact the political operation and ensure that electorates see the imperative of parties' existence. This postulate that, there is a need for effective campaign to help the party to win elections as the political advertisements.

Political advertising goes interchangeably with political communication. Political communication is understood as the role of communication during political process (Kaid, 2004). According to Lirola (2015), political communication is an interdisciplinary field of study that takes into consideration concepts such as rhetoric, sociology, political history, communication and political science. Political communication in political adverts helps the perspective voters to form a perception about political reality as political parties in democratic states are responsible for their electoral communication to canvass for their votes and this could be achieved through interpretation of political events. Therefore, Fourie and Foreman (2005) indicated that in the democratic dispensation country such as South Africa one should put focus on how the elected politicians connect cognitive and emotional messages to convince the constituencies. Thus, Matthes and Wirth (2011) argued that constituencies apply their emotions pertaining the covered issues and candidates by political parties to make political judgement and voting decision.

The views of Kaid and Lirola on political communication carry some weaknesses because they do not discuss the importance of political issues on the formation of political communication as well as the context's role. This then gives the researcher a task to question the production of political communication and political advertisements' content (the question of what is put in during political advertisements), which is discussed later in this study. There is symbiotic relationship between political adverts and communication. According to Norris (1999), political communication's role can be witnessed in the media where newspapers, radio and television news cover elections that the parties become part of. Norris's (1999) argument is important because communication cannot take place in a vacuum but needs tools to be carried out to the targeted audience. Furthermore, party-initiated communication involves political process as parties create campaign leaflets, canvassing and local elections meetings.

McNair (2007) defines political communication as purposeful communication about politics. This includes, "...all forms of communication undertaken by politicians and other political actors for the purpose of achieving specific objectives, communication addressed to those actors by non-politicians such as voters and newspaper columnists, and it also communication about the actors and their activities, as contained in news reports, editorials, and other forms of media discussion of politics" (McNair, 2007: 4). What is not yet clear is the impact of perspective voters on issues toward the development and construction of political adverts by parties hence this paper contests the fundamental role of these issues for succession of political adverts. According to Airne and Benoit (2007) as cited in Chari (2018) political parties when producing political advertisements focus more on policies and candidate characters as 62% addresses policy issues while 38% is on the character. This indicated that, there is a correlation between the issues and elected party representative during political campaign. Thus, Airne and Benoit (2007) posit that a political party that intends to win elections discusses issues that affect the electorates more than the candidate. But Teer-Tomaselli (2006) postulate that political advertisements as design to send the message to the electorates during campaigns

believed to be a powerful form of persuasion. A study conducted by Lees-Marshment (2001) discovered that political communication focuses on the imperative role of long run communication while political advertisements bind together campaigning, political communication, strategic marketing and issues promotion to influence the voters.

2.3 POLITICAL POSTERS

Posters are regarded as 'exceptionally important' by a significant number of political consultants worldwide (Plasser & Plasser, 2002). According to Norris (2000), one of the most important explanations for political parties' reliance on the posters is that parties do not have adequate access to other media. This occurs due to the cost of media for political parties to run the campaigns while the costs of political posters allow parties to reach their perspective voters irrespective of geographical location.

Johnston (2006) highlights how important it is to analyse the content of political posters to explain their functions and rhetorical strategies during the campaigns. This research is motivated by Johnston's investigation on political posters as a sample of political advertising. It is important to understand the meaning and effects of linguistic and visual elements of political adverts—which in this study will be of the EFF and ANC. According to Lirola (2015: 247), "Political posters are the means through which parties and candidates present themselves to the electorate". Originally, these political posters have been used for propaganda and persuasion during electoral campaigns (Popova, 2012). In addition, "Political posters can be used to manipulate or to inform, depending on the readers to add deconstruction meaning of posters" (Lirola, 2015: 247). Lirola (2015) further adds that posters, as political practices, have some depicted characteristics that other political genres do not have; they are seen many times during campaigns as they show political candidates for elections although audiences cannot hear from them directly. This point made by Lirola allows the researcher to carefully analyse the ANC and EFF posters to reveal characteristics depicted during elections and crafted of texts to persuade voters.

According to Dumitrescu (2011), political posters are channels of spreading political messages to citizens within public domain. They allow one to study the logical patterns of competition between political parties canvassing for elections. Political parties use posters as a way of reaching voters even those who cannot afford other media platforms in their geographical area but bearing in mind the strategic difference against their competitors for elections. Posters are thus argued to be the only form of electoral communication that use the well-defined physical space of community to send information about parties and candidates involved in the elections (Dumitrescu, 2011). This point affirms that posters reach even those who do not have access to the internet. Hence, in rural areas, parties put more posters to connect with voters at local sphere.

Accompanying posters, are slogans designed to give extra effects to the photographs of the candidates and political issues to achieve political objective. The slogans are usually words, phrases or sentences that politicians constantly recite in the course of presenting campaign speeches. Sharndama and Mohammed (2013: 61) argue that “The ultimate goal of the politicians’ use of posters and slogans is to make the electorate change by accepting their ideologies”. This could be achieved by using attractive photos of political principals and words that are appealing and emotive in the languages that perspective voters could read.

2.4 ONLINE PARTICIPATION, ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN AND SOCIAL MEDIA

Developed countries such as the United States of America and Germany prefer to use technology for facilitation of public participation during elections because of being technological savvy. In this regard, perspective voters become involved in political issues by through parties’ websites (Bonson, Royo & Ratkai, 2015). In some instances, countries such as Australia and other Western European local governments have migrated from traditional media to new media participation (Colineau, Paris & Vander Linden, 2012). In Australia citizens participate on Facebook pages or website of government to comment on the issues that need intervention of those who elected to occupy the office (Colineau et al., 2012: 178). However, online participation brings critical question because not all citizens are able to participate due to limitations of internet access (Warnock, 2007).

A study conducted in Germany also argues that online participation epitomizes changes in the current communication environment as most citizens resort to online platforms to share information and interact with politicians (Heinze, Schneider & Ferie, 2010). However, it should be taken into consideration that online participation even during elections period is not accessible to all citizens. Heinze et al. (2010: 371) further argue that online participation can increase citizens' participation in policy making. Politicians use social media as an effective tool to reach out to potential voters with political campaign messages (Baker, 2012; Chadwick & Howard, 2010; Biswas et al., 2014); while at the same time, citizens use social media to access political information, keep abreast of the latest political developments, and engage in the political process (Yang & DeHart, 2016). According to Mhlomi and Osunkunle (2016), there is a growing trend amongst young South Africans to communicate information about their political engagements using social media platforms.

Campaigning requires strategic planning to market the political parties to the target audience so that rationality of choice could be made through exposure of political advertising. Therefore, the advent of social media has expanded political parties' ability to communicate their issues and policies. According to Kaplan and Haenlein (2010), social media could be described as online tools and utilities that allow flow of communication, participation of users and online collaboration as it is based on a group of internet-based applications that build on ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0. Social media has reengineered models of interaction between politicians and the public by providing social information space. This allows political participation by enabling the public to use online platforms to influence political decisions, to address societal issues and to analyse policies of different political parties.

Thus, citizens become active by taking part in the political sphere as well as in other activities such as voting, partaking political discussion, campaign, attending political events and being attentive of political milieu (Bucy & Gregson, 2001). Based on the aforementioned information, it is clear that social media play a vital role in political system

as it propagates political environment and political discussion which keep citizens informed about political movement and intentions about social issues. This results in virtual community where individuals of similar interest; politics and political party together with their followers engage in knowledge exchange and information dissemination as they participate in political discourse. Moreover, politicians develop content on the Facebook pages created and form part of virtual community of Facebook users. What distinguishes SNSs in facilitating virtual communities, is that they enhance existing ties and the new development of connections and the socialization process encapsulates activities that are by the norm, culture and valued identified group through convergence (Boyd, 2006).

In her article, "Spot: The role of political advertising in Australia", Young (2002: 81) reveals that there has been a lack of interest among academic analysts in political advertising in Australia. She explains that advertising has a central role in the political process and argues that there is a need for it to be recognised in research. As in the case of Australia, this is also true of South Africa, hence it is important to study political advertising, particularly as South Africa has seen its rise on social networking sites. Social media become crucial instruments for political communication and allow the previously marginalized groups to participate in a democratic process (Javuru, 2013; Wasswa, 2013). Furthermore, social media facilitate political process for parties that were struggling to reach potential voters during election campaigns. The current study, however, focuses on the efficacy of Facebook as utilised by ANC and EFF for their 2019 political adverts before elections on the 8 May 2019. According to Masilo and Seabo (2014), the integration of traditional media and new media has enhanced political communication, which therefore provide opportunities to all political parties to reach their voters.

According to Statista (2019), South Africa had 31,18 million internet users who are active. Active in this context is used to refer to users who spent an average of 8 hours and 32 minutes surfacing the net on a daily basis. Moreover, a study conducted by Shava and Chinyamurindi (2018) in South Africa found that 41,80% males and 58,20% females use Facebook. The study of Enli and Skogerbo (2013) looks at how politicians use social media in Norway. Their study found three main motives of social media usage during

elections campaign: marketing, mobilization and dialogue between electorate and politicians. First aspect, marketing focuses on the positioning of political party within public sphere. This helps to keep followers updated about the political parties they follow. Mobilisation refers to the use of social media to encourage voters to participate in elections through casting their votes. Lastly, social media, in terms of dialogue, present an opportunity to connect and engage with voters through open discussions of issues that affect voters as well as receiving feedback on political issues. Therefore, a research conducted by Onumajuru and Chigona (2012) discovered that South African political parties migrated to social media to strengthen their political advertisements and campaigns despite the high cost of the data and low access of the internet. Thus, this study provided with an opportunity to research the impact of party-political messages of ANC and EFF using the issues of land and unemployment on social media towards the voting decision of the electorates. According to Mhlomi and Osunkunle (2017) social media had a power as quick medium to communicate with the electorates during campaigns for 2014 general elections as the politicians were able disseminate the messages.

Based on the above information, it is clear that South Africans are moving forward and are able to interconnect on the digital space to address issues within their varying political parties. According to Bosch (2013), South African political parties, the Electoral Commission and civil society are all stepping up on the use of social media to drive masses to the polls. On the 13th of November 2013, the Economic Freedom Fighters had the most likes on Facebook and was followed by the African National Congress. On the 6th of December 2019, the ANC had more Facebook likes i.e., 562 000 likes, whereas as the EFF had 495 000 likes (Facebook, 2019). This study pays attention to the issues their political adverts covered and the implication they had on the polls.

According to Brun and Highfield (2013), social media form part of election campaigns. They further argue that growth in social media use is more than likely to result in social media becoming present in political campaigns. During the election period in 2004, digital media were integrated in the communication system in the continent of Europe for parties

that contested for votes (Howard, 2006). The researcher looks at integration of digital media in the communication system of ANC and EFF during 2019 elections campaign in South Africa. Social media converge with traditional media to assist traditional media to assess public mood about elections (Kreis, 2016). The study of Kreis (2016) carries some weakness because it does not explain the influence of perspective voters' comments on online political pages. This refers to public mood assessment and its implication on parties contesting for elections.

Other studies have also examined the impact of digital media on different types of political engagements and suggested an overall positive effect (Bachmann, Kaufhold, Lewis & Gil de Zúñiga, 2010; Kenski & Stroud, 2006; Mossberger et al., 2008; Shah, Kwak, & Holbert, 2001; Weber, Loumakis, & Bergman, 2003). However, the issues that are carried by political parties' adverts on digital media were not concerned as they focused on how parties use media for mobilization and persuasion. According to Schill (2009) politicians strategise when sending the message to the electorates in the means of political communication using platforms that afford an opportunity for the preferred message to be disseminated. Thus, Ferguson (1999) insinuated that a choice of the medium of communication is based on the imperative and quickness of the message. Additionally, Steenkamp and Hyde-Clarke (2014) argued that social media valued as quick medium of communication by politicians because its power to disseminate news quickly and affordance of participation.

According to Vaccari (2008), the internet only benefits the political parties that have internet penetration. This occurs due to the cost of data and public relations for political parties to run their campaigns. Study conducted by Gibson and Ward (1998:2) of the 1997 United Kingdom general elections concluded that far from leaving minor parties behind from campaigning, the internet appears to be doing more to balance the publicity of these parties' political ideas to the electoral compared to other media particularly traditional media. This has been noted to utilize efforts to communicate with supporters (Gibson & Ward, 1998). This study will later introduce South African political parties (ANC and EFF) on the political issues they cover using internet to connect on Facebook for their political

advertises and consider how Facebook allowed them an opportunity to influence perspective voters' rational choice. Furthermore, the nature of Web 2.0 technologies like Facebook is viewed as an effective tool to provide a lifeline to disadvantaged minor political parties and allow a wider communication of political candidates with supporters and provides new hub of supports (Gueorguieva, 2008).

Although social media are seen as important factors in the process of campaigning for elections through political advertisements, some experts see social media as 'pointless babble' due to misperceptions that arise with information circulated due to both politicians and voters as producers (Pearanalytics, 2009; Tumasjan et al., 2010). According to Makala (2014), relying on social media to mobilise voters is often viewed as elitist, because people without internet access are left out. Makala's argument is true because political parties also use street posters for their marketing during elections to reach voters even in deepest rural areas where there are network problems. Meanwhile, depending on social media only is not enough for political communication. Candidates are accountable to their Facebook community for their decisions and this creates strong bond between electorate and candidates (Vergeer et al., 2011). During campaigns, political parties get the opportunities to provide immediate feedback and clarity to the audience through Facebook especially when there are misinterpretations of comments that can have bad influence on users' opinions and behaviours regarding the framing of political issues.

Voting pattern gets aligned with political marketing in which politicians' images and political issues play fundamental roles through social media and traditional media platforms. Through media, perspective voters are connected to political information before elections because politicians provide them with information about what a party intends to deliver and issues that need to be addressed for the sake of communities (Himmelboim, McCreery & Smith, 2013). Hence the current study looks on land and unemployment issues at all spheres of government used by ANC as the ruling party and EFF which is an opposition party. Social media help politicians to monitor and be aware of what is happening in public domain during electoral through the comments that the perspective voters write on the

social media pages as influenced by political advertisements (European Parliamentary Research Service, 2014).

This provides an overview of the importance of monitoring changes in information and communication flow during elections between politicians and the voters. The study of political advertising on social media should be considered fundamental. For example, Berger (2004: 87) chose to discuss political advertising because “Decisions about whom we vote for play a crucial role in determining what laws will be passed and how we will lead our lives”. Berger’s argument helps to justify the importance of this study because the current researcher focused on the issues raised by EFF and ANC, their relationship with political advertising to influence the perspective voters about the candidates’ positions as well as their involvement on these issues which affect perspective voters within public domain.

Concerning the use of social media during elections, the countries with high penetration of the internet tend to experience a flow of information with less constraints as compared to social groups with a lack of financial resources (Andersen & Medaglia, 2009). This point raised by Andersen and Medaglia assists the current study to check the effectiveness of internet penetration in South Africa and how it impacts political parties during elections. Several authors, including Sunstein (2001; 2009; 2017), Pariser (2011) and Gabler (2016) claim that the rise of the internet and social media has contributed to perspective voters’ political polarization. They contend that social media favour the creation of “echo chambers” in which individuals are exposed only to like-minded sources of information. Furthermore, by giving candidates the opportunity to tailor their messages to the specific views of each recipient, digital media may induce campaigns to take a more extremist tone.

2.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented literature review and focused much on the literature dealt with political advertising. In order to understand the role that current study could play within

the burgeoning knowledge, the works of various authors in the field have been discussed. Thus, the underlying viewpoint is that although there has been various perspective on political advertising from different authors, each political party's advertisements shaped by different aspects and thus political market strategy serves differently. Furthermore, a lot needs to be done in political advertisements regarding different issues that politicians use for campaigning. This includes to evaluate the unique implications for running campaigns in South Africa using social issues that truly affect the lives of citizens.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter dealt with existing literature on political advertisements focusing on the political issues, street posters and images used during electoral period. The current chapter discusses the methodology that was applied in this study. This study adopted the qualitative methodology which is exploratory in design. This study investigates a new phenomenon and has not been previously explored in South Africa. Subsequent to the research method, this chapter discusses the selected research design and outlines an overview population.

Thematic content analysis, semiotic analysis and purposive sampling were applied in this study to draw themes and meanings of signified and signifier from ANC and EFF's political advertisements produced as part of the 2019 national elections in South Africa. Furthermore, this chapter provided sequential synopsis of how data were collected and the instruments used during this process. This study focused on comparative analysis of how the ANC and EFF used land and unemployment issues during electoral period to influence constituencies. Comparative research is the most beneficial strategy for uncovering causal patterns of explanation. Comparative analysis helped the researcher to understand differences and convergence of land and unemployment role in the ANC and EFF political advertisements.

3.2 RESEARCH APPROACH

This study applied a qualitative research methodology to collect and analyse data. This methodology enabled the researcher to collect wider information regarding the political advertisements, paying attention to how the issues of land and unemployment were framed by ANC and EFF. The methodology was also used to explore the extents to which prospective voters interacted with Facebook political advertisements through observation of comments. A qualitative research methodology was invaluable to study the framing of land and unemployment. The researcher sought to vividly explore comments of

prospective voters and the issues mentioned above to discover their implication on the ANC and EFF's advertisements. According to Du Plooy (2001: 29), "A qualitative research has been assigned many different labels such as field research, naturalism, ethnography, anti-positivist approach, an alternative approach and constructivism". The above assertion implies that all concepts share common focus, which is to interpret and construct the qualitative aspects of communication experiences (Du Plooy, 2001). Leedy and Ormrod (2013) argue that a qualitative research approach involves looking at the characteristics or qualities of a particular phenomenon that cannot be easily reduced to numerical values. In an attempt to analyse and gain wider understanding of the political advertisements of ANC and EFF, this study intended to ascertain the key roles of land and unemployment promises, as well as how effective they were used to persuade the prospective voters. This study was exploratory as literature showed so far that no academic research has, thus far, been conducted on political advertisements with a special focus on the framing of land and unemployment issues concurrently.

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

Research design in this study refers to the specific method used by the researcher to conduct the investigation. This study used exploratory design. Although the concept of political advertisements on street posters and Facebook is not new in South Africa and internationally, the use of land and unemployment in South Africa was not predominant in previous political advertisements. Hence, the researcher's aim was to gain new insights into this phenomenon. According to Cornell (2018: 3), exploratory research design deals with "...a topic that has not been researched before to give it tentative analysis or existing topic is explored in order to produce new ideas". The current topic was not researched before. Although studies have been conducted about political advertisements, the uniqueness of this study lies at the centre of exploring how the promises of land and unemployment are implicated in the ANC and EFF's advertisements. Hence this study is particularistic because it focused on how land and unemployment issues were framed as well as the reactions of prospective voters through their online comments on the political parties' social media pages.

The research design also included the digital ethnography because the researcher collected data online on the Facebook pages of ANC and EFF. Moreover, the role of the researcher on Facebook was of onlooker or observer as the researcher was not commenting on the advertisements of both parties. According to Fraenkel and Wallen (2009), the major advantage of analysing content in digital ethnography is that, unnoticeable and information that might be impossible to be gained through other methods is easily assembled and the researcher is not limited to space and time. Thus, thematic content analysis was used to draw themes emerging from issues discussed regarding land and unemployment. One of the advantages of using thematic content analysis is that it is cost-effective and helps the researchers to use emerging data effectively (Creswell, 2017). The important aspect of thematic content analysis is that it “...allows us to research situational, semantic and political aspects of messages” (Wigston, 2009: 34).

3.4 POPULATION

The population of this study was political posters of all the political parties which appeared on the South Africa ballot paper on the 08th of May 2019. Myers (2007: 33) states that “Population may refer to the entire group of people, events or things of interest that the researcher wishes to investigate”. The researcher investigated the issues of land and unemployment on how they were concurrently framed during political campaigns in South Africa. Hence, the researcher chose ANC and EFF because used land and unemployment issues to gain voting interests of prospective voters. Similarly, Bless, Higson-Smith and Sithole (2013) regard population as the whole set of objects or participants whom the researcher wants to investigate to determine certain characteristics. The researcher chose the EFF and ANC political parties because the investigation of the study was on how the issues of land and unemployment played a role for parties’ campaigning in 2019. Moreover, the researcher wanted to conclude if the ongoing debate by scholars that political parties focus more on images of politicians during political contestation than reality issues hold factual point. Other political parties in this study were omitted because the study focused on the issues of land and unemployment which were not predominantly featured and pushed at the rank by other

parties (Business tech, 2018). The researcher intended to perform a comparative case study of predominantly black parties with black supporters and wanted to see and evaluate how they compared and addressed similar issues and themes.

3.5 SAMPLING

This study applied purposive sampling where the researcher had the prerogative to select participants who would yield the relevant information. Purposive sampling, as non-probability sampling technique, helped the researcher to select political parties' advertisements on street posters and social media pages. According to Kumar (2002: 229) "Sampling is the process of selecting a sample from a bigger group as the basis for estimating or predicting prevalence of an unknown piece of information, situation or outcome regarding the bigger group". Furthermore, Kumar (2002) claims that the focus of one's study is to find answers to research questions as they relate to the total study population. According to Guarte and Barrios (2017), purposive sampling is the random selection of few participants within the entire population who have the likelihood to be more informative to the phenomenon under enquiry.

The political advertisements which were selected from EFF and ANC were those that had the issues of land and unemployment as they were fit for the themes of this study. Thus, the researcher focused on how the issues of land and unemployment were framed to win prospective voters' choice during election period. The purposive sampling technique is selected when focusing on a limited number of informants who are selected strategically so that their depth information gives optimal insights into an issue about which little is known (Degu & Yigzaw, 2006).

The purposive sampling was preferred because the researcher put emphasis on two issues and yearned to know how parties framed those issues to politically communicate to prospective voters and canvass for elections. Bornman (2009: 447) acknowledges that "Purposive or judgmental sampling implies that elements are selected on the basis of knowledge of the population and the aims of the study". ANC and EFF's 8 street posters

(4 for each party) that were used during campaigns for 2019 general elections together with their 10 Facebook political advertisements (5 for each party), formed part of this study to draw themes and explore their implication on electoral campaign processes. Moreover, they were used to build understanding on how the land and unemployment issues were framed by ANC and EFF with specific focus on their implications to rationality of voting choice by prospective voters—as was judged through comments.

3.5.1 Sampling political parties and their adverts

By applying purposive sampling technique as the ground method of selection in the study, the researcher selected two political parties which participated in 2019 general elections. The selection of these two political parties was based on the issues framed, specifically land and unemployment. For this reason, the researcher selected ANC and EFF. The second aspect that led to sampling the parties was the implication of land and unemployment issues together with images of politicians in their advertisements. The selection of these political parties was to ensure that all issues the researcher aimed to explore were covered to determine the findings and recommendations. The researcher preferred online advertisements of ANC and EFF and street posters which portrayed promises of land and job creation and also that had character appeal. This was because the researcher studied both issues simultaneously and discovered that the Democratic Alliance (DA) did not predominantly involve the issue of land expropriation in their political advertisements as it has white majority members who own land for generational employment and wealth of independent economic stability.

3.6 DATA COLLECTION APPROACH

The researcher observed the Facebook comments to evaluate prospective voters' reactions and comments on Facebook advertisements of ANC and EFF. Moreover, the researcher observed the interactions of prospective voters with advertisements uploaded. The decision to use observation was raised from the need to study prospective voters' interactions with political parties' electoral advertisements through comments. The researcher maintained a position of an onlooker by monitoring daily interactions of

prospective voters with the advertisements. According to Cresswell (2017), complete observer looks at the situation from a distance. This is typical in situations where the researcher observes a public event in full view of the public, although they may be unaware of being observed. The primary advantage of observational approach is the nature of data generated and interpreted to explore the relationship between life activities and political advertisements.

According to DeMunck and Sobo (1998), the disadvantages of observation include that the observer is not always knowledgeable of the potential happenings and the interpretation of data could not be hindered when one observes what he or she does not know. In this study, the researcher intended to explore the implications of political advertisements and how they affected the prospective voters' choice. Furthermore, the researcher was interested in the political advertisements and how the prospective voters associated with them as active participant through comments. The researcher also gathered a data through selection of street posters used by the ANC and EFF to campaign.

The selection of the posters was guided by the issues the researcher intended to study which reflected on the ANC and EFF political advertisements. A total of 8 posters in Limpopo was selected and analysed. The researcher only selected English-written street posters because majority of posters both in Rural and Urban areas by the political parties were in English. The researcher also relied on online political advertisements of ANC and EFF on Facebook pages to examine prospective voters' reactions through comments. Thus, for online data gathering, digital ethnography was applied to process the meanings of texts (comments of prospective voters), captions, slogans and graphics made available by ANC and EFF to inform the voters. Underberg and Zorn (2013:10) claim that "digital ethnography is the method of representing real-life cultures through combining the characteristics features of digital media with the elements of the story".

According to Boellstorff, Nardi, Pearce, and Taylor (2013), ethnographies digitally, often begin with visits informally to the sites of interest which helps the ethnographer to decide

on the research questions and objectives of the study informed by the online interaction of the users. This is because, users of social media are not passive but active participants. They are able to reflect on the advertisements the political parties post during elections and create online societies through engagements. According to Clark and Hair (2003) observation which demands researcher to obtain first-hand experience of online culture has pivotal role towards the success of virtual ethnography research. Moreover, Hine (2000) postulated that virtual ethnography describe dialogues through the internet as social interactions. This suggested that virtual ethnography helps to understand the communication, the exchange of the information and communities in online context (Jones, 1998). The collection of the data effectively through observation as part of virtual ethnography need a researcher to be online so that the interactions among community members could be observed in related to the shared information (Browne, 2003). According to Yildirim and Simskek (2006) researcher using ethnography can be able to describe the behaviors that exists in the environment. This served imperative role when this study was carried out to understand the reaction of the constituencies towards EFF and ANC political advertisements' emotional and cognitive appeals using the issues of land and unemployment.

Moreover, Varis (2014) digital ethnography is applicable to capture the nature and shape of communication process online where people circulate semiotic material and texts. Digitisation has offered scholars of language, communication and ethnography opportunities to easily collect, store and sort data by 'tagging' contents in electronic databases and 'logs' of interaction, such as "...characters, words, utterances, messages, exchanges, threads, archives, etc." (Herring 2004: 15). The expanded of ethnography and its diversity has led to disjuncture regarding approaches and helped the researcher to understand the relational believe of prospective voters on political persuasion during electoral period (Small, 2009).

The researcher also relied on semi-structured interview data that were sent to the EFF and ANC. O'Keeffe, Buytaert, Mijic, Brozovic and Sinha (2015) argue that a significant advantage of semi-structured interviews is the opportunity for previously unknown

information to emerge. Studies about political advertisements focusing on the relationship between prospective voters' reactions, issues used by political parties in South Africa were not conducted. This gave the current study an opportunity to reveal such relationships and discuss how they interact to influence voters' decisions.

According to Mason (1996) interviews in the study assist research to have thorough understanding about phenomenon under investigation and research respondents' detailed data within the context of inquiry. Interviews are one of the rich tools especially when a researcher conduct them physically to interact with the participants and observe their facial expression during the respond. This study intended to collect data through the interviews physically with both the national spokesperson of ANC and EFF regarding the 2019 political advertisements. The occurrence of COVID-19 pandemic forced the researcher to conduct the interviews telephonically and of which the EFF participant could not respond as planned while ANC national spokesperson couldn't respond but managed to get provincial spokesperson in Limpopo Province. The researcher was concerned in understanding why the political parties framed the issues of land and unemployment in their political advertisements in 2019 and if the production of the advertisements content include the reactions from the constituencies as this has effect on voting behavior.

Moreover, Driscoll, Appiah-Yeboah, Salib and Rupert (2007) argued that interviews in the qualitative research provide insight understanding of behavior and understanding of phenomenon which is revealed by the assessment of the responses. According O'Keeffe et al (2015) semi-structured interviews provide a means of developing information-rich data sets in a timely and resource-efficient manner. The researcher explored themes emerging from ANC and EFF later through evaluation of their political advertisements on Facebook and street posters. The semi-structured interview is often perceived as an easy data collection method (Wengraf, 2001). However, the researcher considered the issues of land and unemployment when preparing semi-structured interview questions to the ANC and EFF. Moreover, Holloway and Wheeler (2010) motivates that semi-structured interview helps to explore the research area by collecting similar types of information from participants and maintain the standard of fairness. The researcher informed the

interviewee about the nature of the study, aims and objectives. Thus, participant signed a consent form before the interview could be conducted.

3.7 DATA ANALYSIS

Language plays a significant role for politicians to persuade voters. Thus, analysis of political discourse was important for the researcher to understand the use of language by politicians. Furthermore, language creates social structure; it is used in social relations to build relationships to reveal power differences and social ideology (Fairclough, 2002). This study used thematic content analysis to analyse the themes and issues that appeared in the political advertisements of ANC and EFF. Thematic content analysis was used mainly to analyse land and unemployment issues that appeared in the political advertisements on Facebook pages, while semiotic analysis was used to analyse the data that emerged from street posters of ANC and EFF. Thematic content analysis attends "...to the repositions of frequency of features, their proportion within a text, consequent assumptions about significance. The percentage of advertisement of certain type within a newspaper may, for instance be significant" (Burton 2005: 49).

The researcher applied semiotic analysis on the street posters of the ANC and EFF to determine the extent to which involved images and issues promoted the parties to the constituencies. This was to indicate what the images and linguistic reveal about the ANC and EFF's intention and whether the overall message embedded on the street posters appeal to the wider constituencies. According to Van Leeuwen (2005), it is imperative for researchers to correlate the images and language applied on the posters rather than interpreting them in isolation. Thus, it was useful for a researcher to use thematic content analysis to reveal themes that emerged from Facebook advertisements of ANC and EFF in connection with the constituencies' reactions towards articulated messages that parties framed. The applicability of triangulation through the use of semiotic analysis and thematic analysis were imperative for the study as semiotic applied to analyse texts and images parties deemed worth to influence the voting decision of the constituencies.

3.7.1 Thematic content analysis

According to Berger (1993), researchers generally perform content analysis when they try to obtain a substantial amount of material to examine, and they do it from comparative point of view. Thus, in this study, content analysis was used to analyse the issues and emotional appeal in the political advertisements of ANC and EFF. Thematic content analysis helped the researcher to deal with the analysis of messages. Hence, the main aim of this study was to analyse the content of the messages as a unit of data that included both physical and syntactic units. This assisted to determine themes that emerged while studying the collected data.

Thematic content analysis was used to analyse political messages by scholars such as Wigston (2009: 35) who maintain that content analysis "...allows us to research situational, semantic and political aspects of messages". It is also used to employ open coding when one deals with data collected. Thematic content analysis allows for the interpretation of results in conjunction with the existing theory and draw conclusion because categories emerge from the data. Thematic content analysis has some weakness because it provides limited space for other voices from the researcher's part and subject to increased error, particularly when relational analysis is used to attain a higher level of interpretation (Ezzy, 2002). In this study, themes were determined deductively.

The researcher deemed that a virtuous way to structure the results section of this study was to use the main categories or themes which emerged from the data as subheadings as supported by Hancock, Ockleford and Windridge (2009). Thus, the researcher formulated themes following 'A Step-by-Step Guide to Qualitative Data Analysis' by O'Connor and Gibson, (2009). The five steps of thematic content analysis that helps researcher during data analysis are as follows:

Step 1

Organizing data: in this step, the researcher studied the collected data systematically and vigorously internalized it to familiarize it with the contents of the research, including the research questions and objectives.

Step 2

Finding and organizing ideas and concepts: the data and responses that link to a particular research question or objective are grouped together. This step involved sorting findings into different categories in relation to the aims of the study.

Step 3

Building over-arching themes in the data: this step involved the formulation or naming of relevant themes in which the collected data is distributed. This entailed the initial process of labelling themes. This stage was aided by the connecting answers and the recurring data as arranged in Step 2.

Step 4

Ensuring reliability and validity in the data analysis and in the findings: this step involved reviewing the analysed data for the purpose of refining, correcting mistakes and modifying the themes. In this stage, the researcher renamed the themes, re-arranged the themes, and reduced data in some themes.

Step 5

Finding possible and plausible explanations of the findings: this was the final step which involved the narration of the research findings in a thematic order as constructed from step one to step four. In a nutshell, this was the final writing pertaining the discussion of the research findings.

3.7.2 Semiotic analysis

This study used semiotic analysis to reveal the meaning of signifier and signified (symbols and signs) that the ANC and EFF used in their street posters. The researcher wanted to understand the relation between semiotics and how street posters were designed to assist parties in communicating electoral messages to the constituencies. Since addressing economic debacle became the focal point of ANC and EFF electoral contests, the researcher aimed at revealing the meaning around issues of land and unemployment that contributed towards economic growth. Semiotic analyses in a qualitative study play an important role as it contributes 'to inform the processes leading to the understanding of the product, user and relation between both' (Coelho & Figueredo, 2010: 334). Emotional appeal on street posters of political parties arises from a key issue that resonate with the

constituencies, and the use of symbols determine whether a political party speaks to social reality. The semiotic analysis enables the study of impressions and emotions as referential relations (Vihma, 2003).

Adopting semiotic analysis assisted this study to examine how graphics and texts used by EFF and ANC framed for the purpose of persuading prospective voters and prompted emotional appeal. Chandler (2007) argues that semiotic is the name for the study of signs that consists of words, sounds and even body language. Pictures and texts were used interchangeably to communicate issues to the constituencies during electoral period and were mixed in many ways. When words are recognised as oral signs—where their meanings have been arbitrarily assigned used for any purpose of communications, semiotic occurs as the primary concern of the whole issue, concerning itself with all domains of language using ranging from semantics to pragmatics, literary studies, social and scientific studies (Nuriah, Muhammad & Musfirah, 2021).

3.8 QUALITATIVE QUALITY CRITERIA

The quality criteria of the study are often regarded as the trustworthiness of the study. Sekhukhune (2013) citing Shank (2006) defines the trustworthiness of the study as the degree to which people can depend on and trust given research findings. The research earned trustworthy through adherence to credibility, transferability, confirmability and dependability.

3.8.1 Credibility

Credibility in this study was ensured through the use of relevant research methodology to ensure that research objectives of this study can be attained. The researcher ensured that the dates of the sources used in the study are correct and link to political parties in focus of this study.

3.8.2 Confirmability

Confirmability implies that the researcher takes steps to demonstrate the findings that emerge from the data gathered and not their own predisposition (Shenton, 2004). This is the strategy to ensure neutrality and it means that the findings are free from bias. The researcher provided possible explanations and reasons for selecting tools such thematic content for this study. The researcher refrained from bias regarding what was covered by ANC and EFF Street posters and Facebook advertisements for electoral campaigning.

3.8.3 Dependability

Dependability refers to the stability over time. For example, if the work is to be repeated in the same context, within the same week with the same methods and participants, similar results should be obtained to ensure reliability (Guba & Lincoln, 1985). In order to address the issue of dependability more directly, the researcher reported the process under the study in detail to enable future researchers to discover the current study's result and method used.

3.8.4 Transferability

Transferability refers to the probability that certain research findings have meaning to others in similar situation (Guba & Lincoln, 1985). The researcher has the responsibility to provide a clear description of the research context and enough descriptive data to allow the reader to access and evaluate the applicability of data to another context (Shenton, 2004). Similarly, the current researcher used proven data collection method to ensure that the findings are likely to be the same if another study is to be carried under similar conditions in another environment.

3.9 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

According to Silvermann (2004) theory has an imperative role in a research as the findings of the study are assessed in connection with a theoretical perspective from which it emanates and contribution. Moreover, theories are needed in studies to address the social issues and present the necessity findings, (Silvermann, 2004). This indicated that, a research cannot be conducted without a theoretical framework. Rengasamy (2016) argued that a theory provide understanding of the investigated phenomenon as used lens and allow the emergence of new knowledge from the research through its guidance and compilation of ideas. Thus, Haugh (2012) supported the studies above as postulated that better theories applied in the research have the impact of improving the practice and field of investigation. Additionally, Fourie (2007) postulated that theory helps people to understand phenomenon through give description, interpretation, evaluation and prediction. It is clear that a theory sharpens and form part of our cognitive appeals to understand phenomenon and its relativeness with everyday life. To understand the implication of political advertisements on voting decision of the constituencies, it was essential for this research to investigate the platforms used by political parties and how the policy issues were framed. Therefore, this investigation includes contextualising channels used by the EFF and ANC, the disseminated messages around the issues of land and unemployment and the reactions of the constituencies towards these parties' political advertisements. According to Bennet and Entman (2001) political advertisements which involve cognitive and emotional appeals are driven by media to reach the targeted constituencies within a public domain.

The purpose of this study was to examine issues framed by the EFF and ANC for their political marketing. For this purpose, the researcher employed one perspective which is the Framing theory. The researcher started with an overview of framing before discussing Framing theory. In Framing Analysis, Goffman (1974) argues that individuals work actively to make sense of our experience by classifying, labelling and interpreting them. "We use frames to locate, perceive, identify and label" information (Goffman, 1974: 12). According to Entman (1993: 52), "framing refers to selection of some aspects of the perceived reality

and make them more salient in communicating text. This is done in such a way as to raise particular problem, definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and treatment recommendation for the idea described". Different political parties typically employ various frames within issues debated. For instance, ANC and EFF discussed land issue differently for their debate and advertising. According to Ferguson (1999) the more reports pertaining the political leaders stand long in the media space, electorates are able to perceive elected candidates based on the covered issues.

Framing theory is holistic in nature as it expresses how something is presented to the audience within the public space. This theory is applied in this study to investigate how the ANC and EFF frame issues of land and unemployment during their political marketing to persuade voters. The framing theory has historical links to Entman's explanation of framing looking at clarification of fractured paradigm. According to Entman (1993), framing offers a way to describe power of communicating texts. He argues that it involves selection and salience of some aspects of reality and make them more meaningful in communicating texts. "Politicians seeking support are thus compelled to compete with each other and with journalists over news frames" (Entman, 1989: 55). This occurs pivotally during the framing of societal issues by politicians in their manifestos, street posters and adverts on social networking sites. According to Arowolo (2017) framing theory indicate that the way something is presented to the audience influences the choices people make pertaining the processing of the disseminated information. This indicated that framing theory focuses on the framing are made by introducing issues/items with predefined and narrow contextualisation. Frames can be created to enhance and understanding about particular concept/issue and can also use as cognitive appeal to the audience, (Arowolo, 2017).

Framing Theory explains the way ideas or issues presented to the audience influence the choices that people make about how to process that information. It explains the creation of frame through introduction of news items with predefined and narrow contextualization. Frames can be designed to enhance understanding or used as cognitive shortcuts to link stories to the bigger picture. This theory further explains the role of texts and selection

that occurs when politicians present them to the target audiences. Thus, this theory was used in this study to determine possible links between framing of texts and pictures presented on the political adverts.

According to Hemphill, Otterbacher and Shapiro (2013), political parties typically employ different frames within issue debates. With specific reference to the US politics, Hemphill et al, (2013:10) state the following about framing: “for instance, Republicans frame abortion discussions around the baby or child and specific abortion procedures by using words such as “baby” and “procedure,” while Democrats frame the same issue around women and choice by using words such as women and right (Monroe, Colaresi, & Quinn, 2008). Similarly, South African political parties employed frames relevant to South Africa and its issues such as the creation of more jobs, rural development, land reform, food security, education, health and corruption. However, this study only focused on the issues of land and employment and how the ANC and the EFF framed their positions on the issues. This was done through an in-depth analysis of their advertisements on social media platform (Facebook) and print media (Street posters).

3.10 ETHICAL CONSIDERATION

The researcher obtained the ethical clearance certificate from University of Limpopo, Turfloop Research Ethics Committee (TREC). Since the researcher collected data on social media and observed prospective voters’ comments which were used for this study, it was important to protect them. Therefore, it leaves no spat that prospective voters’ names were withheld, and dates of comments were not disclosed for their protection. The researcher sent semi-structured interview questions to political parties of ANC and EFF and informed them that there would not be any form of remuneration for their participation. That is, their participation is voluntary, and should they wish to withdraw from the study, they have the rights to do so. In addition, the security, confidentiality and protection of participants’ identity are not disclosed.

The major ethical concerns regarding big data on social media research are the possible misuse and abuse of the information gathered. When conducting massive data processes and projects, it is nearly impossible to receive consent from every individual from whom the data are collected, hence correct sampling method was applied in this study. In this case the researcher will secure the privacy of the individuals and ascertain that the information does not end up in the wrong hands and is not used for criminal purposes. Thus, the identities of commenters and interview respondents were not disclosed. Furthermore, ANC and EFF street posters and Facebook advertisements were analysed vividly equal without taking sides. All of the above ethics were constructed and followed in consideration of the sensitivity of the issues of land and unemployment.

3.10 CONCLUSION

To address the aim and questions of this study, a relevant research method was selected and discussed in this chapter. The discussion clarified how important a qualitative exploratory design was for this study. This chapter further discussed the methods that were applicable and were enabling of the researcher to achieve the goal for this study. This chapter gave rationale for the adoption of all research methodology, design, techniques and resources used for data collection and analysis. This chapter further discussed the theoretical framework for the study. It was established that for the purpose of the study, the framing theory was relevant for yielding the required data. The relevance of the Framing theory was its holistic characteristics as these would assist in examining the phenomenon of political advertising on ANC and EFF Street posters and Facebook pages. The next chapter presents the analysis and findings of this study.

CHAPTER 4

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter explained the methodology that was used to gather and analyse data. The current chapter deals with the presentation, analysis and interpretation of the collected data. The data presentation, analysis and interpretation processes are done respectively to address the questions and objectives of the study. This study intended to investigate how ANC and EFF comparatively framed the issues of land and unemployment during electoral period to the constituencies in 2019. It is through this chapter that the researcher connects the reader with the approaches of ANC and EFF to land and unemployment issues. Thus, themes emerged and were based on the parties' political advertisements and the involvement of constituencies during electoral campaigns on social media debates and street posters. This includes critical discussions regarding the images and themes that emerged from the Facebook pages of both parties and their street posters. This chapter gives the reader a glimpse of what the parties stood for during 2019 general elections.

Both parties used hashtags on their political messages to emphasise them to the constituencies. "Hashtag is a word or phrase preceded by a hash sign (#), used on social media websites and applications, especially Twitter, to identify messages on a specific topic" (Laucuka, 2018:57). According to Burns (2017), hashtags are important for social media users including organisations as they play critical role from ironical point of view to marketing. Furthermore, the study addresses the framing of land question and unemployment issues as covered in the advertisements of ANC and EFF as part of political marketing for the 2019 plebiscite. Thus, the researcher analysed the data communally through a thematic and semiotic lens, focusing more on the issues of land and unemployment together with politicians' personalities.

Through interpretation or analysis of data, the researcher used materials that stroke robust attention to generate a variety of relevant themes. ANC used its colours black, gold

and green, whereby the gold colour speaks about minerals that are available in South Africa and can benefit people, the green colour signifies vegetation which can result from owning land while the black colour signifies black majority. On the other hand, the EFF used red, yellow, green and black colours. The Red colour signifies the party's fight for economic emancipation and the rights of black people, black signifies that it stands and represents black population while yellow signifies happiness and sunshine that land expropriation without compensation could bring hope to the people. The party's logo has an African map that represents commitment to Africa and its people, green colour represents the fertile land of Africa which must be restored to its rightful owners.

According to Kaid and Holtz-Bacha (1995), any analysis of political advertisements must pay attention to the difference of political structures, processes, cultures and the media systems in which political marketing takes place during elections. Scholars have argued that specific features of the media play a crucial role when political parties design political advertisements (Bachmann, Kaufhold, Lewis & Gil de Zúñiga, 2010; Kenski & Stroud, 2006; Mossberger, Tolbert & Mcneal., 2008; Shah, Kwak & Holbert, 2001). In this study, Facebook and street posters were chosen as hubs for ANC and EFF political advertisements in South Africa. Lastly, the study performs data analysis to disclose the impact of political advertisements to the constituencies. ANC and EFF chosen for this study reason being the research studies the framing of the issues of land and unemployment that were predicated in the parties' political advertisements. This study concurrently focuses on land redistribution and unemployment which is rife in South Africa and Democratic Alliance (DA) as the main opposition didn't form part of this study as the party side-lined the issue of land because majority of white people have a land. Many black people don't have land and EFF which is the second opposition advocated for land expropriation that resulted in ANC using land issue for shielding votes that come from constituencies.

4.1.1 Contextualisation of anticipated themes, the applicability of thematic content analysis and semiotic analysis

The chapter started with the presented data that emanated from political advertisements of ANC and EFF on the Facebook with planned messages for the electorates. This focused on the framed issues of land and unemployment and pay attention on electorates' meaning and reactions towards the parties. Moreover, take into cognisance if the messages on parties' political advertisements affected the electorates' voting decision. Hence, the researcher ensured that the online political advertisements of the parties are studied and the connections with the comments of the electorates pertaining how the land and unemployment issues were articulated through emotional and cognitive appeals. The aim of this study was to conduct a comparative analysis regarding how ANC and EFF framed issues of land and unemployment for their political advertisements in 2019 national elections. Consequently, the presented findings of the study correlated with the objectives as deliberated in chapter one: to compare the approaches of ANC and EFF on the issues of land and unemployment in their marketing strategies used for advertisements, determine the themes that emerged from the ANC and EFF Facebook advertisements as well as street posters content and assess the reactions of prospective voters towards political advertisements of ANC and EFF on the issues of land and unemployment.

Therefore, the assessment was done using theoretical framework under which framing theory chosen to critically discuss how the ANC and EFF prioritised the issues of land and unemployment. This was to provide meaningful insights on what the political party values during electoral campaigns and also reveal the voting reactions of the electorates and whether political advertisements affected the voting decision. One can argue that electoral campaigns in the democratic South Africa are used to gain electoral support by political parties and that, the decision of electorates is influenced by concern on the country's job status, economy, political fabric, corruption and elected candidate's historical background. Hence, it was imperative for the researcher in this study to reveal how electorates reacted and interpreted political advertisements of the ANC and EFF pertaining general elections and check if the overall parties' message resonated with them and influenced the decision of party preference during votes casting.

According to Berger (1993), researchers generally perform content analysis when they try to obtain a substantial amount of material to examine, and they do it from comparative point of view. Thematic content analysis allows for the interpretation of results in conjunction with the existing theory and draw conclusion because categories emerge from the data. The researcher deemed that a virtuous way to structure the results section of this study was to use the main categories or themes which emerged from the data as subheadings as supported by Hancock, Ockleford and Windridge (2009). Thus, the researcher formulated themes following 'A Step-by-Step Guide to Qualitative Data Analysis' by O'Connor and Gibson, (2009). Step 1: Organising data; in this step, the researcher read the transcripts of the comments of the prospective voters from the political advertisements of the ANC and EFF. Step 2: Finding and organising ideas and concepts; this step involved sorting findings into different categories in relation to the aims of the study. The researcher started organising and expressing data in a chronological way which involved the applicability of coding deduction. Step 3: Building over-arching themes in the data: this step involved the formulation or naming of relevant themes in which the collected data is distributed.

The researcher examined the codes related to the reactions of prospective voters towards the ANC and EFF advertisements on Facebook and how this influenced their voting decision. This was to ensure that codes are organised in inclusive themes responded to the research questions and objectives of this study. Step 4: Ensuring reliability and validity in the data analysis and in the findings; this step involved reviewing the analysed data for the purpose of refining, correcting mistakes and modifying the themes. In this stage, the researcher renamed the themes, re-arranged the themes, and reduced data in some themes. Step 5: Finding possible and plausible explanations of the findings; the researcher indicated the imperative of the themes and the results were reported in correlation with the emerged insights such as land and online debates, political personalities and corruption, political issues and candidate and theme, the unemployment and economy debate on political debate.

The political posters are informative and allow the reader to interpret the information on them based on the images and policies. Thus, posters reflect the intention of the political parties and applied communicative tactics. The researcher applied semiotic analysis on the street posters of the ANC and EFF to determine the extent to which involved images and issues promoted the parties to the constituencies. This was to indicate what the images and linguistic reveal about the ANC and EFF's intention and whether the overall message embedded on the street posters appeal to the wider constituencies. According to Van Leeuwen (2005), it is imperative for researchers to correlate the images and language applied on the posters rather than interpreting them in isolation. Hence, O'Sullivan (2006) postulate that positioning of the subject of analysis becomes a key in the study through the nature of the medium of communication and this supported by Framing theory which focuses on the categorising of what seen as importance and create a meaning out it towards the audience. Moreover, Hartley (2004) argued that images on the posters are seen as visual metaphor through which the designers wish to express the message and this study emphasised what the images, colours and texts of the ANC and EFF meant during the South African 2019 general elections. Political engagement serves fundamental role to influence the voting behaviour of the prospective voters and the applicability of emotional appeal and the depiction of human emotions to create a sense of attraction on the street posters enhance the effectiveness of party posters.

According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) the use of colours on the posters frame objects in a pictorial products that connect images to the signifiers while give a reader glimpse of the meaning pertaining the message that is framed. Thus, a symbol subjected to the cultural interpretation of the designer of the poster (Emmison & Smith). Additionally, colours have a dual meaning and deeper analysis reveals a meaning of applied colours in the context of political participation and campaigns.

4.2 SOCIAL MEDIA AND POLITICAL ADVERTISING

The migration of political parties to social media has impacted how parties communicate and market their electoral promises to the constituencies during elections. Although,

street posters are not substituted by social media for political advertisements, parties are able to inform the constituencies about what they stand for during electoral period on social media. Subsequently, constituencies are afforded the opportunity to directly engage with one another and the politicians on online platforms such as Twitter, Facebook and Instagram. This has been found to result in active participation from both constituencies and political parties about elections. It enables voters to share their thoughts and perspectives. Thus, a study conducted by Mutsvairo and Karam (2018) discovered that online political participation of the citizens allows them to interact and empower one another politically and influencing ones' voting decision. This insinuated that political voting is not always personal motivated decisions, but environment have an impact through interaction in political cultural ways. Therefore, Kim and Chen (2015) postulated that exposure to cross-cutting views afford a stronger and political expression especially when it takes place on social platforms. Then, prospective voters are able to express their political attitudes and opinions pertaining party political advertisements which prompt online community debate. According to Calderaro (2018), social media play a decisive role in circulating news through multimedia platforms, beyond national borders, across social, cultural and political niches. Social media expand and influence political sphere mostly when parties contest for public office through elections.

Moreover, social media provide people with news and information circulation and allow them to exchange opinions with other users, influencing them to be part of public activities. This can be seen when constituencies challenge political candidates and the slogans that the parties use on shared political advertisements on social media for persuasion and disclaimer of speaking to political realities. In addition, social media afford political parties quick shared of political advertisements without spending a lot of time and physical effort. Social media further integrate affordance of constituencies with the parties. Papagiannidis and Manika (2016) investigated political participation and engagement through various online and offline channels. Their study revealed that new media and other online channels allow political participants to get involved in politics and express their opinions openly.

According to the study for political communication conducted by Stieglitz, Brockmann, and Xuan (2012), there is an effective and active relationship between politicians and social media users. Additionally, social media improved the interaction between constituencies and politicians while they equally afford them the opportunity to communicate about political policies, mandate and social issues. Rustad and Sæbo (2013) found that politicians use Facebook to interconnect and keep abreast with citizens and keep them informed about their agenda and political activities that are about to take place. Therefore, this section analyses of data that were collected on Facebook pages of the ANC and the EFF. The researcher also presents the constituencies' engagement to the parties and critique the themes that emerged.

4.2.1 Economic Freedom Fighters' political advertisements

According to Mhlauli, Salani and Mokotedi (2015), Apartheid in South Africa imposed segregation among black and white people, and resulted in unfair government, labour market and residency. The struggle of black people was of exclusion from economic, social and political participation. Mhlauli et al. (2015) augment that Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953 enforced segregation in the use of public facilities such as transport, cinemas, restaurants and sports facilities. On the other hand lied the Bantu Education Act of 1953, a policy for separate schooling and curriculum based on race and the abolition of missionary schools. This obliteration of the Black people is further expounded by Mills (1992) citing Ngugi wa Thiongo's idea of the "cultural bomb" of British imperialism which trained him to despise his own culture and see the world from the eyes of a white man. Therefore, the history of exploitation of land and economy by European imperialists and colonizers in South Africa is a well-known phenomenon and it is the most intriguing history for black South Africans. This section of the study analyses the advertisements of EFF and also takes into consideration how the party centred their messages on black majority.

EFF posted an advertisement on the 29 of April 2019 with the statement that encouraged prospective voters to remember the suffering of black people when they vote on the 08th

May 2019. According to SAhistory (2019), EFF sees economic freedom as total ownership of economic and natural resources by the previously oppressed and exploited majority. Hence, the party called for the nationalisation of mines, banks and other strategic sectors of the economy, as well as the expropriation of land without compensation to undo the oppression through parliamentary debate and political manifestos. Looking back on historical background of black people's suffering in South Africa, EFF thrived on campaigning on black suffering. The EFF also has a high number of supporters majority of which are the black people. The EFF used Julius Malema's face as the party leader who was linked to the issue of the land and personified as "son of the soil" (see figure 1).

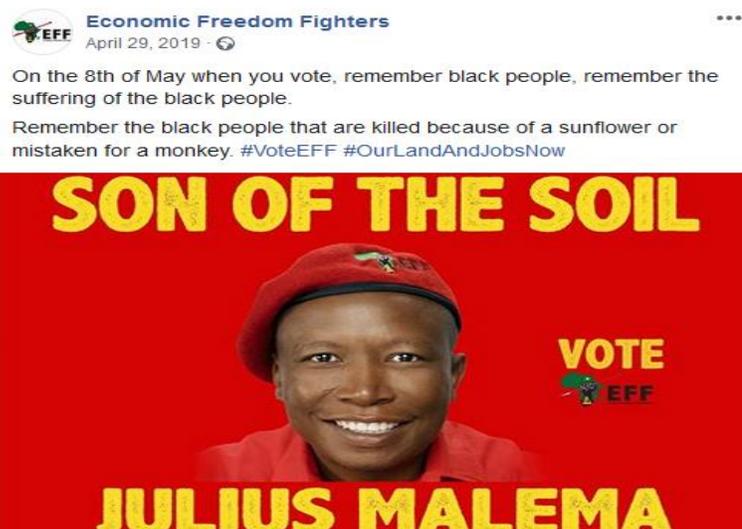


Figure 1: EFF President as “son of the soil” Credit: EFF

The EFF attracts more than just the young and jobless. Black middle-class professionals have been drawn by its fierce criticism not just of ANC corruption, but of workplace racism and white privilege (Financial Times, 2019). This proves that EFF exists for black majority and takes its stand for middle-class citizens despite their backgrounds. Party leader Julius Malema indicated that EFF is fighting for the rights of black people and insinuated that ‘there are no human rights in a shack’, (Sowetan, 2018). On the 29 of April 2019 political advertisement on Facebook page, the party continued to say “Black people are killed for

a sunflower or mistaken for a monkey.” This message indicates that the EFF insinuates that there is still discrimination and different treatment of farm workers.

Moreover, the advertisement says “#Vote EFF #Our Land and Jobs Now”. The image of the party leader, Julius Malema wearing a red beret and red t-shirt smiling appeared on the advertisement with a bold caption, “SON OF THE SOIL”. The issue of land to EFF party is viewed as important because majority of black people are landless. The EFF argued that there should be land expropriation without compensation as the land was stolen from black people and should not be bought back by those it was stolen from. Julius Malema, as party leader, is characterised as “son of the soil” to convince voters that only EFF under Malema cares about giving land to the black people. It was proved that the party cares about landless population when it called for amendment of section 25 of the Constitution to allow the expropriation of land without compensation (Timeslive, 2018). The Land Audit Report commissioned by Department of Rural Development and Land Reform in 2018 showed that whites owned the majority of land at 72%, followed by coloured people at 15%, Indians at 5% and Africans at 4% (Land Audit Report, 2018). According to this land audit report, it is clear that black people do not have land and this affects their growth and development. Hence, the EFF called for expropriation of land without compensation amid Section 25 Amendment.

On the 21st March 2019, EFF uploaded a political advertisement that showed Kenny Motsamai who is the former military commander of the Azanian People’s Liberation Army. The advert clip played with Motsamai’s voice urging people to go and vote for EFF. The statement on the advert says “Ntate Motsamai urges you ALL to go Vote for the #Our Land and Jobs Now come May 8”. It continued and said “Voting for EFF will be a mark to restore the dignity of black people. On the advertisement, Motsamai was wearing red beret of EFF and behind him was a piece of land. Azanian People’s Liberation, as was military wing during Apartheid regime in South Africa, was associated with farm murders under a slogan “Bring back Africa” (O’Malley, 1999). It is argued that Azanian People’s Liberation was fighting for the rights of black people during 1960 after the banning of Pan African Congress (O’Malley, 1999). Therefore, political personality on this advertisement

of EFF using former military commander of APLA, Kenny Motsamai, served to remind people of struggle for black people to be emancipated. The party made land prominence to convince the constituencies that, land redistribution marks restoration of dignity of black people. Motsamai's military background contributed as he is seen as a man who always care to fight for black people's rights (see figure 2).



Figure 2: Former Military Commander of APLA Credit: EFF

On the day of elections 08th May 2019, EFF shared a political advertisement that said; "Let's GO AND VOTE EFF". On the advertisement, the party used the red, black, green and maroon colours with a red background. On top of the advertisement was a statement that called upon all South Africans to go out and vote on the day. Moreover, the party said; "Let us ensure that these elections are remembered as the ones that brought us our land and jobs". The party then used hashtags: #VoteEFF #OurLandandJobsNow #IAmVotingEFF #EFFFinalPush #IChooseToVoteEFF. The (Our Land and Jobs Now) carries undertones of urgency required in redressing the issue of land among black population who are landless. The use of the statement "Let us ensure that these elections are remembered as the ones that brought us our land and jobs" shows that the EFF tried to convince the constituencies that voting the party in the public office on the 08 May 2019 could help to speed up land redistribution and expropriation without compensation to allow majority of black people to control the land (EFF Manifesto, 2019). Moreover, land and job issues received much attention in the poster campaigns of EFF and they were

used to attract voters because the party willingly believed that constituents' vote could be a solution to address these pertinent issues (see figure 3).



Figure 3: EFF vote call to South Africans Credit: EFF

On the 05th of May 2019, the EFF uploaded video coverage of the party's rally at Orlando Stadium in Soweto, Gauteng Province. The members of Parliament for the party together with Provincial members of legislator on the stage were wearing the red shirts and red dresses while some put on red berets of the party. Supporters of the party, as shown, were wearing t-shirts, holding red flags of the party. The statement highlighted by the party said, "The children of Kitchen Girls and Garden Boys gathered at Orlando Stadium today, for the EFF final rally ahead of the May Elections. To further convince South African why they should vote for the EFF come General Elections on May 8. #VoteEFF #EFFFinalPush #EFFTshelaThupaRally". This shows that EFF is a political party of the black people led by black people. Hence, the leadership called themselves and the supporters children of kitchen girls and garden boys. This is because this captures the historical background of South Africa during Apartheid as black people were doing odd jobs such as working in kitchens and gardens of white people. Moreover, the party sees

itself as a radical and emancipation movement that brings revolutionaries, militants activists and communities together for struggle of economic liberation. The EFF had strong identification message which was linked to the struggle of black people during Apartheid system who worked as garden boys and kitchen girls (see figure 4).



Figure 4: EFF Members of Parliament and Provincial Legislatures during 2019 rally in Soweto Credit: EFF

The EFF attracts more than just the young and jobless. Black middle-class professionals have been drawn by its fierce criticism not just of ANC corruption, but of workplace racism and white privilege (Financial Times, 2019). South Africans are confronted by the economic challenges that rise from unemployment and landlessness. Thus, the EFF shared the message above to convince voters that the party could transform this circumstance.

During his address to prospective voters, Julius Malema urged older people who attended the rally that when they arrive at the voting stations, they should say; "We want our own boy, we want Malema who is energetic to go and fetch land for us and give the land to us and give our children jobs because the future of South Africa is in the jobs and the land". Moreover, he said, "Don't love t-shirts more than your future. You have been wearing t-shirts for a very long time yet remain unemployed. You wore Mandela t-shirts, but you got

no job. You wore Mbeki t-shirts whom they claim is Economist but remain unemployed. You wore Zuma's t-shirts but had no house and remain unemployment. Children graduated but have no jobs because you like t-shirts. South Africa stop liking t-shirts more than a future of your children and South Africa".

Political parties in South Africa usually give citizens free t-shirts during campaigns. This serves a role for parties as people are used as moving billboards wearing any party's t-shirts which result in advertising for the party. In 2016, Mcebisi Ndletyana in a Sunday paper wrote that ANC political party used food parcels and free t-shirts at the events for buying out votes. Ndletyana further argued that "Why vote buying is so wrong is that it is a cynical, downright opportunistic act. Soliciting votes through the provision of material gain denudes democracy of all its moral value. It is void of any emotive connection to the democratic system, which is what nourishes popular conviction in democracy" (Ndletyana, 2016).

On the 16th of March 2019, the party uploaded an image of Malema wearing red beret and shirts smiling with the caption "SON OF THE SOIL" written in a yellow colour and bolded. Moreover, the poster had two other posters on the right with one written "OUR LAND AND JOBS NOW", and other written "VOTE EFF" in a yellow colour with red background. The advertisements at the top had statements that reminded South Africans that 2019 marked exactly 25 years since the attainment of political freedom in the country. "We all know this hardly translated into observable Economic Emancipation. As we vote on May the 8th, remember this and vote for party which is fighting for true Economic Emancipation", said EFF. The "Our Land and Jobs" carries sign of urgency regarding delivery towards jobs and land redressing for the black population. The party creates sense of belonging through imagery on "our land and jobs now". They promised to fast-track issues of land and jobs. Thus, they persuaded constituencies by promising that everything will be done "now". In the context of 2019 campaign EFF indicated that South Africa has been a democratic country for 25 years but there is still no economic liberation. Therefore, voting for the party could afford the voters political and economic emancipation through land expropriation and employment (see figure 5).



Figure 5: Politically free but economically struggling Credit: EFF

According to stats released by Statistics South Africa (2021), the unemployment rate stood at 32,5% in the October-December 2020 quarter. This meant that approximately 7,2 million people were unemployed, up from 30.8% in the previous three months (StatsSA, 2021). Furthermore, the stats showed that employment rates dropped by 1.4 million people, while the number of people who were not economically active rose by 1.5 million. South Africa's unemployment rate was 29,1% in quarter 3 of 2019. According to the Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLFS) released by Statistics South Africa 2019, this was the highest unemployment rate since Stats SA started measuring unemployment using the QLFS in 2008 (StatsSA, 2019). This affected South Africa's economy and there was a high rate of unemployed youth. The percentage was 55,2% in the first quarter of 2019 and of which 31,0% were unemployed graduates during that period as compared to 19,5% in the 4th quarter of 2018. Agriculture contributes high percentage to the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and there's a relation between land and unemployment. EFF created a perception that having land could assist population to do farming and create jobs hence the party used land and jobs issues in their campaign.

4.2.2 African National Congress Political Advertisements

The ANC posted an advertisement on the 14 March 2019 on Facebook page, which states that; “A vote for the ANC on 08 May is a vote for transformed economy that benefits all South Africans, especially the poor. We are already delivering on new investment to boost our economic growth and create much needed jobs.” #GrowSouthAfrica #PeopleManifesto #VoteANC. Both the ANC and the EFF used the issues of land question and unemployment but what made the ANC different was how the party on the advertisements spoke and approached the issues. On this advertisement, the party spoke about investment in partnership with international companies to create employment while EFF believed that having land could create employment through agriculture. The ANC in 1994 claimed that “No political democracy can survive and flourish if the majority of its people remain in poverty, without land, without their basic needs being met and without tangible prospects for a better life. “Attacking poverty and deprivation will, therefore, be the first priority of the democratic Government” (African National Congress, 1994: 5).

Despite being said by the ANC which occupied public office after 1994 general elections, the message holds factual meaning because majority of people are now unemployed and landless in South Africa. The growing poverty gives rise to the question of the ANC’s efficacy to develop the lives of those who have been previously marginalised. According to Saul and Bond (2014), the ANC intended to suture local economic development through normalisation of foreign investment, fuelling economic growth and acting as the bridgehead for deeper societal transformation through a myriad of reconstruction and development programmes. While there was a shift in political power in 1994, the struggle for social and radical economic transformation remained unresolved in South Africa (Luiz, 2007). Since the ANC occupied public office in 1994, it had more than two decades to transform the lives of people and eliminate inequality, but that never happened (Lannegren & Ito, 2017). One of the contributing factors towards the party’s failure for service delivery is corruption which made its votes to decrease (Bennet, 2016). The 2016 results as well as the results that date back to the 2011 elections suggest the decrease in votes and a sign that the ANC is likely to lose power (Chipkin, 2016). The findings of

Chipkin (2016) are supported by 2019 elections results which showed that ANC has lost 19 seats (Sowetan, 2019).

The message on the advertisement further said; “54 Days until we write a new chapter”. Moreover, the advertisement indicated that in the previous year (2018), ANC secured investments worth R290bn and pledges worth an additional R400bn. The background of the advertisement shows flags of emerging leading market economies countries that known as BRICS. BRICS is an acronym that refers to Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. They are on stage of newly developed economy, equitable and multi-polar world order (Radulescu, Panait & Voica, 2014). The party highlighted the issue of job creation as the most important to transform the economy of South Africa and deal with poverty that affects the poor (see figure 6).



Figure 6: ANC on securing investment for South Africa Credit: ANC

On March the 10th 2019, ANC uploaded their advertisements during the door-to-door campaigns led by the elected President Cyril Ramaphosa. The statement on figure 7 explained that a vote for ANC is an important vote for more and better houses for all South Africans. Then, the party abided itself by saying, “We committed to delivering houses closer to work opportunities, transforming our cities to correct the divides of apartheid and

releasing state land for people to build their own homes”. #GrowSouthAfrica. ANC emphasised job creation and land redistribution to the people which create similarity to the EFF which also indicated the urgency in provision of land and jobs to the black population. But the difference is that EFF believes that black landless population should be given land without compensation by the state as the party believes that the land was stolen by white people during Apartheid regime. A land reform does not occupy first priority position in the ANC more than economy and jobs and this marks the contrast between the priorities of the ANC and those of the EFF. The advert resonated with the ANC motto, “A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL” that create imagery that the party aims to create equality in service delivery. Furthermore, the advertisement said “58 days until South Africa votes for more progress on housing and land for all”. Cyril Ramaphosa was featured in the campaign message of ANC during door-to-door hugging an old woman. He was portrayed as someone much accessible, relaxed and kind to the people (see figure 7).



Figure 7: ANC elected President Cyril Ramaphosa during door-to-door campaigning Credit: ANC

The ANC uploaded an advertisement on the 31st March 2019 with the statement that described casting of votes for ANC as way to a faster and more effective land reform. Then the party quoted its President Cyril Ramaphosa that “It is in the ownership of land

that we find our independence as people.” #GrowSouthAfrica #VoteANC. Therefrom, the advertisement had an image that reflect a piece of land, together with a farm which has centre pivot. Far back of the image, there are houses and more arable lands. The party then on the right of advert reflected 38 Days with the following statement, “Until we write the next chapter of sustainable and enduring land reform.” It is not surprising that, the ANC in their 2019 political campaign prioritised the issue of land which occurred because EFF used the issue. Prior to 2019 elections, the party had already been criticised by citizens for avoiding the land redistribution as if it is not part of Freedom Charter. This, therefore, made the party to be seen as betrayer of black people’s liberation. Moreover, the party felt the pressure of the opposition party EFF which made land its first priority and fear of losing votes to the party led the ANC to adopt decisions on land and economy during its NASREC conference. The Zimbabwean land redistribution also pressured South Africa to deal with the issue of land decisively and the ANC through political advertisements and manifesto launch had to demonstrate to the constituencies that the party can still exercise the land redistribution to the populations. ANC connected its leader Cyril Ramaphosa to the issue of land. The impression was given that Ramaphosa would be able to improve the speed of the processes of land reform (see figure 8).



Figure 8: ANC on the issue of land Credit: ANC

On the 1st of May 2019, ANC created and shared an advertisement showing an image of ANC NEC member, Ronald Lamola. The statement on the advertisement explained that

ANC is determined to bring land ownership to majority of black people. Therefore, the party set up a link encouraging prospective voters to read and share their reasons why they vote for ANC. Furthermore, the party said, "Find out why ANC NEC member Ronald Lamola is voting ANC on May 8 in the new 'Reason to vote ANC' book". They then used #GrowSouthAfrica #VoteANC to indicate that, the only way to grow South Africa is only when constituencies vote for the party. Hashtags are important for social media users including organisations as they play critical role from ironical point of view to marketing (Burns, 2017). The selection of political candidates is important decision and candidates become increasingly important voting cues for constituencies (Bittner, 2011; Caprara, Barbaranelli & Zimbardo, 1997).

Ronald Lamola was chosen as one of the people who were not implicated in corrupt activities, hence the party used his face to campaign. The constituencies weigh political party on the faces and issues that are used to campaign which results in a decline or increase of the votes. If a corrupt politician's face whom the evidence proved that is corrupt is used to campaign, this has power to affect voting decision of constituencies. Studies which were conducted in different countries, unequivocally found that politicians in office score on average higher than the normal population on the traits of extraversion and emotional stability but also on honesty-humility (Caprara, Barbaranelli & Zimbardo, 1997; Hanania, 2017; Schumacher & Zettler, 2019).

The use of Ronald Lamola on political advertisement of ANC for contestation carried an imagery persuasion to the constituencies that the party is striving to put in public office leaders who put people first. Lamola is also one of the youngest members of National Executive Council of ANC. Moreover, voters expect politicians who will implement their manifestos and pre-election promises which require high level of extraversion assertiveness and politicians who do not forget to fulfil their promises after occupying public office (Aichholzer & Willmann, 2020). There was no tangible evidence of Lamola implicated on dodgy dealing and his selection on advert was more on the image and reputation than policy issues (see figure 9).

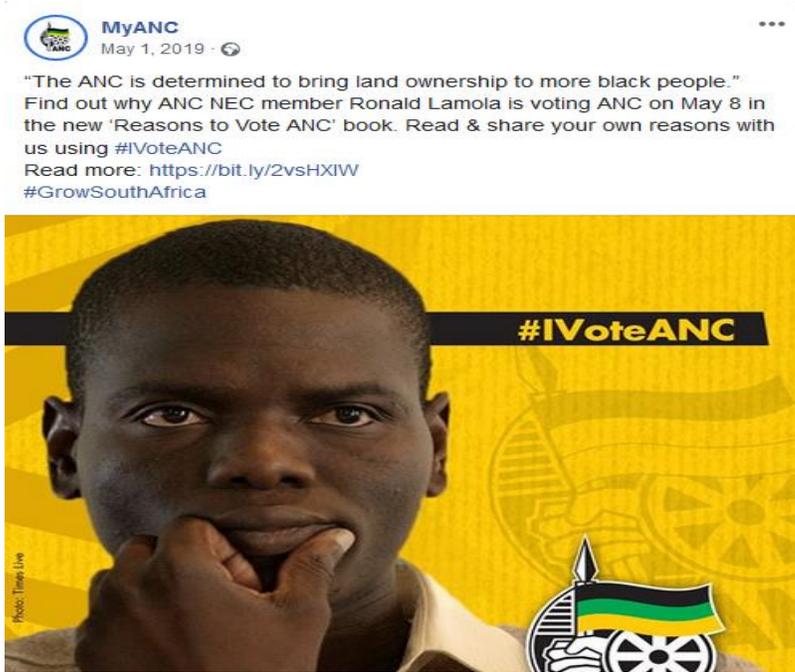


Figure 9: NEC member of ANC, Ronald Lamola Credit: ANC

Furthermore, the ANC party uploaded political advertisements of Congress of South African Trade Unions rally in Clermont in KwaZulu-Natal Province where President Cyril Ramaphosa delivered keynote address. The President spoke about the plan in place by government to create jobs for the unemployed citizens. On the statement of the advert, the ANC said, “The President outlined plans to continue to create more jobs and better life for all”. #VoteANC #GrowSouthAfrica #May2019. The picture on the advert showed young people wearing ANC’s gold and COSATU’s red t-shirts. They demonstrated that they had hope in their eyes through facial gestures, and the lifted hands that symbolized power and liberation. In 1990, COSATU, ANC and the South African Communist Party (SACP) formed an alliance. The alliance was formed after an agreement was reached to work together as Revolutionary Alliance (Tripartite Alliance).

COSATU has been involved in the liberation of the country and has fought for the interest of the marginalised working class before the formation of the tripartite alliance (SAhistory, 2015). There has been symbiotic relationship between ANC which during Apartheid was fighting for the rights of black majority while COSATU were concerned the rights of black

workers. COSATU supported the African National Congress (ANC) when it adopted the Freedom Charter. Twala and Kompi (2012) argue that the ANC, COSATU and SACP played a crucial role in sustaining and shaping each other's political ideology for many years and this is an important ingredient which makes the break-up of the alliance unlikely. Moreover, COSATU played pivotal role in "acting as a political and administrative centre in providing strategic leadership for the trade union movements: developing broad policies; ensuring that legislative gains translate into actual workers' gains; capacity building and involvement in the education of workers" (Twala & Kompi, 2012: 175). COSATU argued that amendment of section 25 of the constitution for land expropriation without compensation is great initiative for black population to also have land (Thobela FM, 2021).

Since its inception in 1985 to date COSATU supported the ANC political party where its mandate is to coordinate support for the ANC to become an efficient and effective organisation and occupy public office through the Union and other constituencies' votes. But COSATU threatened to abandon its support to the ANC in 2021 Local Government Elections after the Union felt that the party does not take into consideration the Freedom Charter. COSATU has accused ANC of unresolved divisions, ill-discipline of the party's leaders and the inability to practicalize progressive policies in government and its own resolutions (IOL, 2021). The involvement of COSATU in political campaign of ANC ascribes the relationship between the Union and the party but the ANC made sure that it links the issue of job to the affected unionists. The party hoped to attract constituencies including workers through the applicability of cognitive and emotional appeal on the issue of unemployment and better life for all which has sense of inclusiveness (see figure 10).



Figure 10: ANC and COSATU members during Union’s rally in KZN Credit: ANC

4.3 EMERGING THEMES IN THE POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENTS OF ANC AND EFF ON SOCIAL MEDIA

This section compares themes that emerged from the political advertisements data of ANC and EFF. The Facebook data are analysed using thematic content analysis tool in deductive manner. This allows a researcher to translate and interpret the constituencies’ comments on the ANC and EFF advertisements, provide discoveries and insights generated through thematic analysis. The researcher deemed that a virtuous way to structure the results section of this study was to use the main categories or themes which emerged from the data. According to Southall (2019) the context of 2019 general elections in South Africa was the environment dominated by the campaigns focusing on the land redistribution, allegations of state corruption, unemployment and the state of economy. Political parties especially the ANC and EFF had to fight their way towards the electorates to try gain a trust which was affected despite the ANC’s affected perception by Zondo Commission of Inquiry and EFF being on the spotlight of the VBS looting, (Schulz-Herzenberg & Southall, 2019).

4.3.1 Land and online debates

The theme of land expropriation has been debated in South African Parliament to the extent that it formed political agenda of some parties that contested for the general elections in 2019. The EFF made the land issue to be at centre of its political debate. The democratic dispensation should be seen when there is interrogation of social issues that affect society which were overlooked during the oppression period. The Freedom Charter indicates that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, while Constitution speaks about the protection of property rights including the ownership of land (Freedom Charter, 1955 & Constitution, 1996). The problem with this is that the majority of black people in South Africa have no property to protect as the land was taken from them under the Apartheid regime. Hence, the ANC as the ruling party found itself under pressure when the EFF was formed and challenged parliament about the issue of land. The EFF believed that section 25 of the constitution which speaks about property protection should be amended to allow land expropriation without compensation because land was stolen from black people (Timeslive, 2018). The issue of land was tied to Julius Malema who was called “Son of the soil” as he believes that black majority should be given land freely as a way of land redistribution. Framing theory is prevalent in this study as it speaks about the essence of an issue at hand and place of meaning. Therefore, an issue of land had connection with the party of EFF and it was categorised imperative and tied to the leader of the party to describe how it meant to the EFF.

In South Africa, the democratic dispensation which allowed the right to vote has afforded prospective voters opportunity to choose who should govern then and can deal with the issues that affect the public. Thus, Schoeman and Puttergil (2007) argued that citizens put much effort on participating in voting issues that are linked to their surroundings. According to Tak, Kaid and Lee (1997: 175), political advertising is “...an overt function to persuade voters.” These scholars argue that it is through political advertising that citizens are exposed to political parties and their campaigns to make choices. Persuasion therefore occurs when ANC and EFF craft messages that the parties believe will resonate with the constituencies during contestation. EFF and ANC Facebook advertisements in

the 2019 elections stressed the issue of land. These parties used land to create imagery inclusivity to voters, but the difference was when the EFF made land first priority while ANC emphasised economic growth as the main priority. The operation of apartheid administration and its diminish has always been part of the ANC campaign approach until the birth of the EFF which focused on land and forced the governing party to also prioritise this thorny issue. Prospective voters seemed not to believe the parties on their promissory card of giving people land. Some prospective voters commented that:

“What stopped ANC from giving African people land in the past 25 years? The ANC has lost an opportunity when was given opportunity now is the right time to leave office on the 08 May 2019.” (Comment from a prospective voter on ANC advert).



(GIF used as response by prospective voter on ANC advert)

“You can’t provide toilets to people, but you are talking about speeding land reform. Sing of incapable party in governance.” (Comment from prospective voter on ANC advert).

The ANC has been in power as a liberation movement for two decades and few years. Thus, the constituencies’ comments show that the party has done little to liberate people of South Africa after occupying public office in 1994. This proves that the inception of the EFF which prioritise land forced the ANC to also use land to regain the confidence of the constituencies and to ensure that the party remain a liberation movement in the public office. According to Anon (2015), political parties craft messages that resonate with the targeted constituencies to increase the likelihoods of the party’s verge. But the argument

could be that, despite the messages the parties disseminate to voters during elections, the historical performance and background of the party matters most.

Prospective voters further explained that giving Africans land is putting economy of the country at stake. They believed that economic cycle will be problematic if Africans are given land back. Claiming that it requires one to be more resourceful, but politicians use the issue at front level knowing clearly that it challenges them. The voters pointed out that:

“I really love the politics of Malema, that whites are not superior. But politicising the land issue is not genuine, even Malema himself knows that Africans cannot run these ranches which are good for economy.” (Comment from prospective voter on EFF advert).

There is no doubt that the subject of land resonates intensely with majority of South Africans who are landless. Agriculture, mining, forestry and fishing through the use of land contribute to the economic growth and gross domestic product (GDP) but the use of land requires effective resources for production. Analytically, the comment above by one of the constituencies suggests that there is lack of resources among Africans to run land productively. The inequalities among people in society have contribution in sense of unfairness in the distribution of power and resources especially to those who were oppressed before democratic dispensation (Langer & Smedts, 2013). Leibbrandt, Woolard, Finn and Argent (2010) argue that income disparity among race group has become the predominant cause of inequality.

“This land issue is just an election campaign you will fool those stupid blacks to vote for you and if I see its campaigners at my house, I will pour them with a paint & set dogs on them...u will see it on TV. Mxm!”. (Comment from prospective voter on ANC advert).

Despite political transformation in post-apartheid South Africa and the rights to freedom of expression, racism remains societal challenge in South Africa (Steven, 1998). Racism has cultural artefacts and ideological discourse, and this create disproportion among racial groups in South Africa. In 2021 after budget speech, eNCA journalist interviewed

white Member of Parliament without mask on and later asked a black MP to put mask on as a way to curb the spread of COVID-19 (Timeslive, 2021). The journalist was then accused of being racist as the interview was seen to be racially motivated. This proves a deep-rooted background of racial segregation. However, the issue of racism in 2019 was not predominant in the ANC and EFF political advertisements. Moreover, comment of one of the prospective voters above on the issue of land is racist and it shows that some of white minority do not believe that black population could be superior and that redistribution of land will never happen.

4.3.2 Political candidate and corruption

Democratic South Africa appears to have morphed into fully fledged predatory state. The Corruption Watch in 2018 reported that more than half of all South Africans think corruption is getting worse (Corruption watch, 2018). Therefore, the widespread corruption in South Africa seems to be epitomised as state capture. This existed after former Public Protector Advocate Thuli Madonsela compiled investigation report on complaints of alleged improper and unethical conduct by the president and other state functionaries relating to alleged improper relationships and involvement of the Gupta family in the removal and appointment of ministers and directors of State Owned Entities (SOEs)—resulting in improper and possibly corrupt award of state contracts and benefits to the Gupta family's businesses.

Some allegations in the public protector's report included the breach of Executive Members Ethics Act by President Jacob Zuma in allowing members of the Gupta family and his son, to be involved in the process of removal and appointment of the Minister of Finance in December 2015 (Public Protector, 2016). Therefore, Judicial Commission of Inquiry known as the Zondo Commission of Inquiry was launched by former President of South Africa, Jacob Zuma in 2018 to investigate allegations of state capture, in a public sector including state organs (Corruption Watch, 2018). The challenge occurred when the former President Jacob Zuma who personally launched the Zondo Commission refused to go back to the commission which affect the functionality of the Con-court and Constitution (SABC, 2021).

This affected the function of political system that constituencies assumed that corruption rewards sycophants, thugs, and greed and antisocial attributes. It has been looked to disregard ethics and democratic state norms in a cynical exploitation and development agenda. A large scale of corruption is often seen as rhetorical view of empowering politicians. ANC and EFF in their political advertisements had the comments of prospective voters who believed that voting the parties create an impression of elevating corruption. They pointed out:

“A vote for ANC is a vote for corruption and empty promise. You’re a ruling party. You have power to do that now. Why do you wait for 8 May as if you’re the opposition? We see you. Betrayals. Blood sucking parasites.” (Comment from prospective voter on ANC advert.

According to Clarke and Bassert (2016), since democratic dispensation in South Africa after 1994 elections, the achievement has been ‘political’ than ‘economic’ liberation. Moreover, the Conversation (2017) indicates that the shameful achievement attained by ANC as a ruling liberation movement in its years of democracy has been unethical and corrupt leaders who exercise power through patronage. Furthermore, characteristics include using public office and resources to promote the private interests and those connected to them and thus entrench the culture of being untouchable. The untouchable culture also shown by former president of ANC who refused to appear before Zondo Commission and Secretary General who said only branches of the party can remove him (SABC, 2021; News24, 2020). The comment above by prospective voter suggests that confidence of voters in the ANC is fading away. This was proven when the election results of 2019 showed decline in the number of votes for the ANC, (SABC, 2019).



Figure 11: Julius Malema as “son of VBS” Credit: Constituent

There were allegations that EFF leaders benefited from the dissolved Venda Building Society Mutual bank in Limpopo. In particular, Julius Malema and Floyd Shivambu were accused of benefiting from the looted money, although the two denied allegations (*IrishTimes*, 2020). In 2012 a warrant of arrest was issued against Julius Malema in relation to the charges of fraud, money laundering and corruption involving government contracts (*The Guardian*, 2012). Despite EFF speaking vocally about fighting for the poor black people, their historical background implicates on the belief system of other constituencies. The selection of political personalities is an important decision as candidates become increasingly important voting cues for constituencies (Bittner, 2011; Caprara, Barbaraneli & Zimbardo, 1997). During campaigns, political parties make efforts to focus on policy issues that affect the constituencies. This is to ensure that emotional and cognitive messages are communicated to the voters through a vehicle of persuasion for them to make decisions on which party to vote for. But it is important to acknowledge that voters on social media platforms are active enough to speak their thoughts on a certain party. Hence, one of voters links the issue of corruption to Julius Malema and called him “son of VBS” (see figure 11).

It is clear that prospective voters believe that corruption is rife in the political context, and this affects the procurement of services for the citizens. Therefore, their lack of confidence in political parties or the party leaders make them reveal practical examples in which political parties were involved. Prospective voters continued to point out that:

“Thanks, we know the kinds of houses that you deliver to us voters. They are small and built with the cheapest material ever especially the doors and windows handles #ayaqhephukela all on their own n windows are a huge security risk that makes amaphara angenele nje egijima ezindlini afik athathe konke akufunayo (junkies to enter running in the house and take whatever they want). We have to live with that, that’s public houses, n then there is your own private houses with specialised BOSASA security installations.” (Comment from prospective voters on ANC advert).

Public Service Commission presentation on Batho Pele Principle Audits and Citizen Satisfaction in 2007 indicated that there is lack of practical skills in the Public Service to apply the Batho Pele principles (Public Service Commission, 2007). Some of the Batho Pele Principles include consultation and service standard in which government is expected to consult with the population to give them services that align with their expectation. But the abovementioned comment proves that citizens are not happy with Reconstruction Development Programme (RDP) houses that government build for them. This was also supported by the Talana tiny shacks case in which the government was accused by community members in Tzaneen Limpopo Province for building low-cost shacks which were in poor quality (eNCA, 2020).

4.3.3 Political issues and candidate

According to Dalton (2008), personalization in politics, political candidates and leaders play an important role in voting behaviour. Character has a sense of wholeness within the public domain. In order to make political sense of parties’ advertisements during elections campaign, there has to be knowledge and understanding of politicians’ character with issues at hand. The prospective voters, therefore, take into consideration the politicians and relate them to their character and the issues affecting the society. Voters appear to

use occupational reputation of politicians as a cue for their voting decision. The prospective voters in this study recognized that knowledge of who said what (political candidates) is imperative when voting for a political party. A sound relationship in the political advertisements through prospective voters' comments allows politicians' character to be argued and counter-argued more extensively. Thus, advertisements of the parties with images of politicians influence the decision of prospective voters about votes casting choice. Prospective voters' commented that:

"This young man is a true fighter. For a moment our CIC was sad and emotional due to the loss of our grandmother but immediately after the young man started singing... Our CIC stood up with more energy and pride. Woooooza 08 May we are ready." (Comment from prospective voter on EFF advert).

The personality that a leader expresses to the supporters creates an impact on the voting decision especially when the political background is well positioned. According to Bittner and Peterson (2018), the less informed voters depend much on impressions of the leaders while well-informed voters look into the policies and issues that the contesting leaders speak about. Therefore, Alvarez and Glasgow (1998) argue that informed voters are more likely to pay less attention to the contestation messages and pokes on leaders than their less informed counterparts. This could be true, although not proven, because it could be seen in South Africa that majority of older people continue to vote for ANC, making disclaimer that 'ANC is for Mandela' despite its politicians being accused of corruption. Bartels (2002) argues that issues together with leadership traits are key in the decision constituencies take to vote for a certain political party. The constituent's comment on Malema being a true fighter suggests that, Julius Malema is not only career politician, but his personality has impact on how to deal with crisis. This makes him able to prey on the emotions of the constituencies while focusing on party political agenda. Moreover, the constituencies the call Julius Malema's grandmother 'our grandmother' which creates an image of inclusivity.

"These are the people we are looking for as new faces of ANC. People who will revive the hope of many people who lost their faith to ANC. Not the likes of Malusi Gigaba, Bathabile and Nomvula." (Comment from prospective voter on ANC).

The prospective voter shows traits of a framing theory. According to Arowolo (2007), framing theory indicated that how something is presented to the targeted audience impact the choice people make on the information process, while in this study the ANC presentation of candidates such as Ronald Lamola intended to work to influence voting decision of the constituencies. This could mean that voting for a certain party over the other besides included issues on the campaigns has to do with the elected representative. Apart from focusing on the political issues during pre-elections in 2019, the ANC political party was also concerned about reviving its political image which almost got destroyed by party members who were linked to corruption. The renewal of the image gave the party a task to advisedly chose its representatives at the poll. Furthermore, the party chose faces such of Ramaphosa who was elected as the party president after NASREC conference in 2017. NEC member such as Ronald Lamola's face was also used on Facebook advertisement of the party and some of the constituencies such as the one quoted above supported the idea of new images that gave them hope.

Despite character appeal of ANC and EFF that other prospective voters got interested in, some prospective voters had different views regarding the learders of both parties. The use of appealing images as an important resource to accompany political agendas. Therefore, prospective voters pointed out:

“He thinks he got pretty face with a white smile but his face turns realy ugly when he talks hate speech against the whites. He has an evil soul with greed for power coz he thinks he is the new Jesus who can save South Africa...he is the biggest racist in this country because he says out loud and proud he hates whites.”
(Comment from prospective voter on EFF advert).

The issue of racism in South Africa is a serious challenge that creates disparity among the population despite the democratic dispensation. The hisorical backround of colonisation of 1652 also plays part on the existing situation in South Africa especially regarding the black people's sufferings under the apartheid regime. In one's view, the above quote shows the standard of racism when one tries to analyse it, and it has critiques on how Julius Malema speaks about white people, seeing him as full of hate and racism. Hence, Steven (1998) argues that despite political transformation in post-apartheid South

Africa in which everybody has a right to freedom of expression, racism remains social fabric in South Africa.

*“F*k ANC we are tired of being ruled by bakgalabe le bakgekolo (old men and women) ba ma??pa. We need change Viva Jujv viva #EFF 08/05/2019”* (Comment from prospective voter on ANC advert).

The study conducted by Alesina, Troiano and Cassidy (2015) indicates that younger politicians may differ from older ones for three reasons. One is that they have a potentially longer political career in front of them and therefore have more career concerns. The second is that as younger citizens, they have a longer horizon and therefore a lower discount rate, causing them to adopt more long-term policies. The third reason is that younger politicians are more energetic and more productive at work. Moreover, Alesina et al. (2015: 1) argue that “young politicians were simply more energetic than older ones, they would plausibly attract more transfers from higher levels of governments in every year of their term, not only in pre-election periods”. Therefore, majority of ANC party representation including its top six are older people. This makes some constituencies not to be convinced that they could be effectively led and that issues affecting the country might remain unresolved because of time span of the people who are in power and their age determination. The quote of the voter below correlates and supports the one made above concerning how the party elect its leadership.

“Your latest list of people to represent us in party has left me with no option other than to vote for the opposition. Thanks for the middle finger.” (Comment from prospective voter on ANC advert).

4.3.4 The unemployment and economy on political debate

Unemployment is one of the most serious socio-economic challenges in South Africa. South Africa’s unemployment rate increased by 0,1% to 29,1% in the third quarter of 2019. According to the stats released by Statistics South Africa, this was the highest unemployment rate as compared to the percentage of previous years (StatsSA, 2019). Despite the government’s attempts to stimulate job creation in the wake of the global recession, more South Africans are still fighting hard to deal with scourge of

unemployment. Therefore, during political campaigning, when parties strategise and develop advertisements, issues that affect the constituencies such as unemployment, land, crime, education, water and electricity are mentioned to inform communities about what parties are willing to do if they occupy public office. According to Kingdom and Knight (2003) in Du Toit (2018) the unemployment's widespread in South Africa have effect on economic growth and erode human income and results with crime and social instability. The issue of unemployment is also linked to poverty and was used in 2019 by ANC and EFF to persuade prospective voters to vote for the parties. Moreover, the parties used hashtags to emphasize societal issues in their political adverts. But one of the key issues that parties face in the fight against unemployment is growing discontent and loss of support from a significant portion of the voting population. According to Grasftein (2005) since the unemployment issue become economically and mentally challenging, prospective voters' decision to vote could be impacted by their employment status and its implication on everyday life. One of the prospective voters indicated that:

“As long as we believe them that they’ll create jobs for people...we are a lost nation...those people don’t hire...have you seen ANC,DA, EFF hiring?” (Comment from prospective voter).

According to Brown (2012) political parties during campaigns expect the excellency in advertising them based on issue-based campaign to influence the voting decision of the prospective voters in promise of service if elected in the public office. Hence, it was imperative for the researcher to understand the reaction of voters based on the party materials especially the ANC and EFF on Facebook using unemployment issue. Mzizi (2017) postulated that South Africans are getting discouraged as a result of the high rate of unemployment and make them to be dissatisfied with the lack of service delivery despite the fact that inclusiveness governace could results with a better conditions. Unemployment is a serious concern as put on political agenda and it has effects on economic growth. Merten (2019) postulated that there is a decrease in political membership because of the political parties failure to implement promised interventions that are supposed to deal with the scourge of unemployment. It has been endemic in South Africa that the country experience high rate unemployment. The state of economy in South Africa has been a matter of great concern, hence, political parties used

unemployment to market their elections advertisements. It becomes axiomatic that some of the hindrances of job creation include corruption and leaders who are refusing to do away with government tenders. The publicised allegation that former MEC of Health in Gauteng illegally got involved and benefited on procurement of Personal Protective Equipment (PPEs) is a classic example of how tender policies and procedures are manipulated by government officials (Hunter, Tandwa & Cowan, 2020). Another example concerns the BOSASA Company for allegedly paying a bribe to a former Correctional Services senior official so that the company receive an unfair advantage to obtain tenders from the Department of Correctional Services (Ndaba, 2021). These examples validate the point to which the process of awarding tenders in post-Apartheid South Africa has been corrupted by some politicians in association with the private sector.

Therefore, political transformation of South Africa becomes questionable when majority of the people continue to struggle in poverty-stricken circumstances due to lack of employment. The comment above indicates clearly that there is a challenge in terms employment of population despite policies that government in place. Analytically, one can say there is a gap between politicians and citizens hiring when the elected leaders put in place and which makes it clear that the constituent although not mentioned believe that the politicians hire their own fellow cadres.

“A song of the years from 1994 to 2019 better life and job opportunities 25 years wow ANC (played people) udlalile ngabantu.” (Comment from prospective voter).

The above justify why some prospective voters in South Africa perceive the ANC since its inception and this influence voting behaviour. Moreover, it is through the comment that prospective voter adduced that ANC dismantled apartheid system, but punch below when it comes to job creation and service delivery to the expected voters. ANC has been in power for more than two decades and its focus on political liberation more than economic emancipation invites critique from constituencies. The above-mentioned comments analytically indicate that the party failed and adopted a culture of empty promises for decades without any practicality. It shows that constituencies are literate and wise enough to not believe everything said on political advertisements and manifestos of the parties.

jobs and make land expropriation without compensation a dream that comes true to landless black majority.

Therefore, it is evident that some prospective voters in this study seemed to disbelieve political parties' assurance on how they will deal with unemployment. Technically, unemployment is a predominant issue that communities raise during their participation in campaigns held by political parties, be it during imbizos or door-to-door campaigns for elections. It may also be the case that unemployment statistics, including the graduates, rose each year in South Africa even before the outbreak of Corona Virus. Therefore, the practical sense of dealing with unemployment rate challenges the rational choices of prospective voters. However, some prospective voters believe that the opposition could deal with the scourge of unemployment if given a chance.



Figure 13: Voters drowning in poverty while those elected in the public office living a classy lifestyle credit: Constituent

A cursory look on figure 13 above used by constituent to comment on the political advertisement of EFF displays the believed reason the voter abandoned ANC. This

portrays ANC leadership as group of self-centred people who use voters to benefit them while majority of the voters continue to suffer despite decades of democratic dispensation. Furthermore, the image highlights the ANC political party's failure to deliver service to the people since it occupied the public office in 1994.

On the other hand, prospective voters on ANC argue that the party could do much better, but it has to deal with issues that affect it and the country too. It is understood that through rational choice, prospective voters can consider what affects the political parties and the problems that impact on society as well. They pointed out:

“At least if you had thousands and thousands of Lamolas at the ANC but instead you have millions and millions of Zumas there. So no! ANC leadership is still relatively weak only few good cadres are left there the rest are just mini Zumas.”

(Comment from prospective voter on ANC advert.)

The assortment of political personalities is an imperative decision and candidates become progressively vital voting cues for constituencies (Bittner, 2011; Caprara, Barbaranelli & Zimbardo, 1997). The constituencies evaluate political party on the faces and issues that are used to campaign. This is believed to be one among many factors that result in the decline or increase of votes. If an unethical politician's image is used for political campaigns, this will affect voting decision of constituencies. In one's perspective regarding the comment above, it is clear that the constituents disagree on some used faces of politicians by ANC and refer the party leadership as weak. The party performance has implication towards voting decision of the constituencies as it prompted a shift in the voter calculus.

4.4 POLITICAL COMMUNICATION AND STREET POSTERS

According to Norris (1999), one of the most important explanations for political parties' reliance on the street posters is that parties do not have adequate access to other media. This occurs due to the cost of media for political parties to run the campaigns while political posters' costs allow parties to reach their perspective voters irrespective of geographical location. Johnston (2006) highlights how important it is to analyse the content of political

posters to explain their functions and rhetorical strategies during the campaign. This research is motivated by Johnston's investigation on political posters as a sample of political advertising. It is important to understand the meaning and effects of linguistic and visual elements which in this study were of the EFF and ANC. Accompanying posters, are slogans designed to give extra effects to the photographs of the candidates and political issues to achieve political objective. Hence the current study intended to carefully analyse the ANC and EFF content political photos and slogans to get their meaning. The slogans are usually words, phrases or sentences which politicians constantly recite in the course of presenting campaign speeches.

During election period political parties use street posters to enable constituencies to make informed decisions on which party or candidate to vote for (Dezelan & Maksuti, 2012). According to Dumitrescu (2011), political posters are channels of spreading political messages within public domains to citizens. Dumitrescu (2011) adds that posters allow one to study the logical patterns of competition between political parties canvassing for elections. Street posters have effective and affective power for emotional and feelings appeal to the constituencies (Ridout & Searles, 2011).

4.4.1 EFF Street Posters as political communication



Figure 14: EFF supporters Credit: EFF

One can see the street poster of the EFF encouraging prospective voters to register to vote for the party. On the poster, “Register to vote for EFF for 2019” was written with capital letters using red and green colours. The background of the poster was painted in red. On the poster, the party shows a picture of black supporters and observing it more closely, one can see majority of the men at the forefront. It is perceived that the picture might have been captured on a protest day and below says, “THIS IS THE DAY”. This image used of EFF supporters is the one on the day the party went to Brooklyn Police Station on the 27 November 2018 to open criminal case against ANC MP and Minister of Public Enterprise, Pravin Gordhan. The party accused Gordhan of money laundering, corruption, racketeering, fraud, contravention of Intelligence Act, as well as Prevention and Combating of Corrupt Activities Act (African news, 2018). The use of the image creates an emotional appeal and convinces the constituencies that EFF is the only party that can fight corruption in the public service and protect state resources.



Figure 15: EFF's "our land and jobs now" street poster during 2019 elections campaign Credit: EFF

The above street poster (Figure 15), communicates to the constituencies in a sense of urgency in redressing the issues of land and jobs. The issues shared view with many black people who are still landless and hit by poverty due to unemployment. The EFF party made a clarion call in the parliament for the amendment of section 25 of the constitutions to allow land expropriation without compensation as the party believes that land should be redistributed to the black people freely. The party created imagery of inclusivity that centred on "our land". This imagery of inclusivity sends a message to black people that the land belongs to them and it was stolen by the white minority. Thus, Dithebe (2019) argued that the use of 'Our land and jobs' evokes indication that a land needs to return to the majority as the EFF claim that are benefitting unfairly. While addressing supporters in KwaZulu Natal in 2016, the EFF leader, Julius Malema, said: "So, if you see a piece of land and you like it, don't apologise, go and occupy that land. That land belongs to us" (EWN, 2016). EFF called for immediate redistribution of land and this immediacy was seen when the party on the street poster used "now" to emphasise. For any party to win the elections, it has to put the messages that resonate with the constituencies and speaks about economy.



Figure 16: The personification of Julius Malema Credit: EFF

EFF made the issue of land its electoral campaign cornerstone since the party's inception in 2013. The issue occupies a prominence in the speeches and manifestos of the party. The party also suggested that amendment of Section 25 and nationalisation of land could allow black people to also have a land. The characterisation of Julius Malema as "son of the soil" as indicated on the poster demonstrate to the constituencies that only EFF under Julius Malema cares about giving land which was stolen to the black people. After Julius Malema's appearance in Bloemfontein Magistrate Court in 2018, facing charges relating to his call for illegal land occupation, he addressed the supporters by saying, "If it means going to prison for telling you to take the land, so be it. I am not scared of prison because of the land question, but I am scared of prison if I go to prison for corruption. I don't want to go to prison for corruption, but I want to go to prison for the land" (*IOL*, 2018). This shows that the issue of land is tied to Julius Malema hence his referral to voters as "son of the soil". Moreover, the use of 'son of the soil' by the EFF were intended to convince the voters that the party's leader is connected with them and understands their landless situation. According to Chuma (2006) voters' decision making on the ballot box is also influenced by unemployment, affirmative action, foreign policies and issues related to the

racism. This indicate that any political posters during campaign that involves the elements above is more likely to influence the constituencies' voting decision.



Figure 17: EFF as a party for black majority Credit: EFF

The street poster demonstrated the 2019 registration time schedule with the words “Register to vote for EFF” written in bold yellow colour in Capital letters. Then the poster shows a boy and two girls, smiling with their thumbs up—(thumbs) which voters are marked on in South Africa after voting. Furthermore, the poster shows youth in a rally of the EFF wearing the party’s red t-shirts and some with their hands that symbolize ‘Amandla’ up. Then it has a woman wearing a red beret of EFF with t-shirts looking happy and smiling, drew a party’s logo in a red colour on her cheek. A cursory look on the street poster shows that EFF represents black population as the images on the poster show black supporters. Moreover, the black clinched fist means unity of the oppressed and gold star represent inter-nationalist character. The red spear means the defence of revolution mired by the blood of fallen heroes. Lastly the shaft represents the mineral resources which should be redistributed into the hands of the people (see figure 17). According to Goldberg (2019) there is a need for radical improvement pertaining the level

of youth involvement in South African as youth unemployment remains high and education lessening due to entrance access in the tertiary institutions. Therefore, the inclusion of youth image on the EFF street poster create an impression that the party values young people and intends to develop country through enrichment of young generation.

4.4.2 ANC Street posters as political communication

The street posters of the ANC that formed part of this study appeared as follows during 2019 general elections:



Figure 18: Cyril Ramaphosa making public appearances during door-to-door visits, creating an image of being people’s candidate Credit: ANC

A cursory look on the poster above shows political candidate, Cyril Ramaphosa, smiling and giving a hug to an old woman during pre-elections in 2019. An analysis of the above poster reveals Cyril Ramaphosa was portrayed as caring and having symbiotic relationship with the constituencies. Ramaphosa is wearing a gold t-shirt with an image

of the late President of the ANC, Nelson Mandela. The image of iconic leader of the ANC's struggle against apartheid played a role in the campaigning strategies of the ANC (Ranchod, 2013). According to Caprara et al. (1997), selecting political candidate for campaign is an important decision and candidates become voting cues for the constituencies.

Therefore, an image of Mandela speaks and reminds constituencies of the party and the leader's role during suffering of black population before democracy and how Nelson Mandela represented the oppressed black people. The message, "a better life for all" on the poster had more to do with equality among people of South Africa. Such a message was crucial because South Africans particularly black people for the past years, did not manage to get equal opportunities as did the white minority. Inequality, then, was shaped by lack access to service delivery that created division among the population. According to Africa (2019) during 2019 election campaign the ANC change the theme of canvassing which the party used to focus on the past twenty-five years of democracy rather glued to a promise of the 'New Dawn' under Cyril Ramaphosa.

The ANC included a logo on the poster which has flag that comprises three equal horizontal stripes, black, green and gold colours. Black symbolises the black majority while green has more to do with the land and gold the minerals and other natural wealth in South Africa. Moreover, it has spear and a shield that represent the early wars of resistance to colonial rule, the armed struggle of the ANC's former wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the ANC's ongoing struggle against racial privilege and oppression. The wheel dates back to the campaign for the Congress of the People, which adopted the Freedom Charter, and marks the joining in a common struggle by people from all South Africa's communities. It is a symbol of the strong non-racial traditions of the ANC. The fist holding the spear represents the power of a people united in struggle for freedom and equality. On the analysis, the use of "grow South Africa" by ANC focused much on the need to improve South Africa's economy.



Figure 19: ANC as africanism and cultural diversity party Credit: ANC

The poster specified the voting registration dates which were 26-27 January 2019. The ANC (Register now to vote in the 2019 elections) as mentioned could be seen to be encouraging voters to vote and not just a clarion call specifically for the party but allows voters constitutionally and democratically to make free choices (see figure 19). The image on the poster shows youth from intercultural groups holding their identity books and cards. Analytically, this indicates that the ANC believes in diversity as compared to EFF which made it clear that the party represents black population. Despite the previous suffering of black majority, it is clear that ANC's use of the image on the poster above resonates with "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people", message which carries undertone of one nation among people (Freedom Charter, 2013: 12).

The unity in diversity has been the case of emphasis since the ANC occupied public office after elections in 1994 which also linked to the speech given by Nelson Mandela. Nelson Mandela said, "I have fought against white domination and I have fought against black

domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die” (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2011). This was a call for unity among races which apartheid system created. Thus, the ANC political party continued to use the message in the political advertisements until to date.



Figure 20: The ANC selling Ramaphosa to the voters Credit: ANC

The analysis of the poster above shows that ANC in 2019 general elections was also intended to restoring dignity of the party. This is proven when Ramaphosa was elected as the party president after NASREC conference in December 2017. This was urgent move because of the decline of constituencies in support of the ANC. The party by electing Ramaphosa wanted to renew its image and regain the trust of the people as liberation movement. The party performance in every country plays a role on the voting decisions of the constituencies as it prompted a shift in the voter calculus, with many more voters preoccupied with the campaign and short-term party performance and candidate evaluation. The use of “the people’s choice” in the ANC’s campaign shows that the party had confident that Cyril Ramaphosa was the right person to renew the movement’s drive (see figure 20). This is crucial because political personality plays fundamental role in political advertisements and Ramaphosa was used to create the impression that he is

people's person. Moreover, voters expect politicians who will implement their manifestos and pre-election promises which require high level of extraversion assertiveness and politicians who do not forget to fulfil their promises after occupying public office (Aichholzer & Willmann, 2020).



Figure 21: The ANC's dependence on voters' vote to grow South Africa
Credit: ANC

Apart from restoration of the party's dignity and focus on the issue of land, ANC political party was also concerned about the issue of economic development. In creating their messages, the party indicated its role in partnership with foreign investment for securing jobs for the people of South Africa (ANC, 2019). The party also pleaded with constituencies to join it through the votes and sees this as a way of "growing" South Africa. The message "let's grow South Africa together" convinces the voters that the party focuses on economic growth, but this could happen if the constituencies elect it in the public office (see figure 21). This shows that achievement towards economic growth could result with creation of jobs for population. For parties to attract constituencies and win election, the party must craft a message that speaks to the economic growth of the country to deal with the high rate of unemployment. According to Ariely (2009) the textual

messages are able to impart ideology and guide a reader towards collected interpretation and also unambiguous meaning that is presented through images.

Clarke and Bassett (2016) argue that the achievement in South Africa since democracy in 1994 has something do with political emancipation more than economic liberation. ANC has been in power for more than a decade and the inclusivity of economy in political campaign of the party pressurized by the main opposition EFF which immediacy that is emphasis by the use of “our land and jobs now”. Political parties use images of politicians and others to communicate messages to prospective voters during the campaigns, and this is with no exception to emotions. According to Borchers (2002), political advertisements can include images which are emotive and help to communicate messages of the parties better. This occurs when the images are connecting people to the reality which the citizens can relate to and become convinced to vote. McNair (1999) posits that parties’ dependence on images can lead to emotional rather than logical vote choice on prospective voters while rational voting choice should be linked to issues orientated.

4.5 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS FROM THE INTERVIEWS

The researcher intended to interview the national spokespersons of the ANC and EFF but the limitation on the process of data collection through conducting of interviews occurred when the ANC national spokesperson did not respond to the interview questions which were sent. Therefore, the researcher then interviewed the Provincial spokesperson of the ANC in Limpopo as he believed that the information gathered could connect with what is happening at national level for the ANC. The researcher was concerned in understanding why the political parties framed the issues of land and unemployment in their political advertisements in 2019 and if the production of the advertisements content include the reactions from the constituencies as this has effect on voting behavior. This study was concerned with rising questions of fairness and balance through interviewing of all parties selected. However, the EFF indicated that responding to the interview

questions could result in the party exposing its weakness, strength and strategies. Thus, the interview with them became unsuccessful.

4.5.1 Interview with the African National Congress (ANC) political party representative

The ANC political party was interviewed to balance the study's data taking into consideration the prospective voters' collected data. The reason for this was to get pedagogic role of prospective voters' perception towards the content production of ANC adverts. Moreover, to find out if the political party ensures that all citizens get covered looking at languages spoken in South Africa when campaigning. The ANC official claimed that, the political party had pre and post-elections advertisements for 2019 national elections to inform prospective voters. When asked about language management in all nine provinces of South Africa, the official said the party took into consideration the predominance languages in provinces and stucked to those languages per province. The party issued the street posters in all provinces of South Africa to cover all municipalities and wards. The official claimed that, content production of party's advertisements was produced internally, and they did not hire any public relations company to produce content for the party.

When asked about the imperative of the issues of land and unemployment in the party's marketing strategy, the official said that land and unemployment issues played significant roles as the party believed that voters can relate with the issues and is what they need for development and transformation.

“If you can look in our political manifesto, you will realize that pertinent issues were covered but the land and unemployment issues are important as people can relate with and is what they want for development.”

The researcher asked if the political party took into consideration the prospective voters' comments on the party's online advertisements on Facebook, the official claimed that the party did. The researcher kept on stirring the question and looked back into prospective voters' comments on online political advertisements of ANC. Then asked how they played a role, then the official claimed that effectiveness of their content production results from

the comments given by prospective voters. When the researcher matched the content of the response of the official with those of prospective voters' comments, the researcher found loopholes as there was no evidence that proved that the party value the comments of prospective voters on their online advertisements. It is not desirable to prevent social media users to comment on a particular online statement or poster.

According to Witteman, Fagerlin, Exe, Trottier and Zikmund-Fisher (2016), negative comments are more influential than comments containing general statements. Moreover, Witteman et al. (2016) argue that any organisation that does not turn off comments on their contents supports civil online discussion of diverse views. This help to improve social media strategy that users will make direct suggestions to the organisation, while politically, it could assist to understand how prospective voters perceive parties. The users can signal the relevance of the posts to the society through the reactions and can effectively complement or overshadow the editorial cues (Messing & Westwood, 2014). Similarly, negative comments have the power to adversely expose user's attitude towards the news content shared by individual or organisation (Winter, 2018).

The researcher then asked if there were any other issues that the party perceived important and why the issues of land and unemployment were given much attention by the political party. The official claimed that corruption, education and crime were some of the issues that were part of their political manifesto, but the issues of land and unemployment are interrelated and formed the apex of the party's strategy.

“Yes, there was such as crime, corruption, education, but the issues of land and unemployment are interrelated and formed apex of ANC's strategy. Because, through land development of people's lives could take place and reduce the unemployment in South Africa.”

Furthermore, the official indicated that the availability of land to the people can improve their lives and reduce unemployment if used for agricultural purposes. The researcher then asked the official about the general message the party tried to convey during 2019 elections campaign on the political advertisements. The official said the political advertisements of ANC helped the party to remind the people of South Africa that there

is a party that aims to build better South Africa. The political party that works hard to build South Africa that people hope to see.

“Political advertisements help us to remind our people that, there’s political party that aims to build better South Africa. So, our motive is to work hard to build better South Africa that people hope to see.”

Political street posters, as political vehicle of advertisement of any political party to the prospective voters, represent an old tool that even to date gets attention from parties across the world. Thus, the researcher asked the official the decision that influenced ANC to use street posters within public domain during 2019 elections campaigns. The official indicated that, ANC political party’s hegemony and visibility are important and believe that prospective voters relate better with what they can see. This is what influences ANC to use street posters within public domain to reach all prospective voters. Furthermore, the official indicated that not everybody migrated to the new media especially elderly people. Thus, street posters helped the party to reach the constituencies and encourage them to register to vote.

“Political party hegemony and visibility is very important and voters relate better with what they can see. This is what influenced us to use street posters within public domain for the sake of our people. Not everybody migrated to the new media especially our elderly people. Thus, street posters help us to reach them and set a picture of the party in space.”

The official highlighted that all colours the political party used in all political advertisements have important meanings that prospective voters relate with and they were used since inception of ANC in 1912. They all signify the importance of democracy as well as total emancipation. This is what was said:

“All colours ANC political party used are important and prospective voters relate quietly with them as they signify the importance of democracy as well as total emancipation. The gold colour speaks about minerals that can benefit our people

while green focuses on vegetation which can result from the owning of the land while black signifying black majority as our party was incepted for.”

The researcher then asked the official about the meaning of “*Thumamina*” and its impact on their marketing strategies.

“Thumamina simply means; I as a person as part of collective I am ready to serve the community. Individuals produced an organization to serve the people that truly need to be served. It played important role to our marketing strategy and given people opportunity to resonate with it as they need someone they can put their hope unto for services.”

The use of “*Thumamina*” for campaigns by ANC worked for the party. This is because the elected party president, Cyril Ramaphosa, was portrayed during door-to-door campaigns as a trustee who can be sent for delivery of services. One can argue that not many people saw the spirit of *Thumamina* as having impacting positively on ANC campaigns. For instance, some opposition parties particularly EFF believed that the ANC sent politicians to loot the resource of government. Thus, it is clear that every political party creates a concept that is believed to influence the electorates at the ballot box and create a beneficial of salience.

4.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter comparatively presented and analysed the collected data of ANC and EFF political advertisements. The chapter also presented the implications of political advertisements on the decision of constituencies. Moreover, the researcher used existing literature to support his critiques of the ANC and EFF political advertisements. It is argued in this chapter that political parties used street posters to communicate electoral message to the constituencies and in doing that, emotional and cognitive messages become involved. To attract the voters, issues such as land and unemployment were used by EFF and ANC to convince the voters in making their decision on which party to go for. All the

parties featured their leaders on their posters but EFF succeeded in personification to create a link between Julius Malema and the land issue. The impression was given that Malema would be able to give black people land back if elected in the public office. There were also posters that reminded electorates to register to vote.

The ANC had to sell Cyril Ramaphosa to the public as elected party president as reflected in 2019 poster as “People’s choice” to persuade voters. Despite the important role of door-to-door visits and public appearances, the party had to put much effort on the issues of land and unemployment as EFF opposition put ANC under pressure in involving these issues to mobilise voters. On social media comments, voters were not all convinced about how the parties tried to market themselves as they criticised some used faces of those who were implicated in corrupt activities. The next chapter presents a summative discussion of the key findings that have emerged from the data analysis and discussion. Moreover, it provides recommendations to assist in the improvement of political advertisements and to the burgeoning of existing literature in South Africa and globally on political advertisements.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the summary of the study, recommendations and conclusion regarding the aspects that shaped political advertisements on street posters and social media in the marketing strategies and electoral campaigns of the ANC and EFF in 2019. Moreover, the chapter exemplifies the limitation of the study and provides recommendations that political parties could implement in order to effectively communicate political messages during electoral campaigns. This is to help the political parties and voters to understand the factors that could influence their voting decisions. It is anticipated that the recommendations of this study will assist in giving directions to other scholars who will research on political advertisements. To address the research questions, semiotic analysis was used to interpret data from street posters while thematic content analysis helped to identify themes that emerged in the political advertisements of ANC and EFF on Facebook. Themes were determined deductively based on the political messages communicated to the constituencies. Thus, the framing theory was applied to reveal the structural approach to the issues of land and unemployment, how each political party framed these issues to the electorates. The theory also revealed the role of emotive and cognitive messages when a particular issue is framed and communicated.

5.2 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHOD

According to Akhtar (2016), research design is the structure of research in which all elements of research are included for the collection and analysis of data in manner that objectives and aim of the study can be attained. This study used exploratory design. Although the concept of political advertisements on street posters and Facebook is not new around the globe, the use of land and unemployment in South Africa was not predominant in previous political studies. Hence, the researcher aimed to gain new insight into this phenomenon in South Africa. Cornell (2018: 3) posited that exploratory

research design deals with “a topic that has not been researched before to give it tentative analysis or existing topic is explored in order to produce new ideas”. The current topic was not researched before. Although studies were conducted about political advertisements, the uniqueness of this study was the issues in investigation to provide their implication on ANC and EFF advertisements. Moreover, the study is qualitative in nature and used semi structured interview together with digital ethnography to collect a data. Digital ethnography plays crucial role on digital communication and it was used to guide the current research during online data collection to understand the moods of the masses on issues used by ANC and EFF to canvass for the elections. According to Varis (2014), digital ethnography is an approach to capture the nature and shape of communication process online where people circulate semiotic material and texts.

5.3 SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

Political advertisements help parties to represent themselves to the electorates during elections and the message presented play a fundamental role for decision on which party to vote for. Thus, Kaid and Holtz-Bacha (2006: 3) posited that “Political advertisements are a means through which parties and candidates and sometimes other groups represent themselves to the electorate through different types of media”. In South Africa, political advertisements give parties exposure and become informative based on the political messages despite the idea that political parties use approaches to persuade voters. However, the emotive and cognitive content was used by EFF and ANC in their political advertisements to influence and convince constituencies. Moreover, the issues of land and unemployment speak to the reality of South Africans and seem to have influence on the direction that both parties took to reach the voters. It is through political messages during elections that voters should make informed choices regarding what parties promise to deliver.

Although both parties did not show negative appeals, the EFF became horrid to the ANC in one of the political advertisements as its party president made mockery to the current

ruling party. On its day of the rally in Soweto, Julius Malema indicated that ANC is known to give citizens t-shirts during elections campaign while failing to deliver services. But some of the political advertisements were truly speaking to the ongoing challenges that citizens face, particularly in black communities. Although images were used by the parties to communicate the political messages, it is that more attention was given on the issues used hence politicians' images were linked to land and unemployed issues. Furthermore, the parties tried to explain how voting them could help to achieve economic transformation. Their political advertisements were informative and emotionally appealing for electorates to vote for them. For example, the personification of Julius Malema as "son of the soil" created an emotional appeal that he can rescue black majority from being landlessness.

The ANC also created a feeling of mutual concern when they tried to sell Cyril Ramaphosa as the party president to the public. His public appearance during door-to-door campaigns created an impression that he is an accessible president to eradicate the struggles of the people. Moreover, the parties relied on the emotive language in their political advertisements to influence the voters' decision. For instance, EFF used the past struggles of black people who used to work in the kitchens and gardens of white people to persuade. The EFF refers to its leadership and supporters as "children of kitchen girls and garden boys", while ANC claimed that "it is in the ownership of land that we find our independence as a people". There were explicit uses of images of land to create an influential appeal during campaigns. This is because when those who are landless see these images, they become interpellated into a feeling of wanting to vote for the land expropriation motive.

Despite the emotional appeal and cognitive messages, both parties in their political advertisements used political character appeal to communicate their messages. Thus, they demonstrated efforts to inform the voters about the relationship between the political images and issues presented in the political advertisements. Some of the scholars argue that selection of political personalities is an important decision and candidates become increasingly important voting cues for constituencies (Bittner, 2011;

Caprara, Barbaranelli & Zimbardo, 1997). Moreover, voters expect politicians who will implement their manifestos and pre-election promise. This requires high level of extraversion assertiveness and politicians who do not forget to fulfil their promises after occupying public office (Aichholzer & Willmann, 2020). The use of Ramaphosa as the right choice for the people created an impression that he is the individual who will implement the promises and what is articulated on the party's manifestos. The EFF's use of Julius Malema also created an impression that he is a good candidate who understands the issues people are facing and his occupation of the public office can benefit the community. However, the parties used hashtags to emphasise their political messages to the voters. Usually, hashtags play crucial roles in the desire by individuals or organizations to communicate the goal that needs to be attained—which in political space could be issues that are affecting the citizens. Burns (2017) therefore argues that hashtags are important for social media users as they play a fundamental role from an ironical point of view to marketing.

There is also a connection between the political issues that are used and the decision the constituencies take. The issues parties articulate in the political advertisements are the ones that create a feeling of wanting to vote for a certain political party. This study revealed that the lifespan of the political party in the democratic space also counts. Constituencies are not only convinced through cognitive and emotional messages but also how long the party has been existing and what services it has delivered to people. All parties in the political advertisements communicated their motives extensively but forgot to involve the practicality of what they have done since the birth of each party and how issues that are obstacles to the movements are dealt with. Bennet (2016) concurs that one of the contributing factors towards the political party's failure for service delivery is corruption.

Although, the ANC mentioned the issue of corruption on its strategic marketing during elections in 2019, the party failed to explain how it will deal with corruption. On the other hand, EFF believed that doing away with tenders in the government could assist to lessen corruption. Although the issues of land and unemployment were used to convince the voters, the approaches used by the EFF and ANC to address these issues were

different. The EFF made land priority while ANC prioritised economic growth. The idea of success for political parties during election depends also on how the issues which link to the experiences of voters are interpreted to the electorates. Thus, strategic political communication anchors this whole democratic process, as this is where political parties gain or lose electoral support. It should also be noted that ANC and EFF competed for votes by strategically emphasising on the issues of land and unemployment, while EFF tried to downplay ANC through communicated messages by its party president. It is evident that ANC and EFF spent great amount of time and effort on carefully select the issues of land and unemployment because the constituencies resonated with them.

Through informative decision that is brought in the political advertisements of ANC and EFF, voters made their choices by evaluating the competence of these two parties in handling the issues of land and unemployment. By valuing the issues of land and unemployment, parties intended to increase the salience of beneficial and convince the electorates influence decisions at their decisions. Political advertisements try to direct constituencies' attention towards the issues and cover them in different approaches. Sides (2007) argues that if any political party side-lines the issues that are prominent to the prospective voters within public domain, this could lead voters to perceive a party as one that does not care about citizens' concerns and challenges. Hence, EFF personified Julius Malema as "son of the soil" to create impression that the party is more concerned about a challenge of majority of black people who do not own land. Whereas, the ANC convinced electorates that it is more concerned about investment for economic transformation. The argument is that the ANC and EFF through their extensive hand of prioritisation devoted them to the issues of land and unemployment as prominent to pave their importance in the minds of the constituencies and influence their decisions.

EFF and ANC used different colours in their political advertisements to reflect the movements' understanding of reality. Political colours have influential role in the political advertisements as visuals that carry emotional messages. Moreover, parties use colours to create identities about them and indicate how they relate to the population. It is clear that political meaning of colours that the parties use differs based on period and

country's cultural connectivity. Political party colours do not only give identity to a party but help to create influential sense to the constituencies. ANC and EFF used colours that have a long run in the South African history. Hence their colours have a particular political spectrum linked to South African struggles.

ANC used its colours black, gold and green. The gold colour speaks about minerals that are available in South Africa and can benefit people, whereas green colour signifies vegetation which can result from owning land, while the black colour signifies black majority. EFF used red, yellow and black colours. The red colour signifies the party's fight for economic emancipation and the rights of black people, black signifies that it stands and represents black population while yellow signifies happiness and sunshine that land expropriation without compensation could bring to the people. The party's logo has an African map that represents commitment to Africa and its people, green colour represents the fertile land of Africa which must be restored to its rightful owners.

Therefore, constituencies get the opportunity to make informed judgements through cognitive and emotional messages attached to the political advertisements (Scammell, 2015). The use of all colours also assisted parties to connect with supporters by creating parties' images and evoking thoughts of revolution. Thus, the used colours in the political advertisements of ANC and EFF both on social media and street posters communicated what these parties stood for. According to Reynolds and Steenbergen (2006), political parties' colours assist constituencies to identify political parties on the ballot box during elections if they cannot identify the parties by names.

Social media have expanded political information sharing and help voters to make informative choice through civic engagement. Thus, political participation affords constituencies' active platforms to decide about their voting preferences. They engage in political activities and reveal how they feel about a certain advertisements and policy issues of different political parties. Through the voters' comments on social media advertisements of political parties, one can be able to see how voters feel and what they suggest parties should do. It is clear that social media bridge the gap between political

interest of voters and political disengagement despite the fact that it does not substitute adopted culture of street posters by political parties. Thus, it is evident that parties use 'stop and go culture' when putting street posters in the streets during electoral campaign, but on social media prospective voters become active to critique the political advertisements.

According to Berg (2017), social media addresses the challenges of traditional offline participation and increase higher voter participation. But one has to accept that, there is a huge gap between voting participation through engagement on online political advertisements of parties and voting patterns. Papagiannidis and Manika (2016) investigated political participation and engagement via different online and offline channels and found that new media and other online channels allow political participants to get involved in politics and express their opinions openly. Despite their party preferences, constituencies' have the power to engage any party on dispensed adverts that have policy issues while on the ballot box have a single decision to make. Rustad and Sæbo (2013) found that politicians use Facebook to interconnect and keep abreast with citizens and keep them informed about their agenda and political activities that are about to take place.

Witteman, Fagerlin, Exe, Trottier and Zikmund-Fisher (2016) indicated that negative comments are more influential more than comments containing general statements. Moreover, Witteman et al. (2016) argue that any organisation that does not turn off comments on their contents support civil online discussion of diverse views. This helps to improve social media strategy based on what the users suggest to the organisation and to build an understanding of how the prospective voters perceive parties. The users can signal the relevance of the posts to the society through the reactions and can effectively complement or overshadow the editorial cues (Messing & Westwood, 2014). Similarly, negative comments have a power to adversely expose user's attitude towards the news content shared by individual or organisation (Winter, 2018). For instance, one of the prospective voters commented on EFF online adverts on the issue of land in a racist manner and this showed that some of white minorities do not believe that black population

could be superior and that redistribution of land will never happen. Moreover, the voter insinuated that parties use issue of land to “fool stupid black” people. Other voters believed that giving black people land is one the greatest moves, but the economy might be at stake due to lack of resources.

The ANC and EFF valued the issues of land and unemployment to create impression and increase the salience of beneficial to convince electorates. This was aimed to shape the constituencies’ decision at the ballot. The challenge occurred when they did not adopt appropriate strategies to emphasise issues that affect party structures such as corruption. The social media comments of prospective voters showed that majority were concerned about corruption and some party members who formed part of the campaign while implicated in corrupt activities. Moreover, the Conversation (2017) indicates that the shameful achievement attained by ANC as a ruling liberation movement in its years of democracy has been unethical and corrupt leaders who exercise power through patronage. While other prospective voters on the EFF although not proven to be true were concern about the implication of party president and his deputy in the looting of Venda Building Society (VBS) Mutual bank. The president of the EFF was personified as “son of the soil” but some voters see him as “son of VBS”. Thus, the analysis discovered that both political parties lacked approaches to the political issues that directly affect communities and the political structures themselves.

5.4 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has dealt with the summary of findings, recommendations, limitations on the study of comparative analysis of ANC and EFF’s framing of land and unemployment during 2019 elections. This was done to understand how the selected political parties approached the land and unemployment issues during pre-elections. The Framing Theory was applied to critically analyse the significance of valuing the land and unemployment issues and their implication on the decision of constituencies. Since social media have changed the political landscape to allow public engagement and active political participation, the researcher used a Facebook as hub of data to analyse the opinions of

voters. Thus, recommendations of the study could significantly assist political parties to improve the production of the advertisements content during campaigns. Because political communication anchors through advertisements, the whole idea of campaign and determine the loss or win of parties.

It is important to acknowledge that, political advertisements include emotive and cognitive messages to persuade the electorates to cast a vote for a certain political party. However, this study has revealed that it is not always true that what parties regard as important hold equal value for all voters. Hence, this chapter articulated the need to review theories in the political literature. Politicians' images were used to accompany the messages articulated during campaign and to mile extend parties personify character with a certain issue. The researcher is of the view that there is a need to check the negative aspects' implication on party political structures. Hence, content analysis was used to determine the themes deductively emanating from the prospective voters' views on ANC and EFF including the issues which were advocated during political campaign. It is through this chapter that, political parties and scholars can deliberately read about the importance of the political content production and the gaps that need to be filled as far as political advertising is concerned. Moreover, other methodologies could be used by upcoming academics to explore this topic further and to generate results that could complement the one of this study.

5.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

The proposed recommendations relate to the political advertisements on the street posters and social media platforms regarding how land and unemployment should be addressed by parties. The recommendations also speak to the implications of the selected issues on the decision constituencies make based on what the party emphasizes for beneficial of salience. Political content and its effect have been researched by various scholars, but one has to agree that the existence of social media has changed how parties communicate the policy issues and this requires scholars to improve the research on political advertisements.

The political parties should have effective pre-electoral campaigns advertisements that are shared on social media platforms and consider prospective voters' comments on their advertisements. This will help parties to understand if the constituencies agree with the issues political parties think are important. Moreover, political parties should try to understand that voters' comments are significant judgements and critiques of their performances and are only meant to help them improve their internal and external challenges.

The political parties that wish to occupy public office should also include what they have done for the populations in the political advertisements content. This would help to send a message to the constituencies if the party is ready to serve the public or not because speeches of politicians alone fail to convince them. There is a need for political parties to put much effort and time to coordinate well the political structures as this has implication on how they represent them. For instance, the delayed and failure of the ANC to deal with members who are implicated in corruption affects the party's participation in the electoral campaign and decline its votes from electorates. The updated resolutions of the party should effectively be implemented, and this will have a power to convince the voters that a party is prepared to fight corruption and work out itself.

The political parties should understand the transformation of political landscape under the democratic dispensation and political participation offered by media which has consequential effect and requires urgent intervention. Political advertisements are created to communicate parties' various messages during elections and persuade voters. However, it is arguable that some constituencies are afforded right to choose and to vote even in disagreement with some of issues parties see important. For instance, both ANC and EFF believed that issues of land and unemployment should be given priority as they affect the population. But through analysis, it was clear that constituencies can see how the issue of corruption was not given much of priority nor sense of urgency. Therefore, this invites changes in the approaches that parties use to communicate their messages

and equally challenges scholars to update the theories used to understand political advertisements.

The political parties should develop electronic surveys and communicate with citizens ahead of electoral campaigns and elections. This will prevent parties to assume that the votes are more important than the needs of the people. Through analysis of data collected by parties, parties will be able to determine the likelihood of winning or losing—while on the other hand it would also help them to monitor the state of their existence in the public. Moreover, survey can help the political parties in the content development of their political advertisements. Political parties excel in disseminating their messages during election and maintain visibility through street posters as a form of freedom of expression. However, what is important is the relationship of this content with the population. Political parties should not wait for elections to engage the public robustly, it should be something performed on daily basis on the burning issues that are of concern to the populations.

The political parties in South Africa should submit a campaign report to the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) that explain how the party got money for electoral campaigns on all platforms. This will help the parties to avoid being perceived as mechanisms that are used to loot state funds and also avoid foreign national control when parties occupy public office. There is a need to understand whether the selected issues by parties positive or negative cognitive influences have as enhanced by the content of political advertisements. There is also a need of improvement on the design of the street posters in how issues and images of politicians are used to capture the voters. The delivered services images could be used in the posters instead of images of the leaders.

5.6 CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE STUDY

This study helps the researchers to understand the importance of political advertisements on the voter's decision, and the significance of theoretical development by scholars in studying politics. The study also creates an awareness on the importance of managing internal parties' political structures and the significance of not avoiding issues that directly

affecting the parties. Through the recommendations, political parties will also understand what needs to improve on the production of political advertisements. South African political parties will also develop better understanding of how the contexts affect the production of advertisements. The establishment of the study also helps to understand the power and service delivery as communication tool that could assist parties in disseminating the messages during elections. The study expands the body of literature on political advertisements and their impact on the voting behaviours of constituencies. Lastly, the impact of social media on political engagement and participation when parties try to sell the politicians and issues to the electorates during campaigns.

5.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY AND DIRECTION FOR OTHER ACADEMICS

The results of the study can only be curbed to the selected parties and cannot be applied to other political parties' advertisements that appeared on social media and street posters during 2019 campaigns in South Africa. Therefore, there is a need to conduct study that focuses on other parties and the issues they prioritised during pre-elections in 2019. This study was conducted to identify the differences between issues of land and unemployment as well as other issues such as corruption, crime, health, education's impact on the content production of the parties. The semi-structured interview limited the findings of the study as the EFF did not manage to participate in interviews. This study was qualitative in nature, so the researcher did not manage to use questionnaires and other method of analysis such as descriptive analysis to determine the results emerging from the collected data. Thus, the applicability of triangulation by other researchers could be significant.

The researcher applied the theory of framing to determine how the issues of land and unemployment were approached by ANC and EFF while explaining their link with the political images. Perhaps, theories such Issue Ownership theory could be applied in African context to learn the significance of the issues that parties emphasise on the voters. The researcher used observations through digital ethnography to understand the impacts of Facebook comments on the voters' decisions. Thus, engagement of the voters themselves to explain what they think party should consider in developing political content

in the advertisements, speeches and manifestos could play a pivotal role. This study focused on Facebook and street posters as hubs of data. The current researcher encourages other scholars to conduct studies that explore this phenomenon to the depth. Other researchers are encouraged to also the impact of Twitter during campaigns on political debates.

5.8 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This study has investigated the approaches that were applied as the political advertisements strategies of the ANC and EFF in approaching the issues of land and unemployment in their advertisements. The argument by other scholars has been that majority of political parties values the political images when campaign during elections to describe determination of the elected candidate. This study found that, to a greater extent, parties values votes more than the needs of the poor. This is because of political issues that affect constituencies to date—many of which have since been promised in 1994. Moreover, parties focus on the issues ownership during pre-elections and make an effort to influence electorates' decision at the ballot box. Thus, some parties make use of personalisation of the politicians to create an impression that the leaders know and understand what voters expect when someone is elected in the public office. This study found that issues that parties value do not always influence voters' decisions. This is signified even more when parties shy away from issues that affect party political structures like corruption.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview questions for the ANC

1. How many political advertisements did ANC political party done and in what language(s) were these advertisements put within public domain?
2. Did the political street posters of the party issued in all provinces of South Africa's districts and local municipalities during 2019 elections?
3. Did the political party produce its own advertisements or was professional company hired to produce the advertisements, please specify?
4. How important is the issues of land and unemployment in political marketing strategy?
5. Does the political party take into consideration the comments of prospective voters on advertisements of the party in social media, particularly Facebook? If yes, how do they play role in your content production?
6. Were the any issues that the party perceive important besides the land and unemployment issues?
7. What influences the decision of using street posters in public domain?
8. What general message the party try to convey in the content of political advertisements?
9. How significance was the colours the party used in the content of political advertisements?
10. What does "Thumamina" mean and its impact on marketing strategy?

Appendix 2: Interview questions for EFF

1. How many political advertisements did EFF political party done and in what language(s) were these advertisements put within public domain?
2. Did the political street posters of the party issued in all provinces of South Africa's districts and local municipalities during 2019 elections?
3. Did the political party produce its own advertisements or was professional company hired to produce the advertisements, please specify?
4. How important is the issues of land and unemployment in political marketing strategy?
5. Does the political party take into consideration the comments of prospective voters on advertisements of the party in social media, particularly Facebook? If yes, how do they play role in your content production?
6. Were the any issues that the party perceive important besides the land and unemployment issues?
7. What influences the decision of using street posters in public domain?
8. What general message the party try to convey in the content of political advertisements?
9. How significance was the colours the party used in the content of political advertisements?
10. What does "Son of the soil" mean and its impact on marketing strategy?

Appendix 3: Faculty approval letter



University of Limpopo
Faculty of Humanities
Executive Dean

Private Bag X1106, Sovenga, 0727, South Africa
Tel: (015) 268 4895, Fax: (015) 268 3425, Email: Satsope.maoto@ul.ac.za

DATE: 9 October 2020

NAME OF STUDENT: MEHALE, MF
STUDENT NUMBER: [201504921]
DEPARTMENT: MA – Communication Studies
SCHOOL: LANGCOM

Dear Student

FACULTY APPROVAL OF PROPOSAL (PROPOSAL NO. FHDC2020/8/10)

I have pleasure in informing you that your MA proposal served at the Faculty Higher Degrees Meeting on 19 August 2020 and your title was approved as follows:

TITLE: ELECTORAL CAMPAIGNS AND POLITICAL COMMUNICATION: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF EFF AND ANC'S FRAMING OF THE LAND QUESTION AND UNEMPLOYMENT DURING THE 2019 ELECTIONS

Note the following:

Ethical Clearance	Tick One
In principle the study requires no ethical clearance, but will need a TREC permission letter before proceeding with the study	
Requires ethical clearance (Human) (TREC) (apply online) Proceed with the study only after receipt of ethical clearance certificate	✓
Requires ethical clearance (Animal) (AREC) Proceed with the study only after receipt of ethical clearance certificate	

Yours faithfully

Prof RS Maoto,
Executive Dean: Faculty of Humanities
Director: Dr JR Rammala
Supervisor: Dr S Mpofu

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Appendix 4: Ethical clearance certificate for the study



University of Limpopo
Department of Research Administration and Development
Private Bag X1106, Sovenga, 0727, South Africa
Tel: (015) 268 3935, Fax: (015) 268 2306, Email:
makoetja.ramusi@ul.ac.za

TURFLOOP RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE
ETHICS CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

MEETING: 24 March 2021

PROJECT NUMBER: TREC/46/2021: PG

PROJECT:

Title: Electoral campaigns and political communication: A comparative analysis of EFF and ANC's framing of the land question and unemployment during the 2019 elections.

Researcher: MF Mehale

Supervisor: Dr S Mpofu

Co-Supervisor/s: N/A

School: Language and Communication

Degree: Master of Arts in Communication Studies

PROF P MASOKO

CHAIRPERSON: TURFLOOP RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

The Turfloop Research Ethics Committee (TREC) is registered with the National Health Research Ethics Council, Registration Number: **REC-0310111-031**

Note:

- i) This Ethics Clearance Certificate will be valid for one (1) year, as from the abovementioned date. Application for annual renewal (or annual review) need to be received by TREC one month before lapse of this period.
- ii) Should any departure be contemplated from the research procedure as approved, the researcher(s) must re-submit the protocol to the committee, together with the Application for Amendment form.
- iii) PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER IN ALL ENQUIRIES.

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Appendix 5: Letter from the editor



Semono Tshwenyego Benny
P O Box 1077, Senwabarwana 0790, South Africa
Cell: 0724168689 / 0812180898
Email: semonobt@gmail.com

TITLE: ELECTORAL CAMPAIGNS AND POLITICAL COMMUNICATION: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF EFF AND ANC'S FRAMING OF THE LAND QUESTION AND UNEMPLOYMENT DURING 2019 ELECTIONS.

To : TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

From : SEMONO T.B

Date issued : 07 JULY 2021

Subject : Mr MEHALE M.F (201504921)

I hereby declare that the above-mentioned dissertation is accurately edited.

The editing process involved refining the work at five distinct levels:

- Editing for structure to help the reader follow the logic of the writer's arguments.
- Editing for language to ensure good use of grammar, coherence and consistency in tense.
- Editing for writing styles and consistency in technical presentations (i.e., font sizes and colour, alignment, paragraphing and other technicalities) such that the reader will be able to concentrate on the content.
- Proof-reading to eliminate repetition, spelling errors, punctuation errors, redundant statements, inconsistent formatting and other exasperating distractions.
- Editing to fix citation errors and to ensure that all the sources acknowledged in the text are enlisted in the bibliography. This level of editing involved ensuring that all citations and bibliographic formats are correct and consistent with the method of referencing applied herein.

I am therefore confident that the document is reader-friendly and proficient enough to evaluate.

Sincerely,

SEMONO TB

Date: 07 JULY 2021

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