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The rise of political advertising on television in South Africa and its implications for democracy

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A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the Degree of Master of Arts in Media Studies

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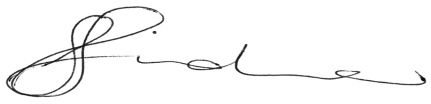
Abstract

The general debate around political advertising on television has been that the political advertisements on television concentrate more on the images rather than the political issues and thus, create an electorate who is entertained by the catchy slogans and this hinders a well informed decision. The study investigates the rise of political advertising on television in South Africa and its implications for democracy. It is focused on the 2009 pre-elections and specifically on the political advertisements which appeared on national television during the pre-election period beginning from 30th March 2009 up until 20th April 2009. The study also examines the extent to which political advertisements on television commodify politics. Furthermore, it explores the themes covered in the political advertisements on television and the extent to which these political advertisements focus on the images than the themes. In addition, the study also looks into the underlying issues and complexities, such as regulation and funding and financing issues which are hidden from the public glare, accompanying the images and messages seen on television around election time. Qualitative methods are used and the study is both descriptive and explorative and as means of interpreting the data, thematic content analysis is used. The critical political economy of the media theory is employed as well as the democratic theories of the media, with a key focus on liberal democracy and deliberative democracy. Thus the findings showed that the political advertisements on television in South Africa were informative as they concentrated more on the themes than the images and, in many instances where the images were used it was mainly to support the message. However, the political advertisements had some emotional appeals which communicated emotions of sadness and despair as well as emotions of happiness and success. Character appeals were used at minimum and it was only three political parties which made use of their leaders with only one political party, out of the three, using their leader throughout the advertisement. The issue of commodity in politics was very prominent in the political advertisements on television thus it can be concluded that political advertising on television commodify politics to a large extent in the production and distribution process but to a minimum extent in the content. The implications of the rise of political advertising on television for democracy are twofold because they are both positive and negative. It is recommended that the regulations on political advertising on television be re-visited and reviewed. Thus, a prospective model for the regulation of political advertising on television is also illustrated in the study.

KEY WORDS *Political advertising on television, image, themes, 2009 pre-elections, political parties, electorate, commodity, democracy.*

Declaration

I declare that this research report is my own work. It is submitted for the Degree of Master of Arts at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any form.



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Sibongile Sindane

28 April

_____ Day of _____ 2010

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List of abbreviations

ACDP	African Christian Democratic Movement
AFD	Alliance of Free Democrats
ANC	African National Congress
APC	African Peoples' Convention
ASA	Advertising Standards Authority
AZAPO	Azanian People's Organisation
CMC	Computer-mediated communication
COPE	Congress of the People
DA	Democratic Alliance
IBA	Independent Broadcasting Authority
ICA	Independent Communications Authority
ICASA	Independent Communications Authority of South Africa
ICT	Information and communication technology
ID	Independent Democrats
ID spot	Identity spot
IEC	Independent Election Commission
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
LSM	Living Standard Measurement
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
NADECO	National Democratic Convention
NBB	National Broadcasting Board
NP	National Party

PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
PEB	Party election broadcast
PFP	Progressive Federal Party
PIM	Progressive Independent Movement
SAARF	South African Advertising Research Foundation
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SATRA	South African Telecommunications Regulatory Authority
TV	Television
UCDP	United Christian Democratic Party
UDM	United Democratic Movement
UIF	United Independent Front
UK	United Kingdom
UNISA	University of South Africa
UPSA	United Party of South Africa
USA	United States of America
FF+	Freedom Front Plus
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front

Chapter 1: Background

> *November 17, 1993, will remain an important date on the South African calendar, as it marks the day when the African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, and President FW de Klerk ratified an interim constitution and a bill of rights. Blacks became South African citizens for the first time, digging the grave of apartheid and bringing to an end three centuries of oppressive and racist rule. (Chhabra: 1994)*

Pre-1994 South Africa was shaped by white minority rule, otherwise known as apartheid. "Apartheid in practice is the long-term objective of the territorial separation of the White minority and the "non-white" majority, but its basic tenet has been the domination of the state and society by the privileged White minority" (Chhabra 1994:1). Thus, apartheid called the tune to the rhythm of political discourse at the time by reinforcing strict regulations particularly in the way that political discourse was covered. The then political parties which mainly consisted of the White minority could canvass for votes through media such as radio, billboards, flyers, posters and newspapers, no political parties were permitted to canvass political support on national television.

The publishing of political discourse, especially by "non-whites", was banned. An example was Steve Biko, who was killed for airing his political voice and stating that "I write what I like". Mainstream politics at large were in the hands of the white minority. The "non-whites" were either imprisoned or killed for writing or circulating political discourse as they were accused of being communists. Consequently, freedom of expression did not exist during this time, especially for the "non-whites".

Restricting political discourse was one of the mechanisms that the White minority used to ensure that they stayed in power, this measure could have also been enforced because the "non-whites" realised the power possessed by the media and communication at large. Not only that, the media also has a mobilising effect thus it was this powerful mobilising effect that the White minority tried to avoid. In order to gain a political voice or a means of expression, the "non-whites" would *toyi toyi*, otherwise known as protesting, although much of the time they would get killed because of this. For example, in 1976, students were killed for protesting against the enforcement of the Afrikaans language being taught as a first language in "non-white" schools.

The year 1976 was a historical year in South Africa as television began broadcasting and, along with the restrictive laws, was used for propaganda, which can be defined as the manipulation of symbols as a means of influencing attitudes on controversial matters" (Lasswell 1942: 106). The media can systematically manufacture propaganda under the guise of 'facts' to elicit consent from mass audience for patently undemocratic and often scurrilous government practices (Duncan and Seleoane 1998: 14). One of the fears that the apartheid government had of getting television introduced in South Africa was that it would also dilute the state's control over radio and the press. "Television even became an issue in the whites-only elections, with the United Party campaigning under the slogan 'Want TV? Vote UP!'" (www.mediaclubsouthafrica.com). Furthermore, the media under the apartheid government were more concerned with refraining from breaking the law than in engaging in discussions on their ethical duties towards society; consequently, "journalists were jailed if they did not comply with the government regulations" (Wasserman and Beer 2006: 60).

However, transformation in South Africa began in 1994 when the apartheid government was abolished and a democratic state was born. This transformation gave millions of South Africans the privilege to cast a vote for the very first time, on 27 April 1994, and to elect a president whom they believed would govern them appropriately and fulfil their political needs. "The repressive media laws were repealed and media freedom was entrenched in the new Constitution within a Bill of Rights guaranteeing not only media freedom but also freedom of expression and access to official information" (Wasserman and Beer 2006: 62). This period also rapidly introduced the phenomenon of political advertising. During this time the aim of political advertising was to give a platform to political parties to canvass, inform and educate the public about their particular political parties, exemplifying what the party stood for and illustrating the policies of that party. Thus, political advertising was permitted on billboards, radio, newspapers, and posters. However, it was prohibited on South African television since that was believed to be a more compelling form of advertising. Teer-Tomaselli (2006: 434) effectively states that "[b]roadcasting advertisements were permitted only on radio and the rationale was twofold; [television] advertising is an expensive enterprise, making it less egalitarian than radio and television advertising is believed to be a particularly potent form of persuasion". In addition, she states that "parties were only permitted to publicise their positions through party election broadcasts (PEBs)", and further paid advertising was only permitted on radio, as well as printed advertisements and newspapers in any quantities the parties could afford.

South Africa currently has four broadcasting channels, two dedicated to public service broadcasting, SABC 1 and SABC 2; and one commercial station SABC 3, as well as one free to air channel, e-tv. The political advertisements have been aired on all these channels; however, for the purpose of the study only the political advertisements that appeared on SABC 1, 2, and 3 were considered. Furthermore, during the pre-election period, SABC 1 had a viewership or cume (cumulative) reach of 87.2% of adults older than the age of 16 during the month of March 2009, and in April 2009 it had 74.6%. SABC 2 had a cume reach of 85.6% in March 2009, and in April 2009 it had 88.1%. SABC 3 had a cume reach of 85.9% in March 2009, and 85.3% in April 2009 (http://www.saarf.co.za). The cume reach in this instance means that the above stated percentage of adults 16 years and older in South Africa viewed the television station at least once during that particular month.

The SABC is considered to be the hub of South African television. SABC 1 is targeted specifically at the youthful segment of the population and is considered to be SA's biggest television channel with more than 14.5 million adult viewers. SABC 2 is seen to reflect the multi-faceted nature of South African families and its purpose is to fulfil a nation-building role. SABC 3 is aimed at reflecting a successful and stylish South Africa, "with viewers who have their hearts rooted in South Africa, but have their heads in the world" (www.sabc.co.za). It is a contemporary adult channel targeted at living standard measurement (LSM)[1] 8–10, with viewers in the 25-to-49-year bracket (www.sabc.co.za).

1.1 Problem statement

To date, South Africa has had four general elections under the 'new democracy' umbrella, beginning with the 1994 election, followed by the elections in 1999, 2004 and 2009. However, it was the pre-election period of the 2009 South African elections that gave rise to political advertising on television. Consequently, political advertising on television is a new

[1] LSM is a bracket that is used in the media to ascertain the audience class and buying power, it runs from a scale of 1-10 and 1-4 is considered to be the lower class with minimum buying power and 4-7 is considered to be the middle class with medium buying power while 8-10 is considered to be the upper class which is also more educated and with the best buying power.

phenomenon in South Africa and it was introduced through a decision taken by the broadcasting regulator, the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) in October 2008. ICASA is the national broadcasting regulator and it holds the power to regulate political advertising on South African television. According to Teer-Tomaselli (2006: 434), "in 2000, the IBA merged with the South African Telecommunications Regulatory Authority to form the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA), to which fell the responsibility of regulating and monitoring political advertisements and broadcasts". ICASA gained the authority to regulate and monitor political advertisements because previously there had been concern that the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) was influenced by the National Party (NP). For instance, Teer-Tomaselli (2006: 434) argues that there was a strong perception that the then NP-supporting SABC could not be trusted to provide fair and unbiased coverage of the upcoming political electioneering on the air, and thus a number of regulations were institutionalised.

Nonetheless, South Africa is now considered a liberal democratic system in which there should exist an "open democracy whereby society is governed by a constitution that lays down the rules of the political game by setting the procedures and rules governing the conduct of elections"(McNair 1999: 15–16). Democracy stipulates that the law must be enforced fairly, consistently and equally, and democracy must make way for participation and rational choice. The constitution must protect the rights of every citizen's participation in the election of a government of their choice and rational choice is an important condition of democracy. Baker (2002:137), for instance, argues that "participation protects people's rights and interests – it is 'preservative of all rights'". Thus, in order to enable the citizens to make rational choice, the citizens should be provided with different points of view on issues, choice of candidates, parties and policies to vote for (McNair 1999: 16-17). The citizens must be knowledgeable and informed, otherwise they easily fall prey to manipulation and coercion and this is disadvantageous to democracy.

Significantly, the African National Congress (ANC) aired a 60-second advertisement on SABC 1 at 21:30 on Friday, 27 February 2009. This was the first political advertisement to be aired on South African television and on 2 March 2009, which was the following Monday, the Democratic Alliance (DA) answered by airing a 60-second advertisement that appeared during the time slot between 19:30 and 20:30 on SABC 2, which is regarded as part of prime time (www. mg.co.za). The decision taken by ICASA guaranteed all the political parties with representation in parliament a minimum amount of television airtime. The South African

elections took place on 22 April 2009 and the airing of political advertisement was stopped two days or 48 hours prior to election day.

Consequently, the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) contributed to the funding of the campaigning for the political parties with representation in parliament. As mentioned by Brigalia Bam, the IEC chairperson, at the Africa Day Conference held at the University of South Africa (UNISA) on 5 June 2009, 156 parties registered for the election and only 40 parties could afford the "deposit"[2] required by the IEC, although only 26 political parties appeared on the ballot paper. Altogether, a sum of 2 million rand was allocated to the parties for campaigning by private enterprise such as Standard Bank amongst others, who were keen on revealing their identity. Surprisingly, Bam also mentioned that no system was set up to account for the funds (Africa Day Conference: 2009). However, as in the case of the ANC and the DA, the political parties were evidently given the alternative of additionally funding their own political advertisements on television and acquiring extra advertising airtime. Hence, considering the aforementioned, it is vital to investigate the rise of political advertising on television in South Africa because political advertising on television is also a fairly new phenomenon in Africa and it has certain democratic implications to it which create room for concern.

The study is interesting and timely because television advertising is a new phenomenon in South Africa, thus it also provides the opportunity to present a South African model for regulating political advertising on television. The study of the rise of political advertising is also important because, in the case of first world countries such as the United States of America (USA), for example, the impact of political advertising on television has shown more unfavourable results than favourable for democracy. For example, the content of these political advertisements has proved to focus more on images than political issues. The market model is viewed to be present in the political advertisements from abroad whereby politics is commodified and sold like soap on the supermarket shelf (McNair 1999, 2007). The content

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[2] The election deposit for each election the party is contesting. Parties contesting for the National Assembly will have to pay a deposit of R180 000 while parties contesting provincial legislatures will pay R40 000 per province. The deposits can only be paid by means of a bank guaranteed cheque. The respective deposit is refundable if a party wins at least one seat in the legislature they are contesting (www. gov.za).

of these advertisements is seen to have somewhat created an electorate that is more entertained by the catchy slogans than by the political issues (McNair 1999, 2007; Norris 2005, Kaid and Holtz 1995, 2006). Thus, if political advertising on television is practised in South Africa the same way that it is in first world countries, then this creates room for concern.

In addition, the SABC is perceived to be a public broadcaster, according to Suine (1998 as cited in Mbaine 2003) the role a public service broadcaster in a democracy includes some of the following elements, a commitment to balanced scheduling and its service should be able to provide to all. Furthermore, political content is obliged to be balanced and impartial. This also means that the SABC should be independent and not be influenced by any political parties or any other institution that perhaps may provide funding. Moreover, the "public service broadcaster should deliver programmes to audiences whereas commercial or private broadcasting operates on a logic of delivering audiences to advertisers" (Mbaine 2003: 144). The public service broadcaster also plays a critical role in a situation where structural imbalances of media access can undermine democritisation and development. Thus it is important that the SABC be accountable to the citizens in the manner in which political advertisements on television are broadcast and it also the responsibility of the SABC to ensure pluralism and diversity most especially in relation to language issues. Since the SABC is considered to be a public service broadcaster it should not require large amounts of money from political parties for broadcasting the advertisements in terms of purchasing extra airtime in turn it should not perform special favours for certain political parties which purchase extra airtime from it with large amounts of money. Thus the political advertisements should also be easily accessible and the SABC should operate in the public interest. Furthermore, "democracy and the public service media are regarded as early warning devices" (Keane 1991: 181). Thus it is important that the public service broadcaster operates according to the specifications of democracy.

1.2 Aims and objectives

The study aims to investigate the rise of political advertising on television in South Africa and its implications for democracy. I focus on the 2009 pre-elections and specifically on the political advertisements that appeared on national television during the pre-election period

from 30 March 2009 to 20 April 2009. The study also seeks to examine the extent to which political advertisements on television commodify politics. Furthermore, it intends to explore what themes were covered and the extent to which the political advertisements focused on images rather than themes. In addition, the study also aims to look into the underlying issues and complexities, such as regulation, production funding and financing issues which are normally hidden from the public glare and, accompany the images and messages seen on television around election time.

1.3 Underlying Assumptions

Many of the first world countries have shown the impact of political advertising on television to be negative. I begin with the assumption that the implications of political advertising on television in South Africa are both negative and positive. Political advertising on television is positive because not only has it somewhat enables freedom of expression, by introducing another way of informing the citizens about the political process through creating room for choice, which is one of the prerequisites for an ideal democracy. However, it is negative because the messages contained in the political advertisements do not create enough room for, or empower, a well informed democratic decision about which political party to vote for. It commodifies politics as it relies on the market model and focuses on catchy slogans and images. Thus it sells politics like any other commercial product.

1.4 Research questions

1) What implications does political advertising on television have for democracy?

2) How are political advertisements on television funded and produced?

3) To what extent do political advertisements on television commodify politics?

4) How is political advertising on television regulated?

5) What messages were covered in the political advertisements on television during South Africa's 2009 presidential election?

- To what extent did the political advertisements focus on images rather than the themes?

1.5 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a background and introduction to the study of the rise of political advertising on television in South Africa, and its implications for democracy. The chapter has provided an overview that outlines the key issues to the historical aspects that have shaped or played a role in shaping the political realm in South Africa and, hence, political advertising. It has established how transformation concerning political advertising has evolved, and it has drawn out some of the main issues that have sculptured television and has shown some of the reasons behind the scepticism of allowing political advertising on television. The chapter illustrated that political advertising is now permitted on television and established the body behind this decision. A glimpse into the funding and financing of political advertising was given. Significantly, the chapter has outlined the problem statement, the research aims and objectives, the underlying assumptions, and the significance of the study. A brief definition of terms as well as the research questions were provided.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the literature review for the study of, the rise of political advertising on television and its implications for democracy in South Africa. The work of the prominent authors in the field was put together in a 'circle' from which I draw out the key arguments in the field of study. The methodologies and theories that these authors opt to use were carefully and critically assessed. Thus, in addition, I have evaluated their findings in order to illustrate how the suggested study will contribute to the ongoing debate. As a 'small fish in a circle of big sharks in the sea', I negotiate with the chosen authors' text in an attempt to establish a unique voice that makes a prominent contribution to this particular field of study. However, since political advertising on television in South Africa is a new phenomenon, there is no study or literature that directly addresses this phenomenon. Hence this is the first study to address political advertising on television in South Africa.

2.2 A brief overview of the literature

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 a well-informed decision about which political party to vote for (McNair 1999, 2007; Kaid and Holtz-Bacha 1995, 2006; Scammell and Langer 2006; Fourie 2008; Fourie and Froneman 2003). Thus, this study attempts to ascertain whether this holds true for political advertising on television in South Africa. In addition, the image versus issue debate has suggested that relying on images more than the political issues at hand is somewhat disadvantageous to democracy because it leads to an electorate that is entertained by the images and the catchy slogans.

Questions about how political advertising facilitates participation and mobilisation have been raised, as participation and mobilisation are viewed as the key prerequisites for an ideal democracy (Norris 2005; McNair 1999, 2007; Fourie 2008; Fourie and Froneman 2003; and Kaid and Holtz 1995, 2006). The dimension of political advertising being sold as a commodity is also debated (Norris 2005; McNair 2007, Scammell 1995, and Scammell and Langer 2006). It is suggested that political advertising is increasingly being "sold like soap on

the supermarket shelf" (McNair 1999, 2007) whereby the package is packed in the most attractive way possible along with catchy slogans in order to manipulate the audience (electorate) into buying it, forgetting that what is inside the package might not be necessarily fresh and that it could be full of all sorts of preservatives. Nonetheless, once political advertising is sold as a commodity, this creates room for concern from the outset because the contents of the packaging may not meet the requirements suggested by the package and, thus, mislead the 'consumer'. It is vital to note that in a democracy the public should be viewed as citizens and not as consumers and, thus, the public should be treated as citizens.The study of political advertising is one that has been somewhat neglected by many scholars in many parts of the globe. Political advertising has been studied in the United States at a better extent compared to the rest of the globe whereby scholars have looked into the effects and impact of political advertising on the voter. As identified by Young (2002: 86), only a few academics in the USA have studied political advertising as a phenomenon and their studies are both historical and descriptive (see, for example, Ward 1999; Beresford 1998; Ward 1995; Mills 1986; Braund 1978; and McLean and Brennan 1973). In her article, *Spot: The role of political advertising in Australia*, Young (2002:81) identifies that there has been a lack of interest among academic analysts in political advertising in Australia. She (2002:81) explains that advertising now has a central role in the political process and argues that there is a need for it to be recognised in scholarly research. As in the case of Australia, this also holds true for South Africa, hence it is critically important to study political advertising, particularly as South Africa has seen its rise on television. The study of political advertising 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". This point raised by Berger also helps to justify the importance of the study as I intend to establish the implications that political advertising on television has for democracy in South Africa. Kern (1989: 6) argues that advertising has an impact that includes, but is much broader than that of, informing the public about candidate positions on the issues. This broader impact suggested by Kern then makes room to question the phenomenon of political advertising on television even further by looking into aspects of commodity and commodification which also weave in to influence the broader spectrum of democracy.

2.3 Defining political advertising

According to McNair (1999: 86), political advertising refers to the purchase and use of advertising space, paid for at a commercial rate, in order to transmit political messages to an audience. It detracts from rational decision making by concentrating on emotional features rather than political issues (McNair 1999: 96-87). McNair (1999: 92-93) argues that "the focus lies on the image, which in many cases results in emotional rather than logical vote choices, while a rational voter's decision making is presumed to be linked to logical and issue-oriented information". If political advertisements on television detract from rational decision-making and the participation process, the political advertisements on television could be rendered unethical (McNair 1999: 93) and disadvantageous to democracy in the sense that the advertisements may not necessarily make room for the principles and characteristics of a democracy. Tak, Kaid and Lee (2008: 175) define political advertising simply as "an overt function to persuade voters".

Berger (2004: 87) views political advertising as a tool that enables politicians to send their messages to a large number of people who tend to be apolitical and are not particularly interested in political campaigns. It is aimed at persuading the viewers to do what the candidate (political party) paying for the advertisements wants them to do (Berger: 2004: 87). What is important to recognise is that those people are often profoundly affected by the political advertisements to which they are exposed (Berger 2004: 87). However, this particular study does not address the effects of the political advertisements on the audience. Meanwhile, Kaid and Holtz-Bacha (2006: 3) view political advertising as "a means through which parties and candidates represent themselves to the electorate mostly through mass media". They argue that political advertising is sometimes referred to as paid media. 'Free media' or free coverage is constrained by the usual journalistic constraints while paid media allow candidates, parties, and sometimes other interest groups to decide how they want to present themselves to the voters (Kaid and Holtz-Bacha 2006: 3). Thus they view political advertising as a "controlled, non mediated campaign channel, meaning that responsibility for the ads lies with the political actors, and they do not run the risk of their messages being altered by the media production process" (Kaid and Holtz-Bacha 2006: 4).

In addition, McQuail (2000: 12) argues that the campaign shares, 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 he states that political election campaigns attempt to provide information, commercial and public service advertising, some forms of education; the use of mass media in developing countries and generally for the diffusion of innovations. 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 the pitifully powerless, the highly involved and the blissfully indifferent". They state that the very structure of communication involves a division between movers and shakers at the participatory energy the system can generate. Meanwhile, McNair (2007:4) defines political communication simply 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".

Kern (1995: 52) suggests that advertising allows candidates to reach uninterested and unmotivated citizens, those who pay little attention to news reports, debates and other campaigns. Thus political actors determine how they are represented on television and dictate the shape and content of the political advertisement. However, the definitions of political advertising of both McNair (1999) and Kaid and Holtz-Bacha (2006) carry some weakness within. For example, McNair's case fails to acknowledge that this purchase and use of advertising space is through the mass media. Hence political advertising on television can be understood and defined as a controlled and non mediated channel, in the sense that it is not shaped by machenisms such as journalistic constraints, that refer to the purchase and use of advertising space, and is mostly staged through the mass media in order to transmit political messages to the potential electorate.

2.4 The "Americanisation" of political advertising

The United States has been identified as a prototype to follow or to compare. It is ahead of a trend followed by other countries. However, Holtz-Bacha and Kaid (1995: 10) suggest that any international comparison of political communication process will have to take into con-

sideration the differences in political structures and process, in political culture, and in the media systems of a particular country (see, for example, Kaid and Holtz 2006). Thus, in order to establish the role of political advertising in Australia, Young (2002) begins by identifying the political differences between the United States and Australia, which are important because she acknowledges the fact that these two countries are indeed shaped by different political structures and processes, and that they have different political cultures and media systems. She argues that in the United States television advertisements ("spots") are used widely, not only in presidential state elections but also in school board elections, and she also points out that "in the United States, there are over 5 000 full-time political consultants and a significant number of advertising agencies which specialise in election campaign advertising" (Young 2002: 83). Meanwhile, in Australia, even in federal elections, individual candidates cannot afford their own television advertisements (Young 2002: 83). This is an important observation made by Young as she compares the 'big dog' (United States) to Australia. It helps to illustrate that the tune of political advertising indeed cannot be played in the same way in two countries as the countries are shaped by different aspects – political histories, different media systems and so forth. This point helps to shed more light on the South African case and helps to illustrate that, as much as Australia has its own voice when compared to the USA, South Africa too must, in turn, be given a voice and it should not be simply stereotyped to equal the experience of the United States.

Moreover, the results of Scammell and Semetko (1995: 41) show that, to a certain extent, British advertising is becoming more 'Americanised', and this, they argue, is shown in some of the techniques, and even in the language in the Conservative Party advertising, which has learnt from lessons across the Atlantic. They argue that "American techniques have been imported into Britain at least since the 1960s when Wilson studied John Kennedy's television manner". Rarely explicitly defined, "Americanisation is a shorthand for a list of features deemed undesirable: The elevation of personality, glitz, glamour, and emotional, often negative appeals over the promulgation of policy" (Scammell and Semetko 1995: 21). It is important to note that, although countries such as the UK may follow the American lead, the turnout or the implications thereof, of the two countries, will be different given that the countries are shaped by different laws, different people and different history and, most importantly, different political systems as also mentioned in the previous paragraph.

Scammell and Langer (2006) argue that most analysis of political advertising questions how it matches the normative standard of providing information to voters. They compare political

advertising to commercial advertising and argue that commercial advertising attract interest through pleasure and popular discourse while political advertising remains wedded to information. They point out that political advertising aims at plausibility while commercial advertising aims at pleasure. In their study, they analyse party election broadcasts (PEBs) in the UK over two general elections, according to a scheme which elicits both the informational content and aesthetic and emotional appeals. They state that their "analysis design and the underlying rational may have application beyond the UK" (Scammell and Langer 2006: 2). The Scammell and Langer (2006) inquiry somewhat contributes in mapping and giving direction to this study as I investigate the extent to which political advertising on television commodifies politics. Although I do not necessarily compare the political advertising to commercial advertising, I draw out whether aspects of commercial advertising appear in the political advertisements in order to trace whether political advertising provides a platform for politics to be sold as a commodity.

Scammell and Langer (2006:3), like many others, see the need to question the aspects of democracy that should be possessed by political advertising and point out that campaigns should not only be about the provision of substantive information to enable voters to make rational choices between competing policy platforms but the key role of political campaigns should be mobilisation (see, for example, Popkin 1992; Hart 2000; and Richard 2004). However, it is difficult to measure or decide which campaign is more likely to mobilise citizens, although Jamieson (2000) and Norris *et al.* (1999) acknowledge that positive content promotes engagement, while negative content engenders cynicism. Moreover, Scammell and Langer (2006: 4) posit that television advertising is now the predominant means of campaign communication for parties or candidates in countries where paid spots are permitted, such as the USA. They state that "even where paid political TV advertising is prohibited, as in the UK, the rationed equivalent (party election broadcasts) are by far the single most important direct address to voters, eclipsing traditional forms such as rallies and canvassing, or modern forms of direct communication via direct mail, text messaging and the internet". As suggested by Mazzolini (2003: 32) "… it can be said that television markedly changed politics and political leadership to such an extent that future historians will mark the introduction of television a milestone to the history of politics and democracy". But how can this be possible when it is difficult to assess how television mobilises its audience and how it allows for participation when it comes to political advertisements. Surely television provides more choice for the electorate. However, given the nature of television – the bright lights,

music, flashes here and there, this creates room for concern. Politics should not be marketed like a commercial product since it should not be aimed at a consumer but directed towards the citizens.

Nonetheless, Scammell and Langer (2006: 13) view political advertising as important because it offers political parties an opportunity to represent themselves. They also argue that political parties are doing little to attract even minimal attention through pleasure. "Politics, practised properly, should be about substantive issues, policy, record, and fitness to govern" (Scammell and Langer 2006: 13). They argue that "politics is limited from boring to entertaining; it dare not elevate pleasure over knowledge, if it wishes to be taken seriously" (Scammell and Langer 2006: 14). Thus, Scammell and Langer (2006) bring forth an interesting argument opposing the traditional notion that political advertising should not dwell on images but should strictly be about issues. They acknowledge and argue that it is acceptable for political advertisements to be entertaining and to include the pleasurable concepts. While I agree with Scammell and Langer (2006) that it is important to illustrate the pleasurable side in politics. However, it is more important that the viewer is given the correct message and not mislead. This then helps to question the issues of the production of the content of the political advertisements (the question of what gets put in and what is left out is important), which will be discussed later on in the literature review.

The content analysis of UK PEBs revealed that information content is their biggest virtue; there was strikingly little attempt to engage audience interest through the use of genre, or innovative narrative structure, and pace Labour where the Labour Party was concerned, little recognition of the emotional intelligence of viewers (Scammell and Langer 2003: 26). Scammell and Langer (2006) also point out that the prohibition of paid political advertising (in the UK) has limited parties to rationed time-controlled slots. This is an important point because through paid advertising political parties would then be able to control the duration of their political advertisements based on the amount of money they are willing or are able to pay.

2.5 The role of political advertising

Holtz-Bacha and Kaid (1995:10) state that the "political system and the electoral system go hand in hand with the role of parties, and it is only in the US that television advertisements are sponsored by the candidates themselves". However, in South Africa the candidates were

allowed to sponsor their own political advertisements in the 2009 pre-election period. Importantly, (Holtz-Bacha and Kaid 1995: 30) argue that specific features of media system should be of relevance for the formats and importance of political advertising in the different countries. This is important because in some countries political advertising is permitted on some mediums but prohibited on others. This concerns the media system in general and specifically the structure of the broadcasting system as well as the function or status of the different media for the audience (Holtz-Bacha and Kaid 1995:10). In this instance, Holtz-Bacha and Kaid (1995) point back to the issue discussed earlier on in literature review that it is important to acknowledge the different aspects that shape different political concepts in a country such as those of the political history, laws and regulation that govern the media in a country.

Norris (2005: 3) identifies the role of political parties as being essential to the functioning of modern, representative democracy but states that the role of communications is even more essential to the functioning of political parties. Touching on Norris's point, not only is the role of communications essential to the functioning of political parties but it is also essential to the functioning of society as a whole; as communication (media) is expected to establish a well informed citizenry among many other roles. Like Norris (2005), Bogart (1998: 7) argues that advertising introduces a dazzling and constantly changing array of fresh images into everyday life, thus constantly raising aspirations and challenging the status quo, and in this respect it fosters democracy. Norris (2005: 3) moves on to suggest that "strong party-based communications provide vital avenues for public participation, structure citizens' electoral choices, and connect leaders and elected officials around common programs". However, as much as party-based communications are vital, what is more important is the manner in which they are communicated and the way that they are delivered to the citizens. For instance, in order to enable a strong democracy, when constructing these message(s) a great deal of thought needs to go into the whole process.

Firstly, the political party should not only think about capturing or persuading the 'citizen' and the message(s) communicated should not be misleading in order to enable the citizen to make a rational choice. Secondly, thought has to go into the medium in which this message(s) is being communicated so that the characteristics of such a medium are also taken into consideration. For example, in his book aptly called *Seducing America*, Hart (1994: 7) opts to rely on the technological determinism perspective as he argues that "television can and does make the public sphere seem more private; it makes us see in a certain way, but it also makes

us see seeing in a certain way". He also states that "[t]elevision tells us, incrementally and additively, today and once again tomorrow, that politics can be reduced to pictures". So it seems that television certifies a special way of seeing and hence a special way of knowing as suggested by Hart: "Most importantly television endorses a special set of feelings" (Hart 1994: 7). Mazzolini (2003: 34) also mentions that politics in the television era has turned into a quite different reality from the one known in pre-television times; thus, he also suggests technological determinism paradigm because he points out that it is indeed the medium which is changing the nature of politics. Even though Hart (1994) and Mazzolini (2003) rely on the technological determinism perspective rather quite heavily, I opt for the social constructivist paradigm as well, although this is not the focus in this study, because it is not only the technology that shapes the outcome of a phenomenon but society also plays a role. In this regard, when I suggest society, I am referring to the political parties, the broadcaster (media structure), audience and/or the broadcasting regulator as part of the society. This is one of the reasons I opt for critical political economy of the media theory, which is discussed later on in the study, in investigating the rise of political advertising on television in South Africa and its implications for democracy as this theory is holistic in nature. For example, Golding and Murdock (2000: 7) suggest that critical political economy of the media examines the quality of the relationship of the media and communication systems to the broader structure of society. Furthermore, technological determinism suggests that it the technology that shapes society, while social constructivism notes that it is infact the society that shapes the technology. Thus I argue that society shapes the technology which in turn shapes the society.

In addition, Norris (2005) considers effective party communications as rightly important tools of democratic development and states that developing direct channels of communication is especially important in emerging democracies as it allows parties to speak directly to supporters, independently of the filter of potentially hostile or indifferent news media. She also states that "current advocates of "participatory," "direct," "deliberative," or "strong" democracy often regard parties with considerable suspicion, on the grounds that citizens should discuss issues and determine priorities within each community, "uncontaminated" by partisan bias" (Norris 2005: 3). If this is the case, what implications does political advertising on television have for an emerging or new democracy such as South Africa? By its nature, political advertising on television is not a direct form of communication and it is thus difficult to assess its mobilising affects immediately, if ever. Furthermore, how does it enable participation? A strong and ideal democracy should be participatory and it should mobilise its

citizens. As mentioned by Hart (1994: 7) earlier on in this study, television has made the public sphere more private. If the public sphere is made more private by television what then becomes of participation and mobilising the citizens (deliberation)?

Randall (1998: 1) acknowledges the fact that television communication depends on images, whose emotional impact can be intense but whose informational content is often unclear. In addition she also points out that information is power, and the media should act as conduits of vital political information, which may also mean providing guidance on the interpretation of that information, so as to enable citizens to participate meaningfully in the public political life (Randall 1998 1–2). This function is important during election time when the media should constitute a means of expression for the full range of political interests and viewpoints and a forum for public debate (Randall 1998: 4). Therefore, the media should provide simplified information that is easy to understand without compromising its role. It is thus valuable that the political advertisements can be easily understood by any ordinary person on the street. The media have a mobilising function and should provide incentives to citizens to become more informed and involved (Randall 1998: 4). In an ideal democracy the media must inform, educate, provide a platform for public debate, give publicity to government and political institutions and serve as a channel for advocacy of political viewpoints (McNair 1999: 19–20). The media can be viewed as agencies of information and debate that facilitates [or rather should facilitate] the functioning of democracy, the media should also brief the electorate and assist the voters to make informed choices at election time as suggested by Curran (2000). Doyle (2002) also agrees with this point by stating that citizens and voters have a need to access a variety of viewpoints [in order to make informed decisions].

In addition, Tak, Kaid and Lee (2008: 175) view the role of political advertising in a more optimistic manner as they argue that "political advertising reflects the uniqueness of indigenous culture, for both western and non-western countries". However, in a more realistic manner they argue that political advertising markets a candidate for public office, where things that a candidate professes to stand for are pertinent to the campaign (Tak, Kaid and Lee 2008: 176). Furthermore they state that:

> *"Political candidates thus share their political convictions and subsequent direction of leadership through political advertising. At the same time however, they also show their individual personalities and images for their own political interests through political advertising. Regardless of the form it takes, the ultimate objective of political*

advertising is to persuade a group of citizens to vote for a particular candidate who represents a particular approach to dealing with the problems and issues of the nation, state, or community at large" (Tak, Kaid and Lee 2008: 176).

2.6 The cost of campaigning

2.6.1 Defining commodity

Commodities can be understood as communications or media that are sold or that have commercial value for other reasons, such as for selling viewers and readers to advertisers (Baker 2002: 297). Thus the concern about politics being sold as a commodity derives from the idea that politics is now being sold like any other commercial product which should not be the case in an ideal democracy. The manner in which the media content, and in particular political advertising, is created and produced and how it is distributed creates room for concern. For example, in the case of television, it can be argued that television is an extensively manipulative medium because it has the ability to focus on colourful and bright images and can contain sound and text. The fact that these aspects can occur simultaneously adds to the manipulation. In addition, commercialisation is a process whereby the media replace the standards of the public interest and public service with market-related commercial standards and produce information in the form of a commodity sold to their audience (McNair 1999: 61; also see Scammell and Langer 2006). In market-related terms, a commodity can be defined as an object of economic value (Appadurai 1994: 76); meaning that the object can be exchanged for money which means that it can be bought and sold.

Moreover, for the sake of democracy it is also important that the media be appropriately regulated. While democracy entails that there should be freedom of speech in an ideal democracy, it is important to regulate this freedom of expression in order to avoid one's freedom stealing another's freedom. As Berger (2002: 38) also puts it, "it is true that freedom of expression and information pluralism – as ingredients of democracy – require the acceptance of trash media along with the quality". This point demonstrates that, although there needs to be freedom of speech, this needs to be well regulated in order to ensure that quality media content is produced. Thus, Berger (2002: 38) also notes that media can be a problem rather than a solution for democracy where commercialisation (commodification) leads to a collapse of journalistic standards. Hence, when it comes to the political

advertisements on television the concern is not the journalistic standards, because the advertisements are created by the parties themselves, it is the standard of the messages communicated that should be of concern.

2.6.2 Commodification

The process of commodification describes a way in which capitalism carries out its objective of accumulating capital or realising value through the transformation of use values into exchange values (Mosco 1999: 140). The commodity is the particular form that products take when their production is principally organised through the process of exchange while commodification is the process of transforming the values into exchange values (Mosco 1999: 141). Capitalism literally appears as an immense collection of commodities (Mosco 1999: 141). Commodification refers to the process of turning use values into exchange values, of transforming products whose use value is determined by their ability to meet individual and social needs into products whose value is set by what they can bring in the marketplace (Mosco 1999: 144). In the process of packaging the messages in political advertisements the political parties might concentrate on meeting the needs of the society in the most appealing way, which might lead to manipulation by, for example, the use of emotive language or, in the case of television, emotive sound and music; both emphasising or trying to evoke feelings of despair, sadness, and/or victory and happiness, depending on the point the political party wishes to convey. Furthermore, commodification is a specific form of this process whereby the 'thing' that acquires phantom objectivity is a commodity, for example, an object whose value is established in the marketplace (Mosco 1999: 144).

The process of commodification in communication involves transforming messages, ranging from bits of data to systems of meaningful thought into marketable products (Mosco 1999: 146). For example, Mosco (1999; 146) suggests that "consider a newspaper package in the marketplace and if it is successful it earns surplus value, a profit, which it can invest in expanding the newspaper business or in any other venture that promises additions to capital". Importantly, Mosco (1999) points out that "capital also aims to control consumer market monopoly or controlling an oligopoly arrangement using advertising to create product identification with the company, and diversifying product lines to achieve the flexibility to overcome product specific changes in market demand, among others. In the same way the political parties create the advertisements to manifest a specific identity for themselves.

When it comes to the media and audience, Graham (cited in Mosco 1996: 148) illustrates two principal dimensions of media commodification: the direct production of media products and the use of media advertising to perfect the process of commodification in the entire economy, while according to Smythe (1997 cited in Mosco 1999; 148), the media companies produce audiences and deliver them to advertisers. However, and as mentioned before, for the purpose of the study, I focus more on the content of political advertising than on the audience aspects. More specifically, like Smythe (1997), the media commodification of political advertising on television is examined as a whole. For example, Smythe (cited in Mosco 1999: 148) notes that the media commodification process bring together a trial that linked media, audiences and advertisers in a set of binding reciprocal relationships. Thus it would be interesting to unpack this idea suggested by Smythe (1997) in the case of political advertising on television in South Africa.

2.6.3 Funding and financing

According to Kaid and Holtz-Bacha (1995: 15), there are considerable differences in the length of party broadcasts. On the whole, the purchase of advertising time seems to lead to shorter spots. This trend is probably a consequence of the costs but might also be interpreted as an indicator of a commercialisation of political advertising and adaptation to economic advertising (Holtz-Bacha and Kaid 1995: 15). They also argue that it seems as if free purchase of broadcast time is the crucial factor for development of political advertising on television (Holtz-Bacha and Kaid 1995: 15). Money is a good indication of the increased emphasis on use of the electronic media to reach the public, especially with advertisements. For example, "[n]early 60% of campaign spending for congressional contents in the 1989 [American] election was devoted to media efforts;" (Alger 1989: 223-224). Furthermore, having to pay for advertising time obviously leads to shorter spots, which also might be seen as an indicator for commercialisation in the sense of adopting the format of product advertising. In contrast, the controlled allocation of time limits the variety of spot lengths and may also result in a greater conformity of political broadcasts (Holtz-Bacha and Kaid 1995: 17). Most countries presented in the Holtz-Bacha and Kaid studies do not allow free purchase of broadcast time. With publicly controlled institutions, restrictions on advertising and content are used in the different countries to more or less prevent unlimited commercialisation of television and thus somehow carry on the public broadcasting tradition (Holtz-Bacha and Kaid 1995: 15).

Norris (2005: 10) argues that publicly funded party advertisements on radio and television offer opportunities for national parties to campaign on equal footings. This idea is debatable because it may be costly to the respective political parties to produce the actual content aimed for a medium such as television. This means that, when the broadcast airtime is allocated equally to political parties, yes, the parties will be on equal footing however when it comes to the production of the content, it is almost impossible to have equal footing because some political parties might afford to use better production houses than others, leading to some political parties having better political advertisements that have more defined images made with top-of-the-range technology. Norris acknowledges that the contemporary focus on television campaigns has strengthened the spotlight on party leadership, moving electoral politics from issue-based conflicts over party programmes toward a "personalisation" of politics, noting that "the increased use of paid consultants, public-opinion polls, direct mail, and professional television broadcasts, along with the extended duration of campaigns, led to rising costs and the shift from labour-intensive to more capital-intensive campaigns" Norris (2005: 11-12). (Also see, for example, Young (2002); and Holtz-Bacha and Kaid (1995.) This creates much room for apprehension. Hence publically funded instead of privately funded political advertisements on television also seem to be the better option.

Firstly, politics or political advertising should not be about personalisation or the personality but it should be about the political party's representation to the society at large, which also brings forth the idea of the public sphere made more private. Secondly, it is unfortunate that the political advertisements on television are quite demanding when it comes to financial resources, which creates an unfair advantage among political parties in this regard. Lastly, Norris (2005: 12), states that "the professionalisation of the political-consultancy industry has developed furthest in the United States, fuelled by the traditional weakness of US party organisations, the rise of candidate-centred campaigns in the 1960s, the capital-intensive nature of advertising-driven campaigns, and the number and frequency of US primary and general elections (also see Diamond and Bates (1984: 4). Thus, although the USA has been identified as the prototype when it comes to political advertising on television, this does not necessarily mean that South Africa should follow suit in the footsteps of the USA because this might prove to be disadvantageous to South Africa's democracy. South Africa needs its own voice when it comes to this phenomenon.

2.6.4 Media production and producers

The concept of media production and producers is important when it comes to political advertising on television because in the production stages it is vital to have in mind that the political advertisements on television should be produced for citizens and not consumers. For example, Diamond and Bates (1989: 4) also argue that the man who ran the Eisenhower administration evidently believed that the minds of Americans can be manipulated by shows, slogans and the arts of advertising. "The idea that you merchandise candidates for high office like breakfast cereal, that you gather voters like box tops – is I think the ultimate indignity to the demonstrative process…" (Diamond and Bates 1989: 78). Diamond and Bates (1989: 79) also point out that "to most politicians and their traditional public relations men, TV is something new and completely strange. They do not know its mechanics, or how to evaluate and use it. They need experts to lead them through the process (Diamond and Bates1989: 79). The point raised by Diamond and Bates (1989) might be equivalent to the South African case since political advertising on television is something completely new to political parties in South Africa. The political parties might not be familiar with its mechanics or how to evaluate its use, and their best bet would be to use experts to gain some direction as to how to approach it. This acknowledgement by Diamond and Bates (1989) shows that, even in historical times or the early days of political advertising, political advertising somehow played a similar tune as it does today. For example, Holtz-Bacha and Lee Kaid (1995: 10) also state that, among the different media channels, campaign political advertisements are being produced by the parties or candidates themselves and thus they are not being "distorted" by journalistic selection, although the use of experts may give some political parties a better lead over others, resulting in inequality. When it comes to paid media or political advertising, political parties are given the privilege to shape and control their political advertisements. Moreover, Sabato (1981: 112) puts forward a new idea by stating that "it would have been difficult for the world leaders and political bosses to imagine how completely they would be replaced by professionals independent of the party – most notably the media consultants and the pollsters".

However, as also suggested by Holtz-Bacha and Kaid (2006), in the case of political advertising, political parties can control when these messages are conveyed, for example, when they do not rely on the state broadcaster for airtime. In addition, the political party can afford to buy its own television airtime, then it can do so as it can afford, although this is a

disadvantage to political parties who cannot afford to buy expensive television airtime and produce top-of-the-range political advertisements. Recent developments also include parties' widespread adaptation to newer information and communication technologies. For example, Norris (2005) also argues that "accounts have interpreted these developments as representing a 'rise of political marketing (advertising)', whose techniques have been borrowed from the private sector, or the 'Americanisation of campaigning' emulating patterns originating in the United States", as also suggested earlier on in this paper.

2.7 Image versus political reality

2.7.1 Content

One of the major criticisms of modern political advertising is that it is emotive and manipulates people's feelings; political advertising is "essentially trivial, exploiting emotions and substituting catchcries and slogans for real political debate" (Young 2002: 88). Importantly, idealists might hope that political advertisements will encourage informed decision making, educate voters, stimulate debate and promote participation. However, political parties are less concerned about the civic function; for them, the primary aim of political advertisements is to win votes (Young 2002: 88). There are also the concerns that the lack of quality information in television advertisements 'dumbs' down political debate, that the increasing use of negative advertising fosters public cynicism, and that false and misleading claims are made in political advertising (Ward 1995; Ansolabehere and Iyengar 1995 cited in Young 2002:90).

Meanwhile, Gurevitch and Bulmer (1990) argue in Holtz-Bacha and Kaid (1995:9) that the central characteristics of American election campaigns are usually considered to be 1) the prevailing role among the different campaign channels, 2) the predominance of images instead of issues going hand in hand with a personalisation in the presentation of the political process, and 3) as a consequence of increased media orientation, a professionalisation of political actors in the development of their media strategies. Like Young (2002) and Norris (2005), Holtz-Bacha and Kaid (1995:9) state that political actors increasingly rely on professional consultants from the advertising industry and one of the typical characteristics of symbolic politics is personalisation, going hand in hand with predominance of images over issues. Slogans and value-laden rhetoric are used to distract from political problems. In addition, the messages that candidates pack into 30-second spots are superficial, deceptive,

and increasingly nasty; campaigns offer citizens little hard information with which to make a reasoned choice, and the information that the voters do acquire is slanted and negative (Gurevitch and Bulmer 2000: 153). Borchers (2002: 307) illustrates that the line between images is generally blurred. He notes that the image is often the overall perception that voters have of the candidate (political party). “The candidate’s image is based on a variety of factors; manner of speaking, appearance, and character” (Borchers 2002: 307). Borchers (2002: 307) argues that the image that the candidate portrays is increasingly important in political campaigns and images are created through the careful planning of the campaign staff. Thus the advertising staff play a key role in developing the candidate’s image. Importantly, the images themselves can be produced based on issues. When it comes to the issues, not only do the candidates talk about their image and their opponent’s image but they talk about their positions on various issues (Borchers 2002: 308). Some of Borchers's findings show that “winning candidates speak more often about policy issues than their opponents, who spend more time speaking about character, or image (2002: 308). Bogart (1998: 8) views the printed text as the best way to communicate political matters because he argues that “while visual images may convey expressions and evoke empathy more vividly than words, printed text is unsurpassed in its ability to arouse indignation and stir the reflection and deliberation that are essential to the democratic process”. Notwithstanding, both Borchers and Bogart argue in the sense of print media and they view text as better means of communicating a democratic message than the image is. I differ with them because the image can make a viable contribution to political communication depending on how it is communicated.

Tak, Kaid and Lee (2008: 76) conducted a study that examines the content of political advertising messages in presidential elections to compare formally the cultural aspects in the USA and in Korea. They began the study with the assumption that the process of understanding people from other cultures and their communication patterns is important to eliminate misunderstanding (2008: 177). They state that “in communication (which takes place as a deliberate form in cross-cultural political advertising), a sender’s cultural background affects the overall message form, whereas the receiver’s cultural background determines message perception” (2008: 175). Thus their findings showed that in presenting their political advertisements, the political advertisements from the USA were more expressive, using both verbal and non-verbal communication, whereas the political advert-isements from Korea were more reserved and fewer gestures such as hand movements were

used. This, they argue, was because culturally the Koreans are more reserved and believe that problems are solved by nature and not by communication. The Americans were found to be more expressive and so negative political advertising was a norm which was expected from the Americans and not the Koreans.

2.7.2 Stages or kinds of advertisement in political advertisements

Kern (1986: 6) identifies four kinds of advertising: name-identification spots, argument spots, attack spots, and positive visionary appeals. The name-identification spots are shown early in the campaign and this is the stage where the politicians want to gain name recognition or persuade voters to associate him or her with the position he or she is running for. The argument spots which represent the candidate's positions on issues, and move into issues the politicians believe in or do not believe in. Meanwhile the attack spots, which focus on the opponent, are also referred to as 'negative ads' and are used to put opponents on the defensive. Lastly, the positive visionaries are used at the end of the campaign to give voters a reason to vote for the candidate on the basis of the candidate's character (Kern 1989: 6). In addition, Diamond and Bates (1989: 302-315) also point out that the most basic advertisement is the identity (ID) spot, which simply builds recognition of who the candidate is. Diamond and Bates (1989: 302 315) also refer to 'argument spots' and 'attack spots' or negative ads', although they do not mention the positive visionary stage. It is important to point out the different stages in political advertisements that the political parties would use but I believe that using these different stages at different times of the campaign would be ideal on mediums such as posters, radio, and newspaper advertisements (Table 2:1). When it comes to television advertisements, it would be better to incorporate the stages in one advertisement because advertising on television is very expensive.

Table 2.1: Stages and kinds of political advertisements in political campaigns

Time in campaign	Kind of advertisement	Function
Early	Name identification	Identity
Later	Argument ads	Ideology
Later still	Attack ads (negative ads)	Insult
End of campaigning	Positive visionary ads	Image

Table taken from Berger (2004: 90)

2.8 Audience and audience access

Ansolabehere and Iyengar (2000: 154) posit that candidates are able to reach many more people with television than was ever possible with newspapers, trains, rallies and campaign gimmicks. Mazzolini (2008: 35) also states that "on the audience side, the diffusion of the 'old' television meant an enlargement of the number of people accessing political communication concepts, an increase of 'incidental exposure' among previously more difficult to reach". In consideration of the fact that South Africa is a democracy, it is vital that citizens access the medium on which things such as party political advertisements are aired. Thus the medium should also be easily accessible to the grassroots level. Apart from the fact that citizens should first own a television set before they can view the political advertisements, the information or political advertisement information should be easily accessible to a large range of audiences/citizens. For example, a political advertisement at 11:00 in the morning is less effective than the one aired at 20:00 at night simply for such reasons that most people are considered to be at work or busy with other daily activities in the morning whereas in the evening it is more likely that more people will be at home watching television. In addition, as mentioned by Kern (1995: 52), the reach of advertising extends beyond relatively attentive and engaged voters. The above point raised by Kern (1989) means that political advertising can assist in reaching the most ignorant citizen. However, another concern is the ability to access the medium: can the ordinary man access the medium in order to access the message? Bogart (1998: 5) suggests that in open society the barriers of poverty and illiteracy can fragment national media experiences. For example, "in most countries the mass media forages for substance to coexist with an elite whose members enjoy many of the perquisites of the good life in the West, including ready access to information (Bogart1998: 5). However, McQuail argues that broad opportunities for access to public channels of communication, including old and new media, will need to be maintained, for collective as well as individual voices (McQuail 1998: 19).

2.9 Media (political advertising) communication policy and regulation

In the case of Denmark, for the old, formerly monopolistic stations party access to broadcast election programmes is regulated, not by the states as such, but by the broadcasting

organisation, obligated by public service status and firm social and public responsibility (Siune 1995: 124). None of the public television channels in Scandinavia allow the purchase of political party advertising (Siune 1995: 124). Political advertising is generally perceived as a threat to the principles of democracy; it means that all parties have an equal right to communicate to the electorate via the medium perceived as the most powerful, and the opportunity for purchased political campaigns on television is widely seen as a challenge to political balance in Scandinavian multiparty systems (Siune 1995: 124). Siune (1995: 140) argues that Denmark has equal policy treatment for all parties as small parties have the same programming schedule as the parties represented in the Danish parliament, and she argues that this could prove to be problematic because all parties are given equal treatment but I disagree with this because I think all parties should be given equal treatment. In Switzerland, as it was in South Africa, political advertising on television is prohibited because it is regarded as a powerful form of persuasive communication and should not be placed in the hands of those striving for power (Kaid and Holtz-Bacha 2006: 4). At the same time, as also suggested before in the study, producing advertisements for television is expensive and would overstretch the financial possibilities of at least some parties.

Holtz-Bacha and Kaid (1995:14) suggest that in the USA advertising of any kind has always been confined to the commercial stations, including political advertising. In Germany, the Netherlands, and in the United Kingdom advertisements are broadcast on both the public and the private channels (Holtz-Bacha and Kaid 1995:14). It is only in Finland, where political advertisements are exclusively broadcast on the private television channel, that free purchase of advertising time has been allowed (Holtz-Bacha and Kaid 1995: 15). The other countries keep allocation of broadcasting time under control through regulations that either give all parties equal time or allot graded time according to proportion of votes (Holtz-Bacha and Kaid 1995: 15). Furthermore, Kaid and Holtz-Bacha (2006:4) argue that "whether electoral advertising is allowed, the ways it is further regulated are usually dependent on several systematic variables including a country's political system, the electoral system and the media system". Importantly, they suggest that how electoral messages are actually designed is dependent on a country's political culture which, at the same time is reflected in political advertising (Kaid and Holtz-Bacha 2006:4). The regulation of political advertising on television in a democracy should not only be about encouraging all political parties to take part in campaigning on television but it should be about also assisting the political parties to take part in campaigning on the medium. Thus, the political parties should be given well-

defined specification on what is acceptable and unacceptable in the coverage or packaging of the political advetisement while keeping the principles of a democracy and the citizens in mind. For example, the existence of an advanced and diverse media system does not guarantee that it will serve democracy (Bogart 1998: 11). Monolithic control over mass communication is no longer possible, and mass media serve democracy only when those who manage them feel a passionate responsibility to create it and maintain it (Bogart1998: 11). So then such matters need to be addressed and the appropriate regulatory measures of political advertising must be enforced according to the unique needs of a country.

2.10 The question of democracy

Oates (2006) argues that the central lesson from Russian political advertising is that allowing political parties voices in a past authoritarian state does not necessarily lead to a democratic dialogue. She states that this can encourage elements that work directly to counter democracy: promotion of demographic features, strident threats that drown out rational statements, a preference for catchy slogans over real policy alternatives, and noisy nationalism that can slide easily into xenophobia and prejudice in the case of Russia (Oates 2006). “As a result, both paid and free political advertising have done little to contribute to the growth of real political choices in Russia” (Oates 2006). She draws out that both free and paid political advertising in Russia generally have echoed the needs of the elite forces in society rather than made an attempt at genuine communication with the electorate. Oates (2006) vaguely touches upon an important issue, one that is not usually considered, namely that of the issue of timing, for example, the time at which these advertisements are introduced in a country. There should be some sort of time frame put in place to allow for political advertising. Having political advertising straight after liberalisation would not necessarily be a good idea, as time is needed for the smoke to die down after the fire.

Norris (2005) focuses on the communication channels parties can use to strengthen their linkages with citizens, and relates these developments to the communication policies governments can adopt to improve free and fair party competition. Norris (2005: 2) states that since the outset of the global ‘third’ wave democratisation in the early 1970s, political developments in transitional and consolidating democracies have focused principally on three general goals: fostering free and fair competitive elections held among multiple parties and candidates; building civic society, with programmes designed to assist grassroots organisations, citizen advocacy groups, and independent media; and strengthening the core instit-

utions of the state, by encouraging independent judiciaries, effective legislatures, and efficient bureaucracies (Norris 2005: 2). Furthermore Norris (2005: 4) argues that "[r]epresentative democracy is impossible without multiparty competition", and she states that political parties accordingly function uniquely and constitute a cornerstone of a democratic society. Their potential functions and role, according to Norris (2005: 4), should be "the integration and mobilisation of citizens, the articulation and aggregation of interests, the formulation of public policy, the recruitment of political leaders and the organisation of parliament and government". Thus, straight after liberalisation, time is needed to put all the mechanisms mentioned by Norris (2005) in place. Another concern would be whether this is the right time to introduce political advertising on television in a young democracy such as South Africa and thus further research can be done to envestigate this problem as this is not the focus of this study.

2. 11 A reflection of critical political economy of the media

Norris (2005: 4) uses political economy theory in her study of *political communication and development* and she proceeds to elicit some important points that are also pivotal to this study. She states that parties' communication environments are determined by a number of factors such as the structure of the mass media, the range of private sector and public service, audiovisual channels, the size of the audience reached by newspapers, television, and radio amongst others (also see, for example Kaid and Holtz-Bacha 1995, 2006). "The context of communication is also determined by communication policies – which set out the legal regulation of political communications, especially during election campaigns – exemplified by the rules concerning party fundraising and expenditure, campaign advertising, political broadcasts and freedom of the media" (Norris 2005: 4).

Norris (2005: 8) also states that in the case of political advertising on television, "when broadcasting campaigns are party-based, they are highly capital intensive, with the message generally coordinated at the central-party level by political leaders advised by external professional consultants". Thus Norris (2005) also relies on a content analysis as a methodology. Importantly, "for citizens, broadcasting campaigns tend to make the elections a more passive experience, since the main focus of the campaign is now on television, meaning that most voters become more distant and disengaged spectators in the process" (Norris 2005: 8). This point is also raised by Scammell and Langer (2006) as they question how one would

measure mobilisation and participation aspects in political advertisements on television because these are some of the prerequisites in an ideal democracy.

2. 12 Political advertising, television and propaganda

In the western perspective, Ridout, Shah, Goldstein and Frans (2004) measured exposure to televised political advertising. They assessed the predictive power of six different measurement approaches from simple to the complex on learning about the candidates. Two debates were used in their enquiry firstly, geo-coded political advertising time, and secondly, a national panel study concerning patterns of media consumption and levels of political knowledge was conducted. To validate their research they used a measurement which involves combining a tally of the volume of advertisement aired in a market with a small number of survey questions about television viewing habits of geo-coded respondents.

It is suggested that the media are entering a new phase of potentially fundamental change driven by technological and market forces (McQuail 1998: 113). This then helps to explain the occurring changes in media. However, these changes are not necessarily ideal for democracy considering the fact that there is a possibility that they are driven by market forces. For example, McQuail points out that "the most innovative developments in communication technologies are those which, initially at least, serve a privileged minority rather than the mass of people". He also argues that developments are not in any case promoted because they advance democracy, but according to their economic potential. With this thought in mind McQuail (1998: 17) then moves on to critique television in politics by arguing that when we think of television as a means of political communication we are more likely to think of it as a means of political marketing and would-be manipulation rather than as a valued participant in the democratic process. He states that "politicians are groomed for television, information is selectively fed to television, broadcasters are courted or flattered (and occasionally bullied), campaign activities are co-ordinated to fit television schedules" (McQuail 1998: 17). If this is also the case for South Africa when referring to political advertising on television then, in retrospect, democracy is non-existent in this spectrum.

Nevertheless, Africa has been the colonised continent hence the colonisers would use propaganda in order to stay in power. "It was only in the 1990s, when struggles on the streets put democracy on the political agenda, that this topic (media and democracy) began to register significantly in scholarly analysis of the media's role on the continent" (Berger 2002:

23). It would also be interesting to investigate how, if at all, the political advertisements on television in South Africa have eliminated aspects of propaganda in their 'representation' (messages).

Propaganda can be defined as referring "solely to the control of opinion by significant symbols, by stories, rumours, reports, pictures, and other forms of social communication" (Severin and Tankard 2001: 109). It is a technique of influencing human interaction by the manipulation of representations and these representations may take written, pictorial, or musical form (Severin and Tankard 2001: 109). Propaganda, unlike modern political communication, is analysed precisely as political art; it is concerned with the deconstruction identification of persuasive strategies and persuasive device (glittering generalities, value transfer, bandwagon, name-calling, selective information and so forth, nearly all of which are a commonplace in commercial advertising also (Scammell and Langer 2006: 24). Propaganda and persuasion are in fact seen as identical; "it is perceived that only when an act benefits the source, but not the receiver, can such an act be perceived as propaganda" (Severin and Tankard 2001: 109). Furthermore, propaganda was used by the colonisers in Africa as a form of staying in power thus it was benefiting the colonisers and not the citizens. Thus, in a young democracy such as South Africa it is vitally important that the political advertisements on television benefit not only the political party but to a large extent the citizens as well, by creating a well informed citizenry.

2.13 Political advertising in the South African context

In the South African context there has been no research on political advertising on television. This is given by the fact that political advertising on television in South Africa is a new phenomenon. However, some South African research has dealt with the issue of political communication on billboards, print newspapers and other outdoor media. Research on political communication is also limited because only a few academics have focused on political communication in South Africa. Thus the study of the rise of television in South Africa will make a big contribution to the field because nothing like it has been done before. The research is also timely as the phenomenon has recently occurred. In addition, it would also be interesting to see what implication this new phenomenon has for our democracy because South Africa has also undergone dynamic political change. For example, just before

the 2009 elections a major political party in South Africa went through a split that introduced a breakaway party. The ANC was the major political party and the breakaway party was later called COPE.

Nonetheless, most political communication research in South Africa has looked into the concept of issue versus image in political advertising. For example, David (2004) and Schulz-Herzenberg (2004) conducted an analysis of the different party manifestos and the results showed that the major parties agreed on what the important issues were, but they tried to address the concerns of their specific constituents in different ways. Herzenberg (2004: 16) also argues that the politically less sophisticated voter often looks to media to gain detailed information enabling him or her to analyse the different politics of the different parties. "Within South African context it could be assumed that the image and identification messages could also influence voters' decision as regards to who to vote for" (Schulz–Herzenberg cited in Fourie (2008: 255).

In her research titled *A silent revolution: South African voters, 1994–2006*, Schulz-Herzenberg (2007: 132) confirms that the levels of political engagement are low and that large percentages of voters are uninformed on policy issues. She looks into the trends and patterns in partisanship over time. Schulz-Herzenberg (2007: 114) makes use of eight national public opinion surveys spanning from 1994 to 2004. She explores the changes to the demographic support bases of parties and the motivations of voters. Schulz-Herzenberg (2007: 114) posits that "when voters have little information they rely on 'information shortcuts' often in the form of clues supplied by a candidate's dress, race and accent, which provide information as to the potential attitudes and performance of that party in government".

Meanwhile, Fourie (2008: 224), in her article, *South African posters: Reflecting the maturing of a democracy*, investigates the role of election campaign communication in a young democracy. Fourie (2008) begins with the assumption that political parties in developing societies have a normative obligation to do more than canvass for votes during election campaigns. She argues that political parties should also be instrumental in fostering a democratic political culture by communicating democratic values, encouraging participation in the democracy and enabling voters to make an informed electoral choice. Thus, like Norris (2005), Fourie (2008) acknowledges the role of the political party and what it should entail. Her results show that posters contribute mainly to image building, the reinforcement of party

support, and the visibility of the party. Fourie (2008) also establishes that posters are the agenda setters or headlines of a party's campaign. Her argument is that political parties in developing societies also need to design political posters responsively, in order to sustain democracy. Furthermore, Fourie (2008) draws out that in general it seems that the poster campaigns of parties have matured since 1999, in the sense that there was less emphasis on democratisation issues in the past, and the campaigns conformed more to the norm of western political campaigning. As a research method, Fourie (2008) focuses on the political posters of the main political parties that contested the 1999 and 2004 national elections; and the 2004 and 2006 local election in the North-West Province. The posters of the major parties displayed in Potchefstroom, Rustenburg and Mafikeng during the 2004 elections were photographed. Fourie (2008) conducted a qualitative content analysis according to the following categories: policy issues, identification messages, party leaders, and democratic leaders (Fourie 2008: 227). It would be interesting to see whether political advertising on television produces similar results.

Fourie and Froneman (2003) investigated emotional political advertising in South Africa. In their article they particularly look into the use of emotional persuasive appeals and negative messages in political newspaper advertisements in the North-West Province during the South African general elections in 1999. Fourie and Froneman (2003: 189) argue that the real possibility exists that the overemphasis of party image in advertisements could lead to the neglect of important political information for voters. In addition, emotional and negative advertisements could therefore be detrimental to any young democracy. Fourie's and Froneman's (2003) results show that, although the parties in their study used emotional appeals, they mostly connected them to policy issues. However, these policy issues were not elaborated upon (Fourie and Froneman 2003). They argue that the opposition parties mostly used appeals of uncertainty, fear and rage while "the ruling party in the province (the ANC) concentrated on appeals of hope and achievement" (Fourie and Froneman 2003). Overall Fourie and Froneman (2003) deduce that the ANC virtually abstained from using negative messages, while the DP, the NP and the Freedom Front 'attacked' one another in order to emphasise their difference. They argue that the political advertisements did not harm the sustainability of the South African democracy as such, but they also did very little to promote it actively through their media advertisements.

In order to get to their findings, Fourie and Froneman (2003) conducted a qualitative content analysis. They limited the study to the "Northern-West Province to increase its feasibility"

(Fourie and Froneman 2003: 190). The advertisements that they analysed were collected from newspapers published between 15 March 1999 and June 1999, that is, from the date of announcement of the elections until a week after the elections. Froneman (2003: 191) argue that they used a qualitative approach in order to conduct a more in-depth and descriptive analysis of a very small but comprehensive data set. "To ensure reliability, the advertisements were analysed systematically according to the following categories: character appeals, emotional appeals (including appeals of sympathy, uncertainty, anger and fear), positive identification and policy messages, negative messages (harsh reality techniques and political blunders) and comprehensive messages" (Fourie and Froneman 2003: 191).

In the historical sense, Pottinger (1987: 36) has argued that "a changing political culture in South Africa has seen in recent years a massive expansion in the use of political advertising – both by extra-parliamentary pressure groups and establishment mainstream parties". Thus in his article he examined the impact of political advertising in three aspects: effects on political debates itself, the *audi alteram partem* (hear the other side) rule of journalistic balance and the overall impact on the culture of the newspaper in which the advertisements appears (Pottinger 1987: 36). As a methodology he included a brief survey which consisted of the role of political advertising in other countries. He used content analysis as he conducted observations on the way in which major foreign newspapers approached political advertising. He also decided to concentrate his study on three main South African spenders: National Party, the Progressive Federal Party, and the Independents (1987: 37). Pottinger (1987: 36) thus argued against further statutory controls on the content of political advertising but suggested that the newspaper industry itself has a responsibility to counter patently false or tendentious political advertising in its columns. When it came to regulating political advertising, Pottinger (1987: 38) pointed out that "although political advertisers and publishers obviously have to obey the law and pay due regard to onerous libel laws, there is no inhouse agency which was prepared to take responsibility for this hot potato". He also acknowledged that the Advertising Standards Authority (ASA) also excluded itself from regulating political advertisements. The ASA suggested that "as is the case of any advertisement, the individual medium shall determine whether any political advertisement presented to it is acceptable (Pottinger 1987: 39).

Pottinger (1987: 39) draws out the advantages of advertising and pointed out that "it represents the truest form of freedom of expression in that political lobbies have the opportunity to say exactly what they want – and how". He acknowledged that the evolution

of political advertising as far as mainstream parties are concerned can more realistically be ascribed to the changing nature of our electronic media and the greater literacy voters had, in common with other modernising societies, created a more passive, less activist electorate. According to Pottinger (1987: 39) mass targeted advertising are better suited to the needs of the voters and the interests of the parties and can be viewed as the true expression of opinion. The second advantage of advertising, as he suggested, is that "it allows the parties themselves to select the issues and debate them without what could be called editorial introduction. But while this might introduce clarity on the issues, it does not necessarily produce perspectives" (Pottinger 1987: 39).

Pottinger (1987: 40) pointed out that the disadvantage is that "the evolution of expensive and highly imaginative political advertisements undoubtedly gives the edge to the wealthier parties – in itself a challenge to more utopian ideals that in theory at least, participating parties should have an equal opportunity to be heard". He finds that the main problem for newspapers in dealing with political advertising is twofold: the style of advertising and content. "The National Party incorrectly ascribed a quotation to PFP (Progressive Federal Party) and, although they changed the advertisement when it was pointed out to them, it was only a court order that stopped them from continuing to distribute the incorrect quote in party literature handed out at constituency level. Similarly a PFP advertisement attributed to President Botha an incorrect quote (Jackson 1981: 40). The use made of this mistake by the NP and its supportive organs like the SABC (who quite ignore the Supreme Court decision against the NP advertisement) merely underlined the point that political advertising is powerful – and powerfully dangerous when irresponsibly used (Pottinger 1987: 41). Pottinger (1987: 41) suggested that a solution is the outright prohibition of political advertising.

2.14 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the literature which covers the ongoing debate around the study of political advertising. In order to build an argument I have discussed works from various authors in the field. However, I have viewed McNair (1999), (2007); Kaid and Holtz-Bacha (1995), (2006); Scammell and Langer (2006); Fourie (2008) and Fourie and Froneman (2003) as the key and main contributors to the field of study. Thus, the underlying viewpoint is that although there have been many perspectives on political advertising from various authors, each country is shaped by different aspects and thus will experience the impact of political advertising differently from other countries. Hence political advertising on television is a new

phenomenon that has been introduced to the country and thus it is interesting to evaluate its unique implications for democracy in South Africa.

Chapter 3: Theoretical framework

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the theoretical framework. For the purpose of the study I have chosen to employ two perspectives, the critical political economy of the media theory, and the democratic theories of the media under which falls the democracy and the media perspective as well as the liberal democracy theory since South Africa is considered to be a liberal democracy. Thus, a definition for democracy is also provided. I problematise liberal democracy and suggest deliberative democracy as a better form of democracy.

3.2 Introducing the theorectical approaches

The critical political economy of the media theory is relevant to the study because it is holistic in nature as it takes into account the political structure, the issues of regulation, funding and financing and thus, it is used to determine the rise of political advertising on television in South Africa and its implications for democracy. The theory is also relevant in assessing the funding and financing perspectives in political advertising on television in South Africa because it takes into consideration the commodity aspects in political advertising by evaluating aspects such as the cost of political advertising on television for the political parties. It also helps to address the ethical and normative questions. Lastly, the critical political economy of the media theory is also relevant because after assessing the above-mentioned aspects (political structure, regulation, funding and financing political advertising on television); a link can be made, determining the implications that this phenomenon has for democracy.

When it comes to liberal democracy theory, this theory is relevant to the study because it is vital to know the nature of South Africa's democracy. Moreover, the theory creates a scope of what is ideal in a liberal democracy however from the findings, the deliberative democracy theory will help to determine the implications political advertising on television has for a democracy by evaluating and comparing the findings to the theory. Thus, democracy and the media perspective are relevant in evaluating the importance of the democratic element when it comes to the media, and vice versa – the importance of the media in a democracy, most especially for a liberal democratic country.

3.3 Critical political economy of the media

Political economy is a general term for an entire tradition of economic analysis at odds with mainstream economics, in that it places much greater emphasis on ethical and normative questions (Hesmondhalgh 2002: 30). Meanwhile, critical political economy approaches to culture (or media or communications) were developed in the 1960s amongst academic sociologists and political scientists who were concerned by the increasing role of private business in cultural production (Hesmondhalgh 2002: 30). Hesmondhalgh (2002: 30) argues that critical political economy approaches to the media are often misunderstood, simplified or dismissed. He states that "because such approaches are so heavily critical of media and cultural corporations and their allies in government, it is no surprise that many media institutions are dismissive and/or hostile" (Hesmondhalgh 2002: 30).

This theory is relevant in analysing the power relations in political advertising on television as a commodity. In addition, it is used to critique and examine political advertising on South African television by considering aspects such as the regulation, funding and financing of political advertising in South Africa. The theory is also used to analyse the content of the political advertisements on television and thus investigate the interplay of power relations when it comes to funding and financing these advertisements, to establish how political advertisements commodify politics. The theory is then used to examine the audience access of these advertisements; hence it will assist in establishing the power that the funding and financing of these advertisements have over the production process. However, Mosco (1999: 145) mentions that when it has treated the commodity, the political economy has tended to concentrate on embodiment in media content, to a lesser extent on media audiences, and paid surprisingly little attention to the labour process in communication industries. Thus, as suggested by Mosco (1999), the study is conducted in the same way – it pays great detail in analysing the content and lesser detail in analysing the mass audience as it concentrates only on the access aspects of the mass audience. Although the study pays little attention to the labour process in political advertising on television, it does consider aspects of the production process, for example, the parties involved in producing the political advertisements. In addition, "the political economy of communication has been notable for its emphasis on describing and examining the significance of those structural forms responsible for production, distribution, and exchange of communication commodities and for the state"

(Mosco 1999: 145). Thus these are some of the key aspects that make the theory critical for the study.

A major contribution from political economy approaches to the study of the cultural industries has been to put on the intellectual agenda debates about the extent to which the cultural industries serve the interest of the wealthy and powerful (Hesmondhalgh 2002: 32). It would also then be interesting to establish how the media serve the interest of the more wealthy or powerful political parties, if at all, in further research. The commodity in politics also suggests that in order to succeed in politics, it is no longer about one's credentials or the knowledge of politics but is now about how much money one can give or how wealthy one is. Hence, when looking into the cost of the production of the political advertisements and the content of the political advertisements, one can disseminate the extent to which political advertisements on television commodify politics. Furthermore, "one of the keys to Marxian analysis and legacy that has influenced all subsequent political economy is to interrogate the commodity to determine what the appearance means, to uncover the social relations congealed in the commodity form" (Mosco 1999: 144).

In addition, critical political economy theory analyses power in relation to cultural production, that is, the interplay of power in the media. For example, it helps analyse the influence of power (money) over content, over the audience, over the production process and so forth. It is the theory of the media that is interested in the interplay between economic organisations and political, social and cultural life. Hence it focuses on seven interrelated aspects, which are the institutional roles of the media and their freedom to perform its role, media ownership and management, media production and producers, funding and financing, content, audience and audience access to the media, as well as media and communication policy and regulation. Critical economy starts with the sets of social relations and the play of power. "It is interested in seeing how the making and taking of meaning is shaped at every level by the asymmetries in social relations" (Golding and Murdock 2000:73). Its historic aspect becomes important because it plays close attention to long-term changes in the role of the state, corporations and/or the media in culture (for example the role of political advertising). More importantly, it is relevant because it goes "beyond technical issues of efficiency to engage with the basic moral questions of justice, equity and public good (Hesmondhalgh 2002: 31).

According to McQuail (1984: 60), “the political economy of the media theory is an approach which focuses more on political structure than on the ideological content of the media”, although it is important to note that it considers both political structure and ideological content of the media. “It asserts the dependence of ideology on the economic base and directs research attention to the empirical analysis of the structure of ownership and to the way media market forces operate” (McQuail 1984: 60), and thus, this suggests that he who pays the piper calls the tune. McQuail (1984: 60) also states that the media institution has to be considered as part of the economic system, though with close links to the political system. However, unlike Golding and Murdock (2000: 73), McQuail (1984) downplays the importance of social aspects which also involves the well-being of citizens. However, he mentions that the approach centres on media as an economic process leading to the commodification of content. This is important for the study because McQuail (1984: 61) considers the aspect of content when he addresses the issue of commodity, although he views the economic aspect ‘money’ or the funder as the key aspect which ultimately has influence over the content. Hence it is crucial to consider who funded the political advertisements on television because the funder can have influence over the content or even require extended political or non-political favours from the political party. Furthermore, critical political economy approaches see the fact that culture is produced and consumed under capitalism as a fundamental issue in explaining inequalities of power, prestige and profit (Hesmondhalgh 2002: 31). This can also help draw out how some political parties were able to produce more attractive advertisements and buy more advertising space than others, placing them in an advantageous position. It will also help to analyse how inequalities of power occurred in the process.

3.4 Defining democracy

It is important to gain a better understanding of democracy before addressing it as a phenomenon. According to Keane (1992: 23) “democracy is seen to require a powerful authoritative state which acts as an overload of the private sphere; the sinews of a ‘free’ society, it is claimed, are provided by action of states manlike politicians, and by governments’ willingness to enforce national traditions and laws of the land” (Keane 1992: 23). It is a form of public decision making conducted in the public. Furthermore, “democracy is often characterised as a procedure for making laws within which individuals who are counted equally register their preferences for competing alternatives, and outcomes are

decided according to (bore) majority rule" (Freeman 2000: 372). Democratic procedures are unique and superior to all other types of decision making not because they guarantee both consensus and good decision, but because they provide the citizens with the possibility of reconsidering their judgements about quality and unintended consequences of these decisions (Keane 1992: 23-24). "Democratic procedures increase the level of 'flexibility and reversibility' of decision making" (Keane 1992: 23-24). Democracy can be referred to as "decision making power by majority principle, exercised by way of a process that is based on equal rights of participants" (Berger 2002: 21). Berger (2002: 21) posits the associated principles of democracy to include informed participants, freedom of expression, right of access to public information, rule of law, checks and balances of power, human rights and respect for minorities.

In addition, democracy is associated with the liberal tradition which views humans as free and as having the right to self-determination (Oosthuizen 2001: 133). The key objective of democracy is to promote social and political conditions in which people can exercise choice and become freer. "Democracy includes freedom of speech, religion, movement, as well as freedom to form economic associations (Roelofse 1993: 4–5). More to this, Berger (2001: 151) states that "the democratic issue concerns a pluralism of media that includes significant political independence from government", whereas Alger (1989: 6–7) argues that central to the idea of an operative democracy are alternative choices competing for public acceptance, hence alternative choices must be available. He identifies choice to be the core of democracy and, like others such as Roelofse (1993); Oosthuizen (2001); Keane (1999); and Berger (2002), he acknowledges that without choice, democracy is lessened. Thus he also views education as an important element to democracy because he mentions that the public should be well educated in order to be able to select a good choice (also see McNair 1999 and 2007). In addition, this then suggests that without education, democracy is at a disadvantage. In the case of South Africa, democracy may be somewhat disabled because there are many South Africans who are illiterate[3]. This crisis of illiteracy is also one of the major reasons that the

[3] Nearly five million South African are illiterate. According to the minister of education, about 54% of the population have not completed an adequate level of education, marking the challenges still face in South Africa and abroad, World Literacy Day on 8 September 2009 was aimed at creating an opportunity for such issues to

media need to well inform the public. A solution would be to enforce a deliberate democracy instead of a liberal democracy and this can be done by requiring the citizens to effectively state the reasons they are choosing a particular political party. The reason a deliberated democracy is better than a liberal democracy is that a deliberative democracy requires one to be well informed in order to participate and thus it welcomes persuasiveness rather than coerciveness henceforth the citizens involved in a deliberative democracy bargain for a favourable decision. Cunningham (2005: 163) describes democracy as "a necessary condition for attaining legitimacy and rationality with regard to collective decision". Thus democracy can be understood as a form of decision making conducted in the public by citizens based on majority rule which is exercised by a way of a process that is based on the equal rights of the citizens. Thus democracy includes choice participation as well as competition.

3.5 Democratic theories

The rise of democratic theory is linked historically to the invention of printing (Bogart1998: 4). However, Cunningham (2002: 1) discusses democratic theories and he points out that the problem of a democracy is that it "involves majority tyranny, and that it is beset by irrational decision-making procedures and other challenges". He acknowledges that most studies of democratic theory are organised around themes such as freedom and equality, rights, collective decision-making, legitimacy, justice and democracy and so on (2002: 2). Cunningham criticises the fact that nearly all aspiring democracies are described as liberal democracy. "Not all theorists believe liberal democracy to be the best or feasible form of democracy" (Cunningham 2002: 27). Furthermore Dryzek and Berejikian (1993: 48) acknowledge that empirical democratic theory flowed in the 1950s and 1960s, when new technology, most notably the opinion survey, enabled summary judgement concerning the capabilities and dispositions of mass publics. Thus it is quite evident that the phenomenon of democratic theories is not new and such theories have evolved and developed to include theories such as digital democratic theories which can be defined "as a collection of attempts to practise democracy without the limits of time, space and other physical conditions, using

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be addressed. In addition, UNICEF notes that "95% of the world's illiterate people live in developing countries" (Black, 2009).

ICT or CMC instead as an addition, not a replacement for traditional 'analogue, political practices" (Hacker and Van Dijk 2000: 1). Simply put, digital democracy is also viewed to be the use of information and communication technology (ICT) and computer-mediated communication (CMC) in all kinds of media, for example; the Internet, interactive broadcasting and digital telephony for the purposes of enhancing political democracy or the participation of citizens in democratic communication (Hacker and van Dijk 2000: 1). However a thorough outline of the different types of democratic theories (liberal democracy and deliberative democracy) is discussed later on in the study.

Moreover, democratic theory was received in earnest in the late 1980's, when communists' regimes were collapsing throughout eastern Europe. According to Bohman and Rehg (1997) the theories of democracy dominant in the middle part of the century were generally suspicious of public deliberation. However, Terchek and Conte (2001: 6) argue that "democratic theories also share the view that each member of the political economy carries elementary rational capacities that are sufficient to judge the conduct of government. For such judgements to have meaning, democratic citizens are expected to be free in several important respects: they must be free regarding such matters as speech, assembly and conscience. Thus the history of democratic theory has evolved in many ways and hence "democratic theory comes in many varieties" (Starr 2008:1). Particularly in relation to deliberative democracy, "the first was elistist theory of democracy prounded by Joseph Schumpeter and his disciples, driven by emperial finding of political sociology, which suggested that citizens in modern democracies were political uniformed, apathetic and manipulable, and also the history of the rise of National Socialism, which suggests that participation could be down right dangerous and it emphasised stability at the expense of popular participation" (Bohman and Rohg 1997).

Moreover, in a second influential development, democratic theorists enough from sociological realism to model the competitive political process on rational-choice assumptions. "Anthony Downs attempted to apply economic categories to politics, suggesting that paries function as entrepreneurs who compete to sell their politics in a market of political consumers" (Bohman and Rohg 1997). The economic theory of democracy was spounded by this union between empirical assumptions about actor's motivations and the formal techniques of the theories of games and social choice. Although this approach introduced a more rationalistic view of the citizen and was more "optimistic about the resposiness of government to the citizens' prepolitical interests, it followed Schumpeter's approach on at

least two key points: it viewed citizens primarily through voting, and it conceived the political process as a struggle for power among competing interests rather than as a search for common good". Like social realism, the economic view precluded active pulic deliberation by citizens about common good (Bohman and Rehg 1997).

Thus social choice theorists have pointed out that aggregation mechanisms do not yield a public opinion about common good. "Social theorists then took a cue from a variety of deliberative contexts and motifs: direct democracy, town-hall meetings and small orginisations, work place democracy, mediated forms of public reasonamong citizens with diversemoral doctrines, voluntary asossiationand deliberative constitutional and judicial practices regulating society as a whole" (Bohman and Rehg 1997).

3.5.1 Democracy and the media

The MacBride Report[4] (1980) views choice to be important in a democracy and Alger (1989); Roelofse (1993); Oosthuizen (2009); Kean (1999) and Berger (2002) concur. Importantly, the

[4] The MacBride Report initiated a wide international debate not only within the professional circles but also amongst the broader public. This debate provoked a major political and ideological debate. In 1977, Amadu Mohtar M'Bow, Director-General of UNESCO at the time, established the International Commision for the Study of Communication Problems, which became known as the McBride Commission by the name of the Irish statesman who was its president. The commission was created at the time marked by a revolutionary progress in telecommunications with the use of satellites, the fast development of computerisation and the appearance of new electronic media. The political and ideological divisions that existed in the world at that time created an atmosphere in which international initiatives, especially concerning information and communication, easily became a subject of political and ideological confrontation. Importantly, the Report highlights new dimensions of the issue of freedom of information, which are often neglected by the advocates of "absolute freedom". Freedom of the press and freedom of information are treated in the Report above all from the standpoint of the interests and needs of free citizens and of a democratic society. The Report therefore rejects media control by government or holders of commercial and consumer interests, and resolutely condemns any sort of obstacles to, and violations of the freedom of the press. Thus the Report states that, "For journalists, freedom and responsibility are indivisible. Freedom without responsibility invites distortion and other abuses. But in the absence of freedom there can be no exercise of responsibility. The concept of freedom with responsibility necessarily includes a concern for professional ethics, demanding and equitable approach to events, situations or processes with due attention to the diverse aspects" (Osolink: 2005).

democratisation of the media entails that the individual become an active partner and not an object of communication. Hence the MacBride Report defined the democratisation of the media as a process whereby "(a) the individual becomes an active partner and not a mere object of communication; (b) the variety of messages exchanged increases; and (c) the extent and quality of social representation or participation in communication are augmented" (MacBride Report 1980: 166 cited in Moyo 2006: 39-40). For such democratic communication to occur, different social groups must have direct access to the means of communication, where they are actively involved in the programme, planning, programme production and decision making in general (MacBride Report 1980: 173-174 cited in Moyo 2006: 40). A process of democratisation should include the mass media, which play a crucial role in society as sources of information. Hagen (1992: 21 cited in Moyo 2006: 39) argues that since the people are the only ones who can articulate their problems, they must have access to receive, produce and exchange information. The media is thus seen as a platform where people can produce and exchange information depending on its accessibility. However, television as it is in South Africa does not possess a platform to exchange information thus the citizens in this case become the object (passive) of communication rather than an active partner.

Berger (2002: 22) defines the media as…

> *"… a function in communication that is manifested through a carrier of signs. Thus, while language, design, facial expressions and clothing etc., function as vehicles that meditate communication (they all entail sign system), they become media in a more conventional sense when they appear on a platform (like print, radio, television and billboards) which is dedicated to a communication function".*

Democracy and public service media are reflexive means of controlling the exercise of power (Keane: 1991: 186). Democracy and public service media are regarded as early warning devices. They help define and publicise risks that are not worth taking (Keane 1991: 181). For example, when broadcasting the political advertisement on the public service broadcaster the audience would be prone to being treated like citizens instead of being treated like a consumer. The theory of democracy then helps in questioning whether political advertising on television is a worthwhile practice in South Africa. "Unaccountable power has always been regarded as scandalous in democratic countries" (Keane 1991: 95). An ideal democracy should also be accountable to its citizens and thus political parties should also be accountable

to the citizens when producing and circulating the political advertisements. Surprisingly, Keane (1991: 96) suggests that attempts by government to bully parts of the media into submitting directly to their wishes by means of instructions, threats, bans and arrests continue to make their presence felt in western democracies. This point was mentioned previously in the study and it is also described by Berger (2002: 37) in the case of African countries, which he illustrates by the Swaziland saga in which a journalist, Mokhudu, lost his job for the invasion of royal privacy and disrespect to monarchy when he wrote an article entitled *The graduate and the dropout*. The article was based on the fact that one of the king's wives was a university graduate and the other was a high school dropout who was from time to time suspended from school. More importantly, democracy cannot be applied to African countries in the same manner that it is to western countries. African countries are shaped by different elements which include issues of development, historical background and so forth although media is viewed as an important element to democracy.

It is well known that the media should create a platform for public debate; it should inform as well as entertain the public; it should be a watchdog and the voice of the voiceless; and so forth. Dennis and Snyder (1998: 2) suggest that defining the role of the media now needs new formulations: "Old assumptions are no longer enough to explain what is happening in so many different societies, all saying they are democratic, but carrying out their social compact in quite different ways". Importantly, Jakubowicz (1999: 14) has provided a more structured account of the expected role of the media (also see Baker 2002: 18; Bennett 1991:4 ; Curran 2000: 10; Doyle 2000: 27; Randall 1998: 3; Bogart 1998: 26 and McNair 1999: 70, 2007: 36). He notes the roles of the media as…

- Surveillance of socio-political environment, reporting developments likely to impinge, positively and negatively, on the welfare of citizens
- Meaningful agenda-setting
- Providing a platform for illuminating advocacy by politicians and spokespersons for other causes and interest groups
- Facilitating a dialogue across a diverse range of views, as well as between power holder and mass publics
- Creating a mechanism for holding officials accountable for how they exercised power

- Providing incentives for citizens to learn, choose, and become involved in public life
- Putting up a principled resistance to the efforts of forces outside the media to subvert their independence

The above mentioned roles are the ideal way the media of a democratic country should work; however, in many instances media in many democratic countries fail to fulfil these expectations, the main causes of which are economic pressures which carry with them additional constraints. For example, Bogart (1998: 4) also acknowledges that the manner in which the media work in today's world suggests that they remain vulnerable to manipulation by political authorities motivated by ideological zeal or crude self-interaction, or by economic forces that limit their resources, their variety and their integrity and thus, they are not necessarily agents of democracy.

3.5.1.1 The role of a public service broadcaster

According to Hills (2003: 45) the import feature of a public broadcaster should be:

- Universal access
- Promotion of national cultural identity
- Editorial independence
- Programme diversity
- Accountibility

Thus the term public service broadcasting "has been used as a synonym for the original European broadcasting corporations, which were set up as licence fee funded monopolies in the inter-war period" (Mpofu, 1999 as cited in Mbaine 2003: 143). These institutions have been characterised by their attempts to bring into being a culture and shared public life to the whole population within the nation state (Mpofu, 1999 as cited in Mbaine 2003: 143). According to Suine (1998 cited in Mbaine 2003: 144) the public broadcaster has always embodied the following elements, a commitment to balanced scheduling, broadcasting

institutions as public bodies with financial independence from government and commercial sources, the service should be provided to all in return for a basic payment usually in the form of a licence fees and political content that is obliged to be balanced and impartial. Thus the public service broadcaster should deliver programmes to audiences wheras commercial or private broadcasting operates on a logical of delivering audience to advertisers (Mbaine 2003: 144). Importantly, historically a key defining feature of public service broadcasting, particularly in Europe has been the predominance of public funding over commercial advertising and sponsorship. Mbaine (2003: 151) explains that such funding can take the form of government grants, licence fees or levies for electricity bills. "Public funding is considered to be crucial to the ability of the public service broadcaster to offer a diversity of programming across all genres, which is not driven by advertisers" (Mbaine 2003: 152). Thus in the case of political advertising on television it was crucial that the advertisers did not require large amounts of money from the political parties in order to gain extra airtime and in turn avoiding this would minimise the possibilities of the political parties wanting to influence the public service broadcaster in various ways by relying on the fact that they paid large amounts of money in order to have extra airtime for their political advertisements. Moreover, without adequate funding to cover the human and material resources, public service broadcasting is neither viable nor sustainable. "Advertising and commercial sponsorships have in recent years been the largest sources of revenue for public broadcasters government dwindled" (Mbaine 2003: 152).

3.5.2 A brief account of freedom of expression

There is no question that freedom of expression and freedom of the press are indispensable elements of democracy which can generally be defined as a "system of government that assigns the ultimate responsibility to the public to decide how it wishes to live, but presupposes that the public is fully informed when it makes that judgement. Thus Jakubowicz (1999: 11), also see Duncan and Seleoane (1998: 2-3; 13), explains that:

- Freedom of expression constitutes one of the essential foundations of a democratic society and one of the basic conditions for its progress and for each individual's self-fulfilment.

- Freedom of expression affords the opportunity to take part in the public exchange of cultural, political and social information and ideas of all kinds.
- Freedom of the press affords the public one of the means of discovering and forming an opinion of the ideas and attitudes and political leaders.

3.5.3 Liberal democracy

It is only in the twentieth century that liberalism and democracy were freely spoken about and indeed, by the end of this century, they became the world-dominant political ideologies (Cunningham 2005 and Dryzek 2000). Dryzek (2000: 4) argues that liberal democracy became a compromise between two different set of principles. He acknowledges that democracy emerged as a means of quelling strife, for example, the strife of religion and the church, with the Catholic Church given as a prominent example. It is noted that the historical changes that contributed to the emergence of modern liberal and liberal democratic thought were immensely complicated (Cunningham 2005: 56). For example, the struggle between the monarchs and estates over the domain of rightful authority; peasant rebellions against the weight of excessive taxation and social obligation; the spread of trade; commerce and market relations; change in technology; the consolidation of national monarchies (notably in England, France and Spain); the growing influence of Renaissance culture; religious strife and challenge to the universal claims of Catholicism; the struggle between the Church and the state – all played a part (Cunningham 2005: 56).

South Africa is considered to be a liberal democracy and it is viewed as one of the most advanced democracies in Africa. Liberal democracy is the degree to which a political system allows democratic rule and political liberties (Bollen and Paxton 2000: 59). The first dimension, democratic rule, exists to the extent that the national government is accountable to the general population, and each individual is entitled to participate in the government directly or through representatives (Bollen and Paxton 2000: 60, also see Duncan and Seleoane 1998: 3). Political liberty, the second dimension, exists when the people of a country have the freedom to express a variety of political opinions in any media and the freedom to form and participate in any political group (Bollen and Paxton 2000: 60). Thus a liberal democracy should be both representative and participatory and it should guarantee freedom of speech. Furthermore, Duncan and Seleoane (1998: 13) suggest that while citizens

forego certain freedoms through a social contract when consenting to be governed, natural rights such as the right to freedom of expression should be placed above government interference (Duncan and Seleoane 1998: 13). Instrumental arguments stem from the position that freedom of expression is an instrument in attaining a democratic society (Duncan and Seleoane 1998: 13). Thus, liberal representative democracy has become the dominant form of democracy whose model has informed and guided most of today's existing democracies (Moyo 2006: 33).

Held defines liberal democracy as a system of rule embracing elected 'officers' who undertake to 'represent' the interests and views of citizens within the framework of the 'rule of law' (Held 1993: 15 cited in Moyo 2006: 33). "In its contemporary form, liberal democracy has been described as a cluster of rules and institutions permitting the broadest participation of the majority of citizens in the selection of representatives who alone can make political decisions (that is, decisions affecting the whole community)" (Moyo 2006: 33–34). Such participation is limited to the process of electing representative and hence instrumental (Moyo 2006: 33–34).

Rozumilowicz (2002), for example, has stressed that, participation and competition are key aspects to an operational definition of democracy (as cited in Moyo 2006: 38). While competition among political actors ensures that the electorates have a meaningful choice, participation ensures that those choices are themselves representative of the larger political community (Rozumilowicz 2002: 11 cited in Moyo 2006: 38). "Participation is also essential to democratic theory in the sense that participatory democrats look beyond the instrumental conception of people as voters or choosers of their leaders to view them as active participants in decision-making process at all levels" (Moyo 2006: 39). Participatory theorists emphasise the need for direct participation by citizens in the regulation of key institutions in society, including the workplace and local community (Pateman 1970 cited in Moyo 2006: 39).

Liberal democracy has been criticised by many theorists; see for example Cunningham (2005) and Dryzek (2000), who state that it is insufficient on its own in order to govern today's democracies. Thus some theorists (for example, Dryzek 2000) have chosen to argue for deliberative democracy instead. Dryzek (2000: 8) suggests that "deliberative democracy by definition is open to preference transformation within political interaction, while liberal democracy by definition deals only in the reconciliation and aggregation of preferences defined prior to political interaction". He argues that liberalism is a flexible doctrine as he

notes that some liberals allow that there are circumstances in which individuals can be open to deliberative persuasion. Thus, Dryzek (2008: 10) argues that the "deliberative conception of democracy turns out to facilitate a more effective reconciliation of liberal and democratic principles in connection moreover, with the specifically constitutional aspects of liberalism long thought most resistant to democracy". He also notes that the mere fact that deliberative democracy helps to solve some problems for liberals would be an insufficient reason to endorse it. Cunningham (2005: 163) also voices a critique against liberal democracy by suggesting that liberal theory or social choice theory pictures citizens entering a democratic political process with fixed preferences that they aim to further by use of democratic institutions and rules. He also suggests that these institutions and rules function to aggregate citizens' differing preferences and they are legitimate when people at least tacitly consent to being bound by them. Thus, the deliberative democracy alternative takes issue with this picture on the issues of legitimating, fixed preferences and aggregation (Cunningham 2005: 163). Lastly, and as suggested by Cunningham (2005: 53), some theories, for instances about human nature or the political economy of cultural industries, will at least point one in the direction of favoured hypothesis and liberal-democratic theory by itself does not do this. For example, another theoretical perspective that can used to critique democracy is the critical political economy of the media because this theory goes beyond the technical issue of efficiency to engage with the basic moral of question of justice, equity and public good (Hesmondhalgh 2000: 31). It questions the interplay of power which liberal democracy does not consider, for instance, the extent to which political liberties exist in a liberal democracy are not questioned by liberal democracy theory. Thus critical political economy of the media theory goes beyond liberal democracy theory by questioning ethical and normative aspects – how things ought to be done and it also questions the influence of power or freedom and degrees thereof.

3.5.4 Deliberative democracy

An emphasis of deliberation is not entirely new; antecedents can be found in the *polis* of ancient Greece, in the political theory of contributions to the western canon such as Edmund Burke and John Stuart Mill and in theories from the early twentieth century such as John Dewey (1927, as cited in Dryzek 2000: 2). The concept of deliberative democracy was

invented by Joseph Bessette (1980) and given impetus by Bernard Manin (1987) and Joshua Cohen in 1989.

Deliberation as a social process is distinguished from other kinds of communication in that deliberators are amenable to changing their judgements, preferences, and views during the course of their interactions, which involve persuasion rather than coercion, manipulation, or deception (Dryzek 2000: 8). The sense of democracy itself is now widely taken to be deliberation, as opposed to voting, interest aggregation, constitutional rights, over self government. The deliberative turn presents a renewed concern with the authenticity of democracy: the degree to which democratic control is substantive rather than symbolic, and engaged by competent citizens (Dryzek 2000: 8). He notes that this authenticity means that deliberative democracy's welcome of forms of communication is conditioned. The exact content of these conditions is a matter of dispute. The only condition for authentic deliberation is then the requirement that communication include reflection upon preferences in non-coercive fashion (Dryzek 2000: 11). This domination in turn rules out domination via the exercise of power, manipulation, indoctrination, propaganda, deception, expression of more self-interest, threats (of the sort that characterise bargaining) and attempts to impose ideological conformity (Dryzek 2000: 11).

Cohen (1997 cited in Cunningham 2005) argues that deliberation under the right conditions is an ideal model which democratic institutions ought to strive to approximate. Deliberation is a type of democracy that does not refer only to preference or choice (voting) but it calls for a forum where there is communication and good reasons are expected for the choice opted for. Thus deliberative democracy resonates with the idea of the public sphere as a reservoir of democratic authenticity (Cunningham 2005: 4). Henceforth, the citizens need to be intellectually stimulated in a deliberative democracy through communication. To be intellectually stimulated they need to be well informed and one of the best means to do this is through the media. However, when the media does not fulfil this important role, it leaves citizens in a vulnerable position.

For example, Cunningham (2005: 164) argues that democratic processes are legitimate when they permit and encourage reasoned deliberation both over specific issues and also over the very rules of the discourse procedures and the way in which they are applied. "In order for such deliberation to confer legitimacy on democratic procedures and their results, reasons must be publicly given and exchanged in forums suitable for this purpose and participants

must be able, freely and equally, to arrive at informed preferences and to acquire and exercise the abilities required for effective participation in the forums" (Cunningham 2005: 164). Thus, instead of holding a public vote, citizens should rather bargain with one another in order to come to a solution. In a deliberative democracy people do not merely give their views, they must give reasons for their views and, in turn, they should hear other people's views also in the attempt to persuade people to take their view. Therefore, in this type of democracy, reciprocity is important (Cunningham 2005: 164). People engaged in deliberative democratic practices must be prepared to question and to exchange their own preferences and values. For example, Cunningham (2005: 164) states that "I cannot expect you to entertain my reasons respectfully and with mind open to change your views unless I am prepared to entertain your reason in the same-spirit".

Therefore, it can be concluded that deliberative democracy allows free and reasoned agreement amongst equals and an ideal deliberation requires that participants state their reasons for or against proposals. Kaposi (2006: 11) argues that the principle of reciprocity expresses a sense of mutuality that the citizens should bring to their deliberation and thus, "principles of publicity and accountability are shaped by the principle of reciprocity". Deliberation then views political discussion as a central role in the democratic process. For example, "deliberative potential can occur in any situation where citizens engage in political discussion precisely through the act of their engaging in such an exercise". Another point that Kaposi (2006: 13) makes in trying to emphasise the mechanism of deliberation is that "when issues are discussed in Parliament or Congress, it is often possible to detect elements of deliberation in the arguments, for moral claims appear when values are explicitly mentioned in the justification of preferred policies". It is this alternative that we need in South Africa so that people do not merely choose but clearly state the reasons they have made such a choice and in turn convince the opposition to take the same route. Thus Kaposi (2006: 13) acknowledges that some have argued that such deliberation among political representatives and experts suffices for a healthy democracy (see Bessette 1994).

In critiquing deliberative democracy Fung (2005: 398) argues that "background inequalities in resources status and other forms of privilege upset the communication equality that deliberation requires, many political theorists have made this point, and many critics of deliberation turn on the threats passed by various kinds of background inequality". Meanwhile, Habermas as cited in Fung (2005: 398) posits that "only in an egalitarian public of citizens that has emerged from the confinements of class thrown off millennia – old

shackles of social stratification and exploitation can be potential of an unleashed cultural pluralism fully developed". Thus according to the aforementioned statement there needs to be some common ground for deliberation to work.

It was argued that "citizens must possess a certain level of income and resources if they are to be effective participants in democratic deliberation" (Knight and Johson (1997 as cited in Fung (2007: 398). Importantly in his critic of deliberative democracy Fung (2005: 399) states that "the most sensible stance for a deliberative democrat who lives and acts in circumstances characterised by inequality is to advance deliberation thorough persuasion when possible but not limit his limits to persuasion only". He then calls his attempt perspective deliberative activism because it holds that wide spread inequality and failures of reciprocity can justify non persuasive, even coercive methods for the sake of deliberative goals. This means that deliberative democrats should not limit themselves to communicative methods even under highly adverse conditions such as inequality.

Huspek (2007: 329) suggests that fundamental to the deliberative model are demanding communicative process that must necessarily be in play if political decisions and courses of action are to earn legitimacy. "There needs to be an inclusion and equal opportunity for citizen participation in deliberative arrangements that are public, transparent, and premised on expectations of reasonable outcomes produced by means of contested and redeemed validity claims" (Huspek 2007: 329).

Furthermore, Habermas then considers hindrances in increased realisation of the deliberative model – primarily pathologies of political communication that militate against open and transparent procedures of argumentation, weaken trust between interactive, and so undermine legitimatin of deliberative procedure and result. Such pathologies, which tend to be bound up with corporate control of mass media as well as with the media's close relations with special interest groups and political elites, may be offset to some degree by two normative requirements an independent and self regulating media system that links political communication in the public sphere with both civil society and elites who occupy the political centre, and improved citizens who suffer no insuperable obstacles to genuine participation within deliberative democracy's communicative process. One such matter is the role of the media which has treated with some ambivalence as early as Habermas influential Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere (Habermas 1962/1989), and which has since been cleared up to almost no one's satisfaction. On the one hand, modernising media have

been instrumental in popular struggles for greater democratisation but on the other hand, insofar as the media have remained intertwined with and beholden to state and capital, it is not clear whether they can facilitate public dialogue in ways that adequately meet public demands for genuinely deliberative democracy (Huspek 2007: 33).

3.5.5 Deliberation, the public sphere and political advertising on television

Traditionally, as also mentioned by Habermas (1989), the public sphere would be performed in places like coffee shops where people would meet and to discuss and make decisions on political issues of the day. Now with the emergence of the Internet and social networks or discussion forums of such calibre, people exchange their thoughts on these platforms. However, for a country such as South Africa where there exists a digital divide and only a small percentage of the population can access the Internet in order to participate in a discussion on one of the forums, the public sphere is somewhat deteriorated. Furthermore, what is problematic is the fact that these discussion forums are usually orchestrated to make a profit than to serve public good whereby an audience is sold to the advertisers. Importantly, issues of poverty also play a role in participating meaningfully in the public sphere. Although communities which are poverty striken can rely on 'imbizo', a meeting where political issues that affect them directly can be discussed and consensus can be reached.

Henceforth it is evident that a deliberative democracy supports the notion of the public sphere. According to Habermas (1989: 24), "the ideal public sphere is largely separated from economic concerns because it is a discursive model of interaction whose function is to integrate various levels of society into a realm of common interaction". Thus the public sphere can be understood as a platform where people gather together to freely express their views; like deliberation it complements the exchange of ideas or opinion. The public sphere also views people as equals sharing a common right to take part in determining public policy and state practice, as does deliberation. It also advocates that the media should not treat its audience as consumers but rather as citizens (Berger: 2002: 35). Furthermore…

> *"…the notion of 'public' as in 'public opinion' refers here to a collection of politically significant shared common interests – which collection is seen as impacting ideologically upon the exercise of state power. The word 'sphere' draws from spatial terminology and suggests a discrete – or, rather, distinctive – realm*

> *where public discussion takes place. Less often stressed is the point with particular value for analysing southern African conditions, namely that the notion of the 'public sphere' can be contrasted to that of a 'governmental sphere' and to that of a 'private sphere' (Berger 2002: 31).*

In addition, Berger (2002: 24) acknowledges that Herbamas theorised in his later writings that class, gender, social and cultural interest groups could develop different own public spheres. He also points out critics by others that, Habermas focuses on the individualised (to neglect the group) input into political life, "for failing to recognize the exclusion of women and for assuming rational discussion and triumph of reasoned discourse in this realm" (see Mak'Ochieng, 1994; Calhoun, 1992; Curran, 1991; Garnham, 1990; Ronning, 1994 as cited in Berger 2002). However, we do not need a discrete public sphere. In order for deliberation to work there is a need for an extensively 'public' public sphere. Thus, political advertising on television could hinder this standpoint as it makes the public sphere 'private'; in most cases leaving discussion only to family members as they watch, apart from the media effects that television has the potential of possessing, this also assists in questioning the ability of television to mobilize voters. For example, Norris (2005: 13) also acknowledges that television is limited in its ability to mobilize voters.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the theoretical framework for the study. It was established that for the purpose of the study, critical political economy theory, democracy and the media perspective, and liberal democracy theory is used, although a critique of the liberal democratic paradigm was outlined and an alternative was suggested, namely deliberative theory. The chapter has discussed all of the above-mentioned theories in detail and the relevance of each theory has been outlined. Firstly, the relevance of the critical political economy theory was said to be its holistic characteristics as these would assist in examining the phenomenon of political advertising on South African television holistically – paying attention to the political structure, regulation, funding and financing of political advertising on television in South Africa. Secondly, the liberal democracy theory was viewed relevant to

show what is expected in a liberal democracy in order to determine the implications that the rise of political advertising on television have for democracy such as South Africa.

However, deliberative democracy was viewed to be better than liberal theory because it provides for a public sphere where communication is a key prerequisite, and it requires reasoning behind a choice taken. Deliberative democracy is also a better option because it suggests that the citizens are entitled to a choice but they should also state the reason for making that choice. Lastly, democracy and the media perspectives were seen as relevant in evaluating the importance of the democratic element when it comes to the media (political advertising) in a democracy, more especially for a liberal democratic country. The next chapter discusses the methodology used for the study.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodology for the study. The study is qualitative and it is both exploratory and descriptive. It is exploratory because advertising on television in South Africa is a new phenomenon, and has not been studied before it is descriptive because it describes the phenomenon as it exists. Thematic content analysis, document analysis as well as questionnaires are employed as means of a methodology. A purposive sample is drawn from the political advertisements which appeared on the national broadcaster channels, SABC 1, SABC 2, and SABC 3. Furthermore, the sample consists of the English advertisements from the top six most prominent political parties in South Africa that had political advertisements aired on television during the 2009 pre-election period.

4.2 Research design

The study is qualitative in nature and it employs exploratory as well as descriptive methods. The research design consists of a thematic content analysis of political advertisements guided by political economy of the media as well as democratic theories. The research design also includes document analysis and questionnaires as a means of data collection. Thus thematic content analysis is used in order to investigate the themes (messages) and issues that appear in the political advertisements. Document analysis is relevant in analysing the issues of regulation, funding and financing of political advertising on television. Meanwhile the questionnaire achieves an overall perspective from the political media officers or elections managers of the different political parties about the funding, production, distribution as well as the regulation of the political advertisements on television.

The use of content analysis has its strengths as well as weaknesses. One of the most advantageous strengths of content analysis is that it is cost effective. In addition, content analysis can handle large amounts of data, meaning that it can be used to analyse a large sample. It is also effective in conducting longitudinal studies when one wants to study phenomena over a long period of time (Wigston 2009: 35). A more interesting aspect of content analysis is that it “allows us to research situational, semantic and political aspects of massages (Wigston 2009: 34). When doing a content analysis no one really needs to be interviewed and there is no need for a questionnaire, although content analysis combines very

well with other methods, for example; “we can use content analysis to evaluate interview data or responses to be open-ended questions in a survey” (Wigston 2009: 36). However, a weakness of content analysis is that the method is limited to examining material that has been recorded in some or other retrievable format. Content cannot tell how the audience reacts to a message. Thus content analysis is beneficial for a descriptive or explanatory study and it cannot be used for an experimental study (Berg 1989: 125–126).

The study has employed open coding in thematic content analysis. Coding in thematic analysis is the process of identifying themes or concepts that are in the data. The researcher attempts to build a systematic account of what has been observed and recorded (Ezzy 2002: 88). Theory emerges through this coding process and coding links the data to an emergent theory (Ezzy 2002: 88). Thematic analysis aims to identify themes within the data and it is inductive as the themes are not predetermined and hence in the study this technique was used as the themes were explored and not predetermined, although there was a vague idea of what theme to expect prior to the analysis. Significantly, thematic analysis means that as a form of research, “it may take the researcher into issues and problems he or she had not anticipated” (Ezzy 2002: 88).

As mentioned at the start of the paragraph above, the first stage of coding during thematic analysis is described as open coding and it pertains particularly to the naming and categorising of phenomena through close examination of data. “Opening coding is thus exploratory looking in the data for codes” (Ezzy: 2002: 89). Although there are other forms of coding such as axial coding and selective coding, the study relied on open coding. Thus, “when using coding one can explore the data; identify the units of analysis; code for meanings, feelings, actions; make metaphors for data; experiment with codes; compare and contrast events, actions and feelings; break codes in subcategories; integrate codes into more inclusive codes; and identify the properties of codes” (Ezzy 2002: 89).

Other prominent studies in the field of political advertising have used categories in analysing the data. Although categorising the data is systematic, for this study I preferred open coding because it also assists in building theory. It is also inductive whereas when data is analysed using predetermined categories it becomes deductive. The prominent study which I refer to at the beginning of the paragraph is that of Tak, Kaid, and Lee (2008: 175). For example, their categories were structured as follows:

> *"The categories were adapted from other content analysis of political advertising, Kaid's conceptualisation of videostyle (Kaid & Davidson, 1986; Kaid & Johnston, 1991), which incorporates verbal, nonverbal, and video production of characteristics of spots. The categories included types of commercial (image or issue with issue ads emphasising a policy issue or proposal and image ads emphasising the candidate's background, characteristics, or qualifications), focus of commercial (positive commercials focused on the candidate sponsoring the ad, negative commercials focus on criticism of the opponent), facial expression, hands and gestures (non-use in which no hands and arms are used or hands are held downward, mild use in which hands are raised below the shoulder line, and broad use in which hands are raised above the shoulder line or are very expressive), dress (formal with candidate in suit and tie or informal with candidate in casual dress), dominant setting (formal as in office or professional setting or informal as in personal setting), and eye contact (direct or indirect). Categories were also developed to measure types of appeals used by the ads. Types of appeal included logical appeals (using evidence, statistics, examples), emotional appeals (invoking feelings of emotions such as happiness, pride, anger, or patriotism), and ethical appeals (relying on the character of the candidate or the speaker). Appeals were also designed as fear appeals if they attempted to convince the audience that harm would come to them or those they were concerned about" (2008: 183).*

The population considered for the study was the political parties which appeared in the pre-election period of the 22 April 2009 South African elections. However, a sample was drawn from the major political parties which had representation in parliament and which had political advertisements aired on television and thus six major political parties were included in the sample. This was a purposive sample, although there were 27 political parties which appeared on the national ballot paper of the 2009 elections.

There were seven documents (including the individual political party election manifestos) that were identified to be important for the purpose of the study and these are named under section 4.5.1 of this chapter. The documents were retrieved from the Internet but they are also available in the Government Gazette, and the election manifestos of the different political parties were retrieved from the respective websites of the political parties. A questionnaire was sent out to the different political party media officers or election managers in order to investigate aspects such as:

- How many political advertisement(s) did the political party have and in what language(s) were these advertisement(s) broadcast?
- How much did it cost the political party to produce the content of the political advertisement(s)?
- Did the political party buy extra airtime for the political advertisement(s) on television; if yes, how much did the extra airtime cost the political party?
- How many times did the political advertisement(s) appear on television and at what time slots did the political advertisement appear?
- Where did the political party get the funds to fund the political advertisement(s) on television; please specify?
- Did the political party produce its own political advertisement(s) or was a professional company hired to produce the advertisement; please specify?
- Was the political party given any conditions about the elements it could not, or could contain in the content of the political advertisement(s) on television and what were these conditions for the broadcasting of political advertisements on television?
- What elements were considered as crucial in the production of the advertisement(s); in other words what general message was the party trying to convey in the content of the political advertisement(s)?

In order to collect the data from the questionnaire, a computer survey was used. This is a form of self-administered survey. According to Bornman (2009: 452), the questionnaires are sent via email and after completion the questionnaire was also received via email. “An important prerequisite is that all elements in the population should have Internet access and a list of the email addresses of the population should be available” (Bornman 2009: 425). The respondents in the study were thus contacted via email and they responded via email (see the Addendum B for the email addresses of the respondents consulted). Questionnaires have the strength of putting the respondent at ease as they have the opportunity to answer in their own words and at their own personal space. They are also cost-effective as they can be sent all at once via email. In addition, they place the respondents on equal footing because all the

respondents are asked the same questions in the same way and are given the same options when answering.

However, the weakness in questionnaires is that the respondents may not have the ability to provide well-formulated and in-depth answers. The researcher also cannot interact with the respondents (Hofstee 2006: 133). Consequently, the researcher cannot analyse the reactions of the respondents while answering the questions and the depth to which the researcher can probe the respondent is lessened. The researcher is also forced to stick to the same format.

4.2.1 Research method

The study is exploratory and descriptive. Mouton (1998: 43) argues that the goal which is pursued in exploratory studies is the exploration of a relatively unknown research area. The aim may include gaining new insight into the phenomenon, determining properties for future research and developing new hypotheses about the existing phenomenon. The study is then exploratory; although the concept of political advertising on television is not new around the globe, it is rather recent in South Africa and the study aims to gain new insight into this phenomenon in South Africa. “Because exploratory studies usually lead to insight and comprehension rather than the collection of accurate and replicable data, these studies frequently involve the use of in-depth interviews, the analysis of case studies, and the use of formats” (Mouton: 1998: 43). According to Bless and Higson-Smith (1988: 41), the purpose of exploratory research is to gain a broad understanding of a situation, phenomenon, community or person and the need for such a study could arise from a lack of basic information in a news area of interest.

Nonetheless, “descriptive method is used to test factual hypotheses, or statements that do not relate to two or more variables but express facts about the world” (Bless and Higson-Smith 1988: 42). In descriptive research we describe what already exists in the moment. For example, “research questions usually begin with ‘Why…?’” (Pitout and Du Plooy 2001: 302). Thus the descriptive method is used to describe concepts (such policies and regulations) influencing and part of political advertising on television. In addition, the debate around the field of political advertising on television has been that political advertising on television focuses more on the image than the political issues and it uses catchy slogans which produce an electorate that is attracted to these slogans. Hence it is interesting to test this existing hypothesis in the case of South Africa.

4.2.2 Qualitative research

Qualitative research involves several methods of data collection such as focus groups, field observation, in-depth interviews and case studies (Wimmer and Dominick 2000: 4). The word qualitative has been used to refer to "1) a broad philosophy and approach to research, 2) a research methodology, and 3) a specific set of research techniques" (Wimmer and Dominick 2000: 113). According to Du Plooy (2001: 29) "qualitative research has been assigned many different labels such as field research, naturalism, ethnography, anti-positivist approach, an alternative approach and constructivism". She mentions that these aforementioned concepts all share a common focus: to interpret and construct the qualitative aspects of communication experiences (2001: 29).

The term qualitative analysis means "any type of research that produces findings not arrived at by statistical procedures or other means of quantification" (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 10). Hence, it can refer to research about persons' lives, lived experiences, behaviours, emotions, and feelings as well as organisational functioning, social movements, cultural phenomena, and interactions between nations; some of the data can be quantified as with census or background information about the persons or objects studied, but the bulk of the analysis is interpretative (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 11). Thus, it seems fit to employ qualitative research in studying cultural phenomena such as political advertising on television because political advertising on television is a new cultural phenomenon in South Africa and the bulk of the analysis of the study is interpretative rather than a mere statement of findings. Qualitative analysis focuses on the occurrence of its analytical objects in a particular context, "where quantitative analysis would focus on the concrete, delimited products of the media's meaning production, qualitative approaches examine meaning production as a process which is contextualised and inextricably integrated with wider social and cultural practices" (Bruhn Jensen 1991: 4). Furthermore, "various forms of qualitative analysis acquire general explanatory value, despite their "non-representative" empirical samples, because, as part of the analytical procedures, continuous cross-reference is made between the theoretical and other levels of analysis" (Bruhn Jensen 1991: 5).

4.3 Methods of data collection

4.3.1 Document analysis

According to Wimmer and Dominick (1988: 117), existing documents may represent a fertile source of data for the qualitative researcher. Documents include things like letters, diaries, and personal papers; these may be personal in nature, such as diaries, but organisations also generate papers including office memos, mission statements and correspondence (Esterberg 2002: 122). "While these kinds of private papers may be more difficult to obtain and interpret than publicly available government documents, they can provide invaluable insight into individual's lives" (Esterberg 2002: 123). For example, financial records give clues about the economy and people's standard of living while organisational records may give clues about how organisations function (Esterberg 2002: 123). For the purpose of the study the documents presented on the list below are analysed. These documents are used in order to address the issues of regulation, funding and financing as well as the issue of change in policy which the study seeks to address. The documents analysed are as follows:

- **Notice 1419 of 2008 by Independent Communications Authority (**Regulation on party election broadcasts, political advertisements, the equitable treatment of political parties by broadcasting licenses and related matters**)**
- **Notice 338 of 2009 by Independent Communications Authority (**Party election broadcasts (PEBs) and political advertisements (PAs) during election period**)**
- Public Funding of Represented Political Parties Act, No. 103 of 1997
- Public Funding of Represented Political Parties Regulations, 1998
- Electronic Communications Act, No. 36 of 2005
- African charter on democracy, elections and governance (2007)
- Election manifestos

4.3.2 Questionnaire

A questionnaire was sent out to the different political party media officers or elections manager in order to investigate aspects, as also mentioned in section 4.2 of the study, such as how much it cost the political party to produce the content of the political advertisement, and whether or not the political party paid for extra airtime or only used the free airtime allocated by ICASA. The questions included open-ended questions since "open ended questions allow the respondent to answer the question in their own words" (Du Plooy 2001: 138). According to Bornman (2009: 425) survey research has developed with the positivist paradigm of social research; although it is possible to include open-ended questions in a questionnaire, which can yield the data of more qualitative nature, she argues that survey research is predominantly a quantitative methodology. "The questionnaire is a versatile methodology that can be applied in a variety of contexts to investigate a multitude of topics" (Bornman 2009: 426). Furthermore, Hofstee (2006: 132) defines a questionnaire as a form-structured interview, where all the respondents are asked the same questions and are often offered the same options in answering them, and questionnaires may include open-ended questions which respondents answer in their own words.

4.3.3 Sampling

The population considered for the purpose of the study was the political parties which appeared on the South African elections ballot paper on 22 April 2009. However, a sample was drawn from the major political parties that have representation in parliament and which had political advertisements aired on television during the 2009 pre-election period. According to Du Plooy (2001: 100), "sampling involves following a rigorous procedure when selecting units of analysis from a larger population". Du Plooy (2001: 101) also mentions that sampling is not only applicable when generating or collecting new data, but is also relevant when conducting historical research. The selected political parties were the African National Congress (ANC), the Democratic Alliance (DA), the Congress of the People (COPE), the Independent Democrats (ID), the Freedom Front Plus (FF+), and the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP). Furthermore, the sample is a purposive sample, since when such a sample is drawn, "previous knowledge of the populations and/or the objective of the study can result in a researcher using his or her own judgement to select a sample" (DuPlooy 2007: 114). Thus this is called a purposive sample (DuPlooy 2007: 114). For example, Bornman

(2009: 447) acknowledges that "purposive of judgemental sampling implies that elements are selected on the basis of knowledge of the population and the aims of the study".

Initially, the selected parties were the six mentioned, together with the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the United Democratic Movement (UDM). However, the IFP was omitted because their media officer confirmed that the party did not have a political advertisement on television. The UDM was also omitted from the sample because Eina, the party's media representative, confirmed that the UDM did not have a political advertisement flighted on television because the party did not have enough resources, although it aired political advertisements on radio.

When doing a pilot study and during the data collection process, Mr Van Niekerk revealed that it cost the ACDP R50 000 to produce the content of the party's political advertisement. Onkgopotse JJ Tebane, the chief information officer for COPE, revealed that the production of the content of the advertisement cost R100 000. Mr Tebane also mentioned that the political party bought extra airtime from the public broadcaster which cost the political party an extra R1.5 million rand. The political advertisement was aired 33 times.

4.4. Methods of data interpretation

4.4.1 Thematic content analysis

Thematic content analysis is used mainly to analyse the themes and issues that appear in the political advertisements on television in South Africa. Content analysis is both quantitative and qualitative research. "Content analysis attends to the repositions of frequency of features, their proportions within a text, and consequent assumption about significance. The percentage of advertisements of a certain type within a newspaper may, for instance be significant" (Burton 2005:49).

It is a research technique that is "based on measuring the amount of something (violence, negative portrayals of women, or whatever) in a representative sampling of some mass-mediated popular art form, such as a newspaper comic strip" (Berger 1993: 25). One can also conduct content analysis of phenomena such as personal letters, telephone conversations and classroom lectures, which are not mass mediated. "Content analysis may be defined as a

methodology by which the researcher seeks to determine the manifest content of written, spoken or published communications by systematic, objective and quantitative analysis" (Zito 1975: 27). It is a direct way of making inferences about people. "Generally speaking when we do a content analysis, we try to obtain a substantial amount of material to examine, and we always do it from a comparative point of view" (Berger 1993: 26). One of the reasons we conduct content analysis is to determine whether there have been interesting changes over the years (Berger 1993: 26).

Content analysis also helps the researcher to deal with subjects that are current. They can work with the latest magazines or comic strips (and compare them with earlier ones), which means researchers can keep their fingers on the collective pulse, so to speak, and study phenomena as they develop – facts, fashions, crazes and social movements (Berger 1993: 28). Finally, content analysis provides numbers. The technique is based on counting and/or measuring and the findings are given in numerical form (Berger 1993: 28). Content analysis is used in the study to analyse the themes as well as the images that appeared in the political advertisements on television in South Africa.

Du Plooy (2001: 191) argues that content analysis involves the analysis of memos, electronic mail, manuscripts meetings and policy documents. She points out that "[a] common use of content analysis is to record the frequency with which certain symbols or themes appear in messages" (2001: 191). According to DuPlooy (2001: 1991), content analysts have used physical units, syntactic units, thematic units and propositional units of analysis. For example, DuPlooy (2001: 191) states that thematic units are "repeating patterns of propositions or ideas related to issues such as sex, violence, AIDS, equality, gender or stereotyping based on age, race and disability". The study mainly employs thematic units as the unit of analysis although aspects of physical units, syntactic units and propositional units may appear in the study.

Furthermore, Du Plooy (2001: 191) mentions that physical units may be concepts such as the medium of communication, number of pages, size and space in print media and time duration in broadcast media. Meanwhile, syntactic units involve the analysis of concepts such as paragraphs, sentences, phrases, clauses or words; and proportional units are concepts such as questions, answers, statements, assertions or arguments (2001: 191). Thus content analysis deals with the analysis of messages, hence the aim here is to analyse the content of the messages as a unit of analysis including both physical and syntactic units in order to also

evaluate how political advertisements in South Africa commodify politics and to identify the themes covered and to determine whether the political advertisements on television focus more on the themes than images and vice versa. Hence, as mentioned earlier, content analysis involves the analysis of policy documents so a document analysis is conducted as well to ensure reliability.

The final stage of content analysis is the interpretation of the results; the results are compared with the predictions of the pre-existing theory and conclusions for the theory are drawn. For example, Ezzy (2002: 84) points out that "Evans and Davis resort to a form of thematic content analysis, because they identify themes in their data that had not been specified prior to conducting their research". So content analysis is a useful way of confirming or testing a pre-existing theory. "When the research questions are clearly defined and the categories of analysis have been well established by pre-existing research, content analysis may be an extremely useful method of data analysis" (Ezzy 2002: 84). Content analysis begins with predefined categories to emerge from the data while thematic analysis allows categories to emerge from the data. However, when new theories of interpretations are required, the researcher typically requires more inductive methodology such as thematic analysis (Ezzy 2002: 84). Since content analysis assumes that the researcher knows what the important categories will be prior to the analysis, it has a weakness because it severely limits the extent to which the 'other' can have a voice as part of the research process (Ezzy 2002: 85). "For this reason, in qualitative research content analysis is always used in conjunction with other forms of data analysis that are more inductive and sensitive to emergent categories and interpretations" (Ezzy 2002: 85). Thus in this study content analysis was used to analyse the themes and images that in addition, the emotional appeals in the political advertisements were also analysed using content analyses.

Thematic content analysis was used to analyse the political messages as noted by Wigston (2009: 35) content analysis "allows us to research situational, semantic and political aspects of messages (Wigston 2009: 34). Thus it is also used to analyse and interpret the questionnaire data. The content analysis is also used to employ open coding. The thematic analysis is used to identify the themes that appear in the political advertisements on television although in this study the themes are determined inductively and they are not predetermined but are analysed as they appear or occur in the political advertisements on television. Thus the content analysis is also used to analyse the type of emotional appeals which occur

(involving feelings of emotions such as happiness, pride, anger, or patriotism), and ethical appeals (relying on the character of the candidate or the speaker).

4.4.2 Application of theory

The critical political economy of the media theory was applied in analysing the data as "it is interested in seeing how the making and taking of meaning is shaped at every level by the asymmetries in social relations" (Golding and Murdock 2000:73). The tenets of democracy were used and thus the study advocates for deliberative democracy as opposed to liberal democracy. Afterall, as also mentioned earlier on in the study "democracy is often characterised as a procedure for making laws within which individuals who are counted equally register their preferences for competing alternatives, and outcomes are decided according to (bore) majority rule" (Freeman 2000: 372). The notions of the public sphere were additionally employed after all, deliberation cannot be utilised to its full extent without mentioning the public sphere because for deliberation to take place there has to be some sort of public sphere. Moreover, the paradigms of the normative roles of the media in a deliberative democracy were used in conjunction with the roles of the public service broadcaster. Hence critical political economy approaches and democratic theories, as well as the media and democratic perspectives, are used along with the methodologies in order to eventually interpet the findings.

4.5 Limitations

The limitations to the methodology used appeared prominently in the questionnaire. Two out of the six political parties did not give feedback to the questionnaire, namely the DA and the FF+. The DA refused to participate in the questionnaire while a representative from the FF+ could not be reached. For those political parties that provided feed back to the questionnaire, some of their answers to it were limited, with some political parties refraining from giving feedback about aspects such as the financial cost of producing the political advertisements on television. In addition, since the selected sample is a purposive sample, the results cannot apply to all the political advertisements that were broadcast on television during the 2009 pre-election period in South Africa but to the selected sample.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the methodological approach. It was established that the study is both exploratory and descriptive. The chapter also mentioned that the study is qualitative while the research method included thematic content analysis, document analysis, as well as a questionnaire. It was stated that the sample was drawn from SABC 1, SABC 2, and SABC 3, the three television channels of the national broadcaster, and political advertisements from six of South Africa's major political parties that appeared on these television stations were sampled. The next chapter, Chapter 5, presents the findings.

Chapter 5: Findings

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the findings of the study. The chapter is broken down into different themes which address, the themes and images in the political advertisements on television, the commodity in politics: funding, regulations and democracy and feedback to the questionnaire. This chapter outlines the advertisements of the selected parties, it illustrates the messages covered in the political advertisements on television during the 2009 presidential elections. The images and the themes that appear in these political advertisements are also established. The chapter outlines the funding and regulation of the political advertisements in South Africa. The commodity aspect, particularly in the production of the political advertisements is articulated in the feedback from the questionnaires.

5. 2 Themes and images in the political advertisements on television

Prior to the airing of the political advertisements on television the following caption appeared: "all the advertisements were aired the following caption appeared: "This party election broadcast was brought to you in terms of the ICASA regulations. The SABC does not necessarily subscribe to the views expressed by the political party."

5.2.1 ACDP political advertisement

The advertisement from the ACDP appeared on television as stated below and the underlined words are the words that the advertisement had highlighted in bright red.

Is there <u>hope</u> in South Africa?

[These words flash around the screen] Crime, murder, violence, rape, fear, intimidation, hatred

We live behind <u>bars</u> and barbed wired fences

What kind of life is that for our <u>children</u>?

[These words flash around the screen] AIDS, disease, dying, HIV

Who will take care of the poor and aged?

Or the orphans left?

By the ravished of AIDS?

Ours is a beautiful land…

…rich in potential, diversity and culture

…but many remain hungry and poor

Where is the hope?

Vote for …

Godly Governance

A fresh start for a better South Africa

Leaders of integrity

Alleviating poverty

Embracing family values

Why vote ACDP?

[Soon after the why vote the ACDP, the President of the ACDP appears and he addressed why the viewer should vote for the ACDP. There is a caption of his name that is outlined as he speaks, the caption reads as follows: Rev. Kenneth Meshoe ACDP President, South Africa. And thus, he says that…]

"I'd say, friends, the ACDP has the strategies, the ACDP has the policies, the ACDP has a will, the ACDP has a capacity to do what needs to be done to ensure that South Africa becomes a very peaceful and prosperous nation. God bless you as you talk to your friends, as you talk to your neighbours, as you try to influence them to bring in a government that cares for the people of South Africa, a government that wants to make South Africa a safe, stable and prosperous nation. God bless you."

Vote for ACDP on April 22nd!

[Lastly] ACDP

Hope for South Africa

[The duration of this advertisement was 126 seconds.]

The *themes* that appeared in the ACDP advertisement were as follows:

Hope, crime, murder, violence, rape, fear, intimidation, hatred, security, freedom, AIDS, disease, HIV, death, the elderly, orphans, poverty, and family values.

The *images* that appeared in the ACDP advertisement were as follows:

In the beginning, the advertisement used black and white images. First we see an image of a child covering his eyes. Then there is barbed wire, broken glass, and a sign that states, no guns. Then a child is shown, then an old man. Afterwards the children are shown, and some of them are playing and one is on a bicycle. A disabled man who is sitting in his wheelchair in the middle of the street is shown. Then there is a single mom standing outside her shack with many children – she is holding two in her arms and the other four are standing around her. Then a picture of a young white man covering his eyes is shown. All these images are black and white.

The second part of the advertisement used colour and the first thing that is shown is a scripture. A table which is in front of an audience is shown and this image suggests that a church service is taking place. There are people shown rejoicing up and down and then there is a chain of people standing in front of the ACDP emblem and they are holding hands. Then the leader of the ACDP is shown talking to a crowd. A journalist doing a news report is shown after that with a small TV behind him showing the ACDP flag (emblem). Afterwards a little girl is shown running to her father's arms in what seems to look like a park (the girl and father are white). The ACDP leader Kenneth Meshoe is then shown wearing a black suit with the ACDP flag behind him on his left hand. A shelf filled with big blue books and green books is behind him and he looks as though he is in an office (about to do work).

5.2.2 ANC political advertisement

The advertisement from the ANC appeared on television as follows:

I wonder if Mandela and them ever thought they'd see a free South Africa. A South Africa of possibilities where one isn't disqualified because of the colour of his skin. "In your dreams!" That's what they probably said to him".

So what is my dream?

My dream is to walk down the road without the fear of being harassed.

To see my father become successful in his small electrical business. But my biggest dream of all is to become a great doctor when I finish my medical degree one day.

[Then the President of the ANC appears sitting in a big chair with the ANC flag next to it and he is wearing a suit. He says…]

"Working together we can do more, so vote ANC"

[Lastly] ANC

WORKING TOGETHER

WE CAN DO SO MUCH MORE

[The political advertisement was 51 seconds long.]

The *themes* that appeared in the ANC advertisement are as follows:

Freedom, race, hope, fear, violence, black economic empowerment, poverty, and education.

The *images* in the ANC advertisement are as follows:

A coloured girl with an afro who is in her late teens is shown. She is talking to the camera and her voice is the only voice that is heard throughout the whole advertisement except when the ANC leader Jacob Zuma starts to talk at the end of the advertisement. The girl is first shown sitting in her bedroom on her bed with her legs crossed while she talks into the camera. She is wearing a yellow T-shirt and then she moves up to look at her family photos on the wall. She is then shown walking down the road in a block of flats, the flats almost resemble the Cape Flats in Cape Town, where the walls and the flats are painted white; it is very clean where she is walking and it looks peaceful, and as she walking down the road she is wearing a green top. Then her father is seen stepping out of a small van in his overalls and as he closes the door he moves to shake the hand of another man who is wearing a white T-

shirt (almost as to greet him for a business deal ahead). An image of flats lies behind these men as they shake each other's hands. Then Jacob Zuma is shown sitting in his armchair that is just above his shoulders and the flag of the ANC is standing on his left and there is nothing else behind him but a beige wall. After this image the flag of the ANC is shown floating and behind it there is a clear blue sky.

5.2.3 DA political advertisement

The advertisement from the DA appeared on television as follows:

You can be the end of poverty

The beginning of prosperity

You can be the end of crime

And the beginning of security

You have the power to change South Africa

Vote to win

DA

ONE NATION ONE FUTURE

[This advert was 60 seconds long.]

The music in the background is emotive, with the lyrics stating that *somewhere, over the rainbow, skies are blue. And the dreams that you dare to dream really do come true. Someday I'll wish upon a star and wake up where the clouds are far behind me. Where troubles melt like lemon drops, away above the chimney tops, that's where you'll find me. Ooh… Somewhere, over the rainbow...*The *themes* that appeared in the DA advertisement were as follows:

Poverty, prosperity, crime, security, and hope.

The *images* which appeared in the advertisements were as follows:

Black children are shown playing in the water, on the shore, and splashing it around on a tropical island. And then a big tree without leaves is shown in the desert and it is surrounded

by rocks. This tree is at the front and the other trees with leaves are shown behind the big leafless tree. There are some birds flying and a rainbow appears behind the trees. The camera then moves away from the tree without leaves and it zooms into one of the bigger trees with leaves. Afterwards there appear men moving towards the beach with surfboards in their hands, preparing to go surfing; there are birds that appear in this image. Then children playing tug-of-war appear; the side that is shown pulling consists of both white and Indian children. A black child is then shown holding a barbed wire fence and his hands are dusty, the boy has his head hanging down and his eyes are looking at the camera (almost to show hopelessness). A black couple is then shown having a picnic and they are laughing – the man is holding his wife close and he is looking backwards at his children, which are a boy and a girl as they play in the park with a soccer ball. There is also plenty of food in front of the man and his wife. Then three boys playing on the beach holding two South African flags are shown. The boy in the middle is a black boy and he is holding a soccer ball in his hands; the boy on the left is white and he is holding a South African flag in his hands; the one on the right is an Indian boy and he holds a South African flag in his hand as well. A little girl of mixed colour is then shown hugging her grandmother from behind and laughing. A picture of a black man running the streets in the township, where there is also some smoke ahead, is shown. The man is wearing a head wrap and he seems to carrying a knife in his one hand. After that a group of children are shown playing double-sided skipping in the street and the houses have no fencing; this is an image normally associated with some of the homes in the USA. The type of skipping game that they are playing is also American. Then an old white couple is shown hugging and the sea is behind them (a PhotoShopped image of the sea). The image that follows is of an Indian young couple who are hugging and smiling. The couple is sitting in their lounge and white curtains are behind them. The little white black boy and a little white girl are shown lying on the green grass facing up as though they would be facing the sky. Then the South African flag is shown floating in the blue sky.

5.2.4 ID political advertisement

The advertisement from the ID appeared on television as follows:

[First you see Patricia de Lille, the President of the Independent Democrats. She stands in front of a redbrick wall, and then she is shown standing in front of the parliament building in Cape Town. The advertisement consists of her appearing in intervals and speaking throughout the advertisement. She says…]

Most of you know me as a politician but I'm also a mother.

Like you, I have a family, and like you every day I have to work.

I have personally been affected by crime. And too often I see poverty, homelessness and drug abuse. Some days it gets me down and I feel like giving up but I know like you I have a choice, a choice to do nothing, to complain or to be part of the solution.

I have chosen to be part of the solution by fighting for your rights, by defending the constitution, by keeping a close eye on government and calling on them to account. And by proposing solutions to the problems we all face. Don't give up hope, the fight is not over. Join me and thousands of other South Africans and be part of the solution.

[Please note that the underlined words are the words that appeared flashing in orange on the screen.]

[Lastly the advertisement states…]

Be a part of the solution

BE PART OF THE SOLUTION

ID

Independent Democrats

The ID has more than 100 solutions to build a great South Africa.

[This advertisement was 96 seconds long.]

The *themes* that appeared in the ID advertisement are as follows:

Family values, motherhood, security, crime, poverty, housing, drug abuse, choice, human rights, constitution, government accountability, hope.

The *images* which appeared in the ID advertisement were as follows:

Patricia de Lille, the president of the Independent Democrats, is shown standing in front of a red brick wall with her back towards it. The brick wall is built into two layers and the second layer is in a shape of a window. Then she is shown standing in front of a white building in parliament in Cape Town, her one shoulder is facing the parliament building and the other

shoulder is facing towards the audience (and it looks as if she is inviting the audience into parliament and stating that she will stand for the people in parliament). The angle used is a high angle which shows her looking down at the audience and this angle also gives her superior stance to the audience (as their leader). Then there is an image of a black mother standing in front of her shack and she is holding her child in her arms. Then a couple (the man is black and the woman is coloured) standing outside their home on the lawn. The couple is of an old man and a younger looking woman. Then the busy streets of the CBD are shown and people are working up and down on the rush to get to work. Patricia de Lille is also shown in town with people rushing behind her. A coloured mother is then shown peeking through the window and as she slowly moves the curtain, her little girl is shown standing just outside her yard in the street and she is surrounded by boys (as if they are taking drugs). Then Patricia de Lille is shown again standing in front of the brick wall. Afterwards a line of people (black, white, coloured and Indian) are shown turning their heads towards the camera. Then a queue of people waiting to insert their ballot papers into the ballot box is shown in a voting room but firstly, a black mother with a child on her back is shown putting the ballot paper in the box and then she is followed by many other who also insert their ballot papers into the ballot box. Patricia de Lille is shown standing in front of the brick wall once again. Thereafter, a low angle is used to show Patricia dancing with a group of people singing and wearing orange ID T-shirts. The people are singing ID, Independent Democrats! Throughout the whole advertisement (accept when the group of people sing) it is only Patricia's voice that is heard and the other people only provide images for the advertisement.

5.2.5 FF+ political advertisement

The advertisement from the FF+ appeared on television as stated below;

The world is a dangerous place. Not because of the people who are evil; but because of the people who don't do anything about it. – Albert Einstein

In South Africa:

50, 6 Murders per day

99 Rapes per day

38, 9 Hijackings per day

651, 6 Residential burglaries

219 Stolen Vehicles per day

183 Non-residential robberies per day

All that is needed for criminals to prevail is for us to do nothing. – Pieter Mulder, FF+ leader

[Lastly the following slogan appears…]

Stand up against Crime

FF+

VOTE FREEDOM FRONT PLUS

[This advertisement was 36 seconds long]

The *themes* that appeared in the Freedom Front Plus advertisement were as follows:

Murder, rape, hijackings, residential burglaries, stolen vehicles, and non-residential robberies; therefore, the advertisement focuses mainly on the issue of crime.

The *images* which appeared in the FF+ TV advertisement were as follows:

The FF+ advertisement is silent with vague sounds of music beats. It shows newspaper reports. A picture of the globe is also vaguely shown. It also shows a woman's eye below a forehead with blood on it and her hands are shown as she covers her face to cry. All the images are in silhouette. The advertisement is engineered to communicate statistics so that what it shows is followed by the message and the background of the advertisement is dark with brown blemishes.

5.2.6 COPE political advertisement

The political advertisement from COPE appeared as follows:

I hope for a new beginning.

I hope for leaders that we can look up to and respect.

For a South Africa where my wife and children can feel safe.

I hope for electricity.

I hope we get a government that can start to work for everyone.

I hope they can build the houses.

I hope we can have better hospitals.

I hope I can have peace of mind when my laaitie (child) is at school.

I hope someone can help me when I get sick.

[Lastly the following slogan appears…]

VOTE FOR HOPE

VOTE FOR COPE

[The advertisement is 39 seconds long.]

Thus the themes that appeared from COPE were as follows:

New beginning, prominent leaders, safety, family values, electricity, housing, government accountability, healthcare, education and disease.

The *images* shown in the COPE advertisement are as follows:

The image of a young Indian man is shown walking from Gandhi Square in downtown Johannesburg and he is talking to the camera. Then a young coloured man is shown standing in the middle of one of the streets in downtown Johannesburg which are covered by bridge pillars. The pillars have graffiti on them and the man is talking to the camera. Then a white man sitting in his lounge on the sofa who is wearing his traditional Afrikaner khaki shorts is shown with a Chihuahua on his lap, with what looks like an assembly of his killings on the wall (leopards and cheetahs). Afterwards a black woman in the rural areas carrying wood on her head is shown. That is followed by an image of a black man in an upmarket restaurant wearing a suit. Then a black older woman is shown standing in the middle of a gravel road. Then there is a man wearing a reflector and there is a bridge behind him. Then a coloured man sitting in front of a waterfall is shown. Afterwards a black old man in a khaki hat is shown.

Importantly, the main themes that resonated in the political advertisements were that of hope, prosperity, and crime was the most prominent because issues of safety and security were extensively raised. These themes represented a situation which is a reality in South Africa. However, the advertisements were storoetypical as they focused on issues of housing and

poverty which create a sense of disparity. It is the DA and the ANC which relied more on issues focusing on possibilities of a prosperous nation and showing images of happy people, and happy families instead of showing dreadful images of poverty, homelessness, violence and crime.

Overall the ACPD advertisement relied on the use of many people and it showed its leader, the advertisement focus mainly on Christian values. In the ANC advertisement three characters were used but only one spoke, the leader of the ANC was shown at the end of the advertisement. The DA advertisement was based on a sound track and nobody spoke and the DA leader was not shown. The ID focused their advertisement on its leader as she appeared in intervals through the advertisement and she is the only person that speaks throughout the advertisement – the ID advertisement strongly calls on government to account and the leader uses a tactic of emphathy as she is represented as an ordinary person. This is evident in her dress code because she is wearing a simple dress and her hair is neatly tired back. The FF+ advertisement uses music only as the text appears and nobody speaks, the leader is not shown. COPE uses different people which take turns in speaking and the leader is not shown. Thus the images and the manner in which the political parties chose to represent themselves in the advertisement create different meanings – the use of the leader helped in informing what type of person the citizen will be voting into power however the representation created in the advertisement could be misleading. The next section discusses issues of funding, regulation and democracy.

5.3 Identifying the commodity in politics: regulation and democracy

5.3.2 Notice 338 of 2009

The information provided in Tables 5.1 and 5.2 appears in Notice 338 of 2009 by ICASA titled *Party election broadcasts (PEBs) and political advertisements (PAs) during election period* and published in *Government Gazette No 32072* of 27 March 2009. Table 5.1 provides information about the number of slots allocated to the different parties. Table 5.2 provides information about the time slots allocated to the various political parties on the SABC.

Table 5.1: Allocation of PEB slots

Party	Number of slots
A Party	3
African Christian Democratic Party	5
African National Congress	5
African People's Convention	5
Al Jama-ah	2
Alliance of Free Democrats	2
Azanian People's Organisation	5
Christian Democratic Alliance	5
Congress of the People	5
Democratic Alliance	3
Great Kongress of South Africa	2
Independent Democrats	5
Inkatha Freedom Party	3
Keep It Straight and Simple	1
Minority Front	2
Movement Democratic Party	2
National Democratic Convention	2
New Vision party	3
Pan Africanist Congress of Azania	2
Pan Africanist Movement	2
South African Democratic Congress	1
United Christian Democratic Party	5
United Democratic Movement	4
United Independent Front	2
Universal Party	5
Women Forward	1

Information retrieved from ICASA, parties without slots omitted

Table 5.2: SABC television slot allocation

Political party	Channel	Date	Time
A Party	SABC 3	2 April 2009	07:30–08: 30
	SABC 1	3 April 2009	20:00–21:00
	SABC 3	13 April 2009	22:15–22:30
African Christian Democratic Party	SABC 2	30 March 2009	13:30–14:00
	SABC3	11 April 2009	16:00–17:00
	SABC 2	12 April 2009	16:30–17: 30
	SABC 2	8 April 2009	21:00–21: 30
	SABC 3	10 April 2009	14:00–15: 30
African National Congress	SABC 3	19 April 2009	10:00–11: 00
	SABC 1	14 April 2009	14:30–15:00
	SABC 2	19 April 2009	15: 30–16: 30
	SABC 1	6 April 2009	13:00–14:30
	SABC 2	8 April 2009	06:00–08:00
African People Convention	SABC2	1 April 2009	21:00–21: 30
	SABC3	5 April 2009	16: 30–17: 30
	SABC3	6 April 2009	11: 15–12: 15
	SABC2	6 April 2009	13: 30–14: 00
	SABC3	7 April 2009	14: 00–15: 30
Al Jamal	SABC 1	13 April 2009	20: 30–21: 00
	SABC2	17 April 2009	14: 30–15: 30
Alliance of Free Democrats	SABC 3	1 April 2009	14: 00–15: 00
	SABC 2	2 April 2009	22: 00–22: 30
Azanian People's Organisation	SABC 1	17 April 2009	08: 03–09: 00
	SABC 1	31 March 2009	20: 30–21: 00
	SABC 1	9 April 2009	14: 30–15: 00
	SABC 2	8 April 2009	12: 00–13: 00
Christian Democratic Alliance	SABC 2	6 April 2009	12: 00–13: 00
	SABC 2	6 April 2009	06: 30–08: 00
	SABC 3	11 April 2009	08: 00–09: 00
	SABC 3	12 April 2009	10: 00–11: 00
	SABC 3	18 April 2009	18: 00–19: 00
Congress of the People	SABC 1	10 April 2009	14: 30–15: 00
	SABC 2	4 April 2009	13: 00–14: 00
	SABC 3	30 March 2009	07: 30–08: 30
	SABC 3	1 April 2009	07: 30–08: 30
	SABC 3	17 April 2009	14: 00–15: 30

Political party	Channel	Date	Time
Democratic Alliance	SABC 2	15 April 2009	12: 00–13: 00
	SABC 2	19 April 2009	21: 00–22: 00
	SABC 3	10 April 2009	07: 30–08: 30
Great Kongress of SA	SABC 1	18 April 2009-07-08 6 April 2009	10: 00–11: 00
	SABC 3		12: 00 13: 00
Independent Democrats	SABC 1	4 April 2009	19: 30–19: 55
	SABC 2	9 April 2009	13: 45–14: 45
	SABC 3	9 April 2009	11: 15–12: 15
	SABC 2	12 April 2009	15: 30–16: 30
	SABC 2	18 April 2009	22: 30–23: 30
Inkatha Freedom Party	SABC 3	12 April 2009	12: 30–13: 30
	SABC 3	13 April 2009	14: 00–15: 30
	SABC 3	14 April 2009	07: 30–08: 30
Keep It Straight and Simple	SABC 1	10 April 2009	08: 00–09: 00
Minority Front	SABC 1	8 April 2009	14: 00–15: 00
	SABC 3	8 April 2009	14: 00–15: 30
Movement Democratic Party	SABC 2	17 April 2009	15: 30–16: 30
	SABC 1	11 April 2009	14: 30–15: 00
National Democratic Convention	SABC 1	16 April 2009	14: 30–15: 00
	SABC 2	7 April 2009	06: 00–08: 00
New Vision Party	SABC 2	1 April 2009	13: 30–14: 00
	SABC 2	1 April 2009	12: 00–13: 00
	SABC 1	18 April 2009	13: 00–14: 00
Pan Africanist Congress of Azania	SABC 2	3 April 2009	22: 00–22: 30
	SABC 3	10 April 2009	11: 15–12: 15
	SABC 3	11 April 2009	12: 30–13: 30
Pan Africanist Movement	SABC 2	19 April 2009	06: 00–08: 00
	SABC 3	2 April 2009	14: 00–15: 30
South African Democratic Congress	SABC 3	8 April 2009	22: 15–22: 30
United Christian Democratic Party	SABC 1	7 April 2009	14: 30–15: 00
	SABC 2	10 April 2009	22: 00–22: 30
	SABC 2	11 April 2009	22: 30–23: 30
	SABC 2	17 April 2009	06: 00–08: 00
	SABC 2	17 April 2009	06: 00–08: 00

Political party	Channel	Date	Time
United Democratic Movement	SABC 2	11 April 2009	06: 00–07: 00
	SABC 1	13 April 2009	13: 00–14: 00
	SABC 2	2 April 2009	21: 00–22: 00
	SABC 1	5 April 2009	15: 00–16: 00
United Independent Front	SABC 2	5 April 2009	06: 00–08: 00
	SABC 2	15 April 2009	13: 30–14: 00
Vryheidsfront Plus	SABC 1	1 April 2009	13: 00–14: 30
	SABC 2	16 April 2009	13: 45–14: 45
	SABC 2	15 April 2009	21: 00–21: 30
	SABC 3	31 March 2009	07: 30–08: 30
	SABC 3	16 April 2009	07: 30–08: 30
Women Forward	SABC 2	30 March 2009	21: 00–21: 30

Retrieved from www.icasa.org.za Government Gazette No. 32075

5.3.3 Notice 1419 of 2008

The Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) drew up the regulations for political advertisements on television, and these were promulgated in Government Gazette No 31602 of 14 November 2008 as *Regulations: Party election broadcasts, political advertisements, the equitable treatment of political parties by broadcasting licensees and related matters*, ICASA, Notice 1419. This document laid down that the political advertisements had to be broadcast during the election broadcast period and a broadcasting service licensee, to whom a political advertisement had been submitted by a party for broadcast, should not in any way edit or alter the advertisement. The document also stated that a broadcasting service licensee who rejected a political advertisement submitted to it by a party for broadcast had, firstly, within 24 hours of such submission, to furnish the party concerned with the reasons for rejection. Secondly the party concerned could alter or edit the political advertisement and resubmit the political advertisement to the broadcasting service licensee concerned at least 72 hours prior to it being broadcast.

The document noted that where the broadcasting service licensee had rejected a political advertisement and the party concerned had confirmed in writing to the broadcasting service licensee that it would not be resubmitting the advertisement, then the broadcasting service licensee had within 24 hours to notify the Authority (ICASA) in writing of such rejection and had also to furnish to the Authority written reasons for the rejection. Furthermore, the document stated that a party, whose political advertisement had been rejected and had no intention of altering of editing the advertisement, might refer the matter to the Authority within 24 hours of being informed of the rejection. A party that submitted a political advertisement to a broadcasting service licensee for broadcast had to ensure that the advertisement did not 1) contravene the provisions of the Electoral Act, the Electoral Code, the Constitution, the Act and the Broadcasting Act nor 2) contain any material that was calculated, or that in the ordinary course was likely to provoke or incite any unlawful, legal or criminal act, or that might be perceived as condoning or lending support to any such act.

The document also stated that a party that submitted a political advertisement to a broadcasting service licensee for broadcast should have no claim against the broadcasting service licensee arising from the broadcast of the advertisement. A party that submitted a political advertisement for broadcast to a broadcasting service licensee was deemed to have

indemnified the broadcasting service licensee against incurred costs, damages, losses and third party claims arising from the broadcast thereof. When it came to the complaint dimension, the document noted that, in the event of any person being aggrieved by any political advertisement or political election broadcast, that person might lodge a complaint with the Authority within 48 hours after such broadcast had occurred. Thus, 'in general' the document noted that every broadcasting service licensee and party had to 1) nominate a person who must be the representative of that broadcasting service licensee or party in respect of all matters regulated by, or arising from, these regulations and, 2) within 30 days of the publication of these regulations notify the Authority in writing of the name, physical and postal address, telephone number, and where available, cellular phone and email address of the nominated person.

5.3.4 Public funding of represented political parties act, 103, 1997

The *Public funding of represented political parties act, No 103 of 1997* provides the regulations for the funding of political parties by the IEC, namely the *Public funding of represented political parties regulations, 1998*. The *Public funding of represented political parties act of 1997* was developed to establish the Represented Political Parties Fund with a view to making provision for the funding of national and provisional legislatures; to provide for the management of that fund by the IEC and for the accountability regarding that fund; to regulate the allocation of moneys from that fund and the purposes for which allocated moneys mighty be used by the political parties; to regulate the repayment to the IEC of the unspent balances of moneys by political parties under certain circumstances; and to provide for incidental matters.

Section 4 (1) of this act acknowledges that the management and control of the fund is subject to the directions of the Commission, the chief electoral officer acting in the capacity of head of the administration of the commission is responsible for the management and administration of the fund, and is the accounting officer and chief executive of the fund. Meanwhile, section 4 (2) states that for each financial year the commission must have records kept, in accordance with generally accepted accounting practice and procedure, of all money's received by or accruing to the fund, all allocations and payments made therefrom, and all expenditure arising from the allocation of money from the fund, as well as current record of the capital and liabilities of fund, during that year.

The allocation of money from the fund falls under section 5 (1) of the 1997 Act, which states that any political party is entitled to be allocated moneys from the fund for any financial year that it is represented; in the National Assembly, or in any provincial legislature or, both in the National Assembly and provincial legislature. The Act also states that the allocations from the fund must be made and paid to each of the political parties concerned in accordance with a prescribed formula based, in part, on the principle of proportionality, taking into account, amongst others the relation that the number of such of a party's representatives in the National Assembly or provincial legislature or both. When it comes to how the funds allocated may be used, section 5 (1) b states that subject to subsection 3 and as suggested in the amendment of this section, the money so allocated to a political party may be used for any purposes compatible with its functioning as a political party in a modern democracy. The purposes include amongst others; the development of the political will of the people, bringing the political party's influence to bear on shaping of public opinion, inspiring and furthering political education, promoting active participation by individual citizens in political life, exercising an influence on political trends, and ensuring continuous, vital links between the people and organs of state. Thus, the allocation from the fund to political parties, as stated by the 1997 Act, is made in intervals and in the instalments that are to be prescribed.

5.3.5 Public funding of represented political parties regulations, 1998

Meanwhile, *Notice 385 of 2009* of the *Government Gazette* provided by the IEC about the Represented Political Parties Fund states that in terms of Regulation 2 (1) of the *Public funding of represented political parties regulations*, 1998, the IEC gave notice that the total amount of R92,924,00 (ninety two million, nine hundred and twenty four rand) was available for allocation for the period 1 April 2009 until 31 March 2010, to represented political parties, from the Represented Political Parties Fund established in terms of the *Public funding of represented political parties act*, 1997 (Act No 103 of 1997).

5.3.5.1 Money allocated to the different political parties from the IEC Fund from 1 April 2008 to 31 March 2010

Tables 5.3–5.6 outline the amount that was given to the political parties which had representation (seats) in parliament during the years 1 April 2008–31 March 2009 and 1April 2009–31 March 2010. The amounts were calculated from the Represented Political Parties Fund and each party was given a dividend according to the number of seats that specific

political party had in parliament. Thus the proportion that each party received is calculated by taking the number of seats a political party has and dividing the amount by the total number of seats in parliament (total number of the seat occupied by all the political parties in total), this amount is multiplied by the amount announced by the IEC (the Fund) and then, multiplied by 90% (the proportional).

Table 5.3: Total payable to each represented political party 1April 2008–31 March 2009

	NA (Proportional)	PL (Equitable)	Total	%
ACDP	1,053,641.13	1,123,783.99	2,177,425.12	2,46%
AFD	95,785.56	187,456.30	283,241.58	0.32%
ANC	59,291,260.03	1,822,251.28	61,113,511.31	69.18%
APC	383,142.23	511,011.00	894,153.23	1.01%
AZAPO	95,785.56	-	95,785.56	0.11%
CP	95,785.56	205,431.56	301,271.11	0.34%
DA	8,716,485.76	1,822,251.28	10,538,737.00	11.93%
FA	–	–	–	–
FD	995,785.56	–	95,785.56	0.11%
FF Plus	862,070.02	634,269.93	1,496,339.95	1.69%
ID	766,286.46	483,277.74	1,249,62.20	6.12%
IFP	4,980,848.98	422,235.22	5,403,084.20	6.12%
MF	383,142.23	234,778.92	671,921.15	0.70%
NA	95,785.56	–	95,785.56	0.11%
NADECO	670,498.90	234,778.92	905,277.82	1.02%
PAC	95,785.56	–	95,785.56	0.11%
PIM	–	–	–	0.00%
UCDP	574,713.34	169,481.03	744,194.38	0.84%
UIF	191,571.11	424,216.17	615,787.28	0.70
UDM	1,053,641.13	558,333.63	1,611,974.76	1.82%
UPSA	–	–	–	0.00%
TOTAL	79,502,012.64	8,833,556.96	88,335,569.60	100%

Table 5.4: The amount payable to each political party quarterly during 2008–2009

	Apr-08	Jul-08	Oct-08	Jan-09	Total (Y–Date)
ACDP	544,356.28	544,356.28	544,356.28	544,356.28	2,177,425.12
AFD	70,810.46	70,810.46	70,810.46	70,810.46	283,241.85
ANC	15,278,377.86	15,278,377.86	15,278,377.86	15,278,377.86	61,113,511.31
APC	223,538.31	223,538.31	223,538.31	223,538.31	894,153.23
AZAPO	23,946.39	23,946.39	23,946.39	23,946.39	95,785.56
CP	75,304.28	75,304.28	75,304.28	75,304.28	301,271.11
DA	2,634,684.25	2,634,684.25	2,634,684.25	2,634,684.25	10,538,737.00
FA	–	–	–	–	–
FD	23,946.39	23,946.39	23,946.39	23,946.39	95,785.56
FF Plus	374,084.99	374,084.99	374,084.99	374,084.99	1,496,339.95
ID	312,390.55	312,390.55	312,390.55	312,390.55	1,249,562.20
IFP	1,350,771.05	1,350,771.05	1,350,771.05	1,350,771.05	5,403,084.20
MF	154,480.29	154,480.29	154,480.29	154,480.29	617,921.15
NA	23,946.39	23,946.39	23,946.39	23,946.39	95,785.56
NADECO	226,319.46	226,319.46	226,319.46	226,319.46	905,277.82
PAC	23,946.39	23,946.39	23,946.39	23,946.39	95,785.56
PIM	–	–	–	–	–
UCDP	186,048.59	186,048.59	186,048.59	186,048.59	744,194.38
UIF	153,946.82	153,946.82	153,946.82	153,946.82	615,787.28
UDM	402,993.69	402,993.69	402,993.69	402,993.69	1,611,974.76
UPSA	–	–	–	–	–
TOTAL	22,083,892.40	22,083,892.40	22,083,892.40	22,083,892.40	88,335,569.60

Table 5.5: Total payable to each represented political party 1April 2009–31 March 2010

	NA (Proportional)	PL (Equitable)	Total	%
ACDP	604,506.73	694,958.36	1,299,465.09	1.40%
AIC	100,751.12	272,262.34	373,013,46	0.40%
ANC	56,071,623.84	2,038,623.38	58,056,247.22	62.48%
APC	100,751.12	-	100,751.12	0.11%
AZAPO	100,751.12	-	100,751.12	0.11%
COPE	6,649,574.05	2,038,623.40	8,688,197.45	9.35%
DA	13,299,448.11	2,038,623.39	15,337,771,50	16.51%
FF Plus	604,506.73	387,402,76	991,909.49	1.07%
ID	906,760.10	568,910,98	1,475,671.08	1.59%
IFP	3,727,791.51	513,450,.14	4,241,241,65	4.56 %
MF	302,253.37	288,108.29	590,361,66	0.64%
PAC	100,751.12	-	100,751,12	0.11%
UCDP	403,004.49	178,267.00	581,271.49	0.63%
UDM	705,257.85	272,262.34	977,520.19	1.05%
TOTAL	83,623,431.26	9,291,492.38	92,914,923.64	100%

Table 5.6: The amount payable to each political party quarterly during 2009–2010

	Apr–09	Jul–09	Oct–09	Jan–10	Total (Y–Date)
ACDP	324,866.28	324,866.28	324,866.28	324,866.28	1,229,465.09
AIC	93,253.38	93,253.38	93,253.38	93,253.38	373,013.46
ANC	14,514,061.79	14,514,061.79	14,514,061.79	14,514,061.79	58,056,247.22
APC	25,187.78	25,187.78	25,187.78	25,187.78	100,751.12
AZAPO	25,187.78	25,187.78	25,187.78	25,187.78	100,751.12
COPE	2,172,049.37	2,172,049.37	2,172,049.37	2,172,049.37	8,688,197.45
DA	3,834,442.89	3,834,442.89	3,834,442.89	3,834,442.89	15,337,771.50
FF Plus	247,977.38	247,977.38	247,977.38	247,977.38	991,909.49
ID	368,917.77	368,917.77	368,917.77	368,917.77	1,475,671.08
IFP	1,060,310.42	1,060,310.42	1,060,310.42	1,060,310.42	4,241,241.65
MF	147,590.43	147,590.43	147,590.43	147,590.43	590,361.66
PAC	25,187.78	25,187.78	25,187.78	25,187.78	100,751.12
UCDP	145,317.88	145,317.88	145,317.88	145,317.88	581,271.49
UDM	244,380,04	244,380,04	244,380,04	244,380,04	977,520.19
TOTAL	23,228,730.97	23,228,730.97	23,228,730.97	23,228,730.97	92,914,923.64

5.3.6 Electronic communications act, No 36 of 2005

The *Electronic communications act, No 36 of 2005,* chapter 9, states that, when referring to political advertising, a broadcasting service licensee is not required to broadcast a political advertisement, but if he/she elects to do so, he or she must afford all other political parties, should they request, the same opportunity. The 2005 Act states that a broadcasting service licensee may broadcast a political advertisement only during an election period and then only if it has been submitted to such licensee on behalf of a political party by its duly authorised representative. The Act also notes that, in making advertising time available to political parties, no broadcasting service licensee may discriminate against any political party or give any preference to any political party or subject any political party to any prejudice. A political advertisement may not contain any material which might reasonably be anticipated to expose the broadcasting service licensee to legal liability if such material were to be broadcast. The Act also suggests that a political advertisement has to conform to a technical quality acceptable to ICASA and no political advertisement may be broadcast later than 48 hours prior to the commencement of the polling period. According to the Act, this section (chapter 9) is subject to the provisions of any law relating to the expenditure of political parties during an election period.

5.3.7 African charter on democracy, elections and governance, 2007

Meanwhile, the objectives of the *African charter on democracy, elections and governance* of 2007 (hereafter referred to as the African charter) are stated in chapter 2, article 2. Some of the key objectives are firstly, to promote adherence, by each state party, to the universal values and principles of democracy and respect for human rights. Secondly, they are to promote and enhance adherence to the principle of the rule of law premised upon the respect for, and the supremacy of, the constitution and constitutional order in the political arrangements of the state parties. Point number 10 under article 2 of the African charter also states that the objective is to promote the establishment of the necessary conditions to foster citizen participation, transparency, access to information, freedom of the press and accountability in management of public affairs.

Under article 4, the African charter states that state parties shall commit themselves to promote democracy, the principle of the rule of law and human rights and; the state parties shall recognise popular participation through universal suffrage as the inalienable right of the

people. Meanwhile, article 5 mentions that state parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure contributions rule particularly constitutional transfer of power. Article 6 suggests that state parties shall ensure that citizens enjoy fundamental freedoms and human rights taking into account their universality, interdependence and indivisibility.

When referring to democratic elections under chapter 7, article 17 of the African charter notes that state parties reaffirm their commitment to regularly holding transparent, free and fair elections in accordance with the *African Union declaration on the principles governing democratic elections in Africa*. Thus, to this end state parties shall 1) establish oral and strengthen independent and impartial national electoral bodies responsible for the management of elections; 2) establish and strengthen national mechanisms that redress election-related disputes in a timely manner; and most importantly, 3) ensure fair and equitable access by contesting parties and candidates to state controlled media during elections. Furthermore, article 19 of the African charter states that each state party shall guarantee conditions of security, free access to information, non-interference, freedom of movement and full cooperation with the electoral observer mission.

5.3.8 Election manifestos

5.3.8.1 African Christian Democratic Party Manifesto

The manifesto of the ACDP states that the African Christian Democratic party (ACDP) brings to South Africa hope for a strong, healthy, and prosperous nation by recognising family values as the building block of society. It declares that their hope lies in God almighty and in their Christian democratic value system. The ACDP will focus on addressing critical challenges such as poverty and unemployment, education, housing, health, justice and crime, and moral regeneration and integrity.

The ACDP states that it will reduce poverty and unemployment with sound economic policies. Owing to South Africa's legacy of inequality and the ever-widening gap between rich and poor, much needed social grants are necessary in the short term. When it comes to education, the ACDP states that it is committed to providing quality education and re-establishing the central role of parents in the education of their children. It notes that the development of the intellectual, physical, emotional and spiritual virtues of our nation will be the primary focus. When it refers to housing, the ACDP states that it respects property

ownership and is committed to extend this to as many citizens as possible; the ACDP says it will incrementally provide access to adequate housing for all. When referring to health, the ACDP states that it will ensure that primary and tertiary healthcare will be accessible and of an excellent standard. In justice and crime issues, the ACDP states that it will ensure justice for all; it also states that criminals will be held accountable for their actions by the payment of restitution to victims or through community service. When referring to moral regeneration and integrity, the ACDP says it will accelerate moral regeneration by amending liberal and humanistic policies and legislation that have systematically undermined family values. Examples of such humanistic policies include access to contraceptives and abortion by children as young as 12 years without parental consent.

5.3.8.2 The African National Congress Manifesto

In their manifesto the ANC not only states what it plans to achieve as well as what it has achieved but, of importance to the study, is what it said to the voters it would achieve during the 2009 election. Thus the ANC manifesto states that the ANC would continue democratisation of the society based on equality, non-racialism and non-sexism; it would entrust national unity in diversity which is the source of their strength; it would build on the achievements and the experience gained since 1994; which it states to be an equitable, sustainable, and inclusive growth path that brings decent work and sustainable livelihoods; education; health; safe and secure communities; and rural development. It also promised targeted programmes for the youth, women, workers, rural masses, and people with disabilities. The ANC also promised a better Africa and a better world. Thus the manifesto of the ANC states that these are the principles that will guide 'us' for next five years, based on the vision of our people – the Freedom Charter, adopted at the Congress of the People in 1955.

5.3.8.3 The Democratic Alliance Manifesto

In their manifesto, the DA acknowledges that there should be safety from crime for everybody. It addresses the issues of housing, public transport efficiency, and affordability (also keeping in mind the recession). The DA then moves on to the idea of freedom and prosperity for all. It notes the issues of the previously disadvantaged and mentions that the means will be set up to help the previously disadvantaged catch up. The DA also states that education should be available to all. It acknowledges issues of land and state; that the South Africans who were previously deprived of land by the apartheid system should be helped to

reclaim the land and use it productively, and it aims to ensure a vibrant and productive agricultural sector. The DA addresses government accountability and it moves on to address issues of poverty stating that the government has a special responsibility towards the poor. It notes the issue of the grant system in the country by stating that the government should provide basic income support to those who have no prospect of ever being able to support themselves. It addresses the issue of hospitals and clinics and argues that these should be available throughout the country; they note that there should be an efficient police service to also protect women and children from abuse. The DA vaguely takes note of issues of discrimination. Thus, the DA also addresses the issue of race. They state that they have a detailed policy to make this happen, and suggest this is the plan for the rainbow people – one nation one future.

5.3.8.4 The Independent Democrats Manifesto

The ID first argues that "this manifesto is about you". It addresses issues of freedom – "to be able to realise your dreams". It envisions a South Africa that is free from poverty, crime, abuse and unemployment; where there is excellent healthcare, dignity that comes with having a home and the opportunities that come with having an education. The ID believes in people-centred development. The vision of the ID in their manifesto is to provide a minimum income grant funded through taxation of luxury goods and sin taxes. It is to create jobs by massively boosting small business development and tackling youth unemployment (which is currently 70 percent) and by providing wage subsidies to work seekers between the ages of 18 and 25. The ID posits that it aims to position South Africa as a world leader in renewable energy and to create thousands of jobs. It notes that it will fight crime by boosting the police service to 200 000 and employing 55 000 vacancies in the health sector to ensure that everyone has access to quality and affordable healthcare. It aims to provide schools with infrastructure within two to five years, improve teaching, and introduce a child education grant. The ID also plans to institute a comprehensive rural development strategy that rolls out basic services, supports farmers and builds local rural markets. It also aims to cut wasteful government expenditure on the arms and nuclear industry and thereby save the taxpayer billions. It envisions filling all vacancies in the public service and firing incompetent officials and ministers that fail to deliver. Lastly, the ID aims to continue to fight for the realisation of constitutional rights, especially those of the poor, people with disabilities, women and children.

5.3.8.5 The Freedom Front Plus Manifesto

In their manifesto the FF+ begins by discriminating against or attacking the opposition. It argues for freedom and justice, and Christian values, and it offers itself as an interest party that is based on Christian values. It states that it is a party that focuses on the Afrikaner and other minority matters. Thus its manifesto addresses issues of transformation, quotas, diversity of the population and nation building; affirmative action and reverse discrimination; education, language rights and multilingualism; high levels of crime and safety; women's and children's rights; economic empowerment, development and job creation; HIV/AIDS and health, land and agricultural affairs; environment, foreign relations and protection of property rights. Under the idea of transformation the FF+ states that the current recipe for nation building and representation of the population compilation which dominates the ANC's transformation objectives, today, does not provide for diversity. Under multi-party democracy and coalition politics, the FF+ wants to organise and mobilise the Afrikaner community as a political community in order to "negotiate and protect minority rights and influence the balance of power in the political arena in favour of the Afrikaner community".

When it comes to affirmative action, they argue that "affirmative action has already caused 2,6 million black South Africans to rise to the top income levels of the country. At the same time more than 400, 000 white South Africans, in particular as a result of affirmative action, have been sidelined away from the mainstream economy and have fallen into hopeless poverty". It states that affirmative action as a temporary measure has served its purpose and should within the next five years be phased out by 2014. Under education, the FF+ supports a system of parent- and community-driven mother-tongue (Afrikaans) education. Under the issue of combating crime they state that the FF+ campaigns for a partnership between the South African Police Service on the one hand and community safety institutions on the other hand to combat the escalating crime problem. It views the issues of safety and crime as the key function of the state. Thus it questions the issue of private security services which have to be paid for in ensuring safety and feel that it is the police that the people should see patrolling the streets instead. "The FF+ supports the death penalty for extraordinary violent murders and rapes."

Under women and children, the FF+ supports the measures which are aimed at protecting women and children as vulnerable citizens against abuse. When it comes to economic empowerment, social development and combating poverty, the FF+ argues that it will strive

to promote community-based, social services and the party rejects the application of racial quotas (rather than a means test) in allocating state funding for social service organisations. Under the foreign affairs issues, the FF+ supports international initiatives that at the same time recognise the equality of all powers, respect the human dignity of all people, and recognise the independence of communities. “The FF+ therefore rejects the ANC’s support of top countries who are condemned internationally for their human rights abuses.”

5.3.8.7 The Congress of the People Manifesto

In their manifesto COPE note themselves as having a new agenda which is to defend the constitution fearlessly and uphold the rule of law; to eradicate poverty systematically, to grow the economy, to create decent work and reduce unemployment substantially; protect the environment and natural resources for future generations; to equip and educate children to be globally competitive and ready to function in the knowledge economy and provide people with opportunities to acquire the necessary skills to realise their full potential; to improve the quality of healthcare and health literacy significantly; to fight and reduce crime and provide better safety and security for all; to enhance the gains made in the empowerment of women to achieve gender equality; to empower and develop the youth to realise their full potential and play their rightful role in society, to strengthen families, family life and communities; to unite the nation and get together to build a truly non-racial South Africa and contribute to the development of Africa and build a more just world. COPE thus aims to provide:

Leaders who are honest servants of people.

COPE – a government of the people.

COPE – respect for the values and principles of South African people.

COPE – growing the economy and increasing productivity to create decent work.

COPE – broadening people’s participation in the economy.

COPE – ensuring sustainable development.

COPE – fighting poverty and expanding care for the vulnerable.

COPE – improving the quality of healthcare.

COPE – improving service delivery.

COPE – educating and training people for development, a better life for all, and human dignity.

COPE – the people and the government fighting crime and ensuring the safety of all our citizens.

COPE – advancing the African agenda and creating a better world.

COPE – inspiring South Africans to build a better South Africa.

This section has established the body (ICASA) that was responsible for the regulation of the political advertisements on television and its regulations were outlined, by focusing on the content of the advertisements, steps to take when involved are not happy with a particular outcomes – the parties include the public service broadcaster and the political parties although the regulations did not articulate the steps that can be taken by unhappy viewers. Significantly, this section outlined how the political parties were funded by the IEC and thus, the amount of money potentially possessed by the political parties during the period starting from 1 April 2008 to 31 March 2010. Lastly, the chapter noted that the African Charter on democracy election and governance of democracy has been instilled to protect the principles of democracy in Africa during election time. The political party manifesto were outlined mainly to establish whether the political advertisements adhered to their policies in their respective political advertisements.

5.4 Feedback from the questionnaire

Below are the findings from the questionnaire that was sent to the different political parties.

5.4.1 Questionnaire feedback from the ACDP

The ACDP stated that they had limited access to advertisements due to the high cost of the timeslots. They had free slots on television and were able to broadcast on the local (community) radio. They also had only six broadcasts on national television which were broadcast only in English. The ACDP spent R50 000 in the production of the political advertisements. They did not by extra airtime for the political advertisements on television. Their political advertisements were funded through donations from individuals and limited companies although the ACDP was not willing to reveal the names of the donours, they

admitted to have used the money from the IEC for small promotions. The ACDP stated that in order to produce the advertisement a professional company was used and the specifications that were given to the company were based on their manifesto. They stated that the main message which they wanted to convey to people was about service delivery, crime, education, housing and safety.

5.4.2 Questionnaire feedback from the ID

The ID mentioned that they had advertisements on all SABC commercial radio stations in all eleven languages as well as fifty two community broadcasting radio stations in all eleven languages. They also made use of ten private commercial stations such as Cape Talk, KFM Jacaranda, Highveld and 702 amongst others. They also had television commercials on all SABC channels while they also advertised in close to fifteen newpapers which are mainly in Zulu, Afrikaans and English. It cost the ID R 100 000 for all the advertisements. The ID stated that they did not use extra airtime on television but relied on the free airtime that was allocated by ICASA. On being asked about the funding of the political advertisements on television the ID stated that "since we never paid to broadcast the advert (it was free), we only had to pay for its production. We got the money from our election fund account, which contained money from private funders". They mentioned that a professional company was hired to produce the advertisement on television but they worked closely with it. They mentioned to have adhered to the ICASA regulations in ensuring that their advertisement was ethical. The ID said the messages they were trying to convey were based on the themes of social democratic and pro – poor, with special emphasis that the partiy's leader is an ordinary South African and not a fat cat politician.

5.4.3 Questionnaire feedback from the ANC

The ANC stated that they ran a total of one hundred and eighty advertisements in electronic media (television and radio). The advertisements were mainly in IsiNguni (IsiZulu and IsiXhosa) SeSotho (SeTswana/SeSotho), English and Afrikaans. However, the provincial devisions of the ANC advertised in regional stations in the specifically predominant languages other than the main four categories that the ANC used nationally. The ANC said

that it cost them ‘several millions’ to produce the content of the political advertisements. The ANC admitted that it bought extra airtime but refrained from revealing the exact amount. Thus as it stands the issues of transparency is at stake as some political parties in South Africa are not willing to reveal the exact amounts spent in the funding of the political advertisements on television. Furthermore, when asked about the amount of slots used for the political advertisements on television the ANC stated that “there were two sets of advertisements that ran on television and radio. There were advertisements that were paid for and there were others that the public broadcaster gave to all political parties contesting elections as per ICASA regulation. A total of 48 advertisements appeared on television and slots appeared on the ICASA arrangement and with regard to the ones that we paid for we targeted peek time where our messages could have maximum impact”. The ANC mentioned that it conducted many fundraising initiatives from its supporters, members and business for the elections war chest. It allocated a portion of the money for communications function which was then used to pay for production and flighting of the television and other advertisements. It then mentioned that in order to produce the advertisement on television it “acquired the services of a reputable advertising company”. In the production of the advertisements the ANC mentioned to have been bound by the regulation by ICASA and the IEC. When asked about the general message that the ANC was trying to convey, the ANC stated that it was crucial for it to highlight its achievements in government, acknowledge challenges and, to present a vision and commitment to the future whilst challenging voters to be part of the change they want through working together with the ANC for a better life for all.

5.4.4. Questionnaire feedback from COPE

Cope mentioned that they had one television advertisement in multiple languages and subtitles and had five radio advertisements. Cope said that it cost them two million rand to produce the whole campaign and it states that it bought 1,5 million rands worth of extra airtime. It estimates their political advertisement on television to have appeared 35 times. COPE also mentioned that it gathered the funds to fund the political advertisements on television from donations from members. A professional agency was hired by COPE to produce the political advertisements on television. COPE said it followed the standard rules of the IEC when producing the advertisement on television. The message that it was trying to

convey to the audience in its political advertisement was “the new agenda for change and for hope”.

Chapter 6: Analysis

6.1 Introduction

This chapter provided the analysis and interpretation of the findings of the study. The first theme in the study analysed the messages or themes covered in the political advertisements and determined whether the content of the political advertisements on South African television focuses on the images rather than the messages (themes) in the content. The second theme determined the extent to which political advertising commodifies politics. The last theme seeked to find out what implications political advertising on television has for democracy. In order to address these questions content analysis and document analysis were used. Critical political economy approaches and democratic theories, as well as the media and democratic perspectives, were used along with the methodologies.

To begin, it would be beneficial to acknowledge that the findings are analysed holistically. According to Golding and Murdock (2002: 7) the critical economy of the media examines the quality of the relationship of the media and communication systems to the broader structure of society. As suggested by Holtz-Bacha and Kaid (1995: 10), any analysis of political communication (advertising) has to take into account the differences in political structures and process, in political culture, and in media systems (political history, laws, and media regulations) in a particular country. They have argued that the specific features of media system should be of relevance for the format and importance of political advertising in different countries. This concerns the media system in general and the structure of the broadcasting system specifically, as well as the function of the status of the different media for the audience (Holtz-Bacha and Kaid 1995: 10). In the case of South Africa, the SABC is considered to the hub of South African television.

6.2 The themes and images in the political advertisements on television

In addressing the theme of the issues (themes) that were covered in the political advertisements which appeared on television during the 2009 pre-election period, and in determining whether the advertisements focus more on the images than the issues, it is important to acknowledge that the general debate, as pointed earlier on in the study, around political advertising has been that political advertisements concentrate on images rather than

on the political issues of the time and hinder a well-informed decision from the citizens about which political party to vote for (McNair 1999, 2007; Kaid and Holtz-Bacha 1995, 2006; Scammell and Langer 2005, Fourie 2008 and Froneman 2003). Thus in the South African case there were various themes that the political advertisements on television unpacked. Some political advertisements addressed the same themes while others covered different themes. For example, the themes that appeared prominently in the ACDP advertisement were hope, crime, murder, violence, rape, fear, intimidation, hatred, security, freedom, aids, disease, HIV, death, the elderly, orphans, poverty, and family values. The themes that appeared in the ANC advertisements were freedom, race, hope, fear, violence, black economic empowerment (affirmative action), poverty and education. In the DA advertisement the themes that appeared were poverty, prosperity, crime, security, and hope. Meanwhile, the ID had themes of family values, motherhood, security, crime, poverty, housing, drug abuse, choice, human rights, constitution, hope, and government accountability. The FF+ mainly covered issues of crime as the themes that appeared were murder, rape, hijackings, residential burglaries, stolen vehicles, and non-residential robberies. Furthermore, the themes which appeared in the COPE advertisement were themes of new beginning, prominent leaders, safety, family values, electricity, housing, government accountability, healthcare, education and disease. Thus as mentioned by Hemondhalgh (2001: 3) critical political economy approaches see the fact that culture is produced and consumed under as a fundamental issues, in explaining inequalities of power, prestige and profit. Thus this section outines the manner in which the themes were produced and the meaning contructed in the South African situation

As suggested by Young (2002: 28), one of the major criticisms of modern political advertising is that it is emotive and it manipulates people's feelings; it is seen to be essentially trivial, exploiting emotions and substituting catchcries and slogans for political debate. It has been pointed out that while idealists might hope that political advertisements would encourage informed decision making, educate voters, stimulate debate and promote participation, political parties are less concerned about civic function and for them the primary aim is of political advertisements is to win votes (Young 2002: 88). However, this was not the case in the political advertisements on television in South Africa, although the aims of political campaigning are to also win votes. The political advertisements on television in South Africa proved to be very informative although they took different approaches in communicating their messages. Thus Alger (1989:17) notes that without an education

democracy is at a disadvantage. However, as a concept suggested by Young (2002: 88) it would be difficult to have a yardstick as to how the political advertisements on television encouraged informed decision making because the ultimate decision lies with the voter. These political advertisements were informative because most of them articulated the themes that also appeared in the manifestos of the political parties. The most informative advertisement was that of the ACDP because most of the themes that were outlined in its election manifesto were also spelled out in the political advertisement on television. For example, the ACDP states in their manifesto that they want to bring South Africa hope and a strong healthy prosperous nation recognising family values as the building block of society. They also state that their hope lies in Christian values. Furthermore, the ACDP points out that it will focus on addressing the critical challenges such as poverty and unemployment, education, housing, health, justice and crime, and moral regeneration and integrity. Thus in its political advertisement on television it reflected themes of hope, crime, murder, violence, rape, fear, intimidation, hatred, security, freedom, AIDS, disease, HIV, death, the elderly, orphans, poverty, family values and Godly governance. Hence the themes which were covered in the ACDP manifesto were well represented in the political advertisement that appeared on television.

Meanwhile, in its manifesto, the ANC noted that it would build on the achievements and experiences since 1994 which it states to be an equitable, sustainable, and inclusive growth path that brings decent work and sustainable livelihoods, education, health, safety, secure communities, and rural development. Although the ANC provided other political advertisements on television, this ANC advertisement in English did not discuss all these themes. This advertisement reflected the themes of freedom, race, hope, fear, violence, black economic empowerment, poverty and education, but not those of health and rural development. However, the themes of inclusive growth, sustainable livelihood (poverty), education, non-racialism, and safe and secure communities were represented in this selected political advertisement by the ANC as advocated in the manifesto. It was only the FF+ advertisement which focused mainly on crime although its election manifesto presented other themes.

Randall (1998: 1) has acknowledged the fact that television communication depends on images whose emotional impact can be intense but whose informational content is often unclear. However, when considering the selected sample in the study, what Randall (1998) suggests is not entirely true. For instance, television communication does depend on images

and its emotional impact can be intense although, in the case of South Africa, when it comes to the informational content most of the political advertisements were packed with sufficient and clear information for a decision to take place. For example, this was evident in the ACDP advertisement, the DA advertisement, the ID advertisement and the COPE advertisement although the last two (ID and COPE) carried the most emotional impact compared to the others. The advertisements from the remaining two political parties, the ANC and the FF+ can be rendered as not having clear informational content because these advertisements did not establish all the themes that the parties stood for as articulated in their manifestos. The informational content of the political advertisements are benefitial to democracy because they assist in making a good decision, for example, Berger (2002: 21) notes that the principles of democracy include informed participants.

It is also evident that in the general debate of issue versus image does not ring true for political advertising in South Africa. Furthermore, the findings associated to the themes also provide a counter argument towards the notion held by Gurevitch and Bulmer's (2000: 153) because they have suggested that "the messages that the candidates pack in the 30-second spots are superficial, deceptive, and increasingly nasty; campaigns offer citizens little hard information with which to make a reasoned choice, and the information that the voters do acquire is slanted and negative". The selected political advertisements for the study were not superficial because they provided themes that are a reality in the South African political situation. For example, key themes such as HIV/AIDS, crime, unemployment, affirmative action, violence, poverty and education were articulated in the majority of these advertisements. In addition to that, none of the political advertisements showed negative appeals or were nasty to their opponents in their political advertisements in the themes or images although some of the advertisements commented on the current political situation that was taking place at the time.

Most of the political parties reflected commentary on the political climate during the pre-election period because the majority of the political parties used the theme of 'hope'; some of them using this issue more than others. However, it is good that the political parties were free to express themselves as one of the tenets of democracy is freedom of expression, for example, Duncan and Seleone (1998: 13) note that while citizens forgo certain natural rights such as the right to freedom of expression should be placed above government interference. In this regard the emphasis of 'hope' can be placed in the context of the American presidential election of 2008 as it was the main theme of Barak Obama's campaign also

taking into consideration that there was a recession that was taking place during that time period whereby many American families lost their jobs. Similar to the American situation, the political climate just prior to the election (September 2008 going into 2009) in South Africa was that of despair. This moment of despair was accompanied by a split in the ANC, the major political party in South Africa, which created a Thabo Mbeki camp and a Jacob Zuma camp. This situation led to a breakaway party which was seen to be in support of Thabo Mbeki who lost the vote for becoming the president of the ANC. The breakaway party that was formed was then called COPE and this is the political party that focused on the theme of hope the most in its political advertisement that appeared on television. For example, COPE's political advertisement constantly and throughout the advertisement states that 'I hope, I hope' and so forth. At the end of the advertisement their slogan states *vote for hope, vote for COPE*. Thus, the informational content of the political advertisement on television in South Africa was not negative or slanted.

However, the slogans used by the political parties at the end of the political advertisement were rather emotive because the language or words used were emotive. For example, the slogans that were used by the selected political parties included ACDP – *Hope for South Africa*; ANC – *Working together we can do so much more*; DA – *One nation one future*; *Be part of the solution* –ID; *Stand up against crime* VF+ – *Vote Freedom Front Plus*; COPE – *Vote for Hope, vote for COPE*. Most of these slogans carried more emotive language than others and it is evident that it is only the FF+ that did not rely so heavily on the emotive language as they simply state that '*stand up against crime*'. Thus, their slogan is based on a continuous and critical theme in the political reality.

However, hints of propaganda can be seen in these slogans most especially in the case of the ANC and the DA because these two political parties particularly play on the notion of patriotism for example, using words like *together we can do more* and *one nation one future*. Propaganda is the manipulation of symbols as a means of influencing attitudes on controversial matters, the media can systematically manufacture propaganda under the guise of 'facts' to elicit consent from mass audience for patently undemocratic and often scurrilous government practices (see for example, Lasswell 1942: 106 and Duncan and Seleoane 1998: 14).

The images in the political advertisements can be emotive but they also help in communicating the message better (also see Borchers 2002: 307). For example, in the ID

advertisement, as Patricia de Lille speaks, images of what she is speaking of appear. The same concept is also evident in the DA advertisement as the images appear on the screen are images supporting the themes that appear. This is also apparent in the FF+ advertisement although here the images appear in silhouette and some of them do not address the themes directly. However, the link between the theme and image is not as clear in the ANC, ACDP and the COPE advertisements. This proves that the images are important in political advertisement and should not be taken for granted and fusing them with the theme (text) the images can help to bring forth better understanding especially to the less educated audience.

The images can also be potent depending on the explication of the images that are shown. McNair (1999: 92–93) argues that the focus lies on the image which in many cases results in emotional rather than logical vote choices meanwhile a rational voters decision making is presumed to be linked to logical and issue oriented information. Choice is identified to be the core of democracy see for example Alger (1989: 6-7) Roelofse (1993), Oosthuisen (2001), Keane (1999) and importantly Berger acknowledges the fact that without choice democray is lessoned. He also argues that education is an important element to democracy because he mentions that the public should be well educated in order to be able to select a good choice (also see McNair 1999 and 2007).

Moreover, Bogart (1998: 7) argues that advertising introduces a dazzling and constantly changing array of fresh images into everyday life thus ever raising aspirations and challenging the status quo and in this respect it fosters democracy. Thus, the advertisements on South African television did not focus on the images; there was also more writing on the television screen as the advertisements appeared than there were images. In most of the advertisements the images were presented as background information supporting the text. In addition, Scammell and Semetko (1995: 2) suggest that, "[a]mericanisation is a shorthand for a list of features deemed undesirable. The devotion of personality, glitz, glamour and emotional often negative appeals over the promulgation of policy". As much as the political advertisements proved to be very informational in their content they also presented images that came along with the informational content which can be said to have also provided an emotional appeal. For example, the advertisements used images of children, the elderly, and the disabled sitting in the wheelchairs (see for example the ACDP advertisement, the DA advertisement, the ID advertisement and the COPE advertisement). Images of women were also used extensively in the advertisements (see for example the DA advertisement, the ACDP advertisement, and the ID advertisement). The use of these groups of people (children,

women, elderly, and the disabled) can have an emotional appeal because these groups of people are usually regarded as vulnerable and in most instances helpless.

6.2.1 Emotional appeals

In its advertisement on television the ACDP relies on black and white instead of coloured images, and the black and white has connotations of seriousness, urgency, despair, and sadness. Furthermore, the ACDP advertisement shows an image of a child covering his eyes. As the child does this the viewer may feel that he/she wants to save the child from his despair or hurt. A disabled man is then shown in his wheelchair in the middle of the street and this gives an urge to help the man off the street in his wheelchair to a safer and appropriate place. The key figure, who is holding babies in her arms and more babies around her, creates an emotional appeal of sadness and shame, and at the same time leaves the viewer wanting to remove the woman from the situation. It was also interesting to see that the ID used the same image in its advertisement. The more interesting aspect is that, in as much as these images are emotive, the images are also images that the people in South Africa can relate to because it is what they go through day after day. Furthermore, emotional appeal in images is also shown in the DA advertisement and these images are of despair and hopelessness because in the advertisement it shows a black child holding a barbed wire fence; his hand is dusty and hanging down and his eyes looking at the camera show hopelessness and poverty. It must be noted that the emotional appeals of happiness and success, where the advertisement plays on the idea of dreams and these dreams coming to reality, are also featured. For example, in the DA advertisement, the theme song says *somewhere over the rainbow bluebirds fly*. This creates an image of harmony and peace. The song also states that *the dreams that you dream of really come true*. This song is very emotional because some of the lyrics: *Someday I'll wish upon a star and wake up where the clouds are far behind me. Where troubles melt like lemon drops, away above the chimney tops, that's where you'll find me. Ooh… Somewhere, over the rainbow...* Throughout this political advertisement it is the song that plays; no one speaks in this advertisement. However, the images and the words speak for themselves. Moreover, the ACDP advertisements also shows emotional appeals of happiness as a young girl is shown running towards her father and as she gets to him she jumps into his arms and he spins her around. Thus emotive appeals appeared to a greater extent in the DA advertisement, than they did in the ACDP and ID advertisements. Although the other three advertisements had an emotional appeal these were not so intense. Simply put, the ANC only used an image of a girl of mixed colour (coloured) in the Cape Flats; the COPE advertisement has images that did

not unveil the themes, meaning that the correlation of the images to the themes was not clear. Lastly, one could hardly see the image in the FF+ advertisement because they appeared in silhouette.

6.2.2 Character appeals

When it comes to character appeals, these were used at minimum because it was only the ID, ANC, and the ACDP that showed their leaders or president in their advertisements. The ID used character appeals the most as Patricia de Lille is shown throughout the ID advertisement. She is presented as a simple person who is one of the ordinary citizens. She is wearing a simple shirt and skirt with her hair simply tied back. She also speaks throughout the advertisement and presents herself to the audience as an ordinary person as she says, “most of you know me as a politician, but I am also a mother. And like you I have a family, and like you every day I have to work”. The advertisement focuses on her as she repeatedly says *I*. Thus, Patricia’s character is presented to be a character that is sympathetic and one with the people. The advertisement shows her as knowing what the ordinary person on the street goes through.

In the ACDP advertisement the president of the ACDP is shown sitting in what looks like an office and there is a cabinet full of blue and green books. The ACDP flag is also placed on his right hand side. He is wearing a suit and he is presented as educated because there appear to be books on the shelf behind him. He is also presented as being able to work and take over office because he looks already at work. He refers to the audience as friends, as he says; “I’d say friends”. Thus the notion of friendship also suggests love, loyalty, honesty and commitment. Meanwhile, in the ANC advertisement the ANC president is also presented wearing a suit, although he does not say much. The ANC flag is presented and the wall behind him is light beige and the chair is dark beige. All the president of the ANC says is the slogan of the political party which is, “working together we can do more”. The articulation of only the slogan helps to somewhat reinforce the notion of propaganda the topic which the ANC opts to use also makes the slogan stick to one’s mind to a better extent, although the president of the ANC does not say much.

6.3 The commodity in politics as a result of political advertising on television

In assessing commodity, the commodity of a product can be tied to its packaging, content, distribution and production. In other words the more costly it is to produce and distribute a product; the more likely it is to be considered a commodity. Thus the critical economy of the media theory is contracted on the embodiment in the media content. Unfortunately, the more misleading the packaging of the product, the more prone it is to be perceived as a commodity. For instance and of significance the underlying debate around political advertising and around commodity and commodification has been that political advertising is increasingly being "sold like soap on the supermarket shelf" as it is packaged in the most attractive way possible along with catchy slogans in order to manipulate the audience into buying it, as also suugested earlier on in the study (McNair 2007). Importantly, the political economy of communication has been notable for its emphasis on describing and examining the significance of those structural forms responsible for production, distribution, and exchange of communication commodities and for the state (Mosco 1999: 145). Hence in this situation it is both beneficial to investigate what the commodity means and how content becomes a commodity, for example, "one of the keys to Marxian analysis that has influence all subsequent political economy is to interrogate the commodity to determine what the appearance means, to uncover the social relations congealed in the commodity form (Mosco 1999: 144).

It is evident that the political advertisements on South African television were aimed at attracting the electorate. However these advertisements did not exploit their platform because most of the advertisements from the selected sample were not as manipulative and misleading because they thoroughly communicated concepts that appeared in their manifestos, with only a few as an exception. The key concern of commodity in politics as a result of political advertising on television comes when considering other factors such as factors of production, financing, and distribution, as also mentioned earlier on in the study, as those factors have the ability of causing inequality amongst players (political parties) most especially in a democratic system. Thus as noted by the political parties in the feedback from the questionaire, the production of the political advertisements on television proved to be expensive, for example, the ACDP confessed to have spent R 50 000 in the production of their political advertisements, while the ID said it cost them R100 000 produce the

advertisements and COPE stated that apart from the R2 million it spent in the production of the advertisement an extra R 1,5 million was used to purchase extra airtime. Furthermore, the commodity is the particular form the products take when their production is principally organised through the process of exchange for example pay a high price in exchange for advertising space. Thus "commodification is the process of transforming the voters into exchange values" (Mosco 1999: 141). Thus the aspect of commodity can evolve in two ways:

Firstly, the commodity in parties as a result of political advertising on television has to consider how much the parties concerned have to forfeit in order to participate in the platform provided. For example, some political parties such as the IFP and the UDM voiced that they could not participate in political advertising on television because of the lack of resources. This means that in order to participate effectively in the process the political parties had to have the money to do so. Thus, this is how the concept of commodity becomes prominent because now politics must be "bought". It is therefore crucial to note that commodities can be understood as communications of media that are sold or that have commercial values (require money) for other reasons, such as selling viewers and readers to advertisers (Baker 2002: 297).

Secondly, the second type of commodity in politics as a result of political advertising on television can be created by the political parties themselves in the way that they choose to package the political advertisement in order to sell it (the political party) to the audience in a manner that is of commercial standards which would include manipulating and misleading the audience. As is stands, commodification also refers to the process of turning use values into exchange values, of transforming productes whose value is determined by the ability to meet individual and social needs into products whose value is set by what they bring in the market place (Mosco 1999: 144). Thus the political parties admit to have used professional companies in the production of the advertisements for example, the ACDP, ID, COPE, although the ANC explicitly mentioned that it "acquired the services of a reputable advertising company". Importantly, the value of these advertisements were largely determined by the ability to meet the individual and social needs (public interest) because the political parties mentioned that they worked closely with the professional agencies and in the production they adhered to the regulations set by the IEC and ICASA. For example the ACDP stated that in order to produce the advertisement a "professional company was used and the specifications that were given to the company were based on their manifesto". Thus in this aspect the market value was eliminated because in monitoring the professional

companies the political parties could ensure the citizens were provided with information that they needed to know as one of the political parties (ACDP) stated that they adhered to their manifesto (policies) in the production of the advertisement, thus the market value which commercial advertisements usually adhere (maintain) was eliminated. Thus this means that manipulation was somewhat eliminated, this is then good for deliberative democracy the key tenet of democracy is not to operate on manipulation but persuasion. For example, Dryzek (2000: 8) mentions that deliberation as a social process is distinguished from other kinds of communication in that deliberators are amiable to changing their judgements, preferences, and views during the course of their interaction persuasion rather than coercion, manipulation, or deception.

In addition, since the sense of democracy itself is now widely taken to be deliberation, "persuasion as opposed to voting in a deliberative democracy makes a viable choice compared to a liberal one". Thus the manner in which the political advertisements allowed the political parties to freely express themselves and for some to give substantial reasons as to why the public should vote for them was good, instead of using coercive of manipulative means such as propaganda - although elements of propaganda were evident in some of the slogans that the political parties used at the end of their political advertisement. Deliberation was instigated in the ACDP advertisement as the ACDP leader refers to the audience as 'friends', although this is an emotive tactic, he urges the audience to go out there and talk to their friends, neighbours and family about the pertinent issues which appear in the political advertisement in order to persuade them to vote for this political party. For example, as also noted in the findings, the ACDP leader says, "I'd say, friends, the ACDP has the strategies, the ACDP has the policies, the ACDP has a will, the ACDP has a capacity to do what needs to be done to ensure that South Africa becomes a very peaceful and prosperous nation. God bless you as you talk to your friends, as you talk to your neighbours, as you try to influence them to bring in a government that cares for the people of South Africa, a government that wants to make South Africa a safe, stable and prosperous nation. God bless you."

It has thus been acknowledged that in the case of political advertising on television in South Africa, the majority of the political parties in the selected sample had content which illustrated their election manifestos effectively hence manipulation and misleading the audience did not resonate to a large extent. Therefore, from the aforementioned it is key to

note that the commodification or commodity in politics as a result of political advertising on television can be caused by the systematic process that political advertising on television is designed to take in a country or it can be caused by the political parties themselves in the manner in which they choose to package the political advertisements on television. Thus it can be concluded that in the aspects of production and distribution political advertising on television commodifies politics to a large extent because the political parties need to pay high prices in order to participate effectively in political advertising on television. However, in investigating how the content becomes a commodity it is evident that political advertising in South Africa commodifies politics to a minimum extent because the manner in which the political parties chose to package the content of the political advertisements on television was acceptable as the political parties eliminated the market value which commercial advertising usually maintains because most of the political parties based their advertisements on the manifesto (policies) and they worked closely the professional agents they hired and in the production of the content. Furthermore, the political parties confess to have adhered to the regulators set by the IEC and ICASA.

6.3.1 Inequality, commodity, accountability and lack of transparency in political advertising

As mentioned by Hesmondhalgh (2001: 3) critical political economy approaches see the fact that culture is produced and consumed under as a fundamental issue, in explaining inequalities of power, prestige and profit. Thus as illustrated in the findings the political parties were provided free airtime on which to broadcast the political advertisements on television and different time slots were allocated to the different political parties. The time slots run from 06:30 right up until 23:30 at night. This then means that some political parties received prime time slots (19:00 to 22:00) while others received slots which are not considered to reach a large audience. As mentioned earlier on, a political advertisement that is aired at 11:00 in the morning is less effective than the one aired at 20:00 at night simply for the reasons that most people are considered to be at work during this time of the day or busy with other daily activities whereas in the evening it is more likely that more people will be at home watching television. The findings suggest that all political parties were presented slots in which to broadcast their political advertisements however, not all parties made use of the slots because they did not have the resources to produce the actual advertisement, although the premise of democracy is that everyone should be treated equally. For example,

Cunningham (2002: 1) acknowledges that “democracy is a procedure for making laws within which individuals who are counted equally register their preferences”.

The aforementioned also brings forth issues of production. It is fair enough that political parties are presented with free airtime but the free airtime becomes useless when the parties do not have the funding to produce the political advertisement. It is noted from the feedback received from the questionnaire that the production process of political advertising on television demanded large financial capacities. For example, amounts of R 50 000 and R 100 000 were revealed as the amounts used for the production of the advertisements, as mentioned in section 6.3, although a huge gap was spelled out when one of the political parties (COPE) stated that it used R 1,2 million for the production of the advertisements on television and an extra R1,5 million extra airtime. Meanwhile the ANC was not keen on revealing the exact amount spent as the respondent from the ANC stated that “it cost millions of rands – that is all we will say”. Furthermore, the DA refrained from participating in the questionnaire meanwhile a representative from the FF+ could not be reached.

The feedback received gives an idea of how much money a party should possess in order to complete effectively and so it is clear that the production of the political advertisements demands a great deal of money apart from the airtime. This then begins to treat politics as a commodity because before the political parties can participate they need the necessary resources. Those political parties who cannot afford the commodity or to produce a political advertisement on television are left out, which creates an inequality. However, it should also be taken into account that some political parties could have refrained from participating in the airing of the political advertisements on television due to different priorities of the allocation of funds. Importantly, the political parties that were approached and considered as the major parties and relevant to this study articulated that they did not participate in the airing of political advertisements on television because they could not afford it for example, the United Democratic Movement (UDM).

In addition, a further inequality is created where the political parties are afforded the freedom to purchase more television airtime as they can afford which further reinforces the commodity in politics. Firstly, this prevails because the parties who can afford to produce the political advertisements are on the safe side to at least have their political advertisement on television during the time provided by ICASA. However marginalisation overcomes because parties with money can buy more airtime to air their advertisement(s) repeatedly and at prime

time, thus reaching a larger audience. Secondly, this is also the same manner that commercial advertising works as it works on the ability to expose its production in the most number of times possible to reach a larger audience and an audience of a particular group can also be reached if the political party understands the mechanics in which the media operates. An example is also evident in the case of COPE as it notes that it paid "1,5 million rand for extra airtime and its television advertisement only appeared on SABC 1, although it was able to flight the political advertisement(s) 33 times". The ACDP had their political advertisement broadcast on all national channels, but they were only broadcast in English. In this regard one can enquire that what about those that do not understand the English language, after all in educating the society the media in a democracy has a role to simplify the content "it should also provide incentives for citizens to learn, choose, and become involved in the public life by also facilitate a dialogue across a diverse range of views" (Jakubowikz 1999: 14).

Importantly is the accountability that the public service broadcaster (SABC) should have towards the citizens by ensuring pluralism and diversity. For example, Keane (1991: 181, 186) notes that democracy and public service media are reflective means of controlling the exercise of power and they are regarded as early warning devices because they help define and publicise risks that are not worth taking. The ID had a television commercial on all SABC channels although their advertisement on television was also in English. The ANC stated that they ran a total of 180 advertisements in electronic media (television and radio). The ANC showed more diversity as it professed that their advertisements were also aired in isiNguni (isiZulu and isiXhosa), seSotho (seTwana/seSotho) and Afrikaans, as well as in English, and they also relied on the national broadcaster to air their political advertisements. Although the SABC as a public service broadcaster has a normative role to rectify imbalances such as lack of diversity and pluralism. For example, (Mbaine 2003: 138) suggests that "public service broadcasting plays a role in a situation where structural imbalances and scarcities of media access can undermine democratisation and democracy".

It is very interesting that the ANC admitted that in purchasing extra airtime, although they did not reveal the amount, that it targeted peak time. For example, the respondent states, "there were advertisements that were paid for and there were others that the public broadcaster gave to all political parties contesting elections as per ICASA regulations. A total of 48 advertisements appeared on television and slots depended on the ICASA arrangement and with regard to the ones we paid for we targeted pick time where our message could have maximum impact". This also shows that when allocating the free airtime slots ICASA should

take into consideration such factors because the political parties which have their advertisements broadcast at "peak time" as well as those who have their advertisements appear more number of times than other parties will have an unfair advantage. However, this responsibility also falls in the hands of the public service broadcaster, as also mentioned in the last line of the previous paragraph, because the public broadcaster in a democracy needs to be accountable to its citizens.

The free airtime that was allocated to the political parties in the sample was as follows:

Table 5.7: The airtime allocated to the political parties in the sample

	SABC 1	SABC 2	SABC 3
ACDP		30 March 2009 from 13:30–14:00 12 April 2009 from 16:30–17:30 8 April 2009 from 21:00–21:30	11 April 2009 from 16:00–17:00 10 April 2009 from 14:00–15:00
ANC	14 April 2009 from 14:30–15:00 6 April 2009 from 13:00–14:30	19 April 2009 from 15:30–16:30 8 April 2009 from 06:00–08:00	19 April 2009 from 10:00–11:00
COPE	10 April 2009 from 14:30–15:00	4 April 2009 from 13:00–14:00	30 March 2009 from 07:30–08:30 1 April 2009 from 07:30–08:30 17 April 2009 from 14:00–15:30
DA		15April 2009 from 12:00–13:00 April 2009 from 21:00–	10 April 2009 from 07:30–08:30

		22:00	
ID	4 April 2009 from 19:30–19:55	9 April 2009 from 13:45–14:45 12 April 2009 from 15:30–16:30 18 April 2009 from 22:30–23:30	9 April 2009 from 11:15–12:15
FF+	1 April 2009 from 13:00–14:30	16 April from 13:45–14:45 15 April 2009 from 21:00–21 30	31 March 2009 from 07:30–08:30 16 April 2009 from 07:30–08:30

Thus from the data gathered, it is only the ACDP, the DA, the ID and the FF+ which had its slots during prime time (19: 00–22: 00). The other two political parties, COPE and the ANC, did not have prime time slots on the free airtime slots, although these political parties were able to purchase prime slots from their own budgets. Thus, in allocating the time slots, the public service broadcaster (SABC) should also take into consideration factors of equality and have a thorough understanding about how media works in order to enhance or maintain democracy. It is however good that the advertisements were aired on the national broadcaster because this also somewhat helped the public broadcaster to fulfil its public service duties and its responsibilities to the citizens. As noted the roles of the public service broadcaster are to provide universal access, protect national cultural identity, to have editorial independence, impartiality, programme diversity and accountability (Hills 2003: 45). It would have been contradictory had these advertisements been shown on private stations as well as or only, because that would mean that the citizen is now being treated as a consumer because the private stations are very commercial thus their business model operates on the basis of commercial media and not public service media. In addition, whereas public service broadcasters (media) are viewed to belong to the public for example, Mpofu (1999 cited in Mbaine 2003: 143) defines public service broadcaster "to bring into being a culture and shared public life to the whole population with the nation state". It is also good that, based on the aforementioned table, the slots allocated average five slots per political party with only the DA having three slots. In addition, another aspect in political advertising on television that turns politics to a commodity is the duration of the advertisement. For example, Holtz-Bacha and Kaid (1995: 15) argues that there are considerable differences regarding the length of party broadcasts, on the whole, free purchase of advertising time seems to lead to shorter spots, this trend is probably a consequence of the costs but might also be interpreted as an indication of a commercial of political advertising and adoption to economic advertising. The general perception when it comes to the length of political advertisements on television is that they should be 60 seconds long, and this is seen as the acceptable standard. However, South Africa had a variation as the ANC's political advertisement was 51 seconds long, the DA 60 seconds. The longest political advertisement was that of ACDP which was 126 seconds long, the ID was 96 seconds long while the shortest was that of the FF+ and COPE's political advertisements was 39 seconds. Although in this instance it could be also that the political parties preferred their advertisements to be this long because some political parties such the ANC had more than one political advertisement on television, although the rest were not

selected in the study because the purpose of the study, the political advertisements which appeared in English were considered.

When referring to audience reach, Ansolabehere and Iyengar (2000: 154) note that candidates are able to reach many more people with television than was ever possible with newspapers, trains, rallies and campaign gimmicks. Thus, the South African Advertising Research Foundation (SAARF) estimated that during the election period, the SABC had a viewership or cume reach of 87,2% of adults older than the age of 16 during the month of in March 2009 and in April 2009 it had 74,6%. SABC2 had a cume reach of 85,6% in March 2009 and in April 2009 it had 88,1% meanwhile SABC3 had a cume reach of 85,3% in April 2009. This proves that indeed television could reach a larger audience compared to for example the newspaper and thus this could be beneficial to democracy because television has the ability of informing more citizens. However, a weakness of television is that it makes the public sphere more private and participation cannot take place because the audience, at that -moment, are confined to interact with its own family members. Thus the issue of public sphere can also be linked to the media's role in a democracy because of its roles is to create a platform for public debate. Thus when less people have less access to the 'medium' the public sphere somewhat deteriorated apart from the media effects that medium could potentially instigate or possess. Habernas (1989: 24) "the ideal public sphere is largely separated from economic concerns because it is a discursive model of interaction whose function is to interrogate various levels of society into a realm of common interaction". Hence it is vital that all members can access the public sphere. More importantly the issue of the public sphere is important for political advertising on television because the notion of deliberative democracy supports the tenets of public sphere. For example, like the perspectives of public sphere, deliberative democracy views people as equal sharing a common right to take part in determining public policy and state practice. Thus as much as the political parties were seen to provide a stance which supports deliberative democracy for opting for persuasion rather than manipulation it is just as equally important that the citizens also participate deliberatively in this regard. Thus in order for this to take place a public sphere is needed because it would allow communication and persuasion to take place amongst equals as required by deliberative democracy. For example, deliberative democracy is a type of democracy that does not refer only to preference or choice (voting) but it is a forum where there is communication and good reasons are expected for the choice opted for there a "deliberative democracy resonates with the idea of the public sphere as a reservoir of democratic authenticity" (Cunningham 2005: 4).

However, there are issues that hinder the public sphere such as poverty, illiteracy, and also language barriers. In this case the political advertisements on television are not diverse and are mostly presented in English. This may create a problem for those who do not understand the language. Although an attempt to balance this barrier was made by political parties such as the ANC which also provided political advertisements (which are not in the selected sample of this study) in IsiXhosa, Sesotho and IsiZulu. COPE also noted that subtitles in their political advertisement were used to cater for indigenous languages although these were not evident in the political advertisement on television that was viewed for the purpose of this study. Moreover, in media such as political advertising, the audience sometimes needs the intelligence to unpack the message otherwise the message does not come across easily. For example, Bogart (1998: 5) also suggests that in open society the barriers of poverty and illiteracy can fragment national media experiences.

6.3.2 Financing and funding

In addressing the issues of funding and financing the political advertisements, the Public funding of represented political parties of 1997 was developed to establish the represented political parties fund with a view to making provision for the funding of National and provisional legislatures, to provide for the management of that Fund by the Electoral Commission and for the accountability regarding that Fund; to regulate the allocation of moneys from that Fund and the purposes for which allocated money may be used by the 'political parties', to regulate the repayment to the IEC of the unspent balances of moneys by political parties under certain circumstances; to provide for incidental matters. Thus, the Act strongly states that the money so allocated to a political party may be used for any purposes compatible with its functioning as a political party in a modern democracy. The purpose includes amongst others; the development of the political will of people, bringing the political party's influence to bear on shaping of public opinion, inspiring and furthering political education, promoting active participation by individual citizens in political life, exercising an influence on political trends, and ensuring continuous, vital links between the people and organs of the state. The total amount that was made available during the period 1 April 2009–31 March 2010 to political parties was R 92,914,00 (ninety two million, nine hundred and twenty four rand). This amount was paid out in intervals and in a calculation proportion according to the number of seats the political party has in the National Assembly (parliament).

Thus political parties such as the ACDP and the ID admitted to using the IEC Fund in order to fund the political advertisements. For example, the ACDP notes that "donations from individuals and limited companies were used and that they used money from the IEC for small promotions. And the ID notes that "since we never paid to broadcast the advert (it was free), we only had to pay for its production. We got the money from our election Fund account, which contained money from the private funds". It is also evident that the donations or alternative sources were used by the political parties and private funders were needed in order to help fund the political advertisements. One of the private funders was Standard Bank, and the article sourced from the world wide web states that "Standard Bank continues to support South Africa's democratic process and make contributions to political parties. The bank's policy remains uncharged and funds are distributed based on the Independent IEC funding to political parties in proportion to their representation in the National Assembly" (http://sustainability.standardbank.com). Furthermore, the use of private funders might be problematic because the funders usually expect a favour of some sort in return. Returning the favour might also include the need to gain a proportion of political power that the certain political party posses. The chief executive officer of the IEC also revealed that over 2 million rands was allocated to political parties for the use of political campaigns and the funds came from private funders. Thus COPE stated that it used donations from its members, whilst the ANC used fundraising. For instance, the respondent from the ANC states that "the ANC conducted many fundraising initiatives from its supporters, membership and business for the elections war chest. It allocated a certain portion of that money for communications function which was then used to pay for the production and flighting of the television and other advertisements".

6.3.3 Political advertising on television, regulation and policy

Furthermore, it is interesting that all the political parties in the sample relied on professionals, as also suggested by Bates (1989) in its initial stages of USA political advertising on television; they recommended that political parties should use professional because they were not familiar with the mechanics of television. Thus Norris (2005: 12) has suggested that professionalisation of the political consultancy industry has developed furthest in the United States, fuelled by the traditional weakness of the USA party organisation, the rise of candidate-controlled campaign in 1960's, the capital-intensive nature of advertising-driven campaigns, and the number and frequency of USA primary and general elections. However,

Holtz-Bacha and Kaid (1995–10) argue that campaign political advertisements are produced by the parties of candidates themselves and thus, they are not being "distorted" by journalistic selection. It is also important to note that the political parties may not be familiar with the mechanics of television thus the professional are better equipped in understanding the mechanics of the media. However, the use of professionals also gives some political parties a better lead to others resulting inequality because the different professional houses also use different equipment compared to others. For example, the ANC was perceived to have consulted the best professional television production company in the country (Ogilvy). Olgilvy is regarded to be the most reputable advertising agency in South Africa. Most importantly, Kaid and Holtz-Bacha (2006: 4) note that political advertising is a controlled non mediated campaign channel meaning that the responsibility for the advertisement lies with the political actors and they do not run the risk of the political advertisements being altered by the media production process and political actors determine how they are presented on television. Thus the political parties are given freedom on how they choose to represent themselves. Although in the case of South Africa, in its regulations as stated in the electronic commission Act, the broadcaster may reject the political advertisement, for example, if the political advertisement exposes the broadcaster to legal liability. However, the regulation and policy governing political advertising are discussed in this section in the paragraphs below.

Kaid and Holtz-Bacha (1995: 15) argue that with publicly controlled institutions, restrictions on advertising and content are used in the different countries to more or less prevent unlimited commercialism of television and thus somehow carry on the public broadcasting tradition. No system is held accountable for the funds provided by the IEC as also mentioned by the chief executive officer. However, in relation to the political advertisement themselves, Notice 1419 of 2008 by ICASA notes that the political advertisements must be broadcast during the election broadcast period and a broadcasting service licensee to whom a political advertisement has been submitted by a party for broadcast, must not in any way edit or alter the advertisement. Thus if the broadcaster rejects the political advertisement it must notify the party concerned within 24 hours and thus, edit the content within 24 hours and thus, edit the content and send it back to the broadcaster. If the political party concerned does not want to resubmit the broadcaster must notify ICASA in writing with 24 hours and the political party concerned must also notify ICASA in writing of the reason it does not want to resubmit. Thus, any political party that submits a political advertisement to a broadcasting service license for broadcast must ensure that the advertisement does not 1) Contravene the

provisions of the Electoral Act, the Electoral code, the Constitution, the Act and the broadcasting Act and 2) contain any material that is calculated, or that in the ordinary course is likely to provoke or incite any unlawful, legal or criminal act, or that may be perceived as condoning or lending support to any such act. Furthermore, the Electronic Commission Act of 2005 states that when referring to political advertising, a broadcasting service licensee is not required to broadcast a political advertisement, but if he/she elects to do so, he or she must afford all the other political parties, should they request the same opportunity. The Act also states that in making advertising time available to political parties, no broadcasting service license may discriminate against any political party or give any preference to any political party or subject any political party to any prejudice.

The political advertisement is also required to conform to the technical quality acceptable to the Authority (ICASA). And no political advertisements may be broadcast later than 48 hours prior to the commencement of the polling period. Thus it is important that the political parties are given well-defined specifications on what is acceptable and unacceptable in the coverage of the political advertisement while keeping in mind the principles of democracy and the citizens when it comes to the allocation of broadcasting time under control through regulations that either give all parties equal time or allot graded time according to a proportion of votes (Holtz-Bacha and Kaid 1995: 15). Thus, in South Africa the political parties were also allocated broadcasting time slots according to a proportion which includes the number of seats that political party has in national assembly. However, Suine (1995: 124) notes that in the case of Denmark, for the old formerly monopolistic stations party access to broadcast election programmes is regulated, not by the states as such, but by the broadcasting organisation, obligated by public service status and firm social and public responsibility. Hence it is interesting to note these differences.

Nonetheless, the issue of transparency has been a problematic issue globally but as a stepping stone towards transparency some countries such as Britain and German have installed regulations which allow transparency although this is also done at minimum. For example, in Britain, “public disclosures of contributions are required only of corporations and unions. Political parties are required to submit quarterly reports with detailed donour information, to the Electoral Commission” (www.polity.org.za). In the German situation, “German law entitles parties or several of its bodies to receive donations, but donours that exceed R 112 000 a year must be publically disclosed” (www.polity.org.za). Furthermore, the lack of regulation also encourages corruption for example, corruption can be seen whereby the

private funders fund the political parties in order to gain influence over them. Another example; it was noted that South African government would fund overseas political parties in order to gain influence in foreign policy, thus this is corruption which in the case of political parties in South Africa need to be prevented so that we do not have foreign investors influencing our democracy (Poor funding regulation biggest threat to South African democracy: www. mg.co.za). A suggestion was made that we have a regulatory framework to create a "central democratic fund" where everyone wanting to contribute to a political party places their donation, and the money be distributed to an institute like the Independent Electoral Commission (Poor funding regulation biggest threat to democracy: www.mg.co.za). Thus it has been noted that "the problem in South Africa is that it is entirely unregulated" (DA, ANC refuse to lift lid on budgets: www.mg.co.za). The regulations must also attempt to bridge the gap of inequality. According to Paton (2007) the ANC election campaign cost around R100m, a figure that the ANC must raise twice in five years – once for national and provincial elections, and again for local elections. Thus the regulations must also account for political parties who are not capable of raising huge amounts of money.

6.4 Political advertising on television and its implications for democracy

It is evident that political advertising on television in South Africa has numerous implications for democracy. Nevertheless these implications are both positive and negative. Firstly, a positive attribute of political advertising on television is that it gives the electorate choice meaning that the electorate does not have to rely only on medium such as newspapers, pamphlets and billboards in order to receive information about the political parties and what they stand for. Furthermore, a beneficial attribute about political advertising on television in South Africa, is that based on the selected sample, the political advertisements on television in South Africa proved to be very informative. Thus education is an important aspect of democracy in order to select a good choice McNair (2007). The political advertisements on television in South Africa are informative and hardly misleading because the majority of them were able to articulate their manifesto and that which they stood for with minimum manipulation. The manipulation was seen to be minimum because most of the political parties seemed to somewhat have represented the political reality and political atmosphere at the time in their content. Thus this is good for a deliberative democracy because deliberative democracy is beset on the notion of persuasion than coerciveness or manipulation. For

example, aspects of deliberation are present in the political advertisements such as that of the ACDP where the political leader encourages his 'friends', the audience to influence their friends, neighbours and family to vote for the political party based on the policies articulated in the political advertisement. Hence this had a positive implication for democracy as it instigates deliberation and thus a public sphere.

In contrast, the political advertisements on television do not create room for participation is a key principle of democracy because they make the public sphere private as the viewers are only confined only to their family members as a 'public sphere' at that moment. The political advertisements also leak traces of propaganda which is not necessarily beneficial for democracy, particularly a deliberative one. The issue of financing and regulating political advertisements on television is also problematic for democracy in South Africa for the reason that a well defined democracy needs transparency and accountability. Most of the political parties refused to unveil the source of their finances for the political advertisements on television. Thus political advertising on television needs to be regulated in South Africa in order to also ensure democracy. The regulations need to ensure that they treat all the political parties equally, as a prerequisite to democracy. For example, the *African charter on democracy, elections and governance* (2007) states that one of its objectives is to "to promote the establishment of the necessary conditions to foster citizen participation, transparency, access to information, freedom of the press and accountability in management of public affairs". To ensure equality there should be a standard way in which the political parties are financed for political advertisements on television and the time slots should also have standard criteria, for example one political party cannot be give a prime time slot which another is not afforded the same privilege. The buying of extra airtime must be well regulated as well while keeping in mind that the political advertisements on television should be aimed at a citizenry and not consumer this will also help to eliminate the aspect of political advertising turning politics into a commodity.

The political parties also need to be accountable to the citizens. Accountability can spiral in many ways: firstly, the political party needs to be accountable to the citizen in packaging the content of the political advertisements on television by making sure that what they are packaging in the content of the political advertisement is not misleading and it is informative. Thus the public service broadcaster can assist in the notion of accountability in order to ensure democracy and development by ensuring accessibility and diversity. Secondly, the political parties also need to be accountable to the citizens by being transparent, the citizens

need to know how these political advertisements are financed in other words, ‘it is better to eat a pie when knowing what is in it’. Hence this is the main reason I argue for deliberative democracy instead of liberal democracy for a developing African country such as South Africa. It is good that a choice is made available; however when making a decision the citizens should be able to effectively and intelligently state the reasons they have made that decision. Thus a platform for such decision making cannot exist unless there is transparency and accountability most especially from the political parties themselves to the citizens. A deliberative democracy advocates for a public sphere where reasoned decisions can take place. For example, deliberative democracy is a type of democracy that does not refer only to preference or choice voting but it calls for a forum where there is communication and good reasons are expected for choice opted for Cunningham (2005: 4). It rules out domination via the exercise of power, manipulation, indoctrination, propaganda, deception, expression of more self-interest, threats (of the sort that characterise bargaining) and attempts to impose ideological conformity (Dryzek 2000: 11). Importantly, liberal democracies are thus not prototype because they picture citizens entering a democratic political process with fixed preferences, thus deliberation allows room for bargaining for a better preference thus it contests issues of legitimation, fixed preference and aggregation (Cunningham 2995: 163).

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an analysis and interpretation of the findings. It was argued that the majority of political advertisements on television in South Africa, in the selected sample, were indeed informative. These political advertisements were also not very misleading as most of the political parties articulated that which also appeared in their election manifestos. Furthermore, in contrast to the general debate of image versus issue, the South African advertisements did not focus too much on the images and in many instances when images were shown it was to help to communicate the message. In addition, the chapter shows that political advertising on television has introduced a commodity in politics to a large extent; this was evident in the amount of money that was required in order to participate competently in the whole process. The chapter has also illustrated the ways in which the commodity in politics as a result of political advertising has created inequality based on the fact that in as much as free airtime was provided to political parties, a consideration of production cost of the content had to be taken into consideration and thus parties should have been assisted

when it comes to funding. In addition, the chapter also addressed issues of regulating political parties by stating that political advertising on television needs to be regulated appropriately also taking into consideration the principles of democracy. Thus, there is a need for transparency and accountability most especially from the political parties to the citizens. Lastly, a suggestion for deliberative democracy instead of liberal democracy was made in the case of a developing African country such as South Africa. A prospective model for regulating political advertising on television in South Africa has also been suggested. The next chapter provides the conclusion and the recommendations for the study.

Chapter 7: Conclusion and recommendations

7.1 Introduction

This chapter draws together a conclusion for the study by summing up all the issues that shape the rise of political advertising on South Africa television and its implications for democracy in the reflection of the methodology and theory used. The chapter also illustrates the limitations of the study and thus it also suggests recommendations for future research relating to the topic of the study. The chapter also outlines the ways in which this research can be conducted. In order to address the research questions, content analysis is also used to analyse and interpret the questionnaire data. The thematic analysis is used to identify the themes that appear in the political advertisements on television although in this study the themes are determined inductively using open coding and the themes are not predetermined but are analysed as they appear or occur in the political advertisements on television. Futhermore, critical political economy is used to analyse the broader structure also taking into consideration the question of moral justice. Hence critical political economy helped to reveal matters relating to the interalated aspects of the political advertisements on television such as the funding and financing, the production process, regulation and policy, audience and audience acess, the roles of the media (public service broadcaster) and the influence upon one another. This theory helped to reveal that there exists an inequality amongst political parties and there is also a lack of transparency in the political parties, most especially when it comes to issues of funding. The theory also revealed that political advertising on television in South Africa commodifies politics in the production and distribution process to a large extent by also relying on concepts of commodity and commodification. It also reaveled that political advertisements on television commodifies politics to a minimum extent in its content. Liberal theory is relevant in understanding the background of South Africa as a democracy however deliberative democracy is advocated because in a deliberative democracy citizens are required to effectively give a valid reason for their choice. It is premised on bargaining for favourable decision therefore dwells on means of persuasion than manipulation and persuasion. Thus it helped to reaveal the one of the political parties instigated deliberation however, television as it is now in South Africa is limited at allowing for a full capacity of deliberation to take place.

7.2 The messages covered in the political advertisements on television

Political advertisements in South Africa prove to be informative because the political parties articulate their political manifestos extensively in their political advertisements, although they take different approaches in communicating their messages. Furthermore, although television can depend on images and its emotional impact can be intense, the emotional content in most of the political advertisements was packed with sufficient and clear information. Thus the political advertisements are also not superficial and provide themes that are a reality in South Africa's situation. As outlined the tenets of democracy specify that there citizen in to be educated in order to make an informed decision (Alger 1989: 17).

None of the political advertisements show negative appeals or are nasty to the opponent in their political advertisements in the themes or images although some of the advertisements prove to comment on the current political situation that was taking place at the time. Thus political advertisements do not concentrate on the images but more on the themes. Hence in this regard the general debate that surrounds political advertising can be disregarded. There is more text in the content than the use of images, and in most of the advertisements the images were used to support the themes or messages. Although the political advertisements are very informative it goes without saying that emotional appeals were present in these advertisements, for example, one of the political parties relied a lot on emotive language. There is also the use of images of children, woman and the disabled which create an influential emotional appeal because when these images appear the feeling of wanting to assist these children emerges. Apart from creating emotions of sadness and despair the political advertisements on television also create emotions of happiness and success. The idea of success is also assisted by the play of making 'dreams' come true. In addition, character appeals were used at minimum with only three political parties relying on showing their leaders. It was only in one of the advertisements that the party leader is shown throughout the political advertisement.

7.3 The extent to which the political advertisements on television commodify politics

It is acknowledged that the commodity of a product can be noticed through its packaging, content, distribution and production. Thus when referring to the distribution and production process political advertising was seen to commodify politics to a large extent however, when it comes to the issues of content political advertising on television was seen to commodify politics to a minimum extent, although the political parties admit to have hired professional agencies in the production of the political advertisements the political parties posit that they worked closely with the professional agencies and gave them specifications as stated in their manifestoes (policies).

In addition, the ICASA and IEC regulations were adhered to in these regulations deal extensively with technical issues than issues of equality, transparency and the production process. It is thus evident that the political parties paid a great deal of money in order to have the political advertisements aired on television, with some political parties stating that it 'cost them millions to produce the advertisements' although the political parties these political parties refrained from disclosing the exact amount although, this statement by the political parties is contestable. Some political parties admitted to have not participated in the broadcasting of the political advertisements because of the lack of resources for example the United Democratic Movement (UDM). Thus this creates inequality because even those that could afford to produce the advertisements are further marginalised by those who could afford extra airtime for their political advertisements.

The free airtime slots that were allocated are also unfairly distributed because some political parties received prime-time slots while others did not. Hence it is such issues that need to be resolved although what was beneficial was that these advertisements were aired on the public broadcaster instead of a commercial station, which made more sense since they were aimed at citizens and not consumers.

In addition, as stated by the IEC chief officer, the funding of the political parties on their political campaigning was not regulated during 2009, and many of the political parties state that they used some of their fund money from the IEC in order to fund their political campaigns. Moreover, although regulations was put in place by ICASA in order to govern the broadcaster and political party relationship, transparency was seen to be a problematic issue

or issue of concern. These regulations need to be tighted up more in order to also ensure democracy although ICASA has issued regulations on technical issues.

7.4 The implication that political advertising on television has for democracy

Thus, the implications that political advertising on television has for democracy are seen to be both positive and negative. The positive aspect was that the political advertisements on television create room for choice and the citizens no longer have to rely only on medium such as the newspaper, pamphlets, radio and billboards in order to achieve information about the political parties and what they stand for, during the election period. Hence the MacBride Report defined the democratisation of the media as a process whereby: "(a) the individual becomes an active partner and not a mere object of communication; (b) the variety of messages exchanged increases; and (c) the extent and quality of social representation or participation in communication are augmented" (MacBride Report 1980: 166 cited in Moyo 2006: 39-40). The political parties are also allowed freedom of expression because there are no journalistic constraints in the production of the advertisement, by following the ICASA and IEC regulations the political parties could determine what it wanted in the political advertisement. Albeit, the use of television somewhat changes the traditional way of politics because in the case of television the public sphere is made private, confining debate and discussion to family members in the TV room. For instance, participation cannot be determined however; some of the political advertisements on television are diverse in their representation, and thus, there was a good quality of social representation, see for example the ACDP and the DA political advertisement. It was pointed out that the media needs to be diverse and operate in the public interest therefore there is a need for the public service broadcaster to be accountable to the citizens.

Political advertising was also seen as problematic because of issues such as propaganda, participation, and most especially transparency. Firstly, it is difficult to determine participation when it comes to political advertising on television. Secondly, propaganda is an old form of manipulation which can prove to be still potent as South Africa is perceived to be a very patriotic country. Thirdly, the lack of transparency undermines democracy because

transparency is seen to be a key prerequisite of democracy as also articulated in the African charter. Lastly, in order to ensure that all the above principles of democracy are fulfilled somehow, a deliberative democracy is better than a liberal democracy so that the citizens can also thoughtfully state the reasons for their choices and decisions when electing a president in a developing African country such as South Africa, which also sets it apart from its western counterpart. Moreover, the commodity in politics is also a problem because it creates inequality amongst political parties because those that do not have the resources cannot participate hence there needs to be some mechanism that is standard and that allows all political parties to participate equally. Thus in an ideal democracy it is important that political advertising is accessible to the audience as well as the political parties. Thus the public service broadcaster should be accountable, accessible, impartial, create room for diversity and pluralism, have editorial independence as well as operate in the public interest (Mbaine 2003: 138). It was thus an excellent idea to have the political advertisement broadcast on the public broadcaster instead of a commercial one because more citizens are prone to have access to it and, it is also expected to operate on conditions of public service instead of commercial standards. In addition, to ensure a stronger democracy and one that is free from corruption, it is crucial that the funding of the political parties, when it comes to campaigning particularly on television, is well regulated. Thus a prospective model for regulating political advertising on television in South Africa is recommended in the next section.

7.5 A way forward: a prospective model for South Africa

The proposed model relates to the research findings on political advertising on television in South Africea and more specifically to the research findings on funding and financing, distribution and content regulation of the political advertisements on television endorsed by ICASA. Particularly, these findings are found in the Government Gazette No 31602 of 14 November 2008 as *Regulations: Party election broadcasts, political advertisements, the equitable treatment of political parties by broadcasting licensees and related matters*, ICASA, Notice 1419. The model was created by referring to the model in the Netherlands but also keeping in mind that political advertising on television cannot operate exactly as it does in the Netherlands because the two countries are shaped by different laws, political background, history and so forth (also see Kaid and Lee 2008). The Netherlands is perceived to be a one of the most democratic countries in the world and it is now perceived to be a neo-liberal democracy. Additionally, it is evident that there is a need to regulate political

advertising on television in South Africa. Various developments have occurred in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region. However, South Africa needs regulations that are unique. For example, political advertising on television is permitted in Zimbabwe but it operates differently compared to South Africa. In the 2005 Zimbabwean pre-elections the ZANU-PF was given regulations that were not expected from the other political parties. The regulations stated that offensive language could not be used by the candidates in the political advertisements on television but the ZANU-PF leader, Robert Mogabe, used offensive language and this was not edited from the political advertisement (www.zimbabwesituation.com). Furthermore, it was the 2008 election that brought about change in the political advertising on television in Zimbabwe whereby the opposition party MDC, contested. Thus the aforementioned helps to point out the importance of regulating political advertising on television and enforcing political parties to adhere to the regulations.

Furthermore, in the case of Zimbabwe the opposition parties could place their "advertisements in the state posters, on television, and on the national radio", which seemed to indicate government principles with the SADC election principles and guidelines (www.iss.org.za). However, "the opposition had limited opportunities to campaign, for example, it suffered obstacle in holding rallies or accessing the public media" (Booysens 2008). The opposition MDC-Tsvangirai was allowed to purchase airtime on state radio and television. In addition, it also printed advertisements, both in the few remaining private newspapers and in those controlled by ZANU-PF. Meanwhile, JFG a journalist from Bostwana argues that it is important to permit political advertising on television although, in Bostwana the National Broadcasting Board (NBB) prohibits political advertising of any kind in electronic media (radio or television) (www.gazettebw.co). Thus to ensure equality, accountability and transparency in political advertising on television in South Africa the following regulations could be added to the existing ones;

- The political advertisements should be broadcast on the public service regulator instead of commercial stations since the political advertisements on television are aimed at citizens and not the consumer. This will also prevent the political advertisements from facing the same constraints that the commercial advertisements face such as financial pressures of buying airtime on a commercial station.

- The political parties should be allocated airtime according to the number of seats that they have in parliament as mentioned in the existing regulations however, the slots should be divided fairly by also making sure that all the political parties receive at least one slot during prime time and a political party should not receive more than two prime time slots. The political parties should also be provided with slots that are long enough to allow all the political parties enough freedom to show their political advertisements, this will also help eliminate the element of commodity in politics because the time slots will be longer.

- The political parties that wish to buy extra airtime should also be regulated. A political party should be allowed to buy not more than five extra slots during the pre-election campaigning period. Restricting the slots permitted to a maximum of five will help eliminating the commodity aspect in political advertising on television by ensuring that there is not a large gap between the parties that can just afford the political advertisements on television due to the state fund and those with enough money to buy large amouts of time slots. And only three of these slots should be permitted to appear during prime time. This process will also help to regulate the commodity in politics as a result of political advertising on television because it is important to always keep in mind that these are political advertisements and not commercial advertisements.

- In the same way that the IEC divides funds to the political parties, a proportion should be set aside specifically for political advertising on television and divided in the same way that the Fund is divided in order to enable all the political parties to produce at least one political advertisement on television and thus gain access to political advertising on television.

- Political parties must be notified by the regulator, prior to the election campaigning period, that if they wish to partake in the political advertising on television it is mandatory that they draft a proposal on how they are going to fund their political advertisement(s) on television and in the use of donors the political parties should be obliged to transparently name the donors otherwise not participate in this type of campaigning.

- The content regulation as it is stated in the regulation is suitable, for example, see Notice 1419 of 2008 by Independent Communications Authority and the Electronic Communications Act of 2005. However, it is important that the political parties are made aware of these regulations well in advance before they partake in the production of their advertisements. Thus the type of content that is produced should also be protected and/or contested by the constitution.

- There should be spending limits put in place. The production of the average political advertisement on television seemed to cost R 50 000 thus the limit for the production of the political advertisement(s) on television should be R 500 000. Thus since the average was R 50 000 then R 500 000 seems adequate for spending on the political advertisements on television.

- The political parties should also submit a report to the IEC that has detailed campaign expenditure incurred by them. And candidates should also be required to send a report to the Chief Executive Electoral Officer for South Africa detailing all the campaign expenditure for political advertising on television incurred by the political party and donations received by the political party during the regulated period.

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter has compiled a conclusion to the study of the rise of political advertising in South Africa and its implications for democracy. To determine this critical political economy, deliberative democracy theory and the persctives of the role of the media in a democracy were used. Thus content analysis was used inductively by employing open coding. It is acknowledged that political advertisements on television are informative as they concentrate more on the themes than the images and in many instances where images are used it was mainly to support the message. However, the political advertisements have some emotional appeals which communicate emotions of sadness and despair as children, women and the disabled are used and they are showed in helpless positions. In contrast, emotions of happiness and success are also communicated as a prosperous black family was shown having a good lifestyle. Character appeals are used at a minimum and it as only three political

parties which make use of their leaders, with only one political party using their leader throughout the advertisement. The issue of commodity in politics is very prominent in the political advertisements on television thus it can be concluded that political advertising on television commodify politics to a large extent in the production and distribution but to a minimum extent in the content. This is seen in the financial demands when it comes to the production as well as the distribution of the advertisements – buying extra airtime – although all parties were offered free airtime for the political advertisements. Its implications for democracy are twofold because they were both positive and negative. They are seen as positive because they introduced more choice for the electorate to access information about the political parties thus a new alternative is introduced. However, the negative aspect is that political advertisement on television do not enable participation and transparency as the key principles of democracy although, most of the political advertisements were accountable to the consumer because they articulated in their political advertisements on television based on the themes that were raised in their election manifesto.

Lastly, it was recommended that the regulations of political advertising on television be revisited and tightened up while taking issues of democracy and thus ensuring that all political parties are treated more fairly when it comes to issues of the allocation of time slots. Some political parties cannot be offered prime time slots while others are not given the same opportunity. The buying of extra airtime must be carefully monitored in an attempt to eliminate the commodity aspects in political advertising on television in South Africa. A mechanism to assist the political parties to be transparent when it comes to issues of funding their political advertisements on televising should be enforced. Thus a deliberative democracy is better than a liberal democracy for a developing country such as South Africa. In addition the underlying assumptions can be both accepted and rejected, they can be accepted because the implications of political advertising on television for democracy are positive and negative. However, they can be rejected because the political advertisements on television were informative and the images used are seen to support the themes presented. Thus in their content the majority of the political advertisements do not rely on the ‘market model’ hence the political advertisements commodify politics to a large exent in the production and distribution process but to a minimum extent in the content.

7.7 Limitations of the study and suggestions for further research

The results of the study can only be confined to the selected sample and cannot apply to all the political advertisements that appeared on television during the 2009 pre-elections in South Africa. Thus there is also a need to conduct a similar study in other African countries such as Zimbabwe which also makes use of political advertising on television. The same study could be applied to a larger data set in future when political advertising occurs again and thereafter a comparative study can be done which can determine the change or the difference in the implications that the political advertisements on television will then carry. Also a larger sample could be used in case of South Africa. In-depth interviews could have used as an alternative method although the questionnaires somewhat limited the findings because it was not all the political parties that were willing to participate in the questionnaire and those that agreed to participate were not very transparent in their answers, that in-depth interview could have helped to somewhat probe the respondents. However, the questionnaires were also advantageous because the respondents were given the freedom to answer the questions at their own comfort and in their own words. Suggestions for future research would be to engage the citizens themselves in the research. Thus, reception theory can be used in order to analyse the manner in which the audience receive the political advertisements on television in South Africa. As a methodology focus groups or surveys can also be used.

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Addendum A

Documents analysed

Notice 1419 of 2008 by Independent Communications Authority (Regulation on Party Election Broadcasts, Political Advertisements, the Equitable Treatment of Political Parties by Broadcasting Licenses and Related Matters**)**

Notice 338 of 2009 by Independent Communications Authority (Party Election Broadcasts (PEBs) and Political Advertisements (PAs) During Election Period**)**

Public funding of Represented Political Parties Act, 103, 1997

Public funding of Represented Political Parties Act, 103, 1998

Electronic Communications Act

African charter on democracy, elections and governance (2007)

Election Manifestos

Addendum B

Questionnaires

The questionnaire for the political parties

1) How many political advertisement(s) did the political party have and in what language(s) were these advertisement(s) broadcast?

2) How much did it cost the political party to produce the content of the political advertisement(s)?

3a) Did the political party buy extra airtime for the political advertisement(s) on television, if yes, how much did the extra airtime cost the political party?

3b) And, how many times did the political advertisement (s) appear on television and at what time slots did the political advertisement appear?

4) Where did the political party get the funds to fund the political advertisement(s) on television, please specify?

5) Did the political party produce its own political advertisement(s) or was a professional company hired to produce the advertisement, please specify?

6) Was the political party given any conditions about the elements it could not, or could contain in the content of the political advertisement(s) on television and what were these conditions for the broadcasting of political advertisements on television?

7) What elements were considered as crucial in the production of the advertisement(s); in other words what general message was the party trying to convey in the content of the political advertisement(s)?

Below are the findings from the questionnaire that was sent to the different political parties. They are presented exactly as the representative from the political party answered.

5.4.1 Questionnaire feedback from the ACDP



1) How many political advertisement(s) did the political party have and in what language(s) were these advertisement(s) broadcast?

ACDP: We had limited access to advertisements due to the high cost of the timeslots. We did have free slots on Television and we were able to broadcast on the local (community) radio;

We had only 6 broadcast on national TV; and

ENGLISH was the only language

2) How much did it cost the political party to produce the content of the political advertisement(s)?

ACDP: R 50 000.00

3a) Did the political party buy extra airtime for the political advertisement(s) on television, if yes, how much did the extra airtime cost the political party?

ACDP: NO

3b) And, how many times did the political advertisement (s) appear on television and at what time slots did the political advertisement appear?

ACDP: N/A

4) Where did the political party get the funds to fund the political advertisement(s) on television?

ACDP: Donations from individuals and limited companies, we used the money from the IEC for small promotions

5) Did the political party produce its own political advertisement(s) or was a professional company hired to produce the advertisement?

ACDP: A Professional company, the specifications given to them were based on our manifesto

6) Was the political party given any conditions about the elements it could not, or could contain in the content of the political advertisement(s) on television and what were these conditions for the broadcasting of political advertisements on television?
ACDP: No

7) What elements were considered as crucial in the production of the advertisement(s); in other words what general message was the party trying to convey in the content of the political advertisement(s)?

ACDP: Our message to the people was about Service delivery, Crime, Education, Housing and Safety & Security

Renen van Niekerk

National Election Manager @

National Executive Committee

AFRICAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY

ACDP

Cell: **082 440 6643**

Fax **086 618 3368**

Mobi: www.acdp.mobi

Email: **elections@nec.acdp.org**.za

5.4.2 Questionnaire feedback from the ID

QUESTIONNAIRE ON ADVERTISING FOR 2009 ELECTIONS

How many political advertisement(s) did the political party have and in what language(s) were these advertisement(s) broadcast?

We had adverts on all 18 SABC commercial radio stations (all 11 languages) as well as 52 community broadcasting radio stations (all 11 languages) and many private commercial stations, like Cape Talk, KFM, Jacaranda, Highveld, 702, etc. We advertised on about 10 of these private commercial stations.

We also had TV commercials on all SABC channels, while we advertised in about 15

newspapers, mainly in Zulu, Afrikaans and English.

How much did it cost the political party to produce the content of the political advertisement(s)?

It cost the ID around R100 000 for all of them.

Did the political party buy extra airtime for the political advertisement(s) on television, if yes, how much did the extra airtime cost the political party?

No, we only used our free Icasa allocation.

And, how many times did the political advertisement (s) appear on television and at what time slots did the political advertisement appear?

Please see attachment...

Where did the political party get the funds to fund the political advertisement(s) on television?

Since we never paid to broadcast the advert (it was free), we only had to pay for its production. We got the money from our election fund account, which contained money from private funders.

Did the political party produce its own political advertisement(s) or was a professional company hired to produce the advertisement?

We hired a professional company, but we worked very closely with it.

Was the political party given any conditions about the elements it could not, or could contain in the content of the political advertisement(s) on television and what were these conditions for the broadcasting of political advertisements on television?

Icasa regulations attached.

What elements were considered as crucial in the production of the advertisement(s); in other words what general message was the party trying to convey in the content of the political advertisement(s)?

All of them highlighted the ID's key priorities, which were social democratic and pro-poor, with special focus on the fact that the party's leader is an ordinary South African and not a fat cat politician.

ENDS

Furthermore below is the letter that was given to the Station or advertising managers of the public broadcaster notifying them that they were given time slots as suggested in the letter by the state broadcasting regulator (ICASA).



OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL

M28 Marks Building Parliament Cape Town tel. 021 403 8696 haniffh@id.org.za

03 April 2009

The Station/Advertising Manager

Dear Sir/Madam

Re: REGULATION OF PARTY ELECTION BROADCASATS-ALLOCATION OF FREE ADVERTISING SLOTS FOR POLITICAL PARTIES

I refer to the above regulation issued by ICASA. Attached for your information.

In terms of the above, ICASA have advised the Independent Democrats of advertising slots which have been allocated for the days listed below on your station. These slots are allocated at NO CHARGE to the ID.

Please find attached the recorded material for broadcast.

If you have any enquiries please do not hesitate to contact the writer on the number listed below.

Dates and times of broadcast:

1. 9 April 2009 6-7am

2. 12 April 2009 5-6pm

3. 14 April 2009 5-6pm

4. 16 April 2009 4-5pm

5. 19 April 2009 12-1pm

Regards

Haniff Hoosen, MP

Secretary General

084 2000 460

5.4.3 Questionnaire feedback from the ANC

QUESTIONNAIRE

How many political advertisement(s) did the political party have and in what language(s) were these advertisement(s) broadcast?

The ANC ran a total of 180 advertisements in electronic media (television and radio). They were mainly in IsiNguni (IsiZulu and IsiXhosa), SeSotho (SeTswana/SeSotho), English and Afrikaans. However, the Provinces advertised in regional stations in the specifically predominant languages other than the main 4 categories we used nationally.

How much did it cost the political party to produce the content of the political advertisement(s)?

It cost several millions – that is all we will say. We do not discussion details of the financial standing of the organisation. We know this is for academic purpose but we will not have control of what will happen of this answer beyond the academic function.

Did the political party buy extra airtime for the political advertisement(s) on television, if yes, how much did the extra airtime cost the political party?

Yes it did and it cost the ANC another several millions. We will not give you the detail account for the same reasons advanced above.

And, how many times did the political advertisement (s) appear on television and at what time slots did the political advertisement appear?

There were two set of advertisements ran on television and radio. There were adverts that we paid for and there were others that the public broadcaster gave to all political parties contesting elections as per the ICASA Regulations. A total of 48 adverts appeared on television and slots depended on the ICASA arrangement and with regard to the ones we paid for we targeted pick time where our message could have maximum impact.

Where did the political party get the funds to fund the political advertisement(s) on television, please specify?

The ANC conducted many fundraising initiatives from its supporters, membership and business for the elections war chest. It allocated a certain portion of that money for communications function which was then used to pay for production and flighting of the television and other adverts.

Did the political party produce its own political advertisement(s) or was a proffessional company hired to produce the advertisement, please specify?

We acquired the services of a reputable advertising agency

Was the political party given any conditions about the elements it could not, or could contain in the content of the political advertisement(s) on television and what were these conditions for the broadcasting of political advertisements on television?

ICASA and IEC have regulations on how political parties should conduct themselves during elections. The ANC is also bound by those regulations.

What elements were considered as crucial in the production of the advertisement(s); in other words what general message was the party trying to convey in the content of the political advertisement(s)?

The ANC considered it crucial to highlight its achievements in government, acknowledge challenges and, to present a vision and commitment to the future whilst challenging voters to be part of the change they want through working together with the ANC for a better life for all.

5.4.4. Questionnaire feedback from COPE

Questionnaire

1) How many political advertisement(s) did the political party have and in what language(s) were these advertisement(s) broadcast?

TV-1 in multiple languages and subtitles

Radio- not sure but about 5

2) How much did it cost the political party to produce the content of the political advertisement(s)?

2 MILLION RANDS TO PRODUCE THE WHOLE CAMPAIGN

3a) Did the political party buy extra airtime for the political advertisement(s) on television, if yes, how much did the extra airtime cost the political party?

YES - 1,5 MILLION RANDS

3b) And, how many times did the political advertisement (s) appear on television and at what time slots did the political advertisement appear?

35 TIMES

4) Where did the political party get the funds to fund the political advertisement(s) on television, please specify?

Donations from members.

5) Did the political party produce its own political advertisement(s) or was a proffessional company hired to produce the advertisement, please specify?

Professional Agency was hired to produce

6) Was the political party given any conditions about the elements it could not, or could contain in the content of the political advertisement(s) on television and what were these conditions for the broadcasting of political advertisements on television?

The standard rules of the IEC.

7) What elements were considered as crucial in the production of the advertisement(s); in other words what general message was the party trying to convey in the content of the political advertisement(s)?

The New Agenda for Change and for Hope.

The questionnaire for the IEC

1) How much was allocated to the political parties for the campaigning during the pre-election period of 2009?

2) How many political parties received a dividend of the fund allocated for the political campaigning?

3) How much did each political party receive from the fund allocated for political campaigning?

4) How was the fund for the political campaign regulated to ensure that each political party received its fair share?

5) What problems occurred from the funding of the political parties for the political campaigning of the 2009 pre-election period?

The questionnaire for ICASA

1) On what circumstances did ICASA see the need to introduce political advertising on television and what lead and contributed to this decision?

The email sent to Sekgoela Sekgoela of ICASA

Hope this assist you.

>>> "Sindane, Sibongile" <Sindasa@unisa.ac.za> 06/07/2009 16:10 >>>
This message (and attachments) is subject to restrictions and a disclaimer. Please refer to http://www.unisa.ac.za/disclaimer for full details.

Dear Sir

As per telephone conversation, please would you send me information on the regulation, sponsoring and funding of party political advertisements during the April 2009 Election?
Particularly I would like to found out why/how the decision on permitting political advertising on South African television came about?

Email from the IEC

Dear Sibongile

In terms of the Public Funding of Represented Political Parties Act, Parliament allocates funds to those parties represented in the National Assembly and nine provincial legislatures. Parties are not funded for elections. Funds are allocated for a financial year.

The IEC only administers the Fund and allocates the funds according to a prescribed formula. Payments are done quarterly, i.e. April, July, October and January of each year.

I've attached the legislation, the allocations in the Government Gazette for 2010 as well as the allocations per party for 2009 and 2010.

The 2006/2007 annual report for the Fund is available on the IEC website, http://www.elections.org.za/library1.asp?KSId=15&iKid=3

Regards

Lydia Young

Email addresses

The email addresses used to contact the different delegates (media officers or managers of the respective political parties, the IEC and ICASA) were as follows:

ANC: emastepe@anc.org.za

COPE: loyisot@congressofthepeople.org.za / copey@congressofthepeople.co.za

DA: rossv@da.org.za / beverlys@da.org.za

ID: media@id.org.za

ACDP: elections@nec.acpd.org.za

FF+: info@vf.co.za / dalien@vf.co.za

IEC: youngl@elections.org.za / bapelak@elections.org.za / dewerte@elections.org.za

IEC Chief Officer: bamb@elections.org.za

ICASA: ssekgoela@icasa.org.za