



**A COMPARISON OF PUBLIC RELATIONS PRINCIPLES APPLIED BY POLITICAL
PARTIES IN CAMPAIGN COMMUNICATION DURING A DEMOCRATIC ELECTION**

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**Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
Magister of Technologiae: Public Relations Management**

**in the Faculty of Informatics and Design
at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology**

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**Cape Town
March 2017**

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DECLARATION

I, **Renestine Itoumba Pambou** declare that the contents of this thesis represent my own unaided work, and that the thesis has not previously been submitted for academic examination towards any qualification. Furthermore, it represents my own opinions and not necessarily those of the Cape Peninsula University of Technology.

Renestine Itoumba Pambou

Signed :

November, 2019

Date:

ABSTRACT

In popular opinion political public relations practitioners have long been regarded as spin doctors. Their lane of actions is mostly viewed as propaganda and they are perceived as spin doctors who manipulate power-relations. The pervasive role of public relations in political campaigns cannot be denied as political actors rely on communication to reach their key stakeholders. While it can be used as an important tool that can mediate in these power relations, the facts remain in the case of this study that the political party campaign communication was rather reactive than strategic. The answer lays in the accurate application of the strategic nature and role of public relations. I believe that there is a strategic public relations role that is evident and has to be played in political party campaign communication. As a matter of fact, public relations strives to ensure an effective and efficient communication on behalf of its organisation. The purpose of this study was to explore the application of public relations principles in political parties' campaign communication of the Democratic Alliance, in the context of three other political parties in a regional newspaper during the build-up to the 2014 South African general elections. Four distinct political parties were at the centre of this research, namely African National Congress, Democratic Alliance, Economic Freedom Fighters and Agang. Particular attention was given to the elite parties, African National Congress, and Democratic Alliance; the main environment of the study. It is true that political parties 'communication with stakeholders reflects in essence public relations. Managing communication to promote the organisational agenda is to talk about issues important to both the public and the political party. This suggests that an effective political organisation will act on a two-way operation to build a common political position that influences public attitudes. Hence, a comparative case study was used as the strategy of inquiry. I conducted a content analysis of the political party campaign communication of the Democratic Alliance, covered in the Cape Times newspaper; as well as their election manifesto, to identify the public relations principles and strategies that were used. The daily newspapers were surveyed from January 8 to May 7, 2014. An overall of one hundred and forty-four related newspapers articles were analysed and formed the data for analysis. A close reading and counting of frequencies of varieties of themes in the newspaper revealed that the Democratic Alliance, as well as the African National congress, took a tactical and responsive approach, rather than a strategic and proactive approach, to their political party campaign communication. News coverage indicated that there was extensive counterpunching to other political parties 'statuses, but very little promotion or management of the issues included in their election manifesto. Nkandla was the most controversial issue covered in the pre-election media coverage; while the proposed merger with AGANG; and the subsequent fall out was damaging to both political parties 'reputation and relationship with voters. Therefore, more research on this topic needs to be undertaken, as public relations is crucial in translating public opinions to the

organisation. In the political scope, this can serve as an attempt to adjust the socio-political environment to suit the political principles, as well as to help the political principles adjust to the environment by creating the right balance to mutual benefit an organisation and its publics that further ensures a real participatory democracy. Further studies should be done to investigate whether, the advocacy of the two-way symmetrical, as a way to central route to persuasion, along with the dialogical approach can impact on more effective decisions making, and ultimately create a more dynamic public sphere that seeks the resolution of socio-political conflicts. This new knowledge will lead to guidelines for public relations practitioners and can provide useful insights for political communication specialists.

Key words: Public relations, political public relations, political communication, strategic communication, issue management, stakeholder theory and management, mass media

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank all those who supported me on this journey as this thesis would not have been submitted without you. I wish to thank:

God Almighty, whose grace of life enabled me to pursue my studies.

My mothers and other members of my family for their prayers support and words of encouragements and Jean Claude Mouely, may you rest in peace, you will always be a Father to me.

Jimmy Archange Mulinganya for his untiring support, for always speaking the rights words and encouraging me to do my best.

My supervisor Marian Pike for dedicating her time to this learning journey. I am grateful for her remarkable commitment and encouragement throughout the whole process.

My best gift and treasure Feza Christina Mulinganya, for adding an unusual joy to my life. She made me realise the strong woman I have always been. I am grateful to God for such a precious and priceless gift of life. Her smiles are continuous inspiration.

My fellow Master students for their companionship and knowledge sharing.

Cape Town friends and family.

The Gabonese government for sponsoring my studies.

The financial assistance of the University Research Fund towards my research.

DEDICATION

English:

*I dedicate this thesis to my dear father, **Pambou Rene Joachim**. Dad you are the first person to have seen the great lady that I am and the great lady I was born to be. You taught me to be responsible not only towards myself, but towards my younger brothers and sisters, and towards the society at large. I thank you for your love, even in a time you could have doubted me, you continued to trust me, according me your respect. You showed me how valuable I am. I can never thank you enough for your financial and moral support. May you find in this, the recognition of your hard work and sacrifices, and the sincerity of my gratefulness to God to have made you my father. May God Almighty bless you with long and prosperous life.*

French:

*Je dédie cette thèse à mon très cher père, **Pambou Rene Joachim**. Papa tu es la première personne à avoir cru en moi. Tu as su sans la moindre ambiguïté percer le mystère de nombreuses potentialités qui prévalent au plus profond de mon être, cachant la grande dame en devenir que je suis appelée à être. Tu m'as appris à faire preuve de responsabilité vis-à-vis de moi-même, mais aussi vis-à-vis de mes jeunes frères et sœurs, et aussi vis-à-vis de la société dans une plus large mesure. Du fond de mon cœur, merci pour l'amour témoigné durant des périodes où tu aurais pu douter de mes capacités. Tu n'as jamais cessé de m'encourager, tout en m'accordant ton respect. Tu m'as fait prendre conscience de ma valeur. Je te suis infiniment reconnaissante pour ton soutien moral et financier. Puisses tu trouver au travers de ceci, la reconnaissance de ton travail acharné et de tous les sacrifices endurés, et ma sincère gratitude à Dieu de m'avoir fait don du père que tu es. Que Dieu tout puissant te bénisse d'une vie longue et prospère.*

RESEARCH OUTPUTS

The following research outputs were made during my master's programme.

Publications

Itoumba Pambou, R., & Pike, M.E. (2014). A public relations framework for political communication in a participative democracy. (Submitted for publication to *Communicare*)

Presentations

Itoumba Pambou, R., & Pike, M.E. (2014). *A public relations framework for political communication in a participative democracy*. Paper presented at the 40th Annual South African Corporate Communication Organisation (SACCOM) Conference, Potchefstroom, South Africa. 30 September-3 October 2014.

GLOSSARY

Table i-1-1: Glossary of terms and historical background.

Acronym	Definition or explanation
AGANG	<p>Agang is a Sotho-Tswana word meaning “let us build”.</p> <p>Agang was started by anti-apartheid activist Mamphela Ramphele in 2013. During the election campaign (January 8, 2014), the DA announced that Ramphele accepted its invitation to stand as DA presidential candidate and that the two parties would merge. Confusion followed regarding the merger. Subsequently, Ramphele withdrew as DA presidential candidate and the parties did not merge.</p> <p>On May 7, 2014, Agang won 0.28% of the vote. Ramphele withdrew from politics on July 8, 2014.</p>
ANC	<p>ANC stands for African National Congress:</p> <p>The party was founded in 1912 as the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) and became the ANC in 1924. The ANC was voted into power in the first democratic elections on April 27, 1994.</p> <p>In 2014 general elections, the ANC achieved 62.1% of the vote.</p>
ANC (N) DA	ANC articles shared with DA with neutral tone
ANC+ (N) DA	ANC articles with positive one shared with DA
BUP	Bottom- Up (direction of communication)
DA	<p>DA stands for Democratic Alliance and is the official opposition party.</p> <p>In 2014, the DA increased its vote from 16.7% to 22.2% of the vote. With a history of complex spits and mergers, the DA started as the Progressive Party in 1959, when it broke away from the United Party.</p>
DOI	Dissemination of information
EFF	<p>EFF stands for Economic Freedom Fighters.</p> <p>The party is headed by expelled former ANC Youth League president Julius Malema. EFF is the third largest party and received 6.35% of the vote in 2014.</p>
Framing	Framing is seen as a mobilisation strategy, whereby “organisations attempt to bring their frames on an issue into public debate, in the hope of winning public support and action” (Froehlich & Rudiger, 2006).
General election	A general election is a national election in which all or most members of a given political body are chosen by the voters. The South African general election determines the number of seats per political party in the

	400-seat South African parliament (Table i-1).
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
Ind	Inducement
Mani	Manipulation
National assembly	The difference in South Africa's national assembly seats (2009 and 2014) are listed in Table i-1
Official opposition party.	The official opposition party is the largest party in the parliamentary National Assembly who does not form part of the ruling party (government). The Democratic Alliance (DA) is the official opposition party in South Africa.
Organisation	The term 'organisation' will be used in its broadest sense to include companies, corporates, non-profits, charities, and non-government organisations as well as churches, political parties or movements and government organisations.
PER	Persuasion
PF	Political force
Political public relations	Political public relations does more than draw attention to and from political issues; it makes use of media outlets to communicate specific political views, solutions and interpretations of issues in the hope of garnering public support for political policies or campaigns (Froehlich & Rudiger, 2006).
Political party election campaign communication	Political party election campaign is used in the study to refer to political electoral campaigns whereby representatives of political parties seek to influence the decision-making process and access power.
RAT	Rational
SIDEW	Sideways (direction of communication)
TCP	Tone control & power analysis
TOPD	Top-down (direction of communication)

Table i–2: South African National Assembly seats per political party (2009 and 2014)

***Focus of research.**

Party	Abbreviation	National Assembly seats	
		2014	2009
African Christian Democratic Party	ACDP	3	3
African Independent Congress	AIC	3	-
African National Congress	ANC	249	264
African People's Convention	APC	1	1
Agang South Africa	Agang	2	-
Azanian People's Organisation	AZAPO	-	1
Congress of the People	COPE	3	30
*Democratic Alliance	DA	89	67
Economic Freedom Fighters	EFF	25	-
Freedom Front Plus	FF+	4	4
Independent Democrats	ID	-	4
Inkatha Freedom Party	IFP	10	18
Minority Front	MF	-	1
National Freedom Party	NFP	6	-
Pan Africanist Congress	PAC	1	1
United Christian Democratic Party	UCDP	-	2
United Democratic Movement	UDM	4	4
TOTAL		400	400

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1 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The research explores the application of public relations principles within political parties campaign communication during a democratic election to answer the research question *“How does the application of public relations principles compare between political parties during their campaign communication in a democratic election?”* Particular attention is given to the two main elite political parties of South Africa namely, the Democratic Alliance as the main environment of the study and the African National Congress. Considering this, the literature review will focus on public relations as the central discipline of this research and will cover public relations communication models, political communication, strategic communication, stakeholder management and the media.

1.2 Research context

The research context is mainly the election campaign communication of the Democratic Alliance (DA), followed by the African National Congress and other political parties in the build-up to the South African 2014 general elections.

1.2.1 South African general elections (2014)

The fifth post-apartheid general elections in South Africa were held on May 7, 2014 under conditions of universal adult suffrage, which for the first time, according to Kings (2014), included South African citizens living abroad (expatriates) who were able to register to vote in the elections there, that is without having to return to South Africa to register. On March 17, 2014, the Electoral Commission of South Africa (IEC) announced that 33 parties had registered to compete in the 2014 general elections to determine the number of seats in the 400-seat South African parliament (Table i-2). It is common knowledge that since 1994, the African National Congress (ANC) has been the ruling political party in South Africa, and the Democratic Alliance (DA) is the ‘official opposition’ political party. South Africa is a constitutional democracy. It is within this context that this research will explore the application of public

relations principles within the political party election campaign communication of the various political parties.

1.3 Research background

According to Heath and Waymer (2011:138) "*politics is not only the playing field, but the umpire, referee, and coach*". Politics is as a multifaceted phenomenon which needs communication to survive and to gain support for its decision-making process; as it is simultaneously a quest for power and for influence (Romarheim, 2005). As mentioned by Louw (2010), politics is about communication as politicians engage with others to organise and regulate the social-power relationships governing the allocation of scarce resources; and to change the attitudes and behaviours of voters within the political arena. However, Jackson (2010) notes that political communication is consistent with persuasion as "*political actors seek to inform and then change the attitudes and behaviour of citizens/voters*" through "*an obfuscating trellis of presentation*" (Moloney & Colmer, 2001:965). Besides, I admit that the past hundred years are not lacking in important events in communication evolvments. Furthermore, among the great variety of developments that have occurred in the twentieth century, there is ultimately one we can choose as the preeminent development of the period: the rise of democracy.

1.3.1 Democracy

The literal meaning of democracy is '*rule by the people*' or at very least '*rule by consent of the people*' and it is that consent that confers legitimacy to a democracy (Diamond, 1990:49) as does the engagement of its citizens (Dahlgren, 2009). Therefore, to participate successfully in elections, political parties must represent a broad sector of society. Furthermore, a "*democracy is about politics, and politics is shaped by socio-cultural parameters*" (Dahlgren, 2009:26).

Democracy is not common throughout Africa. South Africa has a constitutional democracy and a multi-party political system. According to Lilleker (2006) a democratic country is defined by free, fair and regular elections, which does not prevent citizens, eligible for the electorate, from participating on reasonable grounds, irrespective of whether they are voters or candidates. In addition, South Africa can be regarded as a democracy according to the widely accepted election criteria of Dahl (1971) namely; fair, competitive and inclusive. Furthermore, a democracy allows citizens to freely access information about political issues, express their views, and formulate their expectations and proposals without fear of repression, through their

liberty of vote in elections, their engagement in civil society organisations or political parties; or by standing up as a candidate in democratic elections (Hofmeister & Grabow, 2011).

In a democracy, communication is important between political actors and the public as voters need information to form their own opinions about “*political programs, policy issues and political alternative*” presented by the political actors (Gibson & Rommele, 2007:4). Conversely political actors need to “*know the wishes and demands of those whom they are supposed to govern (interest mediation)*” as citizens in modern democracies are represented by political actors, be it a party or individuals (Ulas, 2017; Sartori,1976).

The political landscape in South Africa is dominated by the ruling party, the African National Congress (ANC); the official opposition party the Democratic Alliance (DA) and a plethora of over 200 smaller parties all competing in the general elections for seats in the South African national assembly, Parliament, as shown in Table i–2 (South African National Assembly seats per political party (2009 and 2014)).

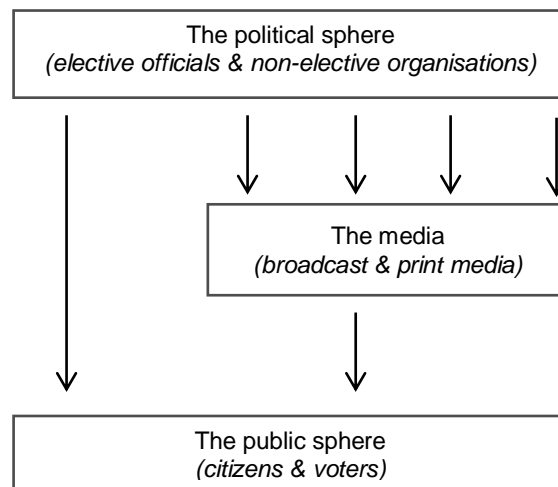


Figure 1-1: The traditional process of communication in a democracy
(adapted, Lilleker, 2006:6)

1.3.2 Public sphere

Democratic elections are based on civic choices which are presented to the voters in the public sphere, through media channels, for debates and discussions that eventually form public opinion. Around the world, the process of democratisation of political systems has changed the

nature of political communication, as shown in (Figure 1-1). Political activities have moved beyond the political elite, via the media in many instances, to the public sphere (Lilleker, 2006). Habermas (1964:50) considered the public sphere to be a mediation space between society and the state *“in which the public organises itself as the bearer of public opinion”* through debate, discussions and deliberations. An approach that has long been considered essential for the political conversations that are needed for a democracy (Eriksen, 2005). Fraser (1990:57) describes the public sphere as *“a theatre in modern society in which political participation is enacted through the medium of talk.”*

These political conversations in the public sphere underpin democracy, not voting, (Koch, 1995; Foth *et al.*, 2016) and are used by politicians to legitimise their opinions in the public sphere (Sorensen, 2016). Public sphere is important to democracy, because an *“informed, knowledgeable electorate”* ensures that *“politics must be pursued in the public arena (as distinct from the secrecy characteristic of autocratic regimes)”* as the knowledge that citizens need to make their vote should be easily available and accessible in the public sphere (McNair, 2011:17). However, Naisbitt (cited in Lubbe & Puth, 2000:77) believes that uncontrolled and unorganised information is no longer a resource in an information society, as it has become the enemy of the information society and of the informant worker; leading to a shift in the whole information society process, from supply to selection. Furthermore, Crozier (2007) notes that information available in the public sphere is more beneficial to outside actors such as lobbyist and pressure groups than to political parties. Thus, the public sphere is involved in discussions of all issues of general concerns through which, discursive arguments, areas of general interest and public interest are established. Furthermore, according to Kellner (2013), it is presumed that the public sphere includes freedom of speech and assembly, the right to engage in political debate and decision-making; and preserves democracy as it balances stability with change (Castells, 2008).

Habermas (1962) argues that the role of the public sphere is best described as a *‘network for communicating information’* and *‘points of view’* and is situated between private households and the state as it is a space *“where free and equal citizens come together to share information, to debate, to discuss or deliberate on common concerns”* (Odugbemi, 2008:17). The public sphere produces public opinion through the exchange of ideas and represents an important contributor to democracy. Without a functioning and democratic public sphere, government officials cannot be held accountable for their actions, and citizens will not be able to assert any influence over political decisions. Furthermore, Pusey (2002) posits that the public sphere

includes elements of citizen's social interactions, which, through unrestricted conversations, assist in shaping public opinion. Public opinion, according to Lubbe and Puth (2000), does not refer to a single monumental grouping of thought; but a smaller and simpler group of individuals who share a common interest and thus each issue, problem or interest would create its own public.

Odugbemi (2008) believes that a functioning public sphere rests on five pillars; namely, a) "Constitutionally guaranteed civil rights", *including freedom of expression and assembly, which are included in the South Africa constitution (1996)*; b) "Free, plural, and independent media system not under state control" *as the media system is the key institution in public sphere as it can enable equal access to information and voices to citizens*; c) "Access to public information", *which should include freedom of information legislation and a culture of transparency and openness*; d) "*Vibrant civil society*", which is a civil society that supports citizens' demand for accountability and participation in the public sphere; as well as civil society organizations shape and promote the public agenda; and e) *Locations for "everyday talk about public affairs" which will assist in the formation of public opinion*. Hence, making the media an important factor in the move of information in the public sphere.

1.3.3 Media

It is well documented that the media within a democracy provides wide access to information, which in turn stimulates a healthy public sphere and encourages a robust public participation within a constitutional setting of freedom of speech (Jackson, 2010; Hiebert, 2005). In many autocratic African countries, the press and news media are often owned and controlled by the ruling party who is then able to direct the public conversation (Barratt & Berger, 2007) and control access to information. The media is diverse within a democracy in terms of ownership and content; with a strong sense of ethics and accountability (Barratt & Berger, 2007). In South Africa's media ownership, other than the public broadcaster, the SABC is predominantly held by private local and foreign companies (Barratt & Berger, 2007). The media plays an important role in political communication, which is conducted through every channel and media available, and is often viewed as a 'multifarious', 'multifaceted', 'multifunctional' and "*continual bombardment of information, views, opinions and debates*" (Lilleker, 2006:10).

Political communication in America is an activity that is predominantly aimed at a mass audience through the mass media of television, although in recent years as independent

television grows, most political communication is mediated by political commentators and the public receives messages that are unaltered of without editorial comment (Lilleker, 2006). Although popular in the mid-20th century, radio is seldom used to disseminate political messages today, though it retains its wide reach. It should be noted that today the internet, and its social media platforms, have increased participation from the political communication audience who is now able to communicate with political parties, non-elected organisations and with each other (Lilleker, 2006). Understanding electoral incentives is therefore crucial to the understanding of how institutional rules of the game interact with stakeholders.

1.3.4 The electoral process in a democracy

Lilleker (2006) supports that a democratic nation is characterised by the organisation of free, fair and regular elections that enable eligible citizens to pursue the electorate, regardless of their statuses of voters or candidates. In addition, a healthy democracy encourages citizens to actively participate to the electoral process, through the adequate and equal opportunity to freely decide for whom they would like to vote (Dahl, 1989). Crotty (1991:20-21) conclude that voting is the “*most rudimentary and indirect means for influencing political outcomes*” although it is entry level involvement, however it links citizen’ attitudes and governmental policy as well as legitimizing the system (Niemi & Weisberg, 2001; Stolle & Hooghe, 2011. Verba *et al.*, 2000). Furthermore, consensus or a common frame of reference on issues is key factor in mobilising citizens to vote (Martikainen *et al.*,2005; Parry & Moyser, 2000).

1.4 Academic perspective

Public relations is defined as an organisational communication with the following strategic objectives a) managing communication to promote the organisational agenda, b) to build relationships with its publics (Ledingham, 2003; Ledingham and Bruning, 2001) and c) to establish a reputation with one’s publics (Van Riel & Fombrun, 2007; Stromback & Kiousis, 2013; Jackson 2010; Van Ruler, 2004; Grunig & Hunt, 1984); and d) to initiate dialogue, collaboration, co-operation and co-creation (Theunissen & Wan Noordin, 2012; Kent & Taylor, 2002).

Public relations research, both theory and practice, is typically applied in an organisational and corporate environment. However, political public relations or public relations within the political context or for a political organisation is seen as an exception to this application and is

categorised as '*political communication*' (Stromback & Kiouisis, 2011). Furthermore, political public relations is public relations on behalf of a political organisation with the same strategic roles and objectives of all public relations exercises. For example: Managing communication to promote the organisational agenda is to talk about issues which are important to the public and to the party, to build a joint political position aimed at influencing public attitudes; building relationships and convincing voters to align themselves with the party through the political ideologies and to take action i.e. vote for you; and to establish a reputation i.e. a political identity for the party, and for the politicians in the party, which voters can identify (Stromback & Kiouisis, 2013; Perlof, 2013; Jackson 2010; Becker & Vlad, 2009; Kiouisis *et al.*, 2006; Van Ruler, 2004; Grunig & Hunt, 1984).

While retaining its differences, political communication is related to many other academic disciplines including, persuasion, organisational communication, advertising, marketing, group communication, political communication and political science (Powell & Cowart, 2017). In addition, according to Lilleker (2006:16), political communication borrows techniques from advertising, marketing and public relations. Furthermore, politics, either as an activity or academic discipline, is difficult to define (Leftwich, 2015).

Although the term political public relations is seldom used, political public relations is emerging as a research field (Jackson, 2010; Stromback & Kiouisis, 2011). The differences between political public relations and public relations is more a measure of intensity and inclusion, than philosophical differences. However, this area is under-researched, and it is unclear the extent to which public relations principles are '*valid also in political contexts*' (Stromback & Kiouisis, 2013:3).

1.5 Research problem

All political party election campaign communication should be aligned to the political party objectives, which, in an election period, is to attract voters, i.e. the messages should enhance the effectiveness of political party's voice in the public sphere. However, political party election campaign communication often appears disorganised, apparently random and confusing to the public. Consequently, political party election campaign communication does not assist the political party to achieve its election manifesto objectives; improve its reputation and build relationships with the voters who require access to critical information to inform their decision making, formulate their expectations and decide their vote.

1.6 Research question

The research question is:

“How does the application of public relations principles compare between political parties during their campaign communication in a democratic election?”

1.6.1 Research sub-questions

The research sub-questions are namely:

What are the political messages of the political parties in their election campaign communication?

How are the political messages of the political parties framed in their election campaign communication?

How does political party election campaign communication of the political parties use public relations models of communication?

1.7 Research objectives

The main objective of the study is to explore the application of public relations principles in political parties 'campaign communication during the South African 2014 general election; as well as:

To identify and explain how the political party election campaign communication messages are framed.

To explain public relations models of communication that influenced political party election campaign communication strategies.

To identify the political strategy patterns that informed the political parties' election campaign communication.

1.8 Rationale

In public relations and politics, spin is a form of propaganda, achieved through knowingly providing manipulative interpretations of specific events or campaigning to persuade public opinion in favour or against some organisations or public figures. Hence this research will open lenses in the field of political public relations to either consider spin as new communication role in public relations, or readjust via the strategic public relations principles such as the two-way symmetrical approach or dialogical approach to mutual benefit parties involved in a particular campaign. Meanwhile, it will raise questions about its relationship to the traditional public relations model. It will also allow practitioners in the field to discuss the implications of this new role for mass communication theory and for the practice of journalism.

Furthermore, this research will contribute to the academic literature relating to political public relations and political communication as it explores the value that public relations, as a profession, could contribute to political party campaign communication. To date there has been insufficient research covering public relations within a political context and even less theory development or empirical research on political public relations. This research will allow public relations practitioners to consult meaningfully to political party campaigns and thereby develop political public relations theory.

In addition, this research will make a small contribution to integrating strategic public relations, political public relations, political communication and political science theory, and thereby develop an understanding of the relationship and tensions between these different disciplines.

Political party election campaign communication often appears disorganised, apparently random and confusing to the public. It would be useful to determine whether this is in fact the situation.

Moreover, developing theory and research in political public relations can help establish a mutually fruitful relationship between practice and theory, where practice can inform theory and theory can inform practice.

Finally, the study will contribute to my level of professional development as a political public relations consultant. As a matter of fact, I am interested in optimising communication as a tool to translate political goals and ideas into accessible and persuasive messages in the public sphere; and to direct public opinion into the socio-political environment to ensure a real participatory democracy.

1.9 Research design and methodology

This research is qualitative as it aims to develop new insights and understanding of political public relations theory and will use the political messages as its unit of analysis to answer the research question, *"How does the application of public relations principles compare between political parties during their campaign communication in a democratic election?"*

1.9.1 Research design

A research design is considered an overall strategy that the researcher employs in the different steps of a study to effectively address the research problem (Labaree, 2009) and answer the research question. This research is qualitative. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2013), a qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer to the world and allows the world to be visible and thus transformed; and it is subjective as the interpretation of the data is dependent on the researcher's perspective of the Democratic Alliance party's election campaign communication, including its election manifesto; and the media coverage of various political parties in the build-up to the South African 2014 general election.

1.9.2 Population and sampling

The population of this study is all the pre-election political stories printed in the Cape Times newspaper during the 154 news days prior to the South African general election on May 7, 2014. A total population sampling frame is used to gather in-depth insights into an area of study and minimises the risk of missing potential insights from the population who are not included in the sample (Babbie & Mouton, 2010). Total population sampling is classified as a purposive, non-probability sampling frame and thus it is not possible to make statistical generalisations about the study (Wellman *et al.*, 2005).

1.9.3 Research methodology

Schurink and Auriacombe (2010) contend that a qualitative research involves the use and collection of a variety of empirical tools, including personal experiences, interviews, and case studies. The case study is a qualitative research method which involves an in-depth and close examination of the subject of study (Babbie & Mouton, 2010). The unit of analysis in this

research is represented by the political messages sent by the Democratic Alliance as covered in the Western Cape regional newspaper the Cape Times from January 8 to May 7, 2014 and its election manifesto, as well as the African National Congress messages.

1.9.4 Data collection and analysis.

The political party election campaign communication of different parties as covered in the Western Cape regional newspaper the Cape Times from January 8, 2014 to May 7, 2014 and the election manifesto of the Democratic Alliance will provide the data for this study. A qualitative content and thematic analysis will be used to interpret the data. A content analysis is a common strategy used to analyse text (Powers & Knapp, 2010) as it helps to explore large amounts of textual information to determine patterns or trends; frequency; and structure (Gbrich, 2007). Similarly, a thematic analysis is described as a qualitative method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). As this is an exploratory qualitative research, the content analysis will be used to describe the common issues, while the thematic analysis of the same data will be used to provide a rich and thick account of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

1.10 Limitations of the research

This research is limited to a single medium, Cape Times newspaper, which is a regional newspaper distributed in the Western Cape Province, South Africa. The research is limited to the 2014 political news coverage leading up to the general democratic elections on May 7, 2014 i.e. from January 8, 2014 to May 7, 2014 in this newspaper. The research does not include post-election news coverage.

This research does not include digital media in its analysis, although it is acknowledged that digital technology plays an important role in election campaigns, particularly in the United States of America where it is integral to fund-raising, voter turnout and grassroots organisations. Digital media will continue to play a role in future elections worldwide, as digital media provides an opportunity for citizens and voters, known as the audience, to participate in the political communication process. However, the reason not to extend this research into digital media is

a) The difficulty in following a wide variety of social media, outlets on numerous topics with diverse hashtags; b) Social media operates on a 24/7/365 basis; c) Social media uses a variety of languages (South Africa has 12 official languages); d) The lack of geo-geographic boundaries in social media; e) The cost and difficulty of obtaining the data from the social media organisations, and f) storage of this volume of data.

1.11 Ethical considerations

This research is based on the content and thematic analysis of the political party election campaign communication of the Democratic Alliance as covered in the Western Cape regional newspaper the Cape Times from January 8 to May 7, 2014 and its election manifesto; as well as the African National Congress sent messages in newspaper and other different political parties. The research has not used vulnerable populations; has no risk to participants and thus requires no consent. The news coverage of the regional newspaper is by its nature, already in the public sphere and therefore it was unnecessary to consider confidentiality or obtain ethical clearance.

1.12 Outline of thesis

This is a brief overview of the structure of this thesis.

Table 1-1 Thesis structure

Chapter	Outline of chapter
Chapter 1: Introduction	<p>This chapter introduces the research background, research and academic context of political public relations pertinent to the research question: <i>“How does the application of public relations principles compare between political parties during their campaign communication in a democratic election?”</i></p> <p>The research is a qualitative case study on the Cape Times newspaper coverage of the Democratic Alliance and its election manifesto; as well as other different political parties in South Africa in the build-up to the 2014 general election. A qualitative content and thematic analysis is used to describe and interpret the complex phenomena.</p>

Chapter 2: Literature Review	This section includes a discussion on the theoretical concepts of public relations, political public relations, political communication, which includes mass media and public sphere, strategic communication, stakeholder theory and management, and issues management.
Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology	In this section an overview is provided of the research design, methodology and data collection used in the field. The focus is on planning the research by gathering and analysing the collected data to answer the research question <i>“How does the application of public relations principles compare between political parties during their campaign communication in a democratic election?”</i>
Chapter 4: Findings	This chapter discusses the findings obtained from a comparative case study analysis between the Democratic Alliance in the context of three other political parties media coverage by a single medium; namely, African National Congress; Agang and Economic Freedom Fighters who participated in the 2014 general election in South Africa. The single medium is the Cape Times newspaper.
Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendations	This chapter summarises the research by presenting the key findings to the research questions, and includes the overall conclusions of the study and provides recommendations and rooms for subsequent researches.

1.13 Conclusion

CHAPTER ONE provided the background information as well as the preliminary literature related to the study on the public relations principles applied by political parties in campaign communication during a democratic election. The research design and data collection methods were outlined.

CHAPTER TWO will present an overview of the academic literature on public relations as the overarching discipline, political public relations, political communication, which includes mass media and public sphere, strategic communication, stakeholder theory and management, issues management and political party election campaign communication.

2 CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This is a review of literature pertinent to the research question: *“How does the application of public relations principles compare between political parties during their campaign communication in a democratic election?”* According to Lancaster and Luck (2010) public relations remains an essential process of communication that is needed most when normal communications are strained and some people are left uninformed. In a very real sense, especially in areas such as political campaigning, communication is considered a 20th century skill. Furthermore, it has been a common belief that public relations expertise has always been subjected to stereotypes of spin. In fact, critics have raised concerns on the propaganda communication functions of public relations, as outlined in the press agency/publicity model. As cited in Fawkes (2007:313): *“Miller, Stauber and Rampton, Chomsky, Ewen, among others ... argue that public relations, past and present, undermines democracy and stifles or distorts debates.”* In addition, what ‘The Father of Spin’ Edward Bernays called the ‘*engineering context*’ of propaganda, which is known as framing today, was defined as *“a key social doctrine used to determine audience understanding and desire”* (Corthell 2008:5). Yet, it is through the media that political public relations is able to communicate specific political views, solutions and interpretations in the hope of gaining public support for political policies or campaigns (Froehlich & Rudiger 2005). Moloney (2006) emphasizes further that, public relations defenders tend to minimise the role of persuasion, propaganda or spin, instead focussing on the positive role that public relations makes to society and democracy. Cutlip and Center (2000) provide an example of this when they argue that public relations is the planned effort to influence opinion through good character and responsible performance, based on two-way communication. Therefore, this chapter will look at public relations as the overarching discipline of this research. However, emphasis will be given to strategic models of communication, stakeholder theory and management, political public relations; political communication; political party election campaign communication; mass media; media management; media effects; media ethics, and issue management.

2.2 Public relations theory

Public relations is the oldest term used to describe the communication function of organisations and the importance of this communication. Despite Bernays' (1928) concise scoping of the three main elements of public relations as being: "... *informing people, persuading people, or integrating people with people*", scholars have spent much time defining the discipline. For example, Harlow's (1976:36) working definition of public relations compressed a massive 472 definitions of public relations into 84 words, which emphasised that public relations is "*the management of mutually influential relationships within a web of stakeholders and organisational relationships*". However, Harlow's definition, according to Grunig and Hunt (1984:6), is the same as their simplified definition of public relations as, "*the management of communication between an organisation and its publics.*" Furthermore, Grunig (1992; 2013) maintains that the terms '*public relations*', '*communication management*' and '*organisational communication*' are interchangeably.

Several critics of the discipline contend that the core essentials of public relations do not evenly reflect on its definition; namely communication and relationship building. In fact, early public relations definitions, as pointed out by Hutton (1999:201), are focused on public relations effects as well as tasks rather than its fundamental purpose of communication and relationships building. Henceforth, presenting an academic and normative scope of the definitions, instead of focusing on the practicalities of public relations practice, which includes attempts to persuade or influence publics; and, to construct meaning for publics (Leichty & Warner, 2001). Furthermore, Hutton (1999) posits that public relations is concerned with organisational issues and not with individuals or groups of people without a formal organisation. Grunig's (1992) excellence study measures the effectiveness of an organisation as its ability to solve problems and meet the goals of stakeholders as well as of management, as a failure to do so would result in crisis that will affect organisational policies and decisions. In addition, Grunig (1992) argues that to behave in a socially acceptable manner; organisations must identify publics who are affected by potential organisational decisions and work towards solving problems that are important through symmetrical communication that considers both the interest of the organisation and publics to better enhance their relationships.

However, Van Riel and Fombrun (2007:2) declare communication to be the "*heart of organisational performance*" and organisational communication as "*an integrated communication structure linking stakeholders to the organisation.*" Furthermore, the Public

Relations Institute of Southern Africa (PRISA) defines public relations as “*the management, through communication, of perceptions and strategic relationships between an organisation and its internal and external stakeholders*” (Skinner *et al.*, 2004), to discover what each other wants, and to move towards the creation of mutual benefit (Grunig & Hunt 1984; Jackson, 2010). This definition effectively subdivides the discipline of public relations into three broad strategic areas, namely *management of communication, relationship management (including reputation management) and dialogue*, which, as shown in Table 2-1, is not dissimilar from Bernays’ (1928) outlook, and it should be noted that these strategic areas often overlap each other on communication purpose, message, audience and response. Regardless of the plethora of definitions prevalent in public relations theory, it is clear, that *strategy* has been a key concept of public relations since the early 1980 (Holtzhausen, 2002) and that public relations activities are, according to Moloney (2006), motivated by self-interest to generate self-advantage.

Table 2-1: Strategies of public relations.

(Bernays, 1928; Grunig & Hunt, 1984; Grunig, 1992; Cutlip *et al.*, 2000; Grunig & White, 1992; Ferguson, 1984; Ledingham & Bruning 1998; Skinner *et al.*, 2004; Holtzhausen, 2002; Hallan *et,al* (2007);Theunissen & Wan Noordin, 2012; Hah & Freeman,2014)

Bernays (1928)	Strategies	Authors
Informing people	Management of communication	Grunig & Hunt, 1984; Grunig, 1992; Cutlip <i>et al.</i> , 2000; Grunig & White, 1992.
Persuading people	Relationship building Reputation management	Ferguson, 1984; Hah & Freeman, 2014; Ledingham & Bruning 1998; Skinner <i>et al.</i> , 2004.
Integrating people with people	Dialogue, collaboration, co-operation and co-creation	Theunissen & Wan Noordin, 2012; Kent & Taylor, 2002; Hallan <i>et,al</i> (2007).

According to Hallan *et.,al* (2007), organisations seek the attention, admiration, affinity, alignment, and allegiance of constituents of all sorts and diversities such as customers, employees, investors and donors, government officials, special interest group leaders and the public at large. In so doing organisations entities are called to make strategic decisions that will help embedding significantly with all the sub -mentioned variables. As Hah and Freeman (2014)

remind us, communication managers take responsibility for strategically managing stakeholders on the condition; they first redefine their function. In that dynamic public relations appears as a tool and in the world of election or politics, public relations is crucial in reaching strategic political communication. Public relations methods and techniques are the most important part of the political communication process to correct public perception of political parties and promote successful transmission of the desired image. Therefore to paraphrase Bernays 'view of public relations, one can conclude that it is the discipline that inform people, persuade people and integrate people with people via a tailored communications directed at specific publics.

2.2.1 Public relations is strategic communication

Although scholars from various disciplines debate whether all communication is strategic and purposeful, public relations, as per its definitions, uses communication with strategic intent (James, 2012), whether it is to construct meaning or to communicate to achieve strategic outcomes (Table 2-2), public relations is action to produce desired results (Heath, 2001).

2.2.1.1 Strategy

Heames *et.al*, (2010) defines strategy as the determination of long-term goals and the necessary action to reach them. In general, 'strategy' is considered as providing the means to reach an end goal, i.e. strategy is primarily concerned with moving from point A, to point B (Thompson, 1995; Chickering *et.al*, 2010). Drucker (1954) asserts that management is not passive and adaptive behaviour, but action taken by management to make desired outcomes a reality. Mintzberg (1994) argues that strategy emerges from four elements, namely:

- a) *A plan;*
- b) *A pattern of actions over time;*
- c) *A position that reflects leadership decisions; and*
- d) *The perspective of the organisation.*

Furthermore, strategy is a broad concept that should always be considered a '*call to action*' (Coombs & Holladay, 2012). Linking strategy to choices, Ghemawat (1999) defines strategy as the ability to use logic to distinguish between ideas and actions that are valuable to the

organisation and those that are not. Thus, strategy is based on leadership, decision-making, and the logic used to determine value for the organisation before any action is taken (Schimank, 2005; Steyn, 2004). This represents an important point that leads to an effective management of issues arising in the organisation.

2.2.1.2 Issues management

Issue management plays a valuable role into detecting patterns in the organisation's environments that may affect either positively or negatively the organisation; and enables the organisation to identify stakeholders (Fawkes, 2007:316; Harrison & St John, 1998). The International Public Relations Association (1978) defines public relations as synonymous to issues management stating that public relations is, *"the art and science of analysing trends, predicting their consequences, counselling organisations leaders, and implementing planned programs of actions which will serve both, the organisation and the public's interest"* (IPR, 1978; Heath & Palenchar, 2008; Donsbasch, 2014).

An issue management process classifies the challenges the organisation will face as issues that can be perceptual, political, regulatory, social, commercial, physical, cultural, moral, ethical, or a mixture of all of these (Pal, 1997; Heath & Palenchar, 2008; Steyn, 2004), thereby allowing the organisation to plan a response. According to Steyn (2002) issues management is characterised by a continuous adaptation to change and the management of these issues can be approached in either narrowly or broadly manner which is largely dependent on focus (Fahey 1986:85-96), who states:

"Narrowly, where the focus is on public or social issues. Under this conventional approach, issues fall within the domain of public policy/public affairs management and originate in the social/ political/regulatory/judicial environments. Broadly, where the focus is on strategic issues and the strategic management process. Following this approach, issues management is the responsibility of senior line management or strategic. (Fahey 1986:85-96).

Increasingly organisations are opting for the broad approach to issues management as these ethical, political and technological issues have a direct bearing on economic and financial wellbeing of the organisation (Carroll, 2000). Although a pro-active approach to issues management allows the organisation to anticipate issues and to develop interventions to

prevent problems developing (Kramar, 2014; Sturdivant & Vernon-Wortzel, 1990); some organisations continue to deal with issues reactively.

2.2.1.3 Strategic communication

Strategic communication is broadly defined as *“the purposeful use of communication by an organisation to fulfil its mission”* (Hallahan *et al.*, 2007:3). Furthermore, Sandhu (2009) believes strategic communication is underpinned by a purposeful actor, rational and deliberate decision making as well as intentional communication. Holtzhausen and Zerfass (2014:74) define strategic communication as *“the practice of deliberate and purposive communication that a communication agent enacts in the public sphere on behalf of a communicative entity to reach set goals.”* Thus, strategic communication presents a particular set of values, to a particular audience, through particular messages, about a particular matter, via a particular medium, to achieve a particular goal.

Hallahan *et al.* (2007) considers strategic communication as central to public relations because it determines how

“... an organisation presents and promotes itself through the intentional activities of its leaders, employees and communication practitioners”
(Hallahan *et al.*, 2007:7).

Argenti, *ET al.* (2005:83) define strategic communication as *“communication aligned with the company’s overall strategy, to enhance its strategic positioning”* as leaders who understand strategic communication allow *“strategy to drive their communication choices.”* Hallahan *et al.* (2007) describe strategic communication as communication that advances an organisation’s mission and is:

“... the analysis and explanation of intentional and purposeful communicative relationships between organisations and publics.” (Hallahan, *et al.*, 2007:4)

Furthermore, Van der Walt (2015:413) states that *“specific business objectives must drive the communication strategy, which in turn must serve to unite an organisation’s approach to its internal and external audiences.”* Thus, strategic communication is the purposeful, rational and deliberate use of messages (Sandhu, 2009; Holtzhausen & Zerfass, 2014) which are focused on achieving prescribed organisational goals (Angelopulo, 2015) and strategic objectives whether it is through information, persuasion, integration or motivation for behaviour change

(Bernays, 1928; Rogers & Storey, 1987; Paul, 2011). Thus, making strategic communication fundamental to, and part of public relations (Hallahan *et al.*, 2007).

2.2.2 Management of communication

Management of communication is a broad strategic category of public relations and is the control of the messages sent out by the organisation to its publics including communication related to specific issues (Edwards, 2016). Grunig (2013) consider public relations to be the management of communication. Public relations is concerned with the planning, execution and evaluation of organisational communication', through which organisations *adapt to, alter, or maintain their environment for the purpose of achieving organisational goals*" (Long & Hazelton, 1987:6), thereby making the management of communication a purposeful and strategic initiative.

According to Jefkins (2016:7) public relations activities are deliberate, planned and sustained over time as public relations practitioners acts as an interpreter for the organisation, and explains its philosophy, policy and programs to its stakeholders in a consistent manner (Skinner *et al.*, 2006:6; Cutlip *et al.*, 2000:6; Seitel, 2007). In addition, Rensburg and Cant (2009) believe that public relations does not operate in isolation; but forms a cognitive part of organisational communication and public relations practitioners should be equally focused on the strategic impact of the message and how it is framed; as well as understand the audience at whom it is directed (Gordon, 1997; Hutton 1999; Newson *et al.*, 2000; Cutlip *et al.*, 2006). The deliberate, planned and sustained communication efforts of public relations practitioners, helps the organisation to *"build and hold good will"* (Harlow 1976:49-63); and to gain understanding and acceptance from its publics (Grunig & Hunt, 1984). In this dynamic, relationship and reputation building eventually take place.

2.2.3 Relationship and reputation building

Relationship building is a broad strategic category of public relations and is based on the building of trust between an organisation and its publics. This relationship between an organisation and its strategic publics play an important role in building organisational success and organisational reputation (Grunig & Huang, 2000; Cutlip *et al.*, 2006). In addition, the Public Relations Institute of Southern Africa believes that it is through strategic communication that perceptions and strategic relationships between the organisation and its stakeholders are managed (Skinner *et al.*, 2004). According to Ströh (2007) public relations uses communication to build healthy relationships between an organisation and its publics.

Relationships, according to Ferguson and Candib (2002), are the central unifying element and the key to public relations. Although it appears obvious that the relationships amongst the different constituencies of an organisation should be considered and well managed; it should equally be acknowledged that organisations do not operate in isolation but compete economically with other organisations in an environment regulated by legislation (Grunig, 1992) and all these divergent these divergent forces – social, political, economic – need to be balanced (Nolte & Nolte, 2016). Grunig and Huang (2000) argue that public relations should seek to build mutual understanding with publics, Jackson (2010) maintains that despite an attempt to link public relations to key stakeholder relationships, much work still needs to be done. Ledingham and Bruning (1998:55) define public relations as relationship management; and Cutlip, Center and Broom argue that:

“... public relations is the management function that establishes and maintains mutually beneficial relationships between an organisation and publics on whom its success or failure depends” (Cutlip et al., 1985:4).

Knowing and understanding the publics with whom the organisation interacts is crucial, according to Diggs-Brown (2011) who believes that public relations is an essential communication discipline that performs a dynamic role informing the various publics, in a strategic manner. Furthermore, in the process of developing mutual lines of understanding between the organisation and its publics, the public relations practitioner must persuade management to make the organisation “*worthy of public approval*” and convince the public that the organisation is “*worthy of public approval*” (Nolte, 1979:10). In addition, Ledingham (2001) highlights that the relationships can be built through various functions of public relations including public affairs, community relations (Ledingham & Bruning, 2001), issues management

(Bridges & Nelson, 2000), crisis management (Coombs, 2000), and media relations (Ledingham & Bruning, 2001). Furthermore, it is suggested that building relationships can create loyalty, so that during a crisis those organisations with higher levels of loyalty amongst key stakeholders are more likely to survive (Coombs & Holladay 2001).

Scholars predominantly view the organisation-public relationship from a management perspective and its corresponding benefit to the organisation; and attribute communication aimed at building relationships as being strategically aimed to create mutual understanding or consensus building (Grunig & Hunt, 1984; Van Ruler, 2004). Furthermore, it is commonly accepted that all relationships are built on communication that is consistently transparent and informative (Cornish *et al.*, 2011); and organisational-public relationships are multidimensional and complexity- interrelated (Heath & Bryant, 2013).

Ledingham and Bruning (1998), point out that the main benefit of the relationship building is to enhance good reputation of an organisation based upon trust and therefore *“the relationship management perspective holds that public relations balances the interests of organisations and publics through the management of organisation public relationships”* (Ledingham 2003:181). Furthermore, Gotsi and Wilson (2001) believe reputation management is persuasive communication and thus public relations plays a role in shaping the opinion of both key audiences, and wider public opinion, so communication is both narrowcast and broadcast. Clearly, the reasoning behind this approach is that reputation, as intangible as it can be, has indeed a tangible effect on the organisation’s operations, revenue and bottom line (Fombrun 1995, Gray & Balmer 1998, Griffin 2008). Equally, organisations facing a crisis are more likely to have their reputation badly exposed (Regester & Larkin 2008). Furthermore, a strategic approach to reputation management allows the focus to move beyond the customer (Oliver, 2009; Griffin, 2008), and includes issues management, community affairs and corporate social responsibility. All this made possible through concrete dialogue that can ultimately conducts all parties to a certain collaboration, cooperation or co-creation.

2.2.4 Dialogue, collaboration, cooperation and co-creation

Dialogue is a broad strategic category of public relations and is based on collaboration, cooperation and co-creation with publics to create 'the future' together. Pearson (1989:67) maintains that public relations is best conceptualised as "*balanced, two-way communication ...*" as "*... public relations practice is situated at that point where competing interests collide*". Van Ruler (2004) defines dialogue as an interactive form of communication that will facilitate organisational-public relationships. Cissna and Anderson (1994) consider dialogue, as described by Mikhail Bakhtin, (cited in Hirschkop, 1999:13) to be a form of '*cultural knowing*'; while Kent and Taylor (2002), who trace the concept of dialogue to Martin Buber, posits that dialogue is based on equal partnerships and common goals, which are necessary for collaboration, co-operation and co-creation. Collaboration, according to Conrad (1985:243) is defined as "*all parties believing that they should actively and assertively seek a mutually acceptable solution and being willing to spend large amounts of time and energy to reach such an outcome*". Co-operation is defined as a process where the components of a particular system are willing to work together for common purposes to mutual benefit, as opposed to working in competition for selfish benefits (Zhao *et al.*, 2016). Co-creation is defined as a management initiative that brings different parties together (Frow *et al.*, 2015).

Dialogue is the facilitator of collaboration, co-operation and co-creation. Habermas (1991:79) posits that dialogue occurs when parties agree to "*coordinate in good faith their plans of action*". Dialogue generates collaboration through the creation of a new space (Kogler, 2016), which is based on a situational context and outside of prior experiences, to form the basis of a relationships (Theunissen & Wan Noordin, 2012). Dialogue expedites conversations, encourages participation and interaction between parties and ensures that messages are interpreted by establishing common frames of reference about issues of mutual concern (Hallahan, 2007). Kent and Taylor (2014) offer dialogue as method of ethical public relations practice as dialogue enables organisations to create effective organisational public communication channels, in which organisations are willing to interact with publics in honest and principled ways (Kent *et al.*, 2003). In addition, according to Dahlgren (2006) argumentative speech uses dialogue in the public sphere as a mean to building consensus. Finally, according to Taylor (2010) public relations uses dialogue and various models of communication to achieve strategic outcomes as well as develop relationships between the organisation and its publics.

2.2.5 Models of communication.

Communication is the cornerstone of society as communication links the manner in which messages (media) are transmitted with the composition of the messages (production) and the effects of the communication. In the simplest terms there are three general models of communication under which almost all communication is categorised, namely linear, transactional and interactive. The linear model of communication is typically used for mass communication; and as the communication is not interactive or continuous there is little or no expectation of feedback; and its main purpose is propaganda or to persuade the audience (Aristotle, 300 BC; Lasswell, 1936; Shannon & Weaver, 1949; Schramm, 1954; Grunig & Hunt, 1984; Van Ruler, 2004, Olson, 2008).

Some scholars view these linear models of communication (Table 2-2), known as the flow of influence, as being manipulative or an attempt to obtain a preconceived attitudinal change from the receiver (Lin, 1971). The transactional model is typically used for interpersonal or relational communication (Isaacs, 1999) and is used in a social and cultural context (Verderer & Verderer, 1995). However, the interactive model, which includes channels for feedback, is typically used for the internet and newer communication platforms; and is heavily reliant on a response from the audience for its interactivity. Although, for the purpose of this research, the origins of the general communication models is not important, it remains crucial to mention that interactive communication is based on a response or feedback loop from the audience and the fact that without a response from the audience, the interactive communication reverts to being linear communication (Blythe, 2010; Schramm 1954).

Table 2-2: Public relations strategy and models of communication

(Aristotle, 300 BC; Shannon & Weaver, 1949; Lasswell, 1927; Schramm, 1954; Grunig & Hunt, 1984; Van Ruler, 2004; Dozier, 1995; Kent & Taylor, 2002; Theunissen & Wan Noordin, 2012; Smith, 2013; Kent & Taylor, 2002; Coombs & Holladay, 2010; Stoker & Tusinski, 2006; Capozzi & Berlin Zipfel, 2012; Dervin, 1989; Angelopulo, 2015; Conrad, 1985; Wilson & Putnan, 1990; Zhao *et al.*, 2016; Botan & Taylor, 2004; Chauke & du Plessis, 2015).

Public relations strategy	Models of communication
Linear Models of Communication	
Propaganda, Press Agency, Spin	Public speaking - Aristotle (300 BC) Mathematical model - Shannon & Weaver (1949) Influence - Lasswell (1927) Hypodermic Syringe – Schramm (1954) One-way communication – Grunig & Hunt (1984)
Dissemination of Information	One-way communication - Public dissemination of Information - Grunig & Hunt (1984) Information – Van Ruler (2004)
Persuasion, Situational	Two-way asymmetrical -- Grunig & Hunt (1984) Persuasion – Van Ruler (2004) Mixed motive – Dozier (1995)
Transactional & Interactive Models of Communication	
Mutual Benefit, Consensus Building, Situational	Two-way symmetrical – Grunig & Hunt (1984) Consensus Building – Van Ruler (2004) Mixed motive(Situational) – Dozier (1995)
Dialogue	Dialogue – Van Ruler (2004) Mutual interests - Dialogue - Kent & Taylor (2002) Process - Theunissen & Wan Noordin (2012); Smith (2013) Product – Kent & Taylor (2002) Influence – Coombs & Holladay (2010) Manipulation - Stoker & Tusinski (2006) Conversational - Capozzi & Berlin Zipfel (2012) Equality - Dervin (1989) Expedient – Angelopulo (2015)
Collaboration	Collaboration - Kent & Taylor (2002); Conrad (1985) Negotiation - Wilson & Putnan (1990)
Co-operation	Work together for mutual benefit (Zhao <i>et al.</i> , 2016)
Co-creation	Shared meaning - Botan & Taylor (2004) Participation - Chauke & du Plessis (2015)

The above table describes the various public relations strategies along with the models of communications. There are typically three models of communication displayed namely: the linear models of communication; the transactional and interactive models of communication and the collaboration model. They all target specific outcomes that have developed communication in organisations and made it more dynamic.

2.2.5.1 *Public relations models of communication*

Grunig and Hunt (1984) present four public relations models of communication that are based on communication outcome and flow of communication, namely, press agency; dissemination of information; persuasion and two-way symmetrical communication (Table 2-2), which allows public relations to achieve one or more of its strategic goals, namely management of communication, relationship building or dialogue (collaboration, co-operation, co-creation). Similarly, Van Ruler (2004) proposed four models of communication based on her situational communication grid based on direction of communication flow and the construction of meaning, namely, information; persuasion; consensus building and dialogue (Table 2-2). According to Kent and Taylor (2002) dialogic communication is based on equal partnerships and common goals which will allow the parties to achieve collaboration, co-creation and co-operation shifting public relations focus to engagement and relationship building (Smith, 2013).

2.2.5.2 *Public relations as press agency, publicity and propaganda (hype)*

Political influence over the media is not a new phenomenon as politicians have sought to influence the media, either directly or through press officers, since at least the nineteenth century (Jackson, 2010). Press agency is the public relations practitioner's action to ensure publicity for their clients, which have very little regard to the truth; and is based on a simple one-way dissemination of information with the aim of indoctrinating the public (Grunig & Hunt, 1984). This style of one-sided publicity is considered one-way communication, propaganda, hype or spin (Grunig & Hunt, 1984; Jackson, 2010); the hypodermic syringe theory of mass communication (Schramm, 1971; Croteau & Hoynes, 1997) or marketing and advertising (Van Ruler, 2004) and all seek acceptance, without question or minimum questions as to the accuracy, of the information thereby attempting to fool the public. Barnum (1928) considered

'honesty' to be outside of the domain of a press agent, and infamously believed that press agency simply stated was "*The public be fooled*" (Grunig & Hunt, 1984:29).

Propaganda (referred to as hype or spin) is, according to Chomsky (2002) a service provided by the mass media to the elite hegemonic interests of powerful groups such as governments and global corporations, when the media report on important matters on a superficial level without examining the wide picture and thereby creating the appearance of manufacture of consent from the public. On the other hand, Moloney (2006) believes that publicity differs from press agency, as publicity, sometimes referred to as 'weak propaganda', provides positive publicity for the organisation in the competitive business arena rather than attempting to fool the public. Publicity can be used as tool to increase awareness of organisations, individuals or issues, and it is the use of publicity in political campaigns that has led to publicity being considered the same as propaganda (Ewen; 1996; Stauber & Rampton, 2004).

2.2.5.3 Public relations as persuasion

Persuasive communication is specific communication which has one goal, which is to persuade the audience it wishes to influence (Jackson, 2010; Stromback & Kioussis, 2011). Alternatively, Burke (1950:50) argues that "*persuasion involves choice, will; it is directed to a man only insofar as he is free*". Although similar concepts, propaganda, and persuasion have important differences namely, propaganda can be considered 'shameless advocacy' and has the ability to manipulate and deceive the public by evoking '*irrational emotions*'; while persuasion is used to logically convince someone of something through a rational argument (O'Shaughnessy, 2004). Furthermore, the persuasive model of communication seeks to influence action and to promote attitudinal and behavioural change. This model of communication, according to Grunig (1984), presents a single view, and it is one way asymmetric communication, that promotes the organisation's interests for adoption by the publics to whom it is presented, while Van Ruler (2004) posits persuasion is part of the creation of meaning, and thus presents advertising, marketing and selling as examples of persuasive communication, which, according to Van Ruler (2004) is propaganda. Alternatively, public relations models of communication also include the two way symmetrical model which strives for mutual understanding and consensus through a dialogical approach.

2.2.5.4 Public relations as dialogue, mutual understanding and consensus

Two-way symmetrical communication is a collaborative style of communication (Grunig & Hunt, 1984; Grunig, 1992; L'Etang, 2008). The advantage that two-way symmetrical communication offers organisations is the opportunity to balance and change their internal policies based on what they learn from their publics (Roper, 2005). Although not perfectly balanced, this model of communication is a *moving equilibrium* in which both sides in the communication process have an opportunity to have input on issues (Grunig *et.al.*, 1992) and to build mutual understanding between both publics and organisations (Jackson, 2010). Furthermore, Grunig (1989) posits that two-way symmetrical communication can include '*persuasion based on reasoned argument*' (Petty & Cacioppo, 1981:13), which is central to persuasion and conflict resolution. However, Kent and Taylor (2002) believe that scholars should first understand dialogic communication to comprehend true organisation-public relationships. Theunissen and Wan Noordin (2012) highlight that two-way symmetrical communication and dialogue have philosophical differences, particularly as the former provides a systematic procedural method for interactive communication, i.e. a process; while the dialogue refers to an "*relational interaction*", i.e. a product (Kent & Taylor, 1998:323; Kent & Theunissen, 2016). Furthermore, Kent and Taylor (2014) contend that dialogue is not equivalent to argument, but an attempt by both parties to understand and appreciate the values and interests of the other, a commitment to the interaction; and an acceptance of risk is central to this process (Edwards, 2016). Bruning *et al.* (2004) believe dialogic interaction will lead to situations that will advance organisational and community interests but Heath (2006) warns dialogue reveals vulnerabilities that can be exploited through persuasion. These various positions on the public relations models of communication has raised critiques from different theoreticians in the field.

2.2.5.5 Critique of public relations models of communication.

Grunig and Hunt (1984; 1992) believe that no single model could be rated as '*best*' for all aspects of public relations, and state that all four of their public relations models are useful in the everyday practice, and thus should be evaluated according to the long term goals of the organisation and the integrity of the long term relationship between the organisation and its publics. In addition, public relations professionals seek to understand the organisation's environment and advice management on how to secure a strategic fit between the organisation

and its environment (Cutlip *et.al.*, 2000; Grunig & White, 1992). On the one hand, Dozier *et al.* (1995) believe that models of communication are situational and propose a mixed-motive model of public relations which retains the central importance of self-interest while acknowledging opposing opinions. Whereas, on the other hand, Smith (2013) identifies two distinct processes within public relations activities, namely; the communication process and the organisational decision-making process, which impacts on the effectiveness of public relations in achieving organisational goals. Although, Grunig & Hunt's (1984) models of communication remain dominant in public relations theory, their contribution is viewed critically (Laskin, 2009). Van Ruler (2004:126) recognises Grunig and Hunt's (1984) models of public relations as being '*a first classification of insights into communication*' and is satisfied that Grunig & Hunt's two-way symmetrical communication concept indicates that different players in the communication process influence each other but this is not the case with two-way asymmetrical communication, which is, according to Van Ruler (2004) one-way persuasive communication, and the nature of communication interaction and the role of the political actors involved in this process is unclear (Fauconnier, 2000). Bailey (in Tench & Yeomans, 2006:315) is critical of the role "*media relations*" plays within the press agency model, arguing that the very term '*media relations*' indicates that a relationship exists between an organisation and the members of the press. More recently, Waddington (2012:4) criticises Grunig and Hunt's (1984; 1992) four models of communication for being based on a construct that places the organisation as the central hub for all communication and in control of all relationships as well as communication. In addition, Mackey (2003:1) is critical of the origins of Grunig's initial standpoint, which is rooted in political theory. For the purpose of this research the public relations strategy as linked to the models of communication (Table 2-2) is part of the analysis to determine the application of public relations principles used in political party election campaign communication of different political parties in South Africa, particularly the Democratic Alliance and the African National Congress. The analysis of the communication material of the political parties such as the messages that were sent by the two elites parties (ANC and DA) in Cape Town newspaper throughout the campaign, as well as the DA's election manifesto were crucial to see more deeply if the parties aligned to the demands of their voters. Hence, considering their approach to stakeholder theory and management.

2.3 Stakeholder theory and management

Stakeholder theory is about how a business really works and creates value for its stakeholders. Freeman (1984: 46), together with Thomson (1967), defines stakeholders broadly as any group or individual who has the ability “*to affect or to be affected by the achievement of an organisation’s goal*”. According to Brenner and Cochran (1991), stakeholder theory is used to describe (a) the nature of the firm, (b) the strategic direction of the firm (Brenner & Molander, 1977), (c) how board members think about the interests of its constituencies (Wang & Dewhirst, 1992), and (d) how the firm is managed (Clarkson, 1991; Halal, 1990; Kreiner & Bhambri, 1991).

Freeman’s (2010) preferred definition, according to Donaldson and Preston (1995:67), describes the normative view of the stakeholders as any person or group who has a stake in the organisation. Equally, Harrison *et.al.*, (2012) refers to stakeholders as any person, group or organisation who can place a claim on an organisation’s attention, resources or output, or who is affected by that output, but this stake means that stakeholders have something at risk, therefore something to gain or lose as a result of organisation activity or is at risk (Clarkson, 1994). Carroll and Buchholtz (2011) identify three types of stakes namely, (1) an interest, (2) a right and (3) ownership. However, there is no consensus on the definition of stakeholders, (Miles, 2012) and Freeman *et al.* (2012) argues that more work needs to be done to refine the meaning of ‘stakeholder’ on conceptual and practical levels.

Conversely, Friedman (1970) believes that a business has only one responsibility, which is to increase its profits ethically towards a satisfactory return on investment for shareholders. Other scholars have defined stakeholders as primary and secondary stakeholders (Clarkson, 1991); while Mitchell *et al.*, (1997:857) use concepts of power, legitimacy and urgency and uses risk of loss to “*narrow the field to those with legitimate claims, regardless of their power to influence the firm or the legitimacy of their relationship to the firm.*” These overlap with McClland’s motivational theory of needs concepts of power, affiliation and achievement (Robbins, 1998:175). Similarly, Donaldson and Preston (1995:67) use three critical concepts to underpin their definition of stakeholders as “*persons or groups with legitimate interests in procedural and/or substantive aspects of corporate activity*” and to promote “*descriptive accuracy; instrumental power and normative validity,*” as stakeholder management should be concerned with only these legitimate stakeholders.

Stakeholder management is the implementation of stakeholder theory by the organisation because the relationships with stakeholders is crucial, as stakeholders are a key element to the sustainability of an organisation (Harrison *et al.*, 2012; Freeman; 2010; Jones; 1995; Clarkson, 1991; Mitchell *et al.*, 1997; Hillman & Keim, 2001; Jones & Wicks, 1999). Therefore, making it an important part of an enhanced political public relations for desired successful campaigns.

2.4 Political public relations

Stromback and Kiouisis (2013) believe that the practice of political public relations is as “*old as politics itself*” as are many of the political public relations strategies and tactics. Stromback and Kiouisis define political public relations as:

“Political public relations is the management process by which an organisation or individual actor for political purposes, through purposeful communication and action, seeks to influence and establish, build, and maintain beneficial relationships and reputations with its key publics to help support its mission and achieve its goals” (Stromback & Kiouisis, 2011:8).

Public relations definitions emphasise the discipline’s ability to influence publics, through the “*communication and exchange of ideas to facilitate change*” (L’Etang, 2008:18); to manage mutually beneficial relationships with stakeholders (Coombs & Holladay, 2012; Ledingham, 2003); to reputation management (Van Riel & Fombrom, 2007); to reach key audiences (Taylor, 2010); to stakeholder engagement (de Bussy, 2010) and through communication and public relations techniques and tools to enable people to share ideas (Jackson, 2010); debate differences (Moloney, 2006) and persuade each other (Pfau & Wan, 2006). In addition to being purposeful communication to influence and establish relationships and reputations, which is at the core of public relations in general (Cutlip *et al.*, 2000; Grunig & Hunt, 1984; Ledingham, 2003), political public relations creates value as it ensures fair access to the public sphere; develops relationships in the public sphere (Hiebert, 2005), and promotes public engagement through dialogue (Edwards, 2016).

Moreover, political public relations includes shaping and framing political debates and issues (Froehlich & Rudiger, 2005); news production (Cameron *et al.*, 1997); as well as the framing of messages (Hallahan, 1999).

In summary, although public relations is based on organisational communication (i.e. mainly corporate communication) and political public relations is based on political party

communication, the differences between political public relations and public relations is not a philosophical or theoretical one (Table 2-3) but a difference in the measure of intensity, the scope and inclusion of publics.(Stromback & Kiouisis, 2013:3) and the timing of the outcomes.

**Table 2-3: Differences between public relations and political public relations (Adapted)
(Stromback & Kiouisis, 2013; Freeman, 1984, p. 46; Weaver & Willnat, 2012; Groeling, 2010; Coombs, 2011)**

	Public relations	Political public relations
Purpose	Organisational interests	Political interests
Use communication to Influence	Perceptions, reputation & relationships	Political processes & outcomes.
Aim	Prioritizes one strategic goal over another	Uses all strategic means possible
Focus	Communication	Communication & Action
Target audience (number and complexity)	Stakeholders “affect or is affected by”	Everyone (multiplicity of publics)
Involvement	Not critical to dissemination of information model to peripheral publics	Critical to all levels of stakeholder engagement.
Publics	Focussed	Highly inclusive
Common good / public interest	Optional	Essential
Regulations, transparency, oversight	Various	Seldom operate outside the public domain.
Main currency	Money (profit)	Ideas and power.
Product	Tangible (mostly).	Intangible
Success	Other models of success as not strictly win-lose.	Zero sum game (someone’s win is someone else’s loss)
Dependencies	Able to utilise other options therefore less dependent on news media and coverage.	News media and coverage
Media control	Press releases, advertising and media liaison increase control of media coverage	Media is critical of politics (watchdog function) and therefore highly critical of those with political power.
Conflict	Crisis communication	High levels of continuous conflict
Nature of crisis	Different crises and solutions; objective and preventable.	Crisis are caused by political actors; rooted in perceptions; and often incorrectly attributed to parties.
Components	Paid employees.	Political actors, members, activists, volunteers in addition to paid employees.

Measures of success	Objective financial indicators (variety of these) annual results.	Election Day results ONLY.
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Public relations and political public relations are interrelated although we observe some dissimilarities in the way they pursue the organisation’s goals. Public relations appears to be a strategic communication process that builds mutually beneficial relationships between organisations and the public. Henceforth, public relations is great for building a connection with audiences and promoting key messages properly tailored for specific target. Public relations is more likely turned towards building strategic relationships while political public relations is highly inclusive and therefore use all strategic means possible for the quest of ideas and power.

2.4.1 Political public relations models of communication

Jackson (2010) emphasises that political public relations and political rhetoric use persuasion as a communication model and as the primary strategy of political public relations. Persuasion as a communication is considered by Habermas (1979) to be unethical because of the power inequalities in the public sphere. However, in reality, political messages are inherently persuasive; and most scholars consider propaganda and persuasion to be fundamental to political public relations (Fawkes, 2007).

Jackson (2010) proposes eight political public relations models of communication (Table 2-4) which are, namely: hype, relations with publics, persuade, reputation management, relations in public, Grunigian paradigm, relational and community building. Stromback and Kiousis (2013)

however believe that political public relations is non-normative and descriptive and as it is contingency based, therefore models of communication for political public relations move along a situational continuum which ranges from advocacy (hype) to total accommodation (Cancel *et al.*, 1997; Dozier, 1995).

Lees-Marshment (2004) insists that political parties that have lost a series of elections eventually turn to reputation management as the solution to their problems. Furthermore, Jackson (2010:13) believes that *“individual elected representatives seek to develop their corporate reputation, sometimes at the expense of their party’s corporate image”*. Lilleker and Negrine (2006) posit that local politicians use local campaigns to establish their personal

reputation based on the belief that it may help develop a personal vote and reverse the national voting behaviour trends. However, strategic and political communication, which takes place in the public sphere, is normally about control, and particularly about the control of the public dialogue (Habermas, 2015). However, this does not mean that public relations or strategic communication is always manipulative but that it has a purpose and that is to be “informational, persuasive, discursive as well as relational communication” (Hallahan *et al.*, 2007:127).

Table 2-4: Political public relations models of communication, public relations models of communication and purpose of communication.

(Bernays, 1923, 1928; Grunig & Hunt, 1984; Aristotle, 300BC; Shannon & Weaver, 1949; Lasswell; 1927; Schramm; 1954; Van Ruler, 2004; Dozier, 1995; Kent & Taylor, 1998; 2002; Theunissen & Wan Noordin, 2012; Smith, 2013; Botan & Taylor, 2004; Chauke & du Plessis, 2015)

Political public relations (Jackson, 2010)	Public relations models	Purpose of communication
Hype (Spin, Propaganda, Press agency)	Propaganda, Spin and Press agency (Bernays, 1923, 1928; Grunig & Hunt, 1984; Aristotle, 300 BC; Shannon & Weaver, 1949; Lasswell; 1927; Schramm; 1954)	Orchestrate public opinion One sided information Advocacy / Influence Propaganda To provide positive publicity for the organisation. To influence audience to behave as the organisation desires.
Relations with publics	Inform (Bernays, 1923, 1928); Public dissemination of Information (Grunig & Hunt, 1984); Information (Van Ruler, 2004)	Educate public for informed decision making Disseminate information To manage messages To explain meaning Increase legitimacy Raise awareness To present almost objective reporting with both negatives and positives but slanted towards the organisation.
Persuade Reputation management Relations in publics	Persuade (Bernays, 1923, 1928); Two-way asymmetrical (Grunig & Hunt, 1984) Persuasion – basis of advertising	Selling / Advertising / Marketing Persuasion Influence action Behaviour change

	and propaganda (Van Ruler, 2004) Mixed motive (Dozier, 1995)	Advocacy To persuade or change the opinions of the public.
Grunigian paradigm Relational Community Building	Integrate (Bernays, 1923, 1928) Mutual Benefit (Grunig & Hunt, 1984) Consensus Building (Van Ruler, 2004) Mixed motive (Dozier, 1995)	Interactive Mutual understanding / agreement Consensus building Community building Promotes dialogue There is equal influence between the organisation and public. Each participant is able to influence each other.
	Dialogue (Van Ruler, 2004; Kent & Taylor, 1998; 2002) Process (Theunissen & Wan Noordin, 2012; Smith, 2013) Collaboration (Kent & Taylor, 2002); Co-operation (Kent & Taylor, 2002); Co-creation (Botan & Taylor, 2004; Chauke & du Plessis, 2015)	Interactive / Participatory Build skills Partnership, Collaborate & Relationships Collaboration & Co-creation Consolidation & Co-operation To negotiate with publics, resolve conflict, and promote mutual understanding and respect between the organisation and its publics To reach a win-win situation.

The communication mechanisms in a particular campaign are set towards the achievement of specific goals. Hence, the use of various public relations models of communication during a campaign are very crucial in directing the communication outcomes for specific targets. In that dynamic cycle, communication specialist or public relations practitioners are able set priorities based on the demands and requirements of their different publics to reach the organisation's objectives.

2.4.2 Critique of public relations and politics

Many scholars and politicians have raised concerns about the propaganda, spin and press agency communication functions of political public relations. Indeed, the public relations industry has been criticised for "*playing a role which has been to the detriment of journalism and the democratic process*" (Somerville & Ramsey, 2012:39). Fawkes (2008) and other scholars argue that public relations, past and present, "*undermines democracy and stifles or distorts debates*".

Bernay's 'engineering context' of propaganda, labelled 'spin' as a key social doctrine used "to determine audience understanding and desire" (Corthell 2008:5). Although there has been a call for a return to political activity "where these somewhat dubious pervasive activities had no place" (Somerville & Ramsey, 2012:39). Moloney (2000) emphasises that public relations practitioners tend to minimise the role of the public relations models of communication in politics namely, persuasion, propaganda or spin and instead focus on the positive role that public relations makes to society and democracy. According to Cutlip *et.al.*, (2000), this undermines their own discipline, as public relations is the planned effort to influence opinion through *good character and responsible performance*, based on two-way communication.

Certainly, according to Jackson (2010:2) there is evidence that public relations played, and continues to play, an "important role in the development of democratic representative government." Froehlich and Rudiger (2005:18) suggest that political public relations is "the use of media outlets to communicate specific political interpretations of issues in hope of garnering public support". Moreover, through the use of media relation, political public relations is able to present political parties policy and personality to votes to gain their attention (Moloney & Colmer 2001). Furthermore, Brissenden and Moloney (2005) maintain that political public relations acts as a trellis, and thus is defensive as it hides what parties don't want the media and public to know. Therefore, as argued by Pearson and Patching (2008), most of a political public relations time is spent blocking and reacting to negative coverage, not necessarily providing information. Nevertheless,(Jackson 2010:12) public relations, as the art of persuasion, is a tool used in politics during election time, although "not all attempts at persuasion are successful" and political actors often seek to control the flow of information to the public.

2.5 Political communication

Political communication, like political public relations is as old as politics (Lilleker, 2006; Stromback & Kiousis, 2013) and its theoretical foundations have diverse origins as it has adopted theories from public relations, anthropology, communication, economics, journalism, linguistics, sociology and political science (Stromback & Kiousis, 2011). Although the term 'political public relations' is once again gaining popularity, some academic scholars prefer the term 'political communication' (Chaffee, 1975; Franklin, 2004; Negrine 1996).

Despite the term '*political communication*' being difficult to define (McNair, 2011), political communication is the role of communication in the political process (Chaffee, 1975) and is

defined as “those communication processes that contribute to the exchange of ideas in the democratic political process” (Powell & Cowart, 2017:3). Norris states that:

“... political communication is an interactive process concerning the transmission of information among politicians, the news media and the public. The process operates down-wards from governing institutions towards citizens, horizontally in linkages among political actors, and upwards from public opinion towards authorities” (Norris, 2004:1).

Like political public relations, political communication is considered to be a manipulation with the intention to influence society (De Waal, 2015). A view which is consistent with Lasswell’s (1948) views that the study of politics is the study of influence and the influential or the elite. Furthermore, modern political communication theories are still commonly based on Lasswell’s 1936 doctoral dissertation on propaganda that asked, ‘*who says what to whom via which channel with what effects?*’ (Lilleker, 2006). Franklin (1995) identifies the field of political communication as the interactions occurring between media and political systems, locally, nationally, and internationally. Thus, political communication is concerned with communication and interaction between citizens, between citizens and governments, and amongst officials within governments (Brant & Voltmer, 2011).

Brant and Voltmer (2011) maintain that political communication happens through two distinct and closely inter-related dimensions (Figure 2-1), namely mediatisation (horizontal) and de-centralisation (vertical). The horizontal dimension identifies the relationship between politicians and the media, composed of the political communication elites who together, but in competition with each other, contribute to the creation and dissemination of political messages for mass consumption. The vertical dimension instead, describes “*the interaction between the two sets of political communication elites on the one hand, and the citizens as the ultimate addressee of these messages on the other*” (Brant & Voltmer 2011:3). Furthermore, McNair (2011) and other authors contend that political activities have moved beyond the political elite and into the public sphere (Lilleker, 2006; Habermas, 1964).

However, the political elite and the media are interdependent, but have a balanced power arrangement as they depend on each other to achieve their own goals – i.e. politicians need the media for publicity, journalists need politicians as authoritative sources of information. It is this interdependence, which Bell (1973); and Salvaggio (1989) argue, has made control of information and communication a crucial element for political power and social structure.

Therefore, political communication is crucial to build a society in which the political parties and the voters feel that they have a connection, especially as modern democracies are becoming increasingly responsive to their voters through dialogue (Lilleker, 2006), but what makes communication political is not the source of the communication, rather the purpose and content of the communication (McNair, 2011).

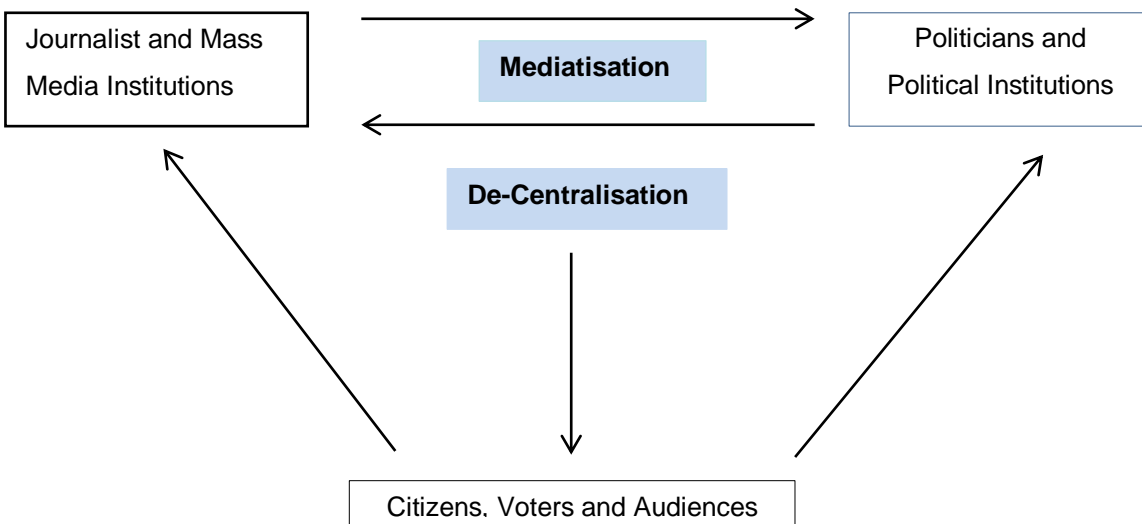


Figure 2-1: Changes in political communication (McNair, 2011; Brant & Voltmer 2011)

2.5.1 Purpose of political communication

At its most simple, the purpose of political communication is to win over others (Moloney, 2000), to explain the actions of the political actors to the voters and to establish legitimacy and credibility with the voters (Lilleker, 2006). However, political communication is complex, and political parties use a range of communication mediums to reach their target audiences to nurture support for their views and policies, and it is virtually impossible to measure communication effects in a diverse democratic society and thereby determine what communication was effective (Baudrillard, 1988). Furthermore, political communication is competitive as both electoral and non-electoral groups compete for space in the media to gain

attention from the public (Lilleker, 2006). This competition is assured by the distribution of messages in the public sphere that create the content of political communication.

2.5.2 Content of political communication

Blumler and Gurevitch (2004) posit that political actors use communication to negotiate the political agenda by manipulating what is communicated and how it is communicated to the voters. Political communication comprises contested issues, political realities and political messages, which are defined, framed and communicated to the voters through the mass media, to increase the visibility of the political actors; to present political actors ideology and beliefs, thereby using content to ultimately motivate the voters to vote (Powell & Cowart, 2017). In addition, Graber (1997) contends that political messages are more than words as they include rhetorics such as body language; as well as political acts like protests and boycotts.

2.5.3 Types of political communication

Political communication is a constant and on-going activity that extends beyond the build up to an election to include policy development and policy information dissemination. Thus, political communication is roughly divided into three areas; namely, party specific communication, political party election campaign communication and policy development and information communication (Brants & Voltmer, 2011; Jackson, 2010). Party specific communication is the internal communication between the political party leaders, the political party staff and the party's membership. Political party election campaign communication is external communication that allows an exchange of ideas to take place between the political party and the voters, via the media. Political party campaign communication confers meaning to the party's political messages, provides links to government policy and influences voters' attitudes (Perlof, 2013). Policy development and information communication is the type of political party communication that gives effect to government policy goals, influences and direct government policy actions, through the sharing of, or withholding of, information and knowledge from society (Howlett, 2009). Policy development and information communication is complex as it is measured in terms of goals, needs, audiences, definition and resources (Da Silva & Batista, 2007; Sanders, 2011; Canel & Sanders, 2012). However, party specific communication and

policy development and information communication, are beyond the scope of this thesis and are included here for completeness only.

2.5.4 Political party election campaign communication

Around the world, political party election campaign communication has shifted from being ad hoc to strategic, and experts in marketing, public relations, advertising and polling are employed to co-ordinate communication activity and employ the best method to achieve the desired results (Butler & Kavanagh, 1992). This has led to new styles of political marketing; increased concern about news management and 'spin'; and new publicity opportunities on online channels of communication (Corner & Pels, 2003).

Political party election campaign communication is frequently considered to be a combination of '*spin*' '*propaganda*' or '*persuasion*' as well as '*organisational communication*' (Powell & Cowart, 2017) as the whole campaign is targeted to get the maximum votes on Election Day (Powell & Cowart, 2017). Therefore, political party election campaign communication aims to influence the voter, who is the target audience of the political messages, and to motivate the voter to participate in elections out of a "*sense of duty and a responsibility as a citizen of a democracy*" (Becker *et al.*, 2009:38) because voting is an act which requires an effort from the voter as the process is often inconvenient.

A fundamental principle of political party election campaign communication is that voters are offered a service by a political actor and the voters' perception of value in that offer will affect their vote (Kaid, 2004). Voter behaviour is influenced by how the service options are presented by the political actor (Cwalina *et al.*, 2010). These presentation styles are namely, issues and policies, social, personality, situational and epistemic (Table 2-5) and are based on whether the voter's choice of candidate is influenced by the role of media in the election, cognitive reasons to vote and/or emotional feelings about the candidate and allows voters to be classified as rational, emotional, social and/or situational voters (Cwalina *et al.*, 2010).

Today, political party election campaign communication has five common characteristics, namely, a) short-term goals; b) communication based on objectives; c) importance of mass media; d) short-term goals orientation; and e) importance of considering audiences (Denton & Woodward, 1990).

Table 2-5: Voter behaviour
(Cwalina *et al.*, 2010)

Area	Details
Issues and Policies	The policies a candidate advocates and promises to enact if elected to office.
Social	The use of stereotypes to appeal to voters by making associations between the candidate and selected segments in society, for example, the rich, the educated, etc. This component captures the influence of the role of party affiliation and other important social networks that shape voter behaviour.
Personality	The importance of a candidate's personality in helping to reinforce and manufacture an image in the voter's mind
Situational	The dimension of voters thinking that could be affected by " hypothetical events " that are profiled in the course of a campaign. A candidate's opponents often use this tactic as a means of creating the illusion that one candidate is better in dealing with certain situations than the other candidate, in an effort to get voters to switch their allegiance.
Epistemic	The dimension that appeals to a voter's sense of curiosity or novelty in choosing a candidate.

Political party election campaign communications, is used to influence the media and political agenda to reflect political positions, political identities and political arguments (Kioussis *et al.*, 2006). According to McNair, (2011:31) *the "relationship between a party's campaign and its eventual vote may not be apparent"* and the information that informs the rationale may come from wide variety of sources including word of mouth, social media as well as the mass media. Furthermore, Butler and Kavanagh (1992:77) observe that political party election campaign communication is managed and orchestrated especially as the parties attempt to control and shape the news agenda *"so that the media reflects its views on its favourite issues."*

2.5.5 Models of political party election campaign communication

The political public relations models of communication relevant to political party election campaign communications include relations with publics; relational; and reputation management (Jackson, 2010), as well as hype, spin, propaganda and press agency, and persuasion, which

are discussed under public relations models of communication (Section 2.2.5). However, Jackson asserts that political public relations is more than propaganda and identifies 'hype' and 'persuasion' as the dominant approaches in political party election campaigns because these are short-term tactics used to influence an electorate or potential decisions making.

According to Jackson (2010:4), '*relations with publics*' model of communication is based on the ability to identify and to manage messages so that the messages reach key audiences and to build relationship with the aim of explaining ideas and actions to the audience so as to increase the legitimacy of the party. On the other hand, the '*relational*' political public relations model of communication is a long-term strategy which focuses on a small number of '*influential stakeholders*' and is used to build powerful coalitions as well as to recruit voters (Jackson, 2010:7), which would allow lobbying groups to influence policy (Kovacs 2001, in Jackson 2010). Thus, strategic relationship building; as working together could enhance the credibility of the campaign and add value.

Finally, in defining the '*reputation management*', Jackson (2010:8) states that it has "*some cross-over with relational management, focuses on identifying, managing and changing the corporate reputation* of an organisation. This includes an organisation's image, branding and overall reputation". Furthermore, the '*Grunigian paradigm*' model of communication, according to Jackson (2010:4), is to establish mutual lines of understanding, through interaction, between an organisation and their publics and is usually used for policy development (Newson *et al.*, 2000; Baines *et al.*, 2003; Cutlip *et al.*, 2006; Guth & Marsh, 2007; Seitel 2007; Fawkes, 2008).

Nevertheless, it should be noted that Jackson (2010) does not offer an equivalent political public relations model of communication for the public relations dialogue model of communication (Table 2-3: Differences between public relations and political public relations). In addition, McNair (2011:18) highlights that there are five types of political public relations functions which are promoted through the media namely; to inform; to educate; to provide a platform for public discourse; to hold the powerful accountable i.e. to give publicity to government and institutions in a watchdog function; and to provide a channel for advocacy of political views which McNair (2011:20) states that the "*advocacy function may be viewed as one of persuasion.*"

At the political party election campaign level of strategic communication, public relations includes the implementation of its strategies and tactics towards a specific communication campaign and for a particular purpose (Edwards, 2016). Similarly, Grunig and Hunt (1984),

speak of public relations as the management of communication between an organisation and its publics. Furthermore, the omnipresent role of political public relations in campaigns is undeniable, as political actors rely on communication to reach their key stakeholders as its purpose is to highlight issues important to the voting public and bring these to their attention via the media (Sancar, 2013). Thus, Dryzek (2000) argues that democracy should provide rooms for deliberative public discourses to take place and that these must be both inclusive and reflexive.

2.6 Mass media

Mass media is able to communicate over distance and with many people simultaneously, but it has fewer sensory channels than face-to-face communication (i.e. it lacks smell, taste or touch and relies almost exclusively on sight and sound. Today's mass media includes print media, broadcasting media and online channels such as social networking sites and others that report and comment on, as well as aggregate political issues (McNair, 2011).

McNair (2011) confirms that communication about politics has three main components namely; the media, political elites and voters (Figure 2 -1); all of whom are centre stage in the political process; and depend upon each other, as well as influence each other (Gibson & Römmele, 2007). The traditional mass media (print and broadcast media) provides a connection point between the political actors and transmits political messages to the publics (McNair 2011; Bennett & Entman, 2001) and is an important tool in shaping a democratic landscape by making politics visible in society and providing information, analysis, forums for debate, to create a shared democratic culture (Dahlgren, 2009). The online news environment consumes news as well as producing it, and it makes it possible for people to seek out news organisations that reinforce their beliefs rather than challenge these beliefs (Rideout, 2015). The political space is highly competitive, and political actors compete for space in the mass media as the mass media, both traditional and online, are able to reach audiences of thousands of people.

Furthermore, the relationship between the media and the political process a "*dialectical one, involving action and reaction*" (McNair (2011:43). It is commonly accepted that the media transmits messages to its audience, however in recent years, the media has increased its influence on society (Stromback, 2008), not only in political communication, as society has

become more dependent on the '*media and on 'media logic'*' (Hjarvard, 2008:113). According to Altheide and Robert (1979), media logic combines theory on the production of news content with theory on media effects; refers to the assumptions and processes for the construction of news for a particular medium (Altheide, 2004) and is based on the principle of the media, information technology and communication formats that can affect events and social activities (Altheide, 2016). Although political actors often use media logic to adapt their organisational structure and communication behaviour to meet the mass media's requirements, media logic is not the focus of this thesis and is included here for completeness only. However, the nature and role of the mass media in political engagement is one of many factors that shape a democracy and the media should be considered an important political actor in themselves, as they not only transmit political messages, but interpret and analyse them through commentary, editorials and interview questions (Dahlgren, 2009).

According to Nimmo and Combs (1992:15), the mass media are considered the fourth pillar of society and an instrument of democracy; as the media are "*destined to unite, educate, and, as a result, improve the actions and decisions*" of the political entity. Thus, the mass media are considered to be an essential element of the political process as political parties must communicate efficiently with their potential electorate to gain votes and the easiest way to do this is via the mass media. Despite this reliance on the mass media for the distribution of political view, the traditional door-to-door political party election campaigning continues because people still engage with each other in direct political discussion (Bennett & Entman, 2001). In addition, the mass media makes political actors visible and therefore, more easily identified by their target audience (Dahlgren, 2009) and as political actors become more visible, the news media, who are interested in '*prominence*'; the political elite, are able to get news coverage (Wolfsfeld, 2011).

2.6.1 Media management

Media management is "*a variety of practices whereby political actors may seek to control, manipulate or influence media organisations in ways which correspond to their (actors) political agenda.*" (McNair, 2003:123). McNair (2011) argues that media management of information by political parties can generate favourable publicity and that the purpose of political party communication is to proactively attract positive media coverage; as well as to use political party

mandates to set the national political agenda; as opposed to the reactive approach of damage-limitation through lobbying journalists, the spinning of damaging stories and the suppression of damaging information (McNair, 2011:7). In addition, it is well established that the political party dominating the news coverage will receive a better evaluation of its arguments by the public than another party who obtains less coverage (Druckman, 2001); and political actors often seek media exposure to increase visibility, on a local, national and international level (Dahlgren, 2009; Franklin, 1995), thereby effectively using the mass media to boost and shape public opinion (Bennett & Entman, 2001). In summary, the media plays a pivotal role in political communication for political actors who strive to influence the production of news (Cameron *et al.*, 1997); the shaping and framing of political debates, issues and messages (Froehlich & Rudiger, 2005); and thus, through the media to influence public opinion (Bennett & Entman, 2001).

2.6.2 Gatekeeping

Gatekeeping theory is related to the mass media and to organisations and the role of the gatekeeper, in communication, is to decide which information goes forward and which does not. Overall, the mass media has four typical gatekeeping functions, namely relaying, limiting, expanding and reinterpreting (Bittner, 1977) and in each of these functions will either fulfil or fail to fulfil its role as the fourth estate i.e. watchdog of the government thereby making it more or less difficult for the public officials to shirk their responsibilities (Coronel, 2008). Gates are decision points at which political and other forces work to facilitate or constrain the flow of information (Shoemaker & Riccio, 2016).

Gatekeeping is defined as the process of “*selecting, writing, editing, positioning, scheduling, repeating and otherwise massaging of information to become news*” (Shoemaker *et al.*, 2008:73) and constructs the social reality presented by the media (Shoemaker *et al.*, 2001). How and why stories are given space in the media (i.e. published) is based on principles of news values, organisational routines, input structures and common sense; it makes sense of how the newsroom operates; and is the influence a journalist has over the news production process (White, 1950; Shoemaker & Vos, 2014). Through gatekeeping, the media are able to control public knowledge of an event through the selection of information that is allowed through

the system. In a political system, gatekeeping seeks to control access to those in power as well as to regulate the flow of information and political influence.

However, gatekeeping has been undermined by bloggers, social media and other news distribution mechanisms that are able to disseminate information outside of the traditional mass media. In addition, three different models of gatekeeping have emerged as journalism has shifted from information diffusion to communication, to a collaborative and interactive focus (Bro & Wallberg, 2015). The first model is White's (1950) linear process model of information diffusion; the second is a process of communication to citizens who are considered active participants in the process (Rosen, 1999) and the news media interacts with sources and audiences (Deuze, 2003; Jones & Salter, 2012); the third model of gatekeeping, according to Bro and Wallberg (2015), is one where everybody talks directly to everyone through a variety of means, methods and platforms. More recently there is research to suggest that technology and a highly interactive and participatory audience has shifted gatekeeping from decisions regarding what information goes forward to the realm of media effects, i.e. the principle that the mass media has an effect on the behaviour and well-being of society who now participate in these decisions (Singer, 2016, 2005).

2.6.3 Media effects

Table 2-6: Types of media effects (Perse & Lambe, 2017)

Type of media effects	Concerns.
Cognitive	How do people acquire knowledge; what is learned; how is it learned; how is knowledge structured, does acquiring knowledge fulfils a need; does failure to acquire knowledge creates dissatisfaction News and public affairs are part of cognitive media effects.
Affective	How people form attitudes and positive/negative evaluations about something. Emotional responses to media.
Behavioural	How people react (an observable reaction) to media exposure. Actions and reactions.

Media effects are the intended or unintended consequences of what the media does (McQuail, 2010) and are of importance to the media outlets and people who use the media to send messages to a wide audience. According to McQuail (1994:327) “*the entire study of mass communication is based on the premise that the media have significant effects*” on society. Media effects is defined as “*the manifestations of the influence that the mass media have on people, institutions, society, and culture*” (Perse & Lambe, 2017:1). Studies on media effects included ‘intended’ and ‘unintended’ effects of the media on society and cover a broad array of topics as varied as the content of the media; are based on the assumption that the media, and its content have an impact on society and could become the foundation for how people view the world (Lippmann, 1922) or an tool for manipulation and control of society (Lasswell. 1936). Media effects are generally categorised (Table2-6) as being cognitive, affective or behavioural (Perse & Lambe, 2017; Laughey, 2007).

Furthermore, political effects of the mass media are of interest to media scholars and more recently the effect of the use of blogs and social media news working sites for political party election campaign communication (Plouffe, 2009) and on voter’s election decisions. It is now commonly accepted that media effects theory developed through four to five phases (Table 2-7) with the latter phases still emerging.

Table 2-7: Phases of media effects (Adapted)
(Perse & Lambe, 2017; Cacciatore et al., 2016; Singer, 2016; Scheufele, 1999; Schramm, 1954; Klapper, 1960; McCombs & Shaw, 1972; Noelle-Neuman, 1973)

Time	Media effect theory	Effect
Phase 1: 1900s – 1930s Strategic propaganda (WW1).	Magic Bullet or Hypodermic Syringe models. Stimulus-response and therefore direct influence. (Schramm, 1954)	All powerful: The media are all powerful and the audience is unable to resist them. Uniform messages with persuasive results. Fear of the influence of the media on attitudes. The audience responds automatically to media messages.
Phase 2: 1930s – 1960s	Limited effects or Two Step Flow. Reinforcement of messages and selective exposure. (Klapper, 1960)	Limited effects: The media have only a minimal effect on the audience. Media reinforces existing attitudes but has minimal effect on influencing attitudes. The audience is free to choose and use media content.

Phase 3: 1970s – 1980s Television	Return to powerful mass media effects Frequent exposure changes thinking. (Noelle-Neuman, 1973).	Media's power to bring about subtle, yet direct effects The media once again had powerful effects – the emphasis shifted from attitudinal to cognitive effects. Not what to think, but what to think about. Spiral of silence (Noelle-Neuman, 1973) Cultivation (Gerber & Gross, 1974) Agenda setting (McCombs & Shaw, 1972)
Phase 4: 1980s – 2000s	Social constructivism Construction of reality (Scheufele, 1999)	Hybrid of strong and limited media effects or negotiated effects in the construction of meaning. Media constructs social reality – agenda setting, priming and framing. Media discourse is part of the process of meaning making. Public opinion is part of how journalists create meaning in public discourse.
Phase 5: 2000s - present	Participatory (Singer, 2015)	Web 2.0; social networks influence traditional media effects models. Media effects limited to preference-based reinforcement (Cacciatore <i>et al.</i> , 2016)

Media is an ever-changing field and is being critiqued now more than ever by the general public. The overall influence of mass media has considerably increased, and will continue to do so as the media itself improves. Media influence is the actual force applied by a media message, resulting in either a change or reinforcement in audience or individual beliefs and actions. As a matter of fact, the influence of mass media has an effect on many aspects of the public and can include the followings: voting a certain way, thinking a certain way. It has the capacity to influence individual views and beliefs, or even false information that can skew a person's knowledge of a specific topic. Media effects can be measured and can affect negatively or positively. They can be abrupt or gradual and can stand for a short-term or long-lasting period. Nevertheless, not all effects lead to change, as some media messages reinforce an existing belief.

2.6.4 Agenda setting, priming and framing

Agenda setting, priming and framing are commonly included under the broad category of cognitive media effects (Table 2-6). Although according to Lilleker (2006:117), it is the media that “*shapes and frames the processes and discourse of political communication as well as the society in which that communication takes place*”, however there is suggestion that the effects

of effects of agenda setting, priming and framing within political communication differ (Scheufele, 2000). However, the distinction between agenda, setting priming and framing is contested (Aalberg *et al.*, 2011). McCombs and Reynolds (2009) argue that framing is subsection of agenda-setting because each object on the agenda has attributes which include cognitive components, such as information, and characteristics which include tone, such as negative, positive and neutral and like agenda-setting it tells the public '*what to think about*' into '*how to think about it*'. But, Scheufele (2000) argues, framing and agenda-setting have distinct theoretical boundaries and emphasises that, how an issue is presented in the newspaper can affect how it is understood by audiences and the differences between agenda setting and framing is apparent in news production, information processing and media effects. Broadly, agenda setting is concerned with the salience of issues (McCombs, 1997); priming revolves around evaluation cues for issues (Scheufele, 2000) and framing is the selection of a restricted attributes for inclusion in issue discussions (McCombs, 1997).

2.6.4.1 Agenda-setting

Agenda-setting is a mass communication theory, which has been adopted by other disciplines including political communication (Coleman *et al.*, 2009), and is based on Lippmann's premise that the news media construct our world (Lippman, 1922). Agenda setting takes place within the "*context of society and a myriad of social problems; and intersects with spectacular events, political leadership priorities and public opinion*" (Perloff, 2013:137). Some scholars define agenda setting as public awareness of a set of issues (McCombs & Shaw, 1972; McCombs, 2007)) as well as the rise and fall of a single issue across time (Winter & Eyal, 1981).

Agenda-setting is based on the premise that there is a strong correlation between issues that the media emphasises in their coverage, i.e. large amount of coverage, prominent placement in the media, and the importance, i.e. salience, that the audience assigns to the issue (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Thus, agenda setting is how the media tells society "*what to think about*", and is, therefore, how the media is able to influence the public agenda; create public awareness and concern regarding the salience of issues, promote political figures and draw attention to matters of importance to the media (McCombs *et al.*, 2009).

On the one hand, the media agenda (*what society should think about*) comprises issues that the media considers important; what the media judges worthy of drawing public attention towards; what the public 'should know about', and how the media promotes these issues to generate

awareness of these issues. For example, one of the news values that the media uses to attract readership, is '*prominence*'; and thus, it is natural that the political elite to be awarded news coverage (Wolfsfeld, 2011). On the other hand, the public agenda comprises issues important to the public. Although the media agenda is often transferred into the public agenda (McCombs & Shaw, 1972), it takes co-operation between the media and the public to build the public agenda (Berkowitz, 1992). However, neither the media agenda nor the public agenda should be confused with the policy agenda, which is based on the issues considered important to the political leaders. Furthermore, Behr and Iyengar (1985) found that although the public agenda was influenced by television coverage, the media agenda, i.e news coverage, was unaffected by public opinion.

Lang and Lang (1981) propose a four stage agenda setting process whereby the media highlights an event, activity, personality or group making it an issue; the media imbues the highlighted issue with a sense of conflict, concern or problem; the media links 'secondary symbols' to the issue to make it part of the '*recognised*' political landscape; and finally political actors keep the issue alive through promotion and feedback loops.

2.6.4.2 Priming

Priming is defined as "*changes in the standards that people use to make political evaluations*" (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987:63). Priming, together with agenda setting, explains how the mass media tells the public "*what to think about*" as well as '*what to think*' (Cohen, 1963). Within political communication, the mass media encourages the public to adopt standards of political evaluation suggested by the media in their analysis and presentation of the political issues. Thus, priming is seen as an extension of agenda setting (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007) as it is through raising the importance of some issues (agenda setting) and encouraging audiences to use certain criteria to make judgements (priming) that the media is able to influence its audience.

2.6.4.3 Framing

Entman (1993) refers to framing as a "*fractured paradigm*", as it has been adopted by many academic disciplines and research including economic research, sociology, psychology and communication science (Scheufele, 2000). There are a variety of definitions available on frames and framing, but in many instances the conceptualisation of these terms differs. For

example, framing can be defined as “the *principles of organisation*” of a news story or issue (Goffman, 1974:10); “*principles of selection, emphasis and presentation*” (Gitlin, 1980:6) of an issue; as well as the manner in which a “*story is written or produced*” (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997:39). Other definitions describe framing as social constructions of a social phenomenon (Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Zhou & Moy, 2007). Furthermore, framing definitions are genre-specific and are based on either a generic or an issue specific foundation (de Vreese, 2005). Issue specific framing includes definitions of problems, moral judgements as well as supporting remedies for the issue at hand (Entman, 1993).

According to Scheufele (2000) framing is divided into media frames or audience frames. Media frames are defined as “*a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding ... event. ... The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue*” (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987:143). On the one hand, media frames are useful as they allow journalists to easily identify and classify the information (Scheufele, 2000), while on the other hand, audience frames are similar to priming and assist audiences with the processing of information and are defined as “*mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide*” interpretation (Entman, 1993:53). Furthermore, framing is based on the assumption that how an issue is presented in a news report will influence how it is understood by the audience (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). In political public relations framing is often seen as a mobilization strategy to win attention and support from the public (Froehlich & Rudiger, 2005) and is categorized according to the following framing genres (Table 2-8).

Framing is considered as a strategic communication that is used to shape the public agenda influence people’s behaviours and attitudes (Aalberg *et al.*, 2011) and is what the Bernays (1928) called the ‘*engineering context*’ of propaganda. Thus, framing pays particular attention to questions related to “*who is winning and losing, the performances of politicians and parties, and on campaign strategies and tactics*” (Aalberg *et al.*, 2011:163). However, Entman asserts that framing differs from persuasion and assertions because framing:

“repeatedly invokes the same objects and traits, using identical or synonymous words and symbols in a series of similar communications that are concentrated in time. These frames function to promote and interpretation of a problematic situation or action and (implicit or explicit) support of a desirable response, often along with a moral judgement that provides and emotional charge” (Entman et al., 2009:177).

Gitlin (1980:7) argues that framing makes use of persistent “*selection, emphasis, and exclusion*”, while Entman (1993:52) suggests that framing selects only some aspects of reality and presents them in a manner to make them more noticeable. In addition, framing is considered to be the most important concepts relating to media coverage of politics in general, and during elections’ campaigns in particular, which is measured by winning or losing as well as how well the parties or candidates are doing in the opinion polls (Aalberg *et.al*, 2011).

Politically, framing is seen as a mobilisation strategy through which organisations present their views and thereby frame issues; or insert them in the public arena in the hope of winning public support and action (Froehlich & Rudiger, 2005). Framing assists people with making sense of complex information and thereby give meaning to the world (Shmueli *et.al*, 2009). Framing uses selection to simplify; and to filter perceptions into limited field of vision, which may be negative or positive on a specific issue or message, or news (Johnson, 2013). In addition, framing allows political actors to establish a “common frames of reference” with their target groups (Hallahan, 1999:207). Thus, political communication, which makes use of framing is defined as “*selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and constructing messages that highlight connections among them in ways that promote a particular interpretation*” (Entman *et al.*, 2009:176). Therefore, strategic political framing is used to exert power over outcomes and to persuade audiences to accept interpretations that benefit the political party.

Table 2-8 Framing genres
(Gamson & Modigliani, 1987; Entman *et al.*, 2009; Ivengar, 1999)

Generic	“Central organising idea or storyline that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events” (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987:143) Central ideas or single storylines are difficult to analyse (Entman <i>et al.</i> , 2009)
Issue specific	Issue specific frames are pertinent only to specific topics and events and therefore have attributes which can be categorised into themes, arguments and assertions and thus analysed. (Entman <i>et al.</i> , 2009)
Episodic	Episodic framing suggests that social issues are framed around specific instances and personalities with not broader context provided. Thus, responsibility is attributed to the individual for his/her problems. (Ivengar, 1999)
Thematic	Thematic framing emphasises broader contexts, trends and background to the issue and responsibility or blame is more likely to be assigned to societal attributes. (Ivengar, 1999)
Substantive	Substantive framing focuses on the substantive nature and importance of issues, events and actors in the political strategy. (Entman, 2004)

Procedural	Procedural framing evaluates political strategy as a “horserace’ and power struggles amongst the elite (Entman, 2004)
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2.6.5 Media ethics

Journalism ethics are built around the norms of what is considered ‘responsible journalism’ (Ward, 2009) and therefore journalists’ ethics play an important role in the production of news. According to Ward (2009:295-296) “*ethics is the analysis, evaluation and promotion of what constitutes correct conduct and virtuous character in light of the best available principles*”. In particular, journalism ethics, are a practical guide on how to act responsibly as “*everything a journalist writes or says, or neglects to write or to say, in some or other way has an influence on people*” (Black *et. al*, 1999); and “*influences can be good or bad*” (Retief, 2002:4; Ward, 2009). Furthermore, journalists are encouraged to safe guard their integrity and independence as the media is vital to an open and democratic society (Black, 1995; Retief, 2002; Nel, 2005), therefore journalists, in the pursuit of truth, should be honest, fair and courageous in gathering, reporting and interpreting information accurately to fulfil their role as the fourth estate and to give a ‘*voice to the voiceless*’; and to ‘*hold the powerful accountable*’ (Black, 1995; Retief, 2002).

Firstly, journalists as human beings, should conduct themselves according to the normative journalistic ethics, which are to maximise truth, minimise harm, and to act independently (Black, 1995; Retief, 2002). Secondly, as professionals, journalists have the power to frame the political agenda and influence public opinion (Curd & May, 1985; Elliott, 1986). Hence, the role of the journalist and the media, influences what the general public should think about; and how they should to think about it (Nel, 2005; Ward, 2009). However, changes in technology and new types of news media calls for the basic discourse on journalism ethics to move from simplistic general concepts of truth, freedom, public interest and democracy to more complex concepts that incorporate western and non-western traditions (Ward, 2009).

2.7 Conceptual framework

Miles and Huberman (1994) concede that the conceptual framework comprises the key factors, the variables and presumed relationships amongst them. Walsham (1995) points out that in an interpretive research, there are no debate whether a theory is correct or incorrect. Hence

interpretive researchers' base their approach on how interesting the theories they present are and expect others in the field to find them interesting (Marshall & Rossman, 2014). Walsham (1995) further outlines three different uses of theory in interpretive case studies: 1) theory guiding the design and collection of data; 2) theory as an iterative process of data collection and analysis; and 3) theory as an outcome of a case study.

In this study, the initial examination of public relations, political public relations and political communication models showed clearly that not much has changed since Bernay's (1928) statement that communication is "*informing people, persuading people, or integrating people with people*" and that propaganda is used to manipulate them intelligently and creatively. Another view that the purpose of political communication is to persuade, defend and consolidate (Lilleker, 2006), which mirrors Bernays (1928) public relations purpose of *inform, persuade and integrate*, and thus political communication is characterised by patterns of politics, namely *control, influence, power and authority* and this presents an opportunity to link public relations models of communication to media content (Grunig & Hunt, 1984; Grunig, 1992; Van Ruler, 2004; Jackson, 2010).

However, Van Ruler (2004) only deals with propaganda as a form of persuasive communication similar to advertising and adds the only new form of communication as *dialogue*. When Jackson (2010) uses the term hype it is synonymous with propaganda, and the '*provision or dissemination of information*' is renamed as '*relations with publics*,' which encourages a "*free flow of information to society*". Table 2–6, shows that political communication, political public relations, strategic communication and public relations overlap on all public relations models of communication, i.e. propaganda; information; persuade; mutual benefit; and dialogue.

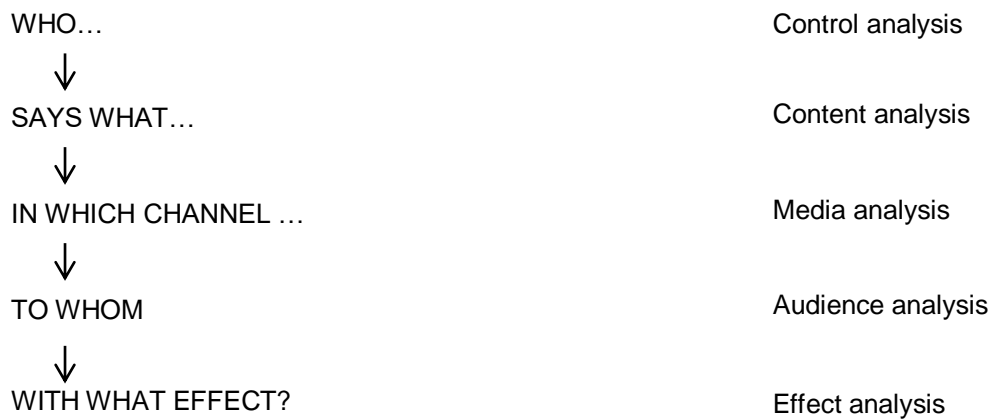


Figure 2-2: Lasswell's chain of communication
(Lasswell, 1971b)

Other framework considerations included determining who controls the political message and, if possible, answers who the sender of the communication is, as well as determine the value and weight of the people mentioned in the story (Lasswell, 1936). Furthermore, Lasswell's (1948) chain communication and communication chain effects was used as the counter point on each of the framework principles (Figure 2—2).

McQuail and Windahl (1993) believe Lasswell's chain of communication takes for granted that the purpose of communication is to influence the receiver of the communication and therefore all communication should be regarded as persuasive or at very least as having an effect. In addition, there are six levels of persuasion or power according to Dahl (1957), and this type of influence will either be unspoken or blatant in the message and are described as being rational, manipulative, inducement, power, coercion and physical force, where physical force may be considered as a protest or similar type of political action.

Quality of the message is based on the rules of political campaigns as presented by Neidhardt (1994:18), whereby it should include correct statements, plausible explanations, legitimate evaluations, as well as necessary and advantageous action. This evaluation of messages is important as it establishes criteria for the quality of the story from the political elite and attests to the calibre of the politician controlling the story and not only the media ethics and quality of the

journalism. Furthermore, the role of the media and political actors and whether they are active, passive or even uninterested; or positive and negative in tone adds an element to the politics of the situation (McNair, 2011). Journalists, according to the guidelines for ethical reporting should be considered neutral, but who might slant the story positively or negatively.

Table 2-9: A conceptual framework to analyse political party campaign communication
(Lasswell, 1936; 1948; Dahl; 1957; Grunig & Hunt, 1984; Grunig, 1992; Neidhardt, 1994; Van Ruler, 2004; Froehlich & Rudiger 2005; Lilleker, 2006; Jackson 2010; Vilamar, 2012; Sancar,2013).

Political party campaign communication	Control	Content	Purpose
Messages: control, influence, power and authority; and framing	✓	✓	✓
Actors: media and political actors	✓	✓	✓
Strategy: political and public relations communication strategy	✓	✓	✓
Issues management:	✓	✓	

The above table shows clearly the cycle within which political party campaign communication is established. Also referred in this instance as public relations within the political organisation, political public relations' main goal is then characterised by the use of media outlets (Froehlich & Rudiger 2005; Jackson, 2010). The media are important channels of messages distribution for political public relations, as they help to communicate specific political views, solutions and interpretations to attract support for political policies or campaigns (Lilleker, 2006, Lasswell, 1936). According to Sancar (2013) political public relations represents a great tool in transmitting messages for political parties to their voters. Meanwhile it aims sustainability of political parties and their government (Grunig, 1992). Sancar (2013) as well as Van Ruler (2004) notes the importance of feedback which is a necessary condition for symmetrical communication and dialogue to effectively take place in the new communication arena. Furthermore, the authors highlight the contribution of public relations in the flow of communication process between political elites and institutions, political leaders and their publics.

Sancar (2013) points out that in the world of election or politics, public relations is crucial in reaching strategic political communication. He argues in fact, that public relations methods and techniques are the most important part of the political communication process to correct public perception of political parties and promote successful transmission of the desired image. He concludes that with the excellence study defended by Grunig, *“symmetry in public relations really is about balancing the interests of organizations and publics, of balancing advocacy and accommodation. Without dialogue and change on policies, symmetrical communication could not be effective in political process for political parties and their leaders”* (Sancar 2013:183).

2.7.1 Political party election campaign communication

Communication between the ‘ruling organisations of society’ (Lilleker, 2006) and its citizens is essential, thus the purpose of political communication is to explain the actions of the political actors to the votes and thereby establish legitimacy and credibility with the public (Lilleker, 2006). Political communication is roughly divided into two areas; namely, political party election campaign communication and government policy communication (Brants & Voltmer, 2011). This research is concerned only with political party election campaign communication, which comprises party messages, which are directed at the voting public through mass media channels to share the party’s ideology and beliefs, and encourage them to vote (McNair, 2011). In this research political party election campaign communication is based on the political party election campaign manifesto and traditional print media news coverage on political campaign issues.

Furthermore, Butler and Kavanagh (1992:77) observe that political party election campaign communication is managed and orchestrated especially as the parties attempt to control and shape the news agenda *“so that the media reflects its views on its favourite issues.”*

2.7.2 Public relations models of communication

The public relations models of communication are fully discussed in Chapter 2. The models of communication arising from that discussion can be listed, with a short description as to its application in this research, as: Press agency; hype; spin and propaganda; (Press agency is the practice of attracting the attention of the press through techniques that generate news).

Dissemination of information; (This model of public information is one directional and its purpose shifts persuasion based on half-truths to more ethical educational practices to inform the public in a one directional flow).

Persuasion; (the persuasive communication model, or the two-way asymmetrical, intends to persuade a particular audience to influence behaviours. Alternatively, it requires a measured response from its intended audience. Government propaganda is a good example of this model. Propaganda is the organised spreading of information to assist or weaken a cause).

Consensus building; mutual understand and benefit (this model seeks the promotion of dialogue to take and further intend to build relationship for short or long-term goals).

Dialogue and engagement; partnerships (this model strives for mutual understanding and aims to enhance collaboration, co-operation and co-creation).

Mixed motive (this model promotes and advocates the central importance of self-interest while acknowledging opposing opinions).

2.7.3 Political, media and public sphere actors

Within a representative democracy there are a variety of political actors operating within the political sphere including elected officials, pressure groups and political parties; the media, including broadcast and print; and the public sphere comprising citizens and voters.

Political parties, according to McNair (2011) are political actors who share common ideologies and decide to work together within an agreed organisational structure to achieve common goals. Furthermore, (Downs, 1957) defines political parties as organisations that seek power and control in a duly constituted election. Hofmeister and Grabow (2011) stress that without political parties, a modern democracy is not conceivable, and it is the political parties that enable citizens to act politically. Therefore, to participate in elections, the political parties need their voice to reach society as broadly as possible (Hofmeister & Grabow, 2011). Despite ideological differences, political parties share a commitment to constitutional means of advancing their objectives, and thereby attempt to convince the society as a whole of their suitability to rule (McNair, 2011). Political parties take positions on a variety of topics which are important to the citizens of a nation as well as to the public order and organisation of society.

Mass media outlets play an important role in political communication which aims to reach a mass audience, indirectly, rather than interacting on a face-to-face or door-to-door individual and direct political engagement basis (Lilleker, 2006). Although the internet does not form part of this study, it is acknowledged that internet is effective in allowing political actors to communicate and to gain media attention (Smith, 2013). Froehlich and Rudiger (2005) maintain that it is through the use of the media, that political actors are able to communicate specific political views, solutions and interpretations in the hope of gaining public support for political policies or campaigns. Media coverage of politics influences the public and political spheres as, although the media reports independently, the political actors are synergistically influenced by each other “*when formulating arguments, opinions, policies, perceptions and attitudes*” (Lilleker, 2006:1).

2.7.4 Political party election campaign communication strategy

A political party election campaign strategy aims to maximise support and mobilise voters through the creation of a common frame of reference on issues important to the public (Holtzhausen & Zerfass, 2014). Hence, a political party election campaign communication strategy would be “*the purposeful use of communication by an organisation to fulfil its mission*” (Hallahan *et al.*, 2007:3). Furthermore, strategic communication in the public sphere is about controlling public dialogue (Habermas, 2015), and although strategic communication is not always manipulative the communication strategy is to inform, persuade as well as direct the discussion and build relationships (Hallahan *et al.*, 2007:127). Furthermore, political communication has control, influence, power and authority characteristics similar to politics (Lilleker, 2006; Vilamar, 2012).

2.7.5 Political party election campaign messages

As argued by (Lubbe & Puth 2000), the crucial role that public relations plays in today’s socio-political and business system is widely recognised especially as public relations is responsible for the movement of messages (Grunig & Hunt, 1984). Similar views, as argued by Bernays (1928) along with Smith (2013); Bivins (1987); Cutlip (1995) and Cutlip *et al.* (2000), posit that public relations seeks to create public acceptance through carefully crafted messages.

Furthermore, Davis (2000) notes the importance of pressure groups publicly giving voice to individual concerns, thus shaping public opinion and the public alike as public relations messages are able to influence and be “*influenced by politics*” (Jackson, 2010:3).

Political parties communicate messages into the public sphere to achieve a level of influence, to establish a level of legitimacy and to explain their actions. Political party communication serves to provide the information needed by the public (Denton & Woodwood, 1990); to retain support by ‘*manufacturing content*’ (Herman & Chomsky, 2002); to measure the level of public approval and to encourage engagement within the political system (Blumler & Gurevitch, 1995). However, messages are of critical importance in political communication and are presented in either a positive or negative manner, depending on the communication strategy. Furthermore, messages act as heuristic shortcuts to close the information gap for those people who are unlikely to read the political party manifesto or remember details of the issues of the day and therefore messages are integrated into all news coverage, public relations and communication between the party and the public during the campaign (Lilleker, 2006). Messages are remembered if they are short, believable, credible and likeable of source, and peripheral to the information overload of day to day modern living, i.e. low impact messages (Perloff, 2016).

2.8 Conceptualisation

Babbie (2015:128) defines conceptualisation as: “*the process through which we specify what we mean when we use particular terms in research*”. According to Babbie and Mouton (2001), it is the process by which the researcher clarifies what is meant when using particular terms within a specific research context. The key variables in this research are: public relations, political public relations, political party campaign communication and the media. All these specific terms are referred to in this research to present the public relations expertise within the political organisation communication through the media channel, which in turn ensures the conduction and distribution of specific messages addressed by political actors, and/or organisations to their targeted audiences.

In this instance, these terms are discussed interchangeably to highlight the importance of the public relations key function in political party campaign communication. Hence, the developed framework see (Table 2–9) shows the connection between three main actors in this dynamic

circle; namely the political organisation, the public and the media, who ultimately helps through strategic means to the dissemination of specific messages. Political party campaign communication consists primarily of party messages, which are communicated to the voting public through the mass media, to make voters aware of the party's ideology and beliefs, and thereafter generating favourable votes. Inspired by the Lasswell formula "Who, says What, in which Channel, to Whom, with what Effect", which is aimed at influencing or persuading the receiver (McQuail & Windahl, 1993:14); I developed the conceptual framework that informs on the importance of a tailored formulated message, and who is in control of it and for what purpose. Therefore, public relations practitioners engaged in the political party campaign communication field need to contribute to the establishment of a framework of political communication that confers legitimacy to a real democracy.

2.9 Conclusion

The literature review examined the theoretical concepts underpinning public relations under the sub-categories of strategic models of communication, stakeholder theory and management, political public relations; political communication; political party campaign communication; mass media; media management; media effects; and media ethics. According to key scholars the purpose of political public relations is to engage a dynamic interactive communication through the use of specific media outlets to communicate specific views for public support (Bernays, 1928; Lubbe & Puth, 2000; Froehlich & Rudiger 2005; Sancar, 2013; McNair, 2011; Jackson, 2010; Bernays, 1928), which ultimately facilitate the process of communication between political constitutions, leaders and their target audience. Thus, making public relations an essential pre-requisite to ensure the distribution of the appropriate political messages, to the appropriate public in the appropriate time through the appropriate medium.

In addition, an imperative key focus within the public relations profession is the integral role in assisting the organisation to monitor and interpret its social environment and in advising management on establishing and maintaining organisational legitimacy as a foundation for long term organisational, thus advising management on how to secure a *strategic* fit in the public sphere (Cutlip *et.al.*, 2000; Grunig & White, 1992; Grunig, 1992; Grunig & Hunt, 1984). Therefore, it is possible to conclude that political public relations or public relations in the context of political party election campaign communication is strategic and thus helps the

organisation i.e. the political party, to create a valid and valuable link with the different stakeholders of the organisation and impacts on the organisational reputation through the management of strategic issues, which can influence or persuade voters.

CHAPTER THREE will cover the research method, as well as the philosophical assumptions that underpin the study.

3 CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Chapter three explains the research design and methodology, the data collection methods, and the data analysis to compare the coverage of political party campaign communication of four political parties in a regional newspaper during the build-up to the 2014 South African general elections

3.2 Research design

Welman *et al.* (2005) describe research design as the plan that researchers develop that will guide the selection of participation, as well as the methodology used to collect information required to answer the research question. The research design (Table 3–1) describes data collection and data analysis, both of which are based on the research assumptions, skills and practices of the researcher (Maree, 2007). In other words, it is the detailed plan to be followed by the researcher in reaching the overall conclusions led by the entire research process.

Table 3-1: Research design and methodology outline
(Adapted. De Vos *et al.*, 2011)

Research Outline	Description
Design	Holistic Single Case
Epistemology	Social Constructivist, Interpretive, Qualitative, Subjective,
Data collection method	Content analysis of political party election campaign manifesto; Content analysis of regional newspaper.
Data analysis	Conceptual framework
Result	Gain an understanding of prevalent public relations practices

De Vos *et al.* (2011) point out that research design is a paradigm through which research is conducted and a research paradigm can be referred to as a belief system under which research is conducted (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Martens (2005), along with Wahyuni (2012), posits that a research paradigm addresses the philosophical stances that surround research and includes philosophical assumptions as well as systems of inquiry. Research is governed by particular worldviews which include: positivism; post-positivism; critical theory and social constructivism, which is often referred to as interpretivism.

3.2.1 Qualitative research design

Qualitative research design challenges the traditional notion of an absolute truth and contends that knowledge is speculative and can, therefore, be challenged (Wheeldon & Ahlberg, 2011). Creswell (1998) maintains that qualitative research is an approach that allows the researcher to explore and understand social phenomenon to gain a deep understanding of the social world (Merriam, 2009; Rallis & Rossman, 2012). Thus, a qualitative research design offers the opportunity to explore and understand in a rich descriptive manner, the way the social world is constructed (McLeod, 2011).

Qualitative research is subjective and has a complex rather than a narrow point of view as the goal of the research is to describe and understand (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). According to Auerbach and Silverstein (2003:3) a “*qualitative research is a research that involves analysing and interpreting texts in order to discover meaningful patterns descriptive of a particular phenomenon*”. Hence, Denzin and Lincoln (2005) state that the purpose of qualitative research is to enlarge the understanding of a particular phenomenon as qualitative research is able to describe, to explain, as well as to make predictions. According to Rubin and Babbie (2001) qualitative research pursues a deeper understanding of the human experience, especially in instances when observations and numbers cannot easily be reduced to numbers. Furthermore, the analysis of data is based on inductive reasoning rather than statistical analysis (Wheeldon & Ahlberg, 2011).

3.2.2 The interpretive approach

Underpinned by constructivism philosophy towards the creation of knowledge, this research is interpretive. Interpretive research maintains that all “*human beings are engaged in the process of making sense of their worlds and continuously interpret, create, give meaning, define, justify and rationalise daily action*” (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:20; Myers, 2008). Furthermore, an interpretive approach provides insight into “*the complex world of lived experience from the point of view of those who live in it*” (Schwandt, 1994:118). This approach assumes that reality is socially constructed, and that the researcher becomes the point of connection through which this reality is revealed (Walsham, 1995). Maree (2007:58) posits that interpretivism is rooted in hermeneutics, which is “*the study of the theory and practice of interpretation*” thus interpretive research assumes knowledge of reality is obtained through the social constructs of “*language, consciousness, shared meanings, documents, tools, and other artefacts*” (Klein & Myers 1999:69). In an interpretive research there are no predefined dependent and independent variables, instead there is a focus on the complexity of human sense-making, which emerges from the situation being studied (Kaplan & Maxwell, 2005). Those who espouse the interpretive approach claim that social phenomena must be understood in the social contexts in which they are constructed and reproduced through their activities. In other words, the understanding of social action must include the meaning that society gives to their deeds, performances and actions. Moreover, the researcher’s interpretations play a crucial role in an interpretive study, thereby making the research subjective and supported by argument rather than objective supported by “*statistical exactness*” (Garcia & Quek, 1997:459).

3.3 Case study

The case study is “*an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident*” (Yin 2003:13). Furthermore, a case study enables the researcher to comprehend the phenomenon under investigation and is useful for answering ‘*how*’ and ‘*why*’ types of questions (Benbasat *et al.*, 1987; Yin, 2003).

According to De Vos *et al.* (2011), the case study used for explanatory purposes, aims to both build and test theory and is important in producing theory and bringing up new knowledge to the

field of study. Stake (1995) and Yin (2003) propose two important approaches that encompass case study methodology. Both approaches are tailored in a way that ensures that subject matter is properly explored, and that social or contextual reality is revealed, despite there being differences in the methods they use (Baxter & Jack, 2008). It is important to note that Stake (1995) and Yin (2003) base their case study approaches on the constructivism philosophy of knowledge, which highlights the subjective role played through human interactions, although it does not deny some patterns of objectivity. Pluralism focuses on the circular dynamic tension of subject and object (Miller & Crabtree, 1999:10), while constructivism is concerned with social construction of reality and knowledge (Searle, 1995).

Cornford and Smithson (2005) note that case study research has been criticised because of its non-representativeness and a lack of generalisability. Furthermore, Miles and Huberman (1994) argue that as data is often subject to different interpretations, and case study research should consider possible 'researcher bias, as the analysis is based on inductive reasoning rather than a statistical analysis (Wheeldon & Ahlberg, 2011). Nevertheless, Pettigrew (1985) believes that case studies help to develop and refine theories and that multiple case studies can lead to generalisations. Walsham (1995) maintains that the validity of the case study approach is derived from an interpretive epistemology based on the logical reasoning and the likelihood and strength of the conclusions drawn from the data and applied to the presentation of the results. Similarly, Yin (2003) argues that case studies are used for analytical generalisations, where the researcher's aim is to generalise a particular set of results to some broader theoretical propositions.

3.3.1 Using the case study

Referred to as a '*science of the singular*' by Simons (1980) the case study approach allows the researcher to focus on a single occasion and generate deep insights as well as a thick and rich description of a particular event. Furthermore, case studies are flexible and can be used in various combinations with other research approaches (Rule & John, 2011). In addition, De Vos *et al.* (2011) argue that as long as the entity being explored is bound by time, place, person or environment, it can be used with ethnographic and phenomenological approaches because this approach goes beyond simply investigating a single individual or situation and enables the research to consider simple through to complex situations. In addition to asking "how" and

“why” questions, the researcher is able to consider how a phenomenon is influenced by the context within which it takes place (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Yin (1994:13) argues that case studies are particularly relevant to contextual conditions which are important to your study as a

“case study allows an investigation to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life event.” Thus, Paré and Elam (1997) argue that case study research makes it possible to capture and understand context but is flexible enough to accommodate various research aims and diverse data collection and analysis methods as summarised in Table 3–1. Stake (1995) suggests that case studies are appropriate for research that seeks to understand unique and complex situations. Therefore, the case study approach is especially useful in situations where contextual conditions of the events being studied are critical and the researcher has no control over the unfolding events.

3.3.2 Types of cases studies

There are various types of cases studies which criteria’s leads to specific outcomes. This specific study falls under the explanatory case study type and thus aims to build theory.

Table 3–2: Types of case studies
(Paré & Elam,1997; Stake, 1995; Rule & John, 2011; Yin 2003)

Criteria	Type of case study
Nature of the case	Intrinsic: unique and extraordinary Instrumental: developing theories and insights Collective: more than one instrumental case
Theoretical aims	Descriptive: requires theory to guide data collection Causal: search for causal and explanatory theories Explanatory: data collected before theory
Number	Single to Multiple
Units	Embedded: more than one sub-unit Holistic: global

**Table 3–3: Strengths and limitations of case study research,
(Adapted Hodkinson & Hodkinson, 2001)**

Strengths	Limitations
Helps understanding of complex inter-relationships	Easy to dismiss by those who do not like the messages that they contain
Grounds data in ‘lived reality’	Cannot answer a large number of relevant and appropriate research questions and does not lend itself to numerical representation
Facilitates the exploration of the unexpected and unusual	The complexity examined is difficult to represent simply
Enables research to focus on the significance of the idiosyncratic through the use multiple cases.	Not generalizable in the conventional sense
Helps show the processes involved in causal relationships	Strongest when researcher expertise and intuition are maximized, but this raises doubts about ‘objectivity’
Facilitates rich conceptual/theoretical development	There is too much data for easy analysis and work is expensive if attempted on a large scale
Fully depicts people’s experience in program input, process, and results	Usually quite time consuming to collect information, organize and analyse it
Powerful way of portraying program to outsiders	Represents depth of information rather than breadth

To sum up, I chose to do a case study as it excels at bringing an understanding of complex issues, while it offers the possibilities to extend experience or add more strength to knowledge from previous researches. Considering this, case studies particularly enable the researcher to produce a rich and thick description from a narrow scale, which ultimately gives a broad view of relatively considered small phenomena. As Yin (1994) argues, case studies are suitable to capture and investigate contemporary phenomenon in real life context that are not clearly evident and in which multiple sources of evidences are used. Although, there are some critics of the reliability and generality of a case study method, other feels that the intense exposure has the potential to add bias to the findings of the case (De Vos *et.al*, 2011). However, researchers

continue to use the case study research method with much success in carefully planned and crafted studies of real-life situations, issues, and problems (Yin, 1994).

3.3.3 Situating the case

Case study research cannot be understood without being placed in a particular context so that the case has reference to a wider context (Rule & John, 2011). The discursive space in which this research is based is on the assumption that political parties use public relations principles in the political party election campaign communication strategies to build rapport with the voters, to develop relationships, and to win and gain votes during the election campaign. Motivated by the observation that the political communication process within the South African landscape is diverse in terms of political parties and media ownership; as well as having an emphasis on freedom of speech as a constitutional right, I chose to conduct a comparative case study on the newspaper coverage by the Cape Times regional newspaper prior up to the 2014 general election, i.e. from January 8, 2014 to May 7, 2014. During five months build-up to the South African 2014 general election, I analysed the political election stories which appeared in the news section of Cape Times newspaper, with particular attention being given to how these four political parties, mainly, the Democratic Alliance (DA), followed by the African National Congress (ANC); and newly emerging opposition parties, namely Agang and Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) were treated in the a single medium, the Cape Times.

3.3.3.1 A Comparative case study

UNICEF (2014) defines a comparative case study as a useful method for both qualitative and quantitative researches to understand how a particular context may influence the success of a specific intervention. Furthermore, it involves the analysis and synthesis of the similarities, differences and patterns across two or more cases. To facilitate the extraction of data that would most satisfactorily addresses the research question, I chose to use a comparative case study approach. A methodology, which according to Yin (2003) is relevant when the researcher believes the context to be highly pertinent to the subject under study. Hence the rationale for choosing such an approach that allowed for comparisons between the political party campaign communications of the various political parties involved of this research, (Mangen, 2013). Likewise, case study techniques provide a means to examine a multiplicity of perspectives to

illustrate a social entity or pattern and to test ideas and processes (Ritchie *et.al*, 2013). Therefore, this research methodology allowed to explain the application of the public relations principles and strategies that influenced the political party election campaign communication of the Democratic Alliance in the context of three other political parties in a regional newspaper during the build-up to the 2014 South African general elections.

3.4 Population and sampling

According to Welman *et al.* (2005:52) a research problem relates a “*specific population and the population encompasses the total collection of all units of analysis about which the research wishes to make specific conclusions*”. A population is the full set of cases from which a sample is taken (Welman *et al.*, 2005) and has all the elements that meet the sample criteria for inclusion in a study (Burns & Grove, 1993; Rubin & Babbie, 2011). The research problem that this research seeks to resolve is situated in political party election campaign communication, specially the political party election campaign communication of the Democratic Alliance (DA) in the context of three other political parties, during the five months leading up to the general elections in 2014.

3.4.1 Sampling frame

A sample of the population refers to those individual units of analysis that are chosen with the aim of extracting information from them about the total population. Therefore, these units of analysis represent the total study population that generates the research problem and towards which the final results will be generalised (Mouton, 1996; De Vos *et al.*, 2002). It is Patton’s view (1990:169) that all types of sampling used in qualitative research falls under the broad term of purposeful sampling as a “*qualitative inquiry typically focuses in depth on relatively small samples, even single cases, selected purposefully*”. Sandelowski (1995) concurs with Patton’s view that all types of sampling in qualitative research may be encompassed under the broad term of purposeful sampling. According to Patton (2002), purposeful sampling is widely to gather rich and thick information more effectively, as it is based upon relatively small resources. Nevertheless, the method of sampling must align with the aims and assumptions of the research.

Total population sampling is considered to be a purposive sample, and a non-probability sample, which means it is not possible to make statistical generalisations about the population under study (Welman *et al.*, 2005). The population and sample of this research is mainly the political party election campaign communication of the Democratic Alliance (DA) in the five months leading up to the general elections in 2014; namely the manifesto of the Democratic Alliance and the political news coverage of the election build-up in the regional newspaper of the Western Cape, the Cape Times; in the context of three other political parties in a regional newspaper during the build-up to the 2014 South African general elections.

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3.5 Research methodology

According to Saunders (2011), a research methodology or strategy is the general plan that assists the researcher to answer the research questions in a systematic way. A research methodology describes a way of conducting research or the means of doing something that best fits the overall research paradigm (Mouton, 1996; Wahyuni 2012; Grove & Burns 2005; Ponterotto, 2005). Wahyuni (2012) draws to attention the distinction between methods and methodology which according to the author obey to distinguishable patterns. The first one refers to elements needed to obtain particular information, and the second describes the way towards these particular elements (Clough & Nutbrown 2012). Jonker and Pennink (2010) define methodology as the logic that governs the different steps the researcher undertakes to achieve a certain predetermined or intended result. Research methods present three major research methodologies namely; qualitative research, quantitative research, and mixed research. For the purpose of this research, I adopted a qualitative research methodology.

3.5.1 Data collection methods

Rule and John (2011) concede that researchers choose data collection methods in response to a number of factors such as the aim of the study, the research questions as well as the constraints under which the research takes place; and even research ethics rather than identifying factors which are inherent to case study research as a form of enquiry. Pawar (2004) discusses the importance and relevance of data collecting methods and strategies in the

research process. He emphasises that no research can be undertaken without data. Thus, data collection methods relevance presents the basis through which a research is conducted.

According to Silverman (2013:11) there are four important techniques for qualitative data collection which are namely (a) observation, (b) analysing text and documents, (c) interviews, and (d) recording and transcribing. Furthermore, Thyer (2010) posits that research endorses primary and secondary data analysis. The author points out that those who espouse the primary type of analysis are commonly found amongst social work researchers, who, on the one hand feel that they better contribute to knowledge by adopting new data. On the other, those opting for secondary analysis find their approach is the best to advance knowledge. Nevertheless, both types of collecting methods are useful in the scope of research, as they complement one another, as secondary data might define future research questions and in seeking to understand secondary data, additional primary data must be collected. (Stewart & Kamins, 1993).

For this research, I collected data by buying on a daily basis the printed Cape Times newspaper and categorised only the highlighted elections political stories from the specific political parties involved in this research, namely the African National Congress, the Democratic Alliance, Agang and the Economic Freedom Fighters. Attention was more stressed on the official opposition political party, the DA, followed by the ruling party, ANC. More information on the data collection process is found under Section 3.8 Research process.

3.5.2 Data analysis

Although document analysis is covered least in research methodology literature, it is particularly advantageous as it can 'yield rich and useful data in a case study (Rule & John, 2011:5). Henceforth the data analysis method used was a content analysis of the news elections related stories printed in the Cape Times newspapers, and the manifesto programme of the Democratic Alliance (DA), which is the main official opposition political party in South Africa.

3.5.2.1 Content analysis

Introduced by Lasswell (1927) cited in Macnamara, (2003:1) as a systematic method to study mass media, it is argued that a media content analysis is a meticulous examination of media

content towards either quantitative or qualitative research methods. Meanwhile it suggests that media content analysis builds understanding of media profile by evaluating issues, messages, advocates, critics, media and journalists by giving qualitative ratings to print, broadcast and online coverage and recommending public relations action and response (Neuendorf, 2002; Macnamara, 2003 & Maree, 2007). Holsti (1969:14) defines content analysis as, "*any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages*". Furthermore, a qualitative content analysis is more than counting, as it seeks understanding and is able to compress large volumes of words into fewer based on explicit rules of coding (Weber, 1990). Qualitative research uses in inductive process to separate similarities from differences in text to support or disconfirm the theory (Maree, 2007).

Hsieh and Shannon (2005:127) state that content analysis is: "*a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns*". Therefore, the goal of content analysis is "*to provide knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon under study*" (Downe-Wamboldt, 1992:314). According to Hsieh and Shannon (2005), there are three existing applications to content analysis amongst which; 1) conventional content analysis, 2) directed content analysis, 3) summative content analysis. For the purpose of this research, a summative application to content analysis was chosen.

3.5.2.2 Summative content analysis

Hsieh and Shannon (2005) suggest that summative content analysis starts with the researcher identifying and quantifying certain words or content in text with the purpose of understanding the contextual use of the words or content. Furthermore, this quantification is an attempt not to infer meaning, but to explore usage. Analysing for the appearance of a particular word or content in textual material is referred to as manifest content analysis (Potter & Levine-Donnerstein, 1999). This approach seems quantitative in the early stages, but its goal is to explore the usage of the words/indicators in an inductive manner. If the analysis stopped at this point, the analysis would be quantitative, focusing on counting the frequency of specific words or content (Konracki & Wellman, 2002). A summative approach to qualitative content analysis goes beyond mere word counts to include latent content analysis. Latent content analysis refers to the process of interpretation.

3.5.2.3 Inductive vs. deductive reasoning

Wildemuth and Zhang (2009) argue that qualitative content analysis encompasses a process designed to compress raw data into categories or themes based on valid inference and interpretation. According to Patton (2002) this process uses inductive reasoning, by which themes and categories emerge from the data through the researcher's careful examination and constant comparison; though qualitative content analysis does not need to exclude deductive reasoning. In so doing, Hsieh and Shannon (2005) discussed three approaches to qualitative content analysis, amongst which; 1) conventional qualitative content analysis, in which coding categories are derived directly and inductively from the raw data and mostly used in grounded theory approach; 2) directed content analysis, where initial coding starts with a theory; 3) summative content analysis, in which the researcher starts by counting words, and extends the analysis to include latent meanings and themes. Although this approach is criticised through its numerical approach in the early stages, the ultimate goal is to get in depth understanding of the words analysed as indicators of an inductive reasoning.

3.6 Research process

Content analysis has been used in a variety of disciplines in research, such as political sciences for the analysis of propaganda (George, 1959), or to analyse advertisements in newspapers and magazines to draw useful conclusions on national culture (Auter & Moore, 1993). Even on television, radio, and magazines which according to (Prasad, 2008) offer a great deal of material for content analysis

Perhaps the most common notion in qualitative research is that a content analysis simply means doing a word-frequency count. To that effect, Stemler (2001) argues that content analysis should not only be perceived as simple words counts, rather it should represent a rich and meaningful technique with its reliance on coding and categorising of the data. As Weber (1990:37) notes: "*a category is a group of words with similar meaning or connotations*". In that practical exercise, the researcher should consider that synonyms are used for stylistic reasons throughout a news story to avoid repetition and thus may lead the researchers to underestimate the importance of a concept (Weber, 1990).

It is true that content analysis can be a powerful tool for determining authorship as stated by (Foster, 1996), and then serves as a relevant technique to examine trends and patterns in documents (Stemler & Bebell 1999). Additionally, content analysis provides an empirical basis for monitoring shifts in public opinion (Stemler, 2001). Prasad (2008) maintains that content analysis begins with a specific statement of the objectives or research questions that are being researched. The author adds that the objective of content analysis is to convert recorded “raw” phenomena into data, which can be treated in a scientific manner to build knowledge. As a matter fact, in the process of doing content analysis, the researcher must follow four methodological steps namely; 1) selection of units of analysis, 2) developing categories, 3) sampling appropriate content, and 4) checking reliability of coding (Stempel, 1989).

3.6.1 Preparation and organisation of data analysis

The study was conducted in two phases that each required specific approaches.

Data in phase one, consisted in the creation of a *conceptual framework* (Table 2–9) through a review of literature. The whole idea was to get an understanding of the theories and approaches used in public relations and communication in general. After working two months on gathering information from the literature, I created a framework that would allow public relations practitioners to evaluate political communication in a democracy. This included Bernay’s purpose and definition of political communication and public relations scholars and public relations theorists such as Grunig and hunt (1984), Van Ruler (2004) and Jackson (2010). In addition, attention was given to Dahl (1989), Lasswell (1948), McNair (2011) and Lilleker (2006) in developing this framework. The first step was to condense the public relations and political public relations communication approaches into a single table. The second step was to reflect on Lasswell’s chain of communication together with the purpose of political campaigns and the political actors who control the messages. As the media play and important role in the distribution of political messages from and between political actors to potential voters and vice-versa, attention was equally given to the messages published and their quality. Further attention was given to Dahl’s power table of persuasive powers.

Data in phase two, was to collect daily Cape Times newspapers publications with focus on the news sections only. In so doing the researcher gathered a large volume of the Cape Times

newspapers from January 8 to May, 7 2014 (see appendix 5). This evolved a lot of accurate reading done on a repetitive note. Furthermore, a content analysis was conducted on the newspapers stories that appeared in the Cape Times during 2014 and prior to the May 7, 2014 general elections and the fifth democratic national election in South Africa. From that, the researcher looked at all mentions of the major political opposition party in South Africa the Democratic Alliance (DA), as the principal environment of the study. Besides, attention was equally given to the other political parties that formed part of this research. There were three main sections around which the content analysis was organised. The first one was about the details on the newspaper investigated, which combined together the page number, the date of the newspaper and the political parties highlighted in the published story. The second section looked at the content and included the different categories identified by the researcher in the news article, and the headlines of the stories. The third section was to show the purpose and comprised seven sub-sections. Table 3–4 provides an example of this.

Table 3-4: Purpose section of content analysis

Purpose						
Tone	Control	Power	Direction	PDC, (persuade, defend and consolidate)	IPI, (inform, persuade and integrate)	Communication strategy

3.6.2 Doing content analysis

For the purpose of this study related to the South African 2014 general election, a content analysis was used to explore the application of public relations principles in political parties 'campaign communication during the South African 2014 general election; as well as:

To identify how the political party election campaign communication messages are framed

To explain public relations models of communication that influenced political party election campaign communication strategies

To identify the political strategy patterns that informed the political party election campaign communication

3.6.3 Selection of communication content and sample

The researcher chose the Cape Times newspaper as the appropriate communication content to answer the research question: *“How does the application of public relations principles compare between political parties during their campaign communication in a democratic election?”* The prime interest in the selection of this newspaper was prominence, as reflected in their circulation and regional representation.

Cape Times is an English language morning newspaper which is printed from Monday to Friday. Besides this, the elections stories of the four major political parties that constituted the purposeful sample of the study were covered. The daily newspapers were surveyed from January 8 to May 7, 2014. An overall of one hundred and forty-four related newspapers articles were analysed and formed the data for analysis.

Throughout the period the researcher read and analysed an average of ten newspapers per day with a strict focus on the news section of the print media, though an exception was made on the editorial section with one article of the main environment of the study, the Democratic Alliance (DA) that formed part of their manifesto programme. The process of analysis of the newspapers was done daily and on a repetitive note daily; thus, was time consuming.

The second communication content analysed was the manifesto programme of the Democratic Alliance (DA) which highlighted various categories such as jobs, general service delivery, sport and recreation, environment, nation building, crime and so forth. The goal was to highlight these different categories and compare if there were efficiently aligned with the related political party stories published in the Cape Times newspaper. The thematic content analysis looked at the sub-mentioned areas and identified the apparent gaps. Table 3–5 provides an example of the thematic content analysis/ content analysis of the DA manifesto.

Table 3-5: A sample of the thematic content analysis of the Democratic Alliance’s manifesto.

Crime / Safety	1
Social grants	1
Land reform	1
Education	1

E-Tolls	1
Gauteng	1
CTICC	1
SABC	2
Status – Election	4
Jobs (Unemployment/ Eco growth)	7
General Service	8
Counterpunching	9
Leadership	14
Corruption	15
Stories on DA	66
Stories on Manifesto	19

3.6.4 Developing content categories

According to Chadwick *et al.* (1984), categories must be mutually exclusive so that there is no overlap and therefore a word, a paragraph or a theme belongs in one and only one category. Prasad (1994) notes that categories must be exhaustive so that all units examined fit in an appropriate category. The author notes further that categories represent the heart of content analysis. As a matter of fact, Berelson (1952:147) points out: “*Content analysis stands or falls by its categories. Particular studies have been productive to the extent that the categories were clearly formulated and well adapted to the problem and the content*”. Thus, to be useful, every content category must be properly defined by the researcher who then, states and differentiates what it is from what it is not. Hence, in the process of developing content categories, the researcher analysed several categories as shown in (see appendix 4).

3.6.5 Sampling appropriate content, (finalising units of analysis)

Prasad (2008) concedes that at this stage, the categories are identified and defined in terms of the research objectives. The author points out that the unit of analysis represents the smallest unit of content that is coded into the content category and can vary with the nature of data and the purpose of research. Furthermore, the unit of analysis can take any form, such as a single word, a letter, a symbol, a theme, a news story, a short story, a character, an entire article, or an entire film or a piece of programme. Therefore, the procedure of analysis of the newspapers stories, was essentially done with focus on the news section, as they covered the required

information for this study and presented the minimum degree of distortion. After several readings of the related political parties 'stories printed in the Cape Times newspaper, the researcher found numerous categories as shown in Appendix 4 and 6 before finalising a set of categories that was used for the study. This was achieved in three steps demonstrated in Appendix 4. In the first step, the researcher highlighted several categories, which were then compressed into combined categories according to their closest relevance, and finally the last step was to create the final categories. Table 3–6 provides an example of these categories.

Table 3-6: A sample of the categories that emerged from the content analysis

Categories	Categories combined	Final categories combined
Education	Education	Censorship
Finances	Finances	Court
Politics	Leadership	Crime & safety
Politics	Leadership	Economic growth
Education	Education	Education
Politics, social	Leadership	Elections
Economic growth	Leadership	Environment
Nkandla report	Nkandla	Finances
Leadership	Elections	Service delivery
Electoral campaign	Elections	Nkandla
Party election	Environment	Health
Judiciary status	Court	Leadership
Lithuli House	Politics	Protests

3.6.6 Checking reliability of coding

Schilling (2006) posits that the process of coding requires a lot of consistency which is achieved after repeatedly checking that the code is applied to an entire corpus of text. To attain that level of the reliability of codes, the researcher chose to code a sample of the data and checked the coding consistency and revised coding rules until sufficient consistency was achieved.

Coefficient of reliability = Number of units in the same category (coefficient of reliability equals number of units in the same category / divided by the total number of units coded) Coefficient of reliability=1/1= 1

Table 3-7: Coefficient #Court

Category	Number of units in the same category	Total number of units coded
Court	Judiciary status, Judiciary status on bills expedition, action against DA logo, party logo implementation interdict, DA application to court, court dispute	6

Coefficient of reliability= 6/6= 1

Table 3-8: Coefficient #Censorship

Category	Number of units in the same category	Total number of units coded
Censorship	1	1

Table 3-9 Crime & safety

Category	Number of units in the same category	Total number of units coded
Crime & safety	Lithuli House protest, corruption (2), bribery (2), political violence,	4

Coefficient of reliability= 4/4= 1

Table 3-10 Coefficient #Economic growth

Category	Number of units in the same category	Total number of units coded
Economic growth	party manifesto for jobs, employment equity, equity bill, jobs (3), job equity, jobs creation elections (2),	6

Coefficient of reliability= $5/6 = 0,83$

Table 3-11 Coefficient # Education

Category	Number of units in the same category	Total number of units coded
Education	Education	2

Coefficient of reliability= $1/2 = 0.5$

Table 3-12 Coefficient #Elections

Category	Number of units in the same category	Total number of units coded
Elections	elections (20),electoral campaign (5), party elections, party seats, election campaign (2), general elections, DA march, election campaign, national election, poll lists, party list, elections	23

	campaign (2), EFF candidates, elections trends, election (3), DA complaint for ad, advert blocking, advert elections, DA facebook cartoon, political advertisement, manifesto, elections politics, electoral code 23	
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Coefficient of reliability= $32/23=1.39$

Table 3-13 Coefficient # Environment

Category	Number of units in the same category	Total number of units coded
Environment	Environment, E-toll	2

Coefficient of reliability= $2/2=1$

Table 3-14 Coefficient # Finances

Category	Number of units in the same category	Total number of units coded
Finances	finances (6), finances elections (2), governance Lithuli House,	3

Coefficient of reliability= $8/3=2.66$

Table 3-15 Coefficient #Health

Category	Number of units in the same category	Total number of units coded
Health	Healthcare (1)	1

Coefficient of reliability=1/1=1

Table 3-16 Coefficient #Service delivery

Category	Number of units in the same category	Total number of units coded
Service delivery	social, DA housing delivery plan, service delivery dispute over land, housing, housing elections campaign, housing scandal politics,	6

Coefficient of reliability=6/6=1

Table 3-17 Coefficient #Protest

Category	Number of units in the same category	Total number of units coded
Protest	march of protest (5)	1

Coefficient of reliability=5/1=5

Table 3-18 Coefficient #Nkandla

Category	Number of units in the same category	Total number of units coded
Nkandla	Nkandla report, DA application for Nkandla report, Nkandla (7), Nkandla affair, attacks on public protector Nkandla report,tax obligation on Nkandla,	6

Coefficient of reliability= $12/6=2$

Table 3-19: Coefficient #Leadership

Category	Number of units in the same category	Total number of units coded
Leadership	politics (20), party merging, politics social, politics elections, merging cancellation, poke fun at the two party merging by ministers, clash between two party supporters, party failed merging, government policy, ANC member to retire, CTICC expansion, ANC dispute over DA sms, racial social engineering,	13

Coefficient of reliability= $31/13=2.38$

3.6.7 Conclusion

In conclusion, a qualitative content analysis is a valuable alternative to more traditional quantitative content analysis, especially when the researcher works in an interpretive paradigm (Wildemuth & Zhang, 2009). Considering this, I conducted a qualitative content analysis and sought to identify the important categories that emerged from the data. The analysis did not stop at the counting but was followed by an interpretation of the findings as developed in chapter 4. Hence, the analysis produced a rich description of the particular context of study.

3.7 Limitations of the research

As delineation can make the research more manageable (Marshall & Rossman, 2014), the study was geographically limited to Cape Town and did not go beyond the boundaries of this city which refers to the fact that it does not cover other cities in the Western Cape.

Furthermore, there may be inhibiting factors in carrying out this research. Merriam (1998:20) states that: *“the human instrument is as fallible as any other research instrument”*. Although this research was well prepared, there are evidences of shortcomings and limitations that occurred throughout its conducting.

First of all, it is important to note that the research data collection instrument was only focused on one newspaper (Cape Times). The use of additional periodic could have strengthened this research more, by increasing the generality factor, thus making the sample relatively small. A bigger sample would probably enhance the reliability of the research.

Qualitative research does not allow the measurement of the research.

3.8 Trustworthiness

Silverman (2004:283) states that *“validity and reliability are two important concepts to keep in mind when doing research, because in them the objectivity and credibility of research are at stake”*. Ary *et al.*, (2002) posit that the production of reliable and valid knowledge in an ethical manner in research must provide a solid basis of the whole data gathering process. Though trustworthiness of qualitative research is generally open to critics, Guba (1981) proposes criteria that he considers can help ensuring trustworthiness of a study, namely: a) credibility (in preference to internal validity), b) transferability (in preference to external

validity/generalisability), c) conformability (in preference to objectivity), d) dependability (in preference to reliability). (Table 3–20, adapted from Shenton 2003). Trochim and Donnelly (2001) establishes the relation between validity and reliability as presented in the (Figure 3–2, want to summarise it in a table, as it long in Shenton paper, will help checking it further with Marian), as they both enforce/ strengthen the research trustworthiness.

Table 3-20 Criteria for ensuring trustworthiness adapted by (Shenton, 2003)

Credibility	Transferability	Conformability	Dependability
confidence in the 'truth' of the findings	showing that the findings have	showing that the findings are consistent	a degree of neutrality
the adoption of research methods well established	applicability in other contexts	and could be repeated	or the extent to which the findings of a study are shaped by the respondents and not researcher bias,
the development of an early familiarity with the culture of participating			motivation, or interest
random sampling			
triangulation			
tactics to help ensure honesty in informants			

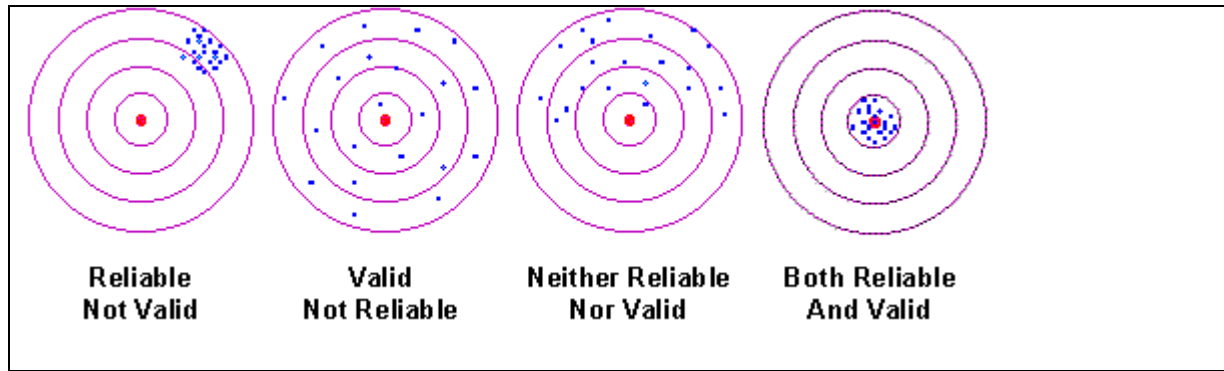


Figure 3–1 Relationship between reliability and validity,
 (Adapted from Trochim, 2001:1-2)

Trochim uses a target to explain the relationship between reliability and validity. The first target shows that although the instrument is reliable it is not valid as it is consistently measuring the wrong thing. The second target shows that you are measuring the right thing (valid) but that your instrument is not reliable and is not measuring consistently. The third target indicates that you are not measuring the right thing, and neither is your instrument reliable. The fourth target indicates what happens when both instrument and the measure are accurate, consistent and reliable.

3.8.1 Reliability

McMillan and Wergin (2002:10) states that: “*reliability is the estimate of the error in the assessment*”. According to Merriam (1998) and Babbie and Mouton (2001), reliability has to do with the likely recurrence of aspects in the original data as well as the way the data is interpreted. Sandberg (2005) points out that reliability is established when repeated measurements of objective reality give similar results. Hence, reliability refers to the extent to which measures are free from errors; though Merriam (1998) posits that in the traditional sense, it is difficult to obtain similar results to repeated measures in qualitative research. Stenbacka (2001) argues that the issue of reliability has no relevance in the judgment of a qualitative research. Nevertheless, to expand the analogy of the two concepts within the spectrum of qualitative studies, Lincoln and Guba (1985:316) states that: “*Since there can be no validity without reliability, a demonstration of the former [validity] is sufficient to establish the latter [reliability]*”. Related to this, Patton (2002) along with Cypress (2017) points out that the

researcher's ability to show enough strength in conducting any qualitative study is a consequence of the validity in a study.

3.8.2 Validity

The term validity refers to the correctness, or exact matching of the data used in measuring the phenomenon under scrutiny (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Mason, 2002). Related to this, I did a content analysis over a period of time, ensuring that I follow all the newspaper stories concerning the two main political parties that formed the environment of this research in a consistent way. I continuously looked at the findings and compared them. I made use of a variety of literature resources to confirm and enhance my findings.

3.9 Conclusion

In CHAPTER THREE, an in-depth discussion of the research design and methodology used in this study was provided. This chapter reviewed the theoretical and philosophical assumptions underlying the research methodology. The research design was discussed. Below a description of this chapter is presented in Table 3–21 spotting out the different decisions made to conduct this research.

Table 3-21: chapter 3 description and structure

Level of decision	Choice
Epistemological and ontological assumptions	Interpretive
Research approach	Case study
Research analysis	Content analysis, review of literature
Research context: Political Parties	Official opposition Democratic Alliance (DA)
Timeline	January 2014 — May 2014
Theoretical and literary context	Use public relations principles in the political party election campaign communication strategies
Conceptual framework	Political party election campaign communication; Political, media and public sphere political actors; Communication strategic; political party election campaign messages; and Public relations models of communication.

CHAPTER FOUR will present the findings and discuss them according to how they relate to the key ideas, research questions and objectives of this research.

4 CHAPTER FOUR: FINDING

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present the findings obtained from a comparative case study analysis between four bounded case studies and media coverage by a single medium. The four bounded cases are four political parties, namely, African National Congress; Agang, Democratic Alliance; and Economic Freedom Fighters who participated in the 2014 general election in South Africa and the single medium is the Cape Times newspaper. A content analysis of each political party's election stories as published in the Cape Times newspaper prior to the general election on May 7, 2014 was conducted. The findings will be presented according to the research questions, starting with an overview of the data collected and concluding with the findings relevant to the main research question: "How does the application of public relations principles compare between political parties during their campaign communication in a democratic election?"

4.2 Population and sample

A total population sample was used to gain in-depth insights into the application of public relations principles between political parties during their campaign communication in a democratic election. The population comprised all the pre-election political stories printed in the Cape Times newspaper during the 141 news days prior to the South African general election on May 7, 2014. Cape Times is one of three daily newspapers in the Western Cape and is printed Monday through Friday, but not over the weekends. Cape Times reaches the 261'000 readers daily, 82% of these readers live within the Cape Peninsula. In addition, the Cape Times newspaper offered political coverage of the four political parties, namely, African National Congress; Agang, Democratic Alliance; and Economic Freedom Fighters, chosen for this study. A sample of the excel spreadsheet of the political parties' stories as analyzed by the research is provided below.

Cape Times Newspaper from January 8 to May 7, 2014 (May 7, 2014 is election day) Political party			Content							Purpose			
Page numbers	Date	political parties	Categories	Headlines	Tone	Control	Power	Direction	PDC, (persuade, m,	IPI, (inform, n	Communica tion	Notes	
p.9	08-01-2014	DA	education	Why unbelievable matric results fail the credibility test and must be audited	DA +	DA	Rat	BUP	Per		Per	DA calls on standardisation of the MAC marks	
p.5	08-01-2014	Agang SA	finances	Financially troubled Agang seeks reform of political party funding	DA -	JO	mani	BUP		Inf	DOI	DA not mentioned in story, story mentions Agang, EFF and ANC	
p.1	09-01-2014	ANC	politics	ANC will rule SA for ever, says, Zuma	DA-	JO	Rat	TOPD	Per		Per	Journalist reports on what Zuma said, in quoting him throughout the	
p.4	10-01-2014	ANC	politics	ANC hustles poster encouraging young people to get	DA-	JO	mani	TOPD	Per		Per	Journalist reports on concerns raised from ANC poster's message 'hustle' throughout the article	
p.4	10-01-2014	DA	education	DA denies Nehawu's 'neglect' charge	DA -/ manifes	JO	Rat	BUP	Per		Per	DA accused of neglect toward the improvement of education in poorer communities	
p.4	10-01-2014	EFF	politics, social	We've got 400 000 members , claims Malema	N	JO	Rat	SIDW		Inf	DOI	Journalist reports on EFF members chart	

Figure 4.1 Sample of content analysis

4.3 Process and quality of data analysis

A content analysis of each political party's election stories as published in the Cape Times newspaper prior to the general election on May 7, 2014 was conducted. In the attempt to successfully analyse the data, various steps were undertaken by the researcher. The diagram below helps explain the process and quality of data analysis.

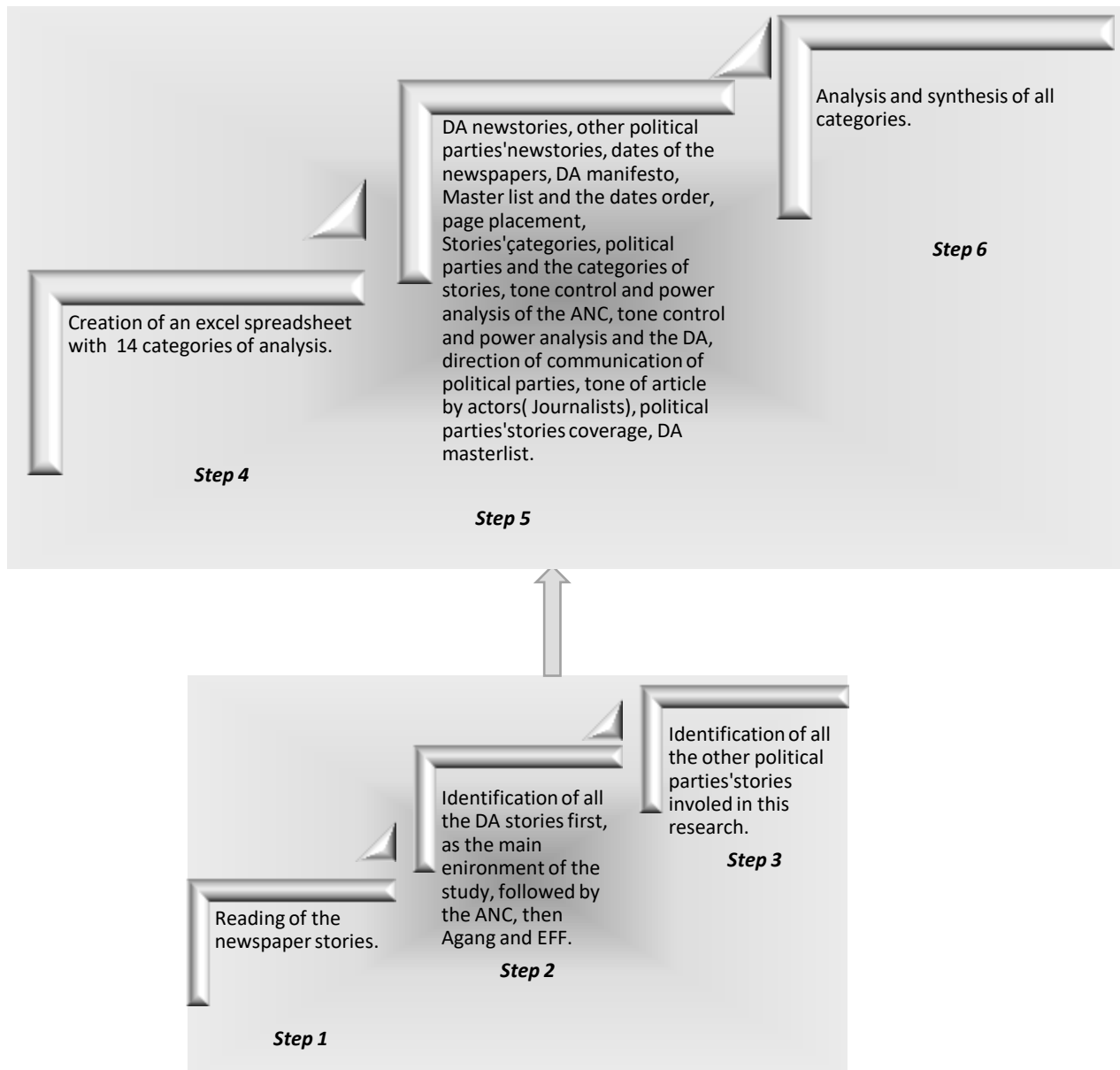


Figure 4.2: Process and quality of data analysis

4.4 General election outcome

The full results of the South African general election held on May 7, 2014 are presented in terms of national assembly seats and percentages of vote are presented in Table 4.1. The 2009 national assembly seats are presented to show election gains or losses. In the 2014 elections,

the ruling party, the African National Congress (ANC) obtained 62.25% of the vote, four percentage points below its 2009 total; while the official opposition party, the Democratic Alliance (DA) obtained 22,25% of the vote, an increase of 6%. The two new parties Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) and Agang obtained 6, 25% and 0,5% respectively. Out of South Africa's nine provinces, the Western Cape remained the only Democratic Alliance (DA) led province during the 2014 elections.

Table 4-1: South African National Assembly seats per political party (2009; 2014)

* indicates a new political party

Party	Abbreviation	Number of seats		% of vote
		2014	2009	2014
African Christian Democratic Party	ACDP	3	3	0.75
*African Independent Congress	AIC	3	-	0.75
African National Congress	ANC	249	264	62.25
African People's Convention	APC	1	1	0.25
*Agang South Africa	Agang	2	-	0.5
Azanian People's Organisation	AZAPO	-	1	0
Congress of the People	COPE	3	30	0.75
Democratic Alliance	DA	89	67	22.25
*Economic Freedom Fighters	EFF	25	-	6.25
Freedom Front Plus	FF+	4	4	1
Independent Democrats	ID	-	4	0
Inkatha Freedom Party	IFP	10	18	2.5
Minority Front	MF	-	1	0
*National Freedom Party	NFP	6	-	1.5
Pan Africanist Congress	PAC	1	1	0.25
United Christian Democratic Party	UCDP	-	2	1
United Democratic Movement	UDM	4	4	1
TOTAL		400	400	

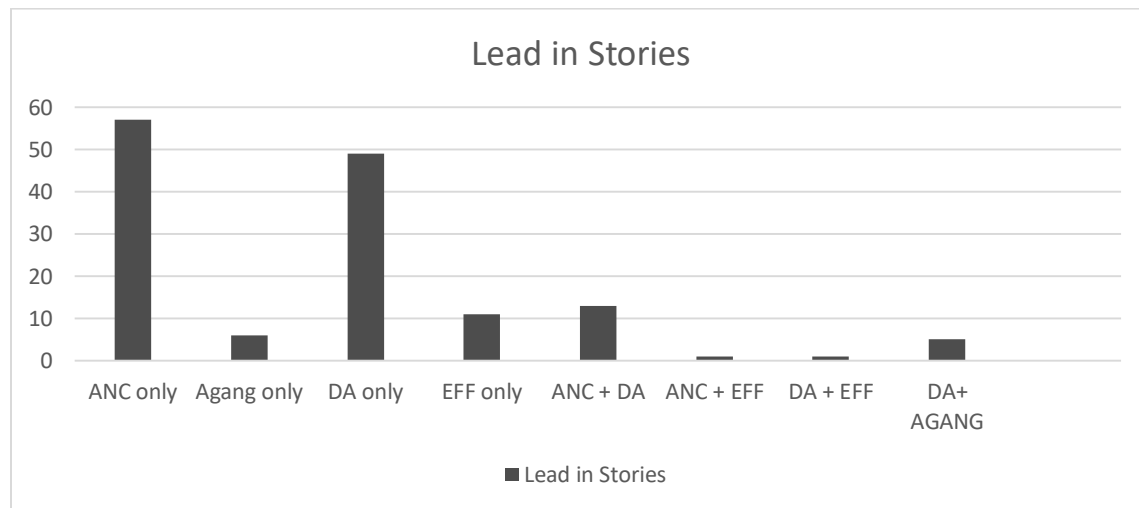
4.5 Presentation of findings / results (tables and graphs)

This section introduces an overview of the data collected. Thereafter, the findings will be presented per sub-research questions before concluding with the findings relevant to the main research question: *"How does the application of public relations principles compare between political parties during their campaign communication in a democratic election?"*

4.6 Cape Times coverage

The analysis reached a total of 154 news days with 13 days of unpublished political stories concerning the parties of the research and 141 news stories concerning the four political parties, namely, African National Congress; Agang, Democratic Alliance; and Economic Freedom Fighters the sub mentioned political parties (*see appendix 6, Master list of content analysis*).

4.6.1 News coverage



**Graph 4-1: Lead coverage in stories in Cape Times
January 2014 to May 2014**

The ruling party African National Congress (ANC) and the official opposition party the Democratic Alliance (DA) dominated the newspaper coverage in the Cape Times, followed by the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) and Agang (Graph 4-1).

The graph (*Graph 4-1*) shows the African National Congress received the most individual coverage by the Cape Times (57 stories) and was the lead in five (5) stories with the Democratic Alliance and one (1) the Economic Freedom Fighters (1). The Democratic Alliance received individual coverage in 49 stories and was the lead in four (4) out of five (5) stories with Agang and in one (1) story with the Economic Freedom Fighters. The Economic Freedom Fighters received individual coverage in 11 stories and Agang in six (6) stories.

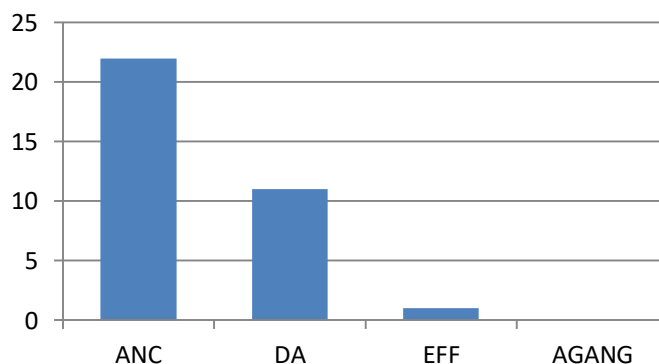
Considering that there was little engagement between the ANC and EFF; and DA and EFF, it is clear that neither the ANC nor the DA considered EFF as a threat or an ally in the lead up to the

2014 general elections. Another point is that the DA considered AGANG as either a threat or an ally in the lead up to the elections and therefore engaged with them.

4.6.1.1 Page placement of news coverage

Other considerations were to determine who controls the political message and, if possible, answers who the sender of the communication is. This, relating to framing is important as it establishes criteria for the quality of the story and attests to the calibre of the politician controlling the story. The role played by the actors and whether they are active, passive or even uninterested in the article adds an element to the politics of the situation.

Thus, the Cape Times page placement of the news coverage of the African National Congress, Agang, Democratic Alliance and the Economic Freedom Fighters was analysed. The political news coverage was found on page one (1); page three (3); page four (4); page five (5); page six (6); page seven (7) and page nine (9) of the Cape Times.



Graph 4-2: Page placement of news stories of political parties on the lead coverage.

Graph 4-2 shows that the African National Congress obtained the majority of the page one coverage; followed by the Democratic Alliance, and then the Economic Freedom Fighters came third on the page one coverage. Agang did not obtain any front-page coverage.

Table 4-2: Page placement of news coverage per political party

Political Party	Page three (3)	Page four (4)	Page five (5)	Page six (6)	Page seven (7)
ANC	25%	35%	39%	100%	50%
Agang	0%	4%	15%	0%	0%
DA	75%	49%	33%	0%	50%
EFF	0%	11%	12%	0%	0%

Table 4-2 summarises the page placement of news coverage of each political party. The Democratic Alliance received 75% of the news coverage on page three (3) with the African National Congress, receiving 25%; Agang and the Economic Freedom Fighters no coverage. On page four (4) the DA received 49%; the African National Congress received 35% with Economic Freedom Fighters and Agang received 11% and 4% respectively. On page five (5) the African National Congress received 39% of the news coverage, the Democratic Alliance 33%; Agang 15% and the Economic Freedom Fighters 12%. On page six (6), the African National Congress received 100% of the news coverage. On page seven (7) the African National Congress and Democratic Alliance each received 50% of the news coverage.

4.6.1.2 News coverage categories

The process of data and quality analysis led the researcher to the following categories upon which both, the ruling party ANC and the official opposition party were competing.

Table 2-3 ANC and DA quotes on stories' categories

Categories	Explanations DA	DA related quotes	ANC related quotes	Explanations ANC
Censorship	SABC censors DA broadcasts	"The DA accused the SABC of censorship, saying the broadcaster had excluded it from a debate on land reform last night. DA federal chairman Wilmot James said the national broadcaster had also told the party that it would be excluded from live debates over the next two weeks. SABC spokesman Kaiser Kganyago dismissed the DA's claims as untrue and said the party had so far participated in eight out of 11 debates the public broadcaster had hosted."	"The ANC has lodged an official complaint against the DA at the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) for alleged infringement of the Electoral Act. The complaint followed a letter the ANC sent to the DA last week asking it to stop distributing pamphlets. ANC provincial secretary Songezo Mjongile said the pamphlet was geared at 'divide communities on racial lines' and it was tantamount to the tactics of apartheid government instilling 'swart gevaar' fears in order to secure vote for DA. The pamphlets states: 'The ANC has issued new Employment Equity regulations that will prevent thousands of coloured people in the Western Cape from getting jobs.'"	Ruling party complaint
Court cases	Madibeng corruption	"Madibeng: DA parliamentary leader Lindiwe Mazibuko has vowed to rope in Public Protector Thuli Madonsela to probe "rampant corruption" in the Madibeng municipality. Mazibuko made the pledge after she visited the families of the victims of the Mothutlung police killings at their homes, accompanied by her party's provincial leaders and the DA caucus leaders in the Madibeng municipality, Leon Basson..."	"The ANC has asked the South Gauteng High Court to fine the DA R200 00 for claiming that its president Jacob Zuma tax payers money to upgrade his Nkandla home, Yesterday's urgent court application came after the DA sent an SMS to more than 1.5 million recipients last month, saying:" The Nkandla report shows how Zuma stole your money to build his R245 million home". In the court's papers, the ANC said	ANC asks court to fine DA over SMS

			<p>the SMS was an attack on Zuma's personal integrity and was laced with a lot of falsehoods. The party said in oral argument in court Public Protector Thuli Madonsela's report on March 19 did not contain a finding that Zuma stole public funds to build his house. The ANC also wants to court to force the DA to retract the SMS on the grounds that the dissemination of such 'false information' was in contravention of the country's Electoral Act, which prohibits unfair attacks."</p>	
Crime & Safety	Premier Hellen Zille call for army to overcome gang violence	"The army and more police officers must be deployed in the Western Cape to combat gang violence and drugs, says DA leader hellen Zille. She led a march of 100Mitchells Plain residents from Beacon Valley to the local police station in the town centre yesterday. Zille first met two families in Beacon Valley who had recently lost family members to gang related shootings."	"It is my considered view that as the president tacitly accepted the implementation of all measures at his residence and as unduly benefited from the enormous capital investment from the non-security installations at his private residence, a reasonable part of the expenditure towards the installations that were not identified as security measures should be borne by him and family."	Public protector report on the unlawful and improper Nkandla renovation
Economic growth	Election manifesto of the DA	"Economic growth and job creation will be the key focus of the DA's election manifesto to be launched in Polokwane, Limpopo, on Sunday. Speaking to the Cape Times yesterday, federal chairman and policy head Wilmot	"We have achieved political freedom, now we must achieve economic freedom. Some communities are still waiting to experience the change that has swept	Zuma speaking on economic growth at parliament

		James said it was called the ' manifesto for jobs' because almost every proposal would help growth the economy by 8 percent and create six million private sector jobs."		across over areas".	
Educati on	DA promises free education for pupils	" If the Da becomes the next government , tertiary educaion will be free for matrics who qualify, with six millions jobs on offer and one million internships, These are the promises in the official opposition's second television advertisement which it hopes will get flighted after the SABC banned the first 'Ayisafani (it is not the same) advet earlier this month. the Independent Communications Authority ruled that the SABC had no right to do so, but had to recant after the SAPS objected that the advertisement incited public disobedience and violence against the police. The Ayisafani 2 video again features the DA's Gauteng premier candidate Mmusi Maimane , who claims the party is 'going strtong' and 'can win'.The party also promises 'change that cut corruption ' and 'argues a better life' is not possible without job. The DA's campaig slogan 'iANC ayisafani' loosely translated the ' ANC is not the same'		"This is the same with education. If the foundation in Grade R is not solid, the benefits for learning later will be negatively affected."	About ANC proposition for the 14-year schooling plan instead of the 12-year schooling plan.
Election	DA failed	" DA leader Hellen Zille has		" The ANC has unseated the	ANC wins

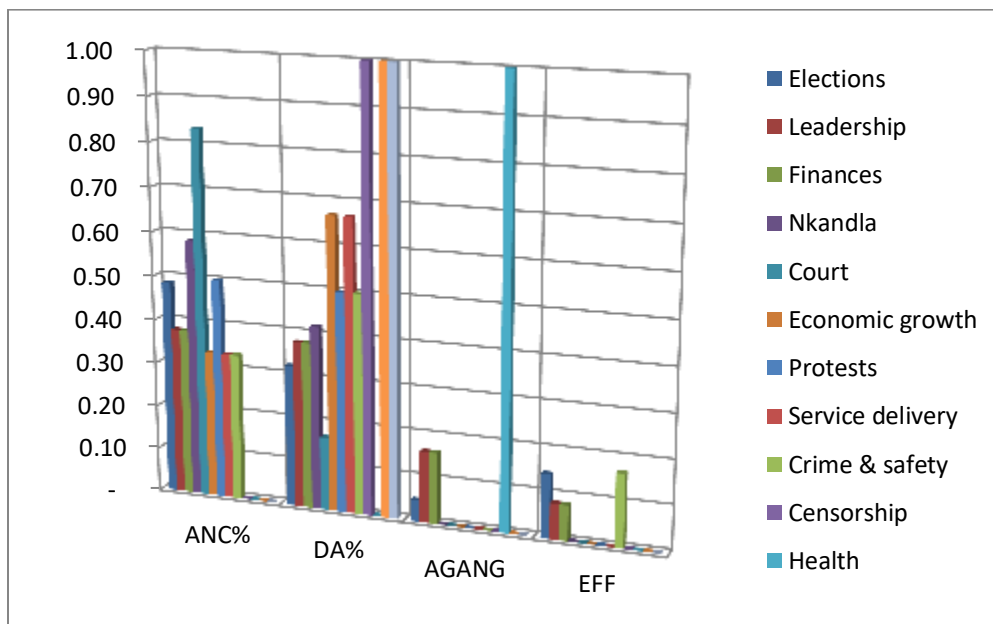
s	merging with Agang	conceded that race does matter in politics, but denies that her party has parachuted black leaders into leadership position as window dressing,,,"	DA in the Matzikama Municipality's Ward 4 kept control of the council"	over the DA for the municipality's ward 4
Environment		No story	No story	
Finance	Tax obligations over the refund of the Nkandla issue	"The DA has now turned to SARS in its attempt to determine the exact amount President Jacob Zuma owes the receiver of revenue in taxes arising from the R215 million upgrades at his Nkandla home. It has asked the taxman to investigate possible tax implications accruing from the controversial expenditure."	" The cost of this year's State of the Nation address was R2 million less than last year, Parliament's secretary Baby Tyawa, said responding to questions at a media briefing, she said the budgeted cost was R5.7m."	Financial abuse
Leadership	About the leadership of the party	"Grant Pascoe the DA chairman in the Cape Town metro and leader of the party's biggest Western Cape constituency, Mitchells Plain has blamed party leader Hellen Zille for his decision to join the ANC. 'She (Zille) is not sincere with coloured people. If you disagree with the leader you are then vilified and outsed' Pascoe said yesterday. 'You could dare not disagree with the leadership and it wasn't the same DA any more. Under Tony Leon you could disagree and he would take on the chin. But there are many people who feel the way i do in the DA and they are the people the DA should be worrying about'. Pascoe said Zille serves	"We don't want people to vote for the ANC because we are handsome; we know we are handsome, but we want people to vote for the ANC because of what we stand for."	ANC provincial secretary in a strategic plan to seek the help of smaller parties to join the ANC

		the ineterests of the party's whites over coloureds and blacks.The new ANC recruit , who commanded a strong following among DA members , became the first high profile Cape Town politician to quit his party as the elections approach."		
Nkandla	About the removal motion on Zuma for Nkandla issue	"The DA has asked for an urgent meeting with National Assembly Speaker Max Sisulu to discuss its proposed motion to remove President Jacob Zuma from office. This follows the release of Public Protector Thuli Madonsela 's findings that Zuma benefited improperly from security upgrades at Nkandla. The DA has launched an advertising campaign on television and the internet criticising Zuma. madonsela recommended that Zuma account to Parliament within 14 days of her releasing report. DA parliamentary leader Lindiwe Mazibuko said yesterday that the request to meet Sisulu flowed increasing reports of 'an all-out,last ditch effort' by the ANC to shield the president from being held accountable."	"President Jacob Zuma broke his silence on the nkandla report yesterday two weeks after it had been released by Public protector Thuli Madonsela 'I did not use the public's money in Nkandla. What I am saying is I'm not guilty. Even if they look for me under a tree they can't find me.I did nothing wrong . I did not do anything'. Zuma told a crowd in Gugulethu in footage broadcast by ANN7 yesterday. 'They go around and say this fella used public money. i am not guilty, there is no case against me. i am a person just like you.'"	President Zuma denying the accusation on Nkandla issue
Protests	Informal settlement sanitation protest.	"A protest over sanitation in informal settlements is to go ahead in the city next month without the help of respected leaders like Anglican Archbishop Thabo Makgoba and Muslim	" The ANC and DA led city and Western Cape government locked horns over land for housing development during a protest in Cape Town	March to legislature over land housing

		<p>cleric Rashid Omar. Both are members of the Western Cape Religious Leaders Forum which had offered to lead a peaceful march against sanitation . The offer came after a protest march int the city in November became violent. The forum had also offered to engage the authorities on the matter of sanitation. But yesterday leaders of the Cape Town Informal Settlements Group distanced themselves from the forum as well as the Concerned Citizens Group (CCG). Settlements group leaders, expelled ANC councillor Andile Lili and ANC councillor Loyiso Nkhola, said they met representatives of the forum and the CCG , and were upset that they had failed to arrange meetings wih Premier Helen Zille and mayor Patricia de Lile to discuss the sanitation problem."</p>	yesterday"	
Service delivery	Poor sanitation	<p>"Premier Hellen Zille, who had been criticised by the poo protesters for not turning up to receive their memorandums, came out to accept one yesterday but was heckled and jeered by 3000 protesters outside the provincial legislature. During previous marches organised by the see'khona people's rights movement,protesters complained about Zille sending junior staff members to accept memorandums. Yesterday Zille</p>	<p>"People are unhappy about the size of the new houses. When planning began, they were not aware that it would be this small. How do they expect families to live in such a small structure?"</p>	Demonstration over tiny houses turns nasty

signed their memorandums but when she asked to address the crowd she was booed by most of the protesters , who also shouted at her to leave. Zille went back to her office without speaking. The march ahd been organised by the Western Cape Social & Economic Development Forum, but it became apparent see'skhona was at the forefront of the march when its leader Andile Lili and Loyiso NKohla took over. The pair , also members of the ANC , controlled the crowd as it made its way through the streets in the CBD to legislature."

4.6.1.3 Political parties' and stories 'categories



Graph 2-3 Political parties and stories' categories

Graph 4-3 shows that the major categories that received the coverage and engagement from all the political parties were 'election', 'leadership' and 'finances'. The African National Congress and the Democratic Alliance received coverage on 'Nkandla'; 'court'; 'economic growth'; 'protests'; 'service delivery'; and 'crime and safety'. Only the Democratic Alliance received coverage on 'censorship', 'education' and 'environment' issues, while only Agang received coverage on 'health'.

4.7 Content analysis of coverage

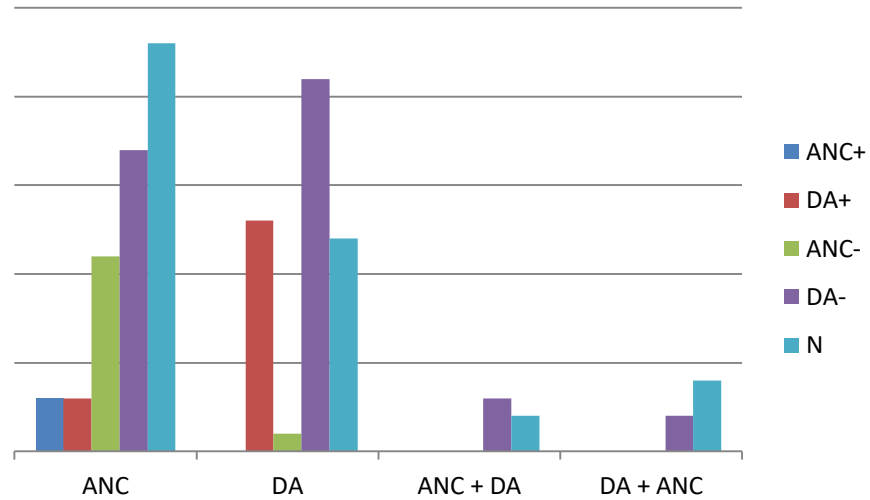
The content analysis coverage enabled the researcher to test the communication patterns in the framework developed (Table 2-9). The breakdown helped to assess whether the media content supports the general or common rule that political communication is characterised by patterns of politics, namely control, influence, power and authority and this presented an opportunity to link public relations approaches to the media content.

Furthermore, it was found that political campaigns are to some extent issue centric in a similar way in which political manifestos are. The topic of the articles was divided into categories and sub-categories to enable the media content to be compared with the political party manifesto. The presence of the article (i.e. the tone of the article - positive, negative or neutral) as well as alternative similar articles and the position (page no) of the article added a dimension of gatekeeping and agenda setting by the media organisation.

4.7.1 Positive vs. negative coverage

The initial analysis of public relations and political communication models showed clearly that Bernay's old statement about communication is still valid; "*informing people, persuading people, or integrating people with people*" and that propaganda is used to manipulate them intelligently and creatively. In that exercise of communicating specific views to enforce particular objectives, both the ruling party (ANC) and the opposition party (DA); and the other political parties had negative and positive tones on their news coverage (see appendix 6).

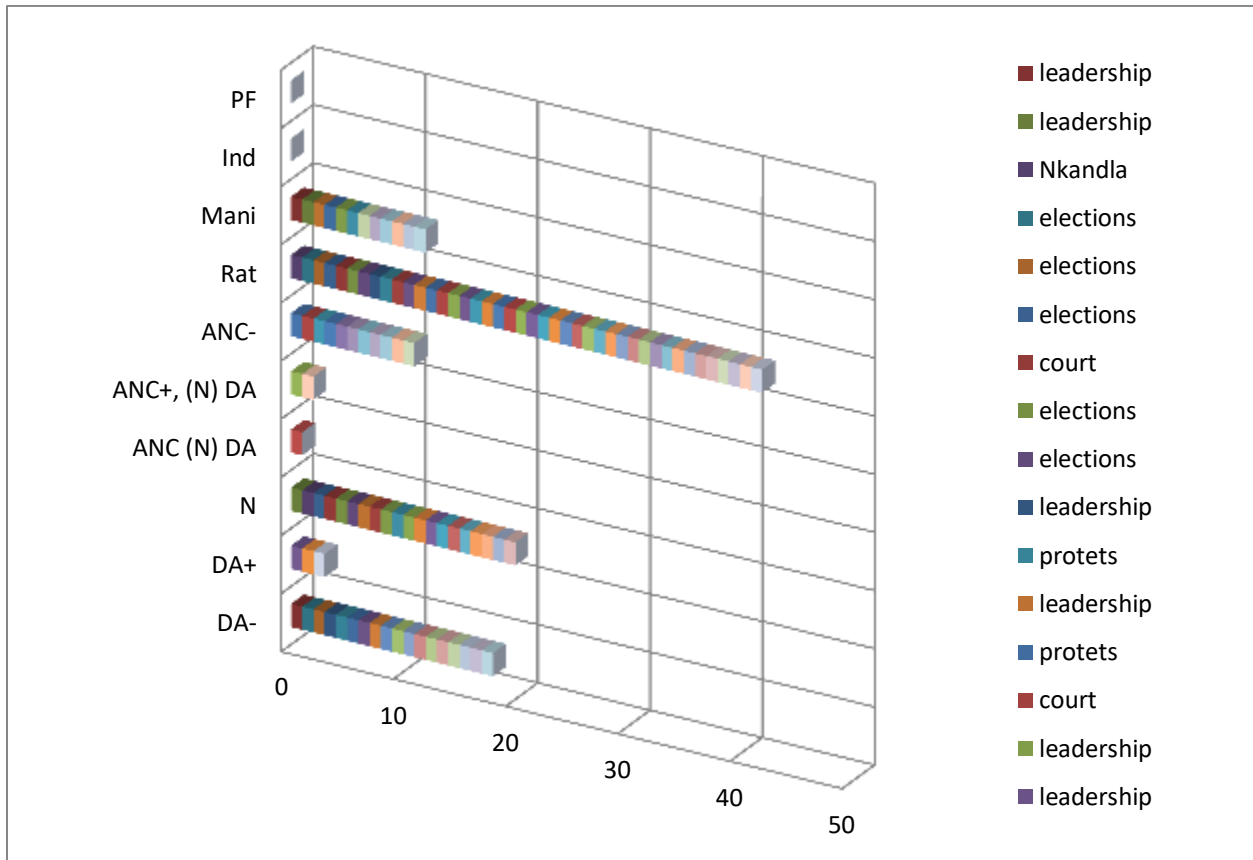
4.7.1.1 ANC and DA' positive and negative coverage



Graph 4–4 ANC and DA's positive vs. negative coverage

Graph 4–4 shows that the Democratic Alliance got more negative coverage on its own stories as opposite to the ANC on its own stories. ANC stories shared with DA were mainly negative and slightly neutral. DA stories shared with ANC were negative.

4.7.1.2 ANC positive vs. negative coverage



Graph 4–5 Tone Control and Power analysis on the African National Congress story categories

Graph 4–5 shows that the tone used for the African National Congress political elections stories were mainly neutral, though at some point was negative on stories that mentioned the Democratic Alliance. Besides, the use of a negative tone was slightly present on some of the African National Congress political elections related stories. Furthermore, the power analysis was predominantly rational, with fewer cases where manipulation was noticed especially on ‘economic growth’, ‘leadership’, ‘protest and ‘service delivery’.

Graph 4–6 Tone, Control and Power analysis on the Democratic Alliance story categories

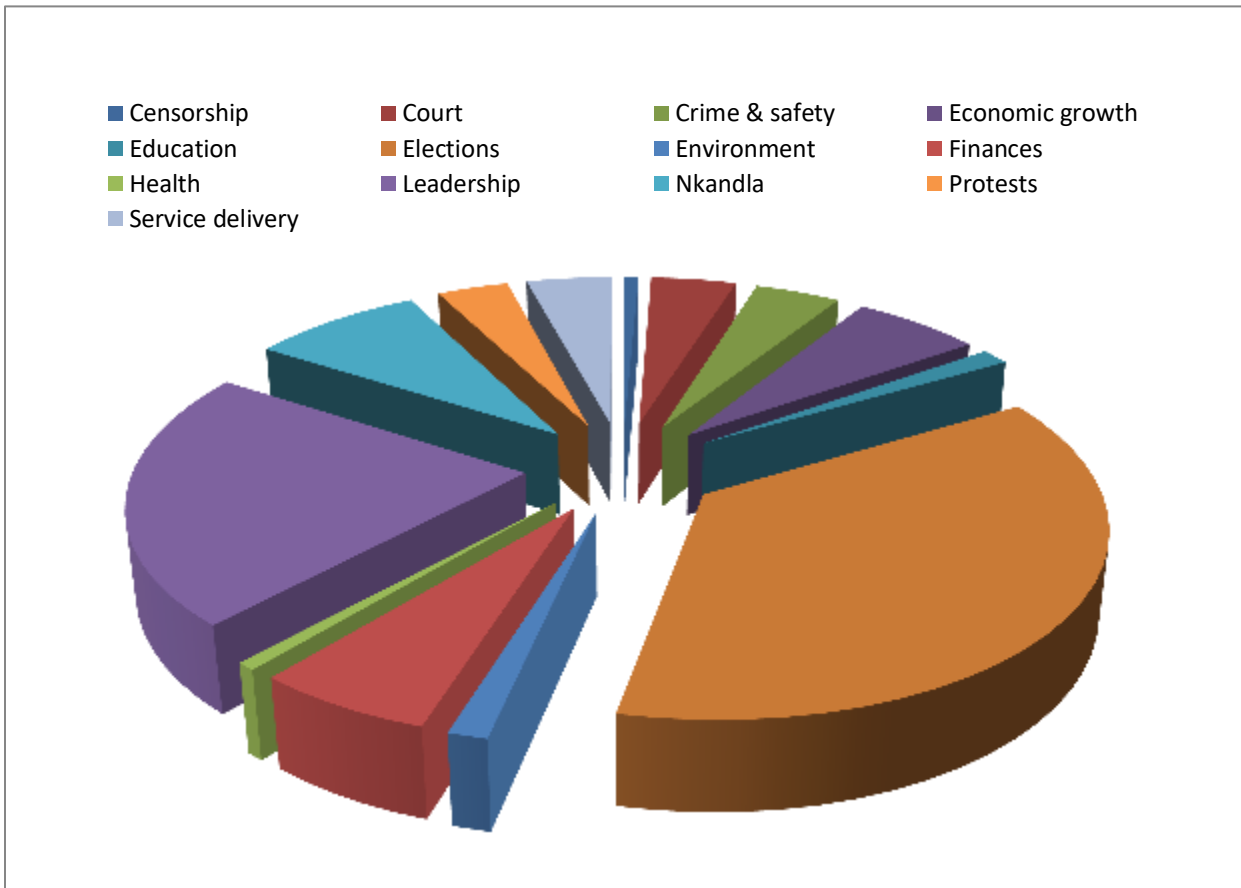
Graph 4–6 shows that the tone used for the Democratic Alliance political elections stories were mainly neutral, though there was a negative tone on the '*service delivery*', '*election*', and less manipulation power. Besides, the use of a negative tone was slightly present on some of the Democratic Alliance political elections related stories. Furthermore, the power analysis was predominantly rational, with fewer cases where manipulation was noticed especially on '*protest*' and '*crime and safety*'.

4.7.1.4 Conclusion

The overall findings on the news coverage indicated that the ruling party (ANC) and the opposition (DA) were competing the most on categories such as service delivery, Nkandla, elections and protests. These different categories were showing evidences of manipulation from their initiators, coming from both sides. In protests categories, negative tones were particularly dominant on DA and ANC related stories. However, elections and service delivery categories were mainly negative for the DA. In general, the power analysis was rational over most categories. Tough the power analysis on the election categories showed a lot of inducement, while political force was used for protests categories.

4.7.2 News categories

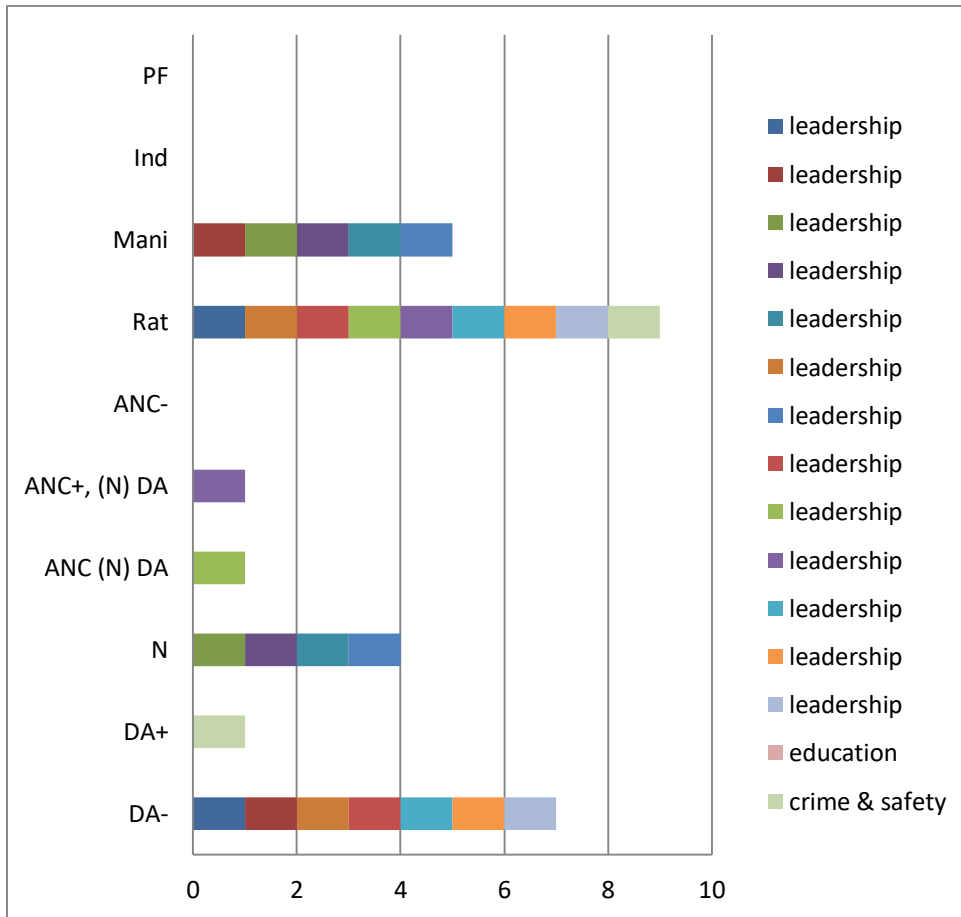
There were a final total of 13 combined categories that emerged from the content analysis. The graph below shows the cited categories and their prominence in the news coverage.



Graph 4–7 final combined categories from content analysis

Graph 4–7 shows that the major categories highlighted in the Cape Times newspaper coverage of the political parties during the pre-elections period of 2014 were elections, followed by leadership, then Nkandla, finances and economic growth.

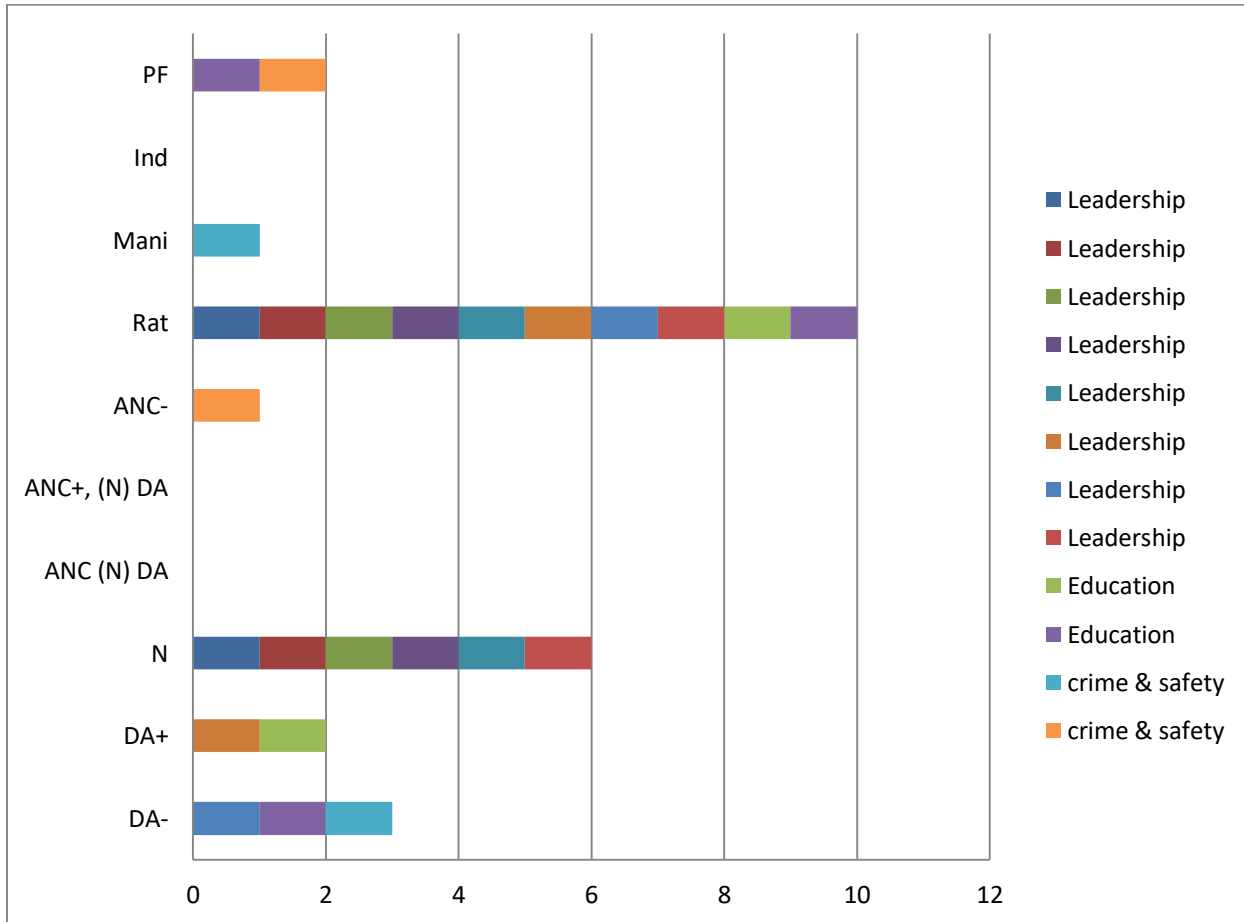
4.7.2.1 ANC coverage on leadership, education and crime & safety categories



Graph 4–8 Tone Control and Power analysis on ANC for leadership, education, crime & safety categories.

Graph 4–8 shows that the tone used for the ‘leadership, education and crime and safety category’ on the African National Congress stories was slightly neutral, with a particular negative tone on the Democratic Alliance related stories mentioned in the African National Congress stories. Additionally, rational power and manipulation were used.

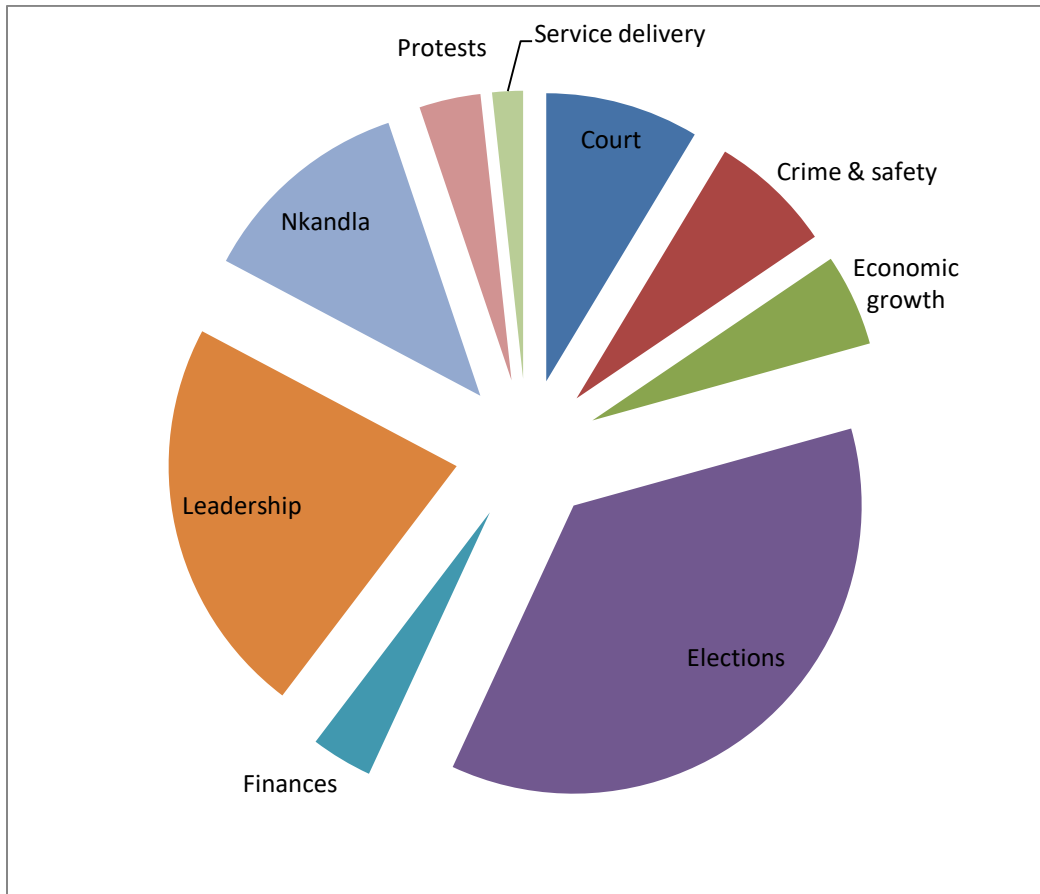
4.7.2.2 DA coverage on leadership, education and crime & safety categories



Graph 4–9 Tone, Control, and Power analysis on DA for leadership, education, crime and safety categories.

Graph 4–9 shows that the tone used for the 'leadership, education and crime and safety category' on the Democratic Alliance stories was mainly neutral. Additionally, rational power was used, and fewer cases of manipulation and political force.

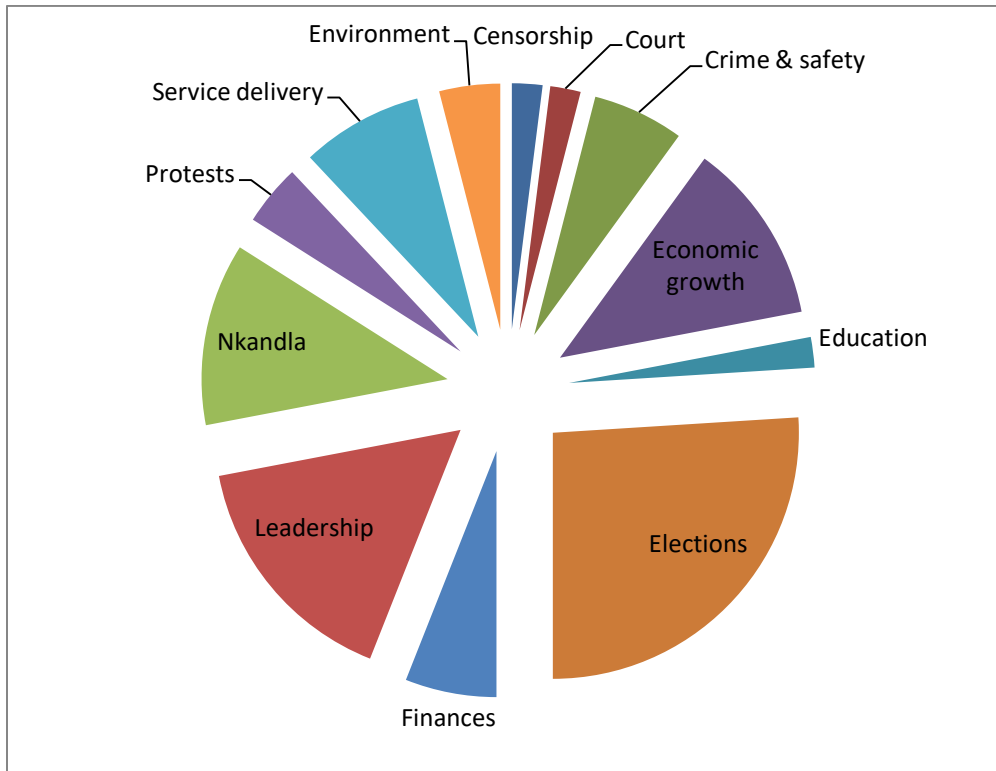
4.7.2.3 ANC led categories



Graph 4–10 ANC led categories

Graph 4–10 shows that the main categories highlighted by the ANC news coverage in the Cape Times during the pre-election period were elections, followed by leadership, then Nkandla and court.

4.7.2.4 DA led categories



Graph 4–11 DA led categories.

Graph 4–11 shows that the main categories highlighted by the DA news coverage in the Cape Times during the pre-election period were elections, followed by leadership, then Nkandla and economic growth, then service delivery and crime & safety.

4.7.2.5 Conclusion

The findings on the news categories that emerged from the content analysis revealed that elections, leadership, Nkandla were the most dominant areas of interest for both the ruling party (ANC) and the opposition party (DA). Nkandla was a controversial issue upon which the two political parties were competing, as well as crime and safety category. However, stories' categories such as environment, education and censorship were practically absent from the ruling party coverage. There was a huge gap in the economic growth category between the two parties.

4.8 SRQ1: Messages (Says what: Issues / content analysis)

What are the political messages of the political parties in their election campaign communication?

4.8.1 Introduction

During the election, the political parties put forward their candidates and arguments to persuade people to vote for their candidates and parties. The messages often consisted of several talking points about policies and issues at the center of on-going discussions. The 2014 South African election campaign communication did not derive from the mandatory of bringing specific issues into the public sphere for adhesion and implication of potential voters. This led the researcher to highlight 13 distinct categories (*Graph 4-7*), or issues that were part of the discussions led by the political parties involved in this research, throughout the pre-election period of 2014. Hence political leaders were able to advocate on issues related with *Nkandla*, *service delivery*, *crime and safety* amongst many others. The results as shown on (*Graph 4-7*) presented 'elections', 'leadership', 'Nkandla', 'Finances', and 'Economic growth' as the categories that political leaders gave more attention during the campaign.

4.8.2 Political party election campaign communication

Political parties are organisations that seek to reach power and control by gaining office in a duly constituted election. In doing so, they should equally take part in political activities as it ensures a real representativeness. In considering the fifth South African general election in 2014, the political party election campaign communication of the political organisations did not derogate to the ideal rule of being the voice of broader sectors of society to participate successfully in elections. Although, there might be ideological differences between political parties in modern democracies; it is important to note that they share a commitment to constitutional means of advancing their objectives, attempting to convince a population as a whole of their correctness, and putting their policies to the test of periodic elections. . Henceforth, the political parties were able to actively demonstrate their involvement towards public issues related with *service delivery*, *Nkandla report*, *corruption*, *education* amongst many others. Below are some messages from the ruling party (ANC), and the opposition party, (DA).

ANC related quotes from the Cape Times newspaper

Quote 1: Cape Times newspaper 25 April 2014, page 5; Zuma said. *“The lives of our people have continued to get better every day since the ANC took over the country in 1994. South Africa is today a better place to live than it was before 1994...we have a better story to tell.”*

DA related quotes from the Cape Times newspaper

Quote 2: Cape Times newspaper, 19 February 2014, page 4, Mazibuko in reference to the DA's application for Nkandla report said *“... in truth there never was any lawful basis to classify the report as top secret... In light of what Masilo has revealed the minister abused the government's national security protection.”*

Quote 3: Cape Times newspaper 25 April 2014, page 5; Helen promising ramps for homes of disabled in Mamre said. *“If you give me a list of names I will ensure it will be done.”*

Quote 4: Cape Times newspaper 2 May 2014, page 4 Hellen Zille on her jobs creation and economic growth; *“... our policies make it possible for entrepreneurs to grow”*. *“She further told the gathering to bring change to their communities by voting for the party during the national and provincial elections on Wednesday. She said the ANC and president Jacob Zuma did not want change because it would threaten their power.”*

EFF related quotes from the Cape Times newspaper

Quote 5: Cape Times newspaper 3 March 2014, page 4, Malema said: Zuma didn't declare salary when he became state president. He further said; *“... the reason I am telling you this is that there is no president who must be under the employ of any company, but Zuma was employed for four months by Roy Moodley and he failed to declare.”*

DA related quotes from the Cape Times newspaper

Quote 6: Cape Times newspaper 21 February 2014, page 4' Wilmot James, DA federal chairman in reference to the DA manifestos for jobs said; *“the DA policy also aims to*

improve BEE so that it can rewards companies that invest in their workers and create jobs, break up, inefficient state monopolies and distributes shares to ordinary citizens to increase competition and bring down prices.”

ANC related quotes from the Cape Times newspaper

Quote 7: Cape Times newspaper 21 February 2014, page 4 Jacob Zuma said: *“Zuma has defended his government’s performance, saying the ANC has learnt its lessons over the past 20 years and knows which policy works. He criticised the DA saying it still providing different services to the rich and the poor: with the DA ruled city of Cape Town being a prime example.”*

Quote 8: Cape Times newspaper 3 April 2014, page 1: *“Zuma remained concerned about the allegations of maladministration and impropriety around procurement in the Nkandla project, ‘in particular the allegations of cost inflation”* Maharaj said.

4.8.3 Conclusion

Cape Times newspaper offered a large coverage to the political parties involved in this research, namely the Democratic Alliance (DA), the African National Congress (ANC), Agang and Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) throughout the period leading to the 2014 elections. A noticeable fact is that of the presence that the two major political parties were given in the newspaper. The African National Congress (ANC) seemed to compete with the Democratic Alliance (DA) over the coverage they were both assigned. This led to question the production processes within political communication, as the work done ahead in the diffusion of the *messages generated* by political actors through direct channels such as newspapers. In addition, it led to question the role that journalists, broadcasters and editors play as ‘gatekeepers’ when deciding ‘what’s news’, as well as the organisational structure of newsrooms. Talking about the messages spread throughout the campaign, they were mainly persuasive. Furthermore, political parties were more engaged in a counterpunching activity, particularly the ANC and the DA, who threw bowls at each other and offered a limited scope to their manifesto agenda.

4.9 SRQ2: Framing – (Who / says what: tone, control, authority influence)

How are the political messages of the political parties framed in their election campaign communication?

4.9.1 Introduction

Framing was apparent in the political messages published in the Cape Times during the pre-election period of 2014. It was clear that political parties especially the ruling party (ANC) and the official opposition party (DA) included framing as a strategy in shaping the political debate and issues. For the former, the manner in which the story was written, as well as its selection, emphasis and presentation, demonstrated that framing was at the heart of the production ahead. For the latter, the opposition party, framing contributed to shape the debate. A task that was evident through the recurrent mention of the Nkandla report which seemed to be the most controversial issue throughout the campaign.

4.9.2 Political strategy patterns

In considering the elite political parties of this research, the African National Congress (ANC) on the one hand and the Democratic Alliance (DA) on the other, the political strategies used were 1) inform, persuade and integrate (IPI), or persuade with the intent to gain for the Democratic Alliance, while the African National Congress political strategy pattern was to persuade, defend and consolidate, or persuade with the intent to keep, as reflected by the following quotations from the newspapers coverage of the political elections stories of the ANC and the DA.

ANC related quotes from the Cape Times newspaper

Quote 9: Cape Times newspaper, 10 January 2014, page 1, Mitchell Jones reported Higher Education and Training Minister Blade Nzimande: *“has staunchly defended the 35 percent matric pass mark, warning that the country has become dangerously elitist by wanting to exclude pupils who perform poorly. Nzimande said the country has no dusting where living human being can be thrown because they have failed to reach a certain benchmark.”*

Quote 10: Cape Times newspaper, 10 January 2014, page 4 Mbombela said: *“The meaning of the word hustle is under the spotlight after the ANC put up posters in*

Mpumalanga encouraging the youth to register for the upcoming elections. The ANC poster read 'step up for your hustle , register now to vote.'

Quote 11: Cape Times newspaper, 10 January 2014, page 4 ANC spokesperson Jackson Mthembu said: *"the ANC would never encourage anyone to use illicit means to accumulate wealth. We didn't mean that and seriously, the youth knows what we mean about that word.. If you are not young you won't understand the word; it's a slang word used by the youth ...even artists say I am hustling."*

Quote 12: Cape Times newspaper, 10 January 2014, page 4, Michell Jones reported Bronagh Casey spokesman for Education EMC Donald Grant said: *"a breakdown of results in poorer communities proved these comments were misleading the public. Since 2009, when the DA came into government, the results of our poorer schools have improved significantly year on a year."*

Quote 13: Cape Times newspaper, 10 March 2014, page 5; ANC Treasurer Zweli Mkhize said: *"The ANC is saying yes, we are uncomfortable with this and there must be further investigation."*

Quote 14: Cape Times newspaper, 10 March 2014, page 5; ANC Treasurer Zweli Mkhize said: *"There is a whole host of ministers , a whole hosts of officials who should have been out there communicating .If government had been upfront about it all, it would have made a big difference. And the ANC is uncomfortable with this."*

Quote 15: Cape Time newspaper, 21 March 2014, page 1, ANC said: *"The ANC does not have a house called Nkandla. It has a house called Chief Albert Luthuli."*

Quote 16: Cape Time newspaper, 21 March 2014, page 1, Lebogang Seale reported ANC statement saying: *"The ANC will not apologise to South Africans or recall President Jacob Zuma over the Nkandla scandal , following Public protector Thuli Madonsela's report that he and his family unduly benefited from the R215 millions upgrades at his private home. Any apology if necessary will have to come from Zuma himself."*

Quote 17: Cape Times newspaper, 10 March 2014, SAPA reporting ANC treasurer statement: *"He said he had received satisfactory answers regarding some of the*

features of the upgrade, particularly the controversial R28 million firepool, which was not meant for swimming.”

Quote 18: Cape Times newspaper, 3 April 2014, page 1, Presidency spokesman Mac Maharaj said; *“Noting that three states agencies or institutions namely the public protector, the justice , crime prevention and security cluster of cabinet and the Special Investigating Unit (SIU) have all inquired into the same subjects matter, the president has decide that he will give a full and proper considerations to all matters before him and upon receipt of the SIU report, will provide Parliament with a further report on the decisive executive interventions that he would consider to be appropriate.”*

Quote 19: Cape Times newspaper, 1 May 2014, page 4, former intelligence minister Ronnie Kasrils said: *“What is more important than (the ANC) is the ideas of the party. If the party forgets those ideas, we will stand against the party.”*

Quote 20: Cape Times newspaper, 5 May 2014, page 1, ANC provincial chairman Marius Fransman said: *“The DA must stop harassing ANC members. While we are having a rally with thousands of people, the DA literally drove into this rally. What is the objective? To provoke and create crisis. We are saying to our members; do not let them provoke anyone.”*

DA related quotes from the Cape Times newspaper

Quote 21: Cape Times newspaper, 3 February 2014, page 1; Zille said: *“At the meeting, Dr Ramphela regened on the agreement that she stands as the DA’s presidential candidate and that Agang SA’s branches, members and volunteers be incorporated into the DA.”*

Quote 22: Cape Times newspaper, 3 February 2014, page 1; Zille said: *“it is not clear what her objective is, but whatever it is, it is not in the interest of the South African people.”*

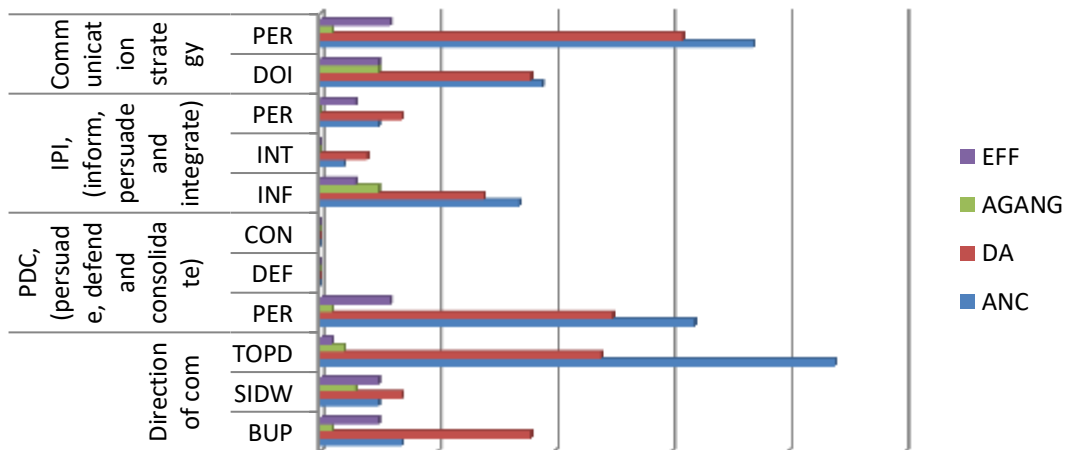
Quote 23: Cape Times newspaper, 4 March 2014, page 3, De Lille said: *“This is true that Siqalo developed over night and it was a planned invasion of the land. But there is a court case that is still pending. People paid for plots of land in Siqalo. We can’t remove people from a piece of land that does not belong to us.”*

Quote 24: Cape Times newspaper, 3 April 2014, page 5, Zille said in reassuring her staff on job equity: “we have submitted our comments to the national minister making it clear that we are committed to rational employment equity for all South Africans disadvantaged by apartheid, but will not introduce quotas, nor accept the absurd and unconstitutional regulations as promulgated.”

Quote 25: Cape Times newspaper, 2 May 2014, page 3, DA provincial leader Ivan Meyer said: “We welcome any investigation into the tender allocation process as there was no corruption”. “This is simply the case of a reputable contractor running into cash flow problems, affecting a wide range of clients of which the Western Cape provincial Department of Public Works is only one”.

Quote 26: Cape Times newspaper, 6 May 2014, page 1, Poni said: “I believe the DA is the only opposition party in South Africa that is strong, that is vibrant and take on the ANC”.

4.9.2.1 Direction of communication, purpose and communication strategy for the African National Congress and the Democratic Alliance.



Graph 4–12 DCP and strategy of the African National Congress and the Democratic Alliance.

Graph 4–12 shows that the African National Congress direction of communication was more oriented downward, compared to the Democratic Alliance whose communication was more oriented upward. Furthermore, the purpose of communication was more on ‘persuading, defending and consolidating’ for the African National Congress, while the Democratic Alliance

was more turned to *'inform, persuade and integrate'*; and the communication strategy used by the two political parties was persuasion.

Moreover, quotations from the newspaper give evidences on the direction the communication of the two major political parties of this research, namely the ANC and the DA. For the ANC, the direction of communication was rather engaged towards the people, or Top-down (TOPD), while the DA communication was more turned upward or towards the governing, BUP (bottom-up).

ANC related quotes from the Cape Town newspaper

Quote 27: Cape Times newspaper 13 January 2014, page 4, Lebogang Seale, Piet Rampedi and George Matlala reporting ANC head of policy Jeff Radebe: *"the policies of the ANC are very clear in that the President of the ANC becomes the president of the country."* *"This is the decision of the national conference, which is the highest decision-making body of the ANC."*

Quote 28: Asked if the ANC will maintain its 65 percent majority, he answered: *"well, I can only say that we are aiming to ensure that we have a decisive, overwhelming victory in these elections. What the percentage will be I don't know, but I am confident that the vast majority of South African will continue voting for the ANC as the party that has brought freedom and created a much better life than when we came in 1994."*

DA related quotes from the Cape Times newspaper

Quote 29: Cape Times newspaper, 8 January 2014, page 9, Helen Zille said: *"The Western Cape is the only provincial government that conducts rigorous competences tests for its matric markers. At a press conference on December 30, the chairman of Umalusi, Professor Sizwe Mabizela, expressed concern about the fact that the appointment of markers in some provinces was subject to political and union pressure. This is unacceptable and undermines public confidence in the making process."*

4.9.3 Conclusion

To sum up, the elite political parties of this research used framing to bring debate to their advantage. In doing so, they were able to advocate on specific issues and direct attention

towards them, to gain the sympathy of potential voters. While the ANC opted for the political strategic pattern to *persuade, defend* and *consolidate* (PDC), the DA opted to *inform, persuade* and *integrate* (IPI). This dynamic caused the two parties to engage more on a reactive process marked by a constant counterpunching, instead of carefully defending their manifesto program to its best.

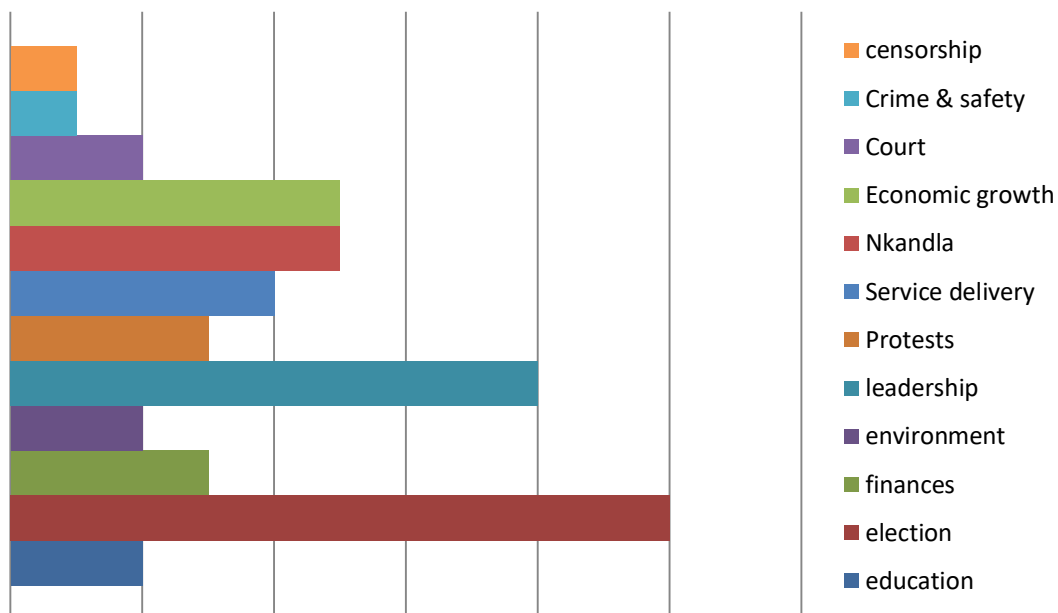
4.10 SRQ3: With what effect?

How does political party election campaign communication of the political parties use public relations models of communication?

4.10.1 Introduction

Press agency and the two-way asymmetrical were the main public relations models of communication perceived in the political messages throughout the election campaign. Characterised by the persuasion they both entail, it was evident that the persuasive effort from the public relations perspective was prevalent. The first one also referred to as the publicity model is a one-way communication where the political parties of this research were using persuasion and manipulation to influence the audience to behave as they desire. This type of communication is commonly called propaganda. The second is a two-way communication with the same intent of influencing and changing attitudes to the parties' advantage, though it offers a two flow of communication.

4.10.2 Messages



Graph 4-13 DA stories categories

Graph 4–13 shows that the main categories covered were respectively *election*, *leadership*, *Nkandla* and *economic growth*.

Other DA messages from the news coverage:

Quote 30: Cape Times newspaper, 20 January 2014, page 3, Mazibuko in defending the legitimacy of the DA cabinet said: *“Throughout his term of office, we have been unable to allocate him a mark higher than a E or an F, Mazibuko said Zuma score was heavenly influenced by the Nkandla and the Gupta plane scandals. The deployment of South African soldiers to the Central African Republic, where 13 of them were killed, played a role.”*

Quote 31: Cape Times newspaper, 22 January 2014, page 5, Mazibuko has vowed to rope in Public Protector Thuli Madonsela to probe *“rampant corruption”* in the Madibeng municipality. *“the report had uncovered a series of corrupts acts”*, the DA in Madibeng said.

Quote 32: Cape Times newspaper, 24 January 2014, page 4, on the planned march to Luthuli House by the DA Zille said: *“we are taking the fight to Luthuli House to highlight the failure of (President) Jacob Zuma’s to corrupt and create jobs.”* Zille further said the DA would expose the ANC manifesto pledge of creating six millions jobs opportunities as *“bogus”*.

Quote 33: Cape Times newspaper, 19 February 2014, page 4, speaking of Nkandla, Mazibuko said: *“ In truth , there never was any lawful basis to classify the report as top secret ... In light of what Masilo has revealed , the minister abused the government’s national security protection.”*

Quote 34: She further added that: *“As I pointed out in my replying affidavit, seeking to shield the president from political embarrassment is not a matter of national security which justifies a top secret classification.”*

Quote 35: Cape Times newspaper, 21 February 2014, page 4, speaking on DA manifesto for jobs; DA Federal chairman, Wilmot James said: *“Under Jacob Zuma corruption has increased along with unemployment.”* He further adds that: *“we will use the occasion of our launch in Polokwane to show that only the DA can fix the problems caused by Jacob Zuma’s leadership.”*

Quote 36: Cape Times newspaper, 28 February 2014, page 3 on the new housing delivery plan, The DA said: *“we have sent numerous request over a period of about 10 years to release parcels of land at Youngsfield and Wingfield for housing.”*

Quote 37: Cape Times newspaper, 28 February 2014, page 4. The DA said ANC can't take credit for DA's work. Zille said that: *“If the ANC wants to supply this completely ‘false logic’ of saying that if the money comes from the central fiscus it must be ANC projects and ANC delivery , then why don't they just continue that false logic a little more backwards and do a pro rata analysis of which party's supporters pay tax.”*

Quote 38: Cape Times newspaper, 19 March 2014, page 3. The DA MP Pieter van Dalen said that *“the public protector's report that found Fisheries Minister Tina Joemat Pettersson guilty of misconduct and wasteful expenditure has still not been tabled in Parliament.”*

Quote 39: Cape Times newspaper, 2 April 2014, page 4. The DA says: *“new evidence that President Jacob Zuma misled Parliament on the security upgrades at his Nkandla residence.”*

Quote 40: Cape Times newspaper, 2 May 2014, page 3. On an ANC request audit related to 'DA housing scandal' DA provincial leader said: *“we welcome any investigation into the tender allocation process as there was no corruption.”* He adds further that: *“This is simply the case of a reputable contractor running into cash-flow problems, affecting a wide range of clients of which the Western Cape provincial Department of Public Works is only one.”*

4.10.3 Conclusion

Persuasion was used as an overall strategy for the political campaign communication of 2014 for all the political parties involved in this research. The results showed that the communication effects or purpose of public relations focus were prevalent. Amongst the four outcomes, there were three principles namely: publicity (or propaganda); dissemination of information; and persuasion. Hence one can argue that political public relations axes more on the influence. It is about the ability to gain control and influence behaviours to the party's prospects.

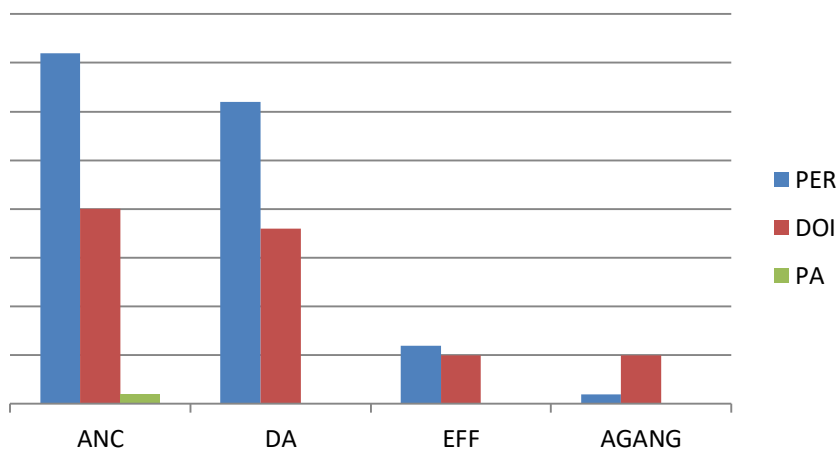
4.11 SRQ4: Public relations effort in political campaign communication

4.11.1 Introduction

Public relations plays a strategic role in organisational communication. Thanks to its strategic outcomes; the deliberate, planned and sustained communication efforts of public relations practitioners, helps to build and maintain a good will amongst a variety of stakeholders. Hence, the public relations communication models help achieving in a way or the other, the organisation's goals. Therefore the management of communication within public relations in campaign can equally considered as media management.

4.11.2 Public relations communication models

The public relations communication models revealed in the political party election campaign communication throughout the 2014 general South African election were mainly characterised by; 1) *persuasion model* (Van Ruler, 2004; Smith 2013); 2), *the public information or dissemination of information* (Grunig & Hunt, 1984; Smith, 2013) and 3) the press agency, or propaganda (Grunig & Hunt, 1984; Smith, 2013; Table 2-4).



Graph 4–14 PR models used in the 2014 South Africa general election

Graph 4-14 shows that persuasion was the mainly used public relations communication model followed by the dissemination of information and press agency.

4.11.3 Conclusion

The persuasion model was at the core of the political campaign communication. It appears that this model represents a strategic model for political campaign communication, as political leaders need to influence masses to adhere to their expectations. Hence, considered a strategic tool for the political communication process, public relations models of communication were decisive throughout the campaign. For the opposition party DA, it showed clearly through their manifesto that the party had a strategy ahead, but their pattern of actions (press coverage) showed that they did not have a strategy as they did not actively engage it.

4.12 Main research question

"How does the application of public relations principles compare between political parties during their campaign communication in a democratic election?"

4.12.1 Introduction

It was clear that the political parties 'campaign communication of 2014 made use of public relations principles. *Graph 4-14*, revealed that the persuasion model played a huge role in the messages published. All political parties used this model extensively to impose their political arguments. Besides there was the public information model or dissemination of information (DOI) that was also used by the ruling party ANC, and the opposition party DA. Only press agency (PA) was used by ANC.

4.12.2 Conclusion

To sum up, it is assumed that the persuasion models, along with all the one-way communication of public relations communication models are predominant in political campaign communication.

4.13 Discussion of findings

This section discusses the findings according to the themes identified within the data and inspired by the literature and the research question which include: (1) political party election campaign communication; (2) political strategy patterns; (3) messages and (4) public relations models. The main research question is: *“How does the application of public relations principles compare between political parties during their campaign communication in a democratic election?”*

4.14 Political party election campaign communication

Political party election campaign communication refers to the use of a purposeful or strategic communication with the aim to strategically distribute the messages and ideologies of political actors across, to influence, establish and maintain beneficial relations and generate favourable reputations amongst key publics. Furthermore, media plays a crucial role in the spread of political messages, as noted by Sancar, (2013) they provide the necessary channels to support them, and so for the case of this research, the analysis of the political parties related messages distributed in the Cape Times newspaper, led the researcher to observe and understand, 1) the nature of the newspaper, and ultimately, 2) who controlled these messages. Alternatively, framing which is considered as a strategic communication that is used to shape the public agenda to influence people’s behaviours and attitudes was equally visible throughout the election campaign communication. Thus, framing pays particular attention to questions related to who is winning and losing, the performances of politicians and parties, and on campaign strategies and tactics.

Besides, all the patterns surrounding the election campaign communication processes, the *voter behaviour* remains an essential focus that political candidates pursue in their quest for power

and decisional state. Hence, they are able through the societal issues and current policies to advocate and enhance their communication more effectively. As a matter of fact, the Democratic Alliance was able to demonstrate a *situational analysis* through ‘hypothetical events’ such as Nkandla controversy. As the candidate opponent of the ruling party, this tactic was stressed out in an effort to get voters to switch their allegiance. Thus it can be assumed that the official opposition used that course of event to appeal to the conscience of potential voters for a better change and a chance of better governance. On the contrary, there were evidences that the African National Congress used the *social analysis* through race and societal statuses like the poor as a pan to garner more support and affiliation.

4.14.1.1 Control analysis

Lasswell’s model of communication in relevance to the media leads to question who the actor of the message is. Understanding the patterns surrounding the article in terms of the nature or the type of newspaper, the aims, the reporter political stands and so forth are important measures in describing who controls the message. The general view showed that the message was controlled by the political parties, who sent out their press releases, though the researcher could notice little interference from the journalist reporters. Indeed this was mainly stressed on the Democratic Alliance related stories. As demonstrated in (*Graph 4-4*), the Democratic Alliance stories got the most negative tones compared to the other political parties.

4.15 Political strategy patterns

After the recurrent observations of the use of persuasion within the political messages distributed in the Cape Times newspaper, It was found that persuasive communication was the overall political strategy pattern used by all the political parties. Thus, it is important to mention that political actors use a wider range of persuasive techniques in their on-going effort to shape and influence opinions, referred to as the ‘engineering context’ of propaganda, by Bernays, and known as framing today, as “*a key social doctrine used to determine audience understanding and desire*” (Corthell 2008:5).

Moreover, the observation of the communication behaviour of the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the African National Congress (ANC) revealed that the Democratic Alliance embraced the political goal of persuading, defending and consolidating (PDC), whereas the African National Congress attempted to inform, persuade and integrate (IPI), in reference to the political

communication goals of Lilleker (2006), see (*Graph 4-12*). Consequently, it was found after analysis of the political elections related stories that the communication material of the political parties included in this research communicated in the newspaper tended more to a tactic rather than being strategic. The other emerging opposition parties such as Agang and the Economic Freedom Fighters were not in marga of that same dynamic.

Furthermore, the research showed that the interactions marked by the two major political parties followed an active and reactive process, with the Democratic Alliance being the most active, while the African National Congress tried to react to the issues raised by the Democratic Alliance such as the Nkandla report, which was the most controversial issue, towards the fifth general democratic election. Thus, persuasion was the main communication strategy used by both political parties as shown in (*Graph 4-12*).

4.15.1.1 Power or level of persuasion

Dahl (1976) identifies six level of influence within the message in political communication, namely, rational, manipulative, inducement, power, coercion, and physical force, which he rated from best to worst. Related to this, there was evidence noted by the findings that the first two, rational and manipulative were the most obvious forms of influence present in the messages spread by the political actors part of this research as shown in, (*Graphs 4-5, 4-6, 4-8 to 4-9*).

Conversely, an important fact remains that these types of influence were mainly perceived on the African National Congress related stories, while on the Democratic Alliance there was in rare cases an additional use of the other forms of influence such as inducement and physical force, as revealed in (*Graph 4-9*). However, the researcher made note that the African National Congress had shared stories with the Democratic Alliance and Economic Freedom Fighters, except with AGANG.

4.15.1.2 Rational persuasion

The ideal form of persuasion as described by many political philosophers such as Habermas, Rawls (1971) and Dahl (1976) that invites to open debate and collective reflection, hence changing people's mind on the basis of reason. This form of persuasion was well addressed in the messages spread by the political actors from the opposition political boards of this research, whereby the researcher could notice a persistent way of presenting the 'true state' of the country on various levels, while appealing for a change in people's voting behaviour. An

example is Mazibuko's intervention on Nkandla issue to clarify the situation around the Nkandla report, as illustrated in the following Cape Times newspaper and as shown on *quote 33*.

Quote 33: Cape Times newspaper, 19 February 2014, page 4, speaking of Nkandla, Mazibuko said: "*In truth , there never was any lawful basis to classify the report as top secret ... In light of what Masilo has revealed , the minister abused the government's national security protection.*"

Considering this, Deutsch (1961) argued long ago that, to be susceptible to persuasion, people must be uncertain or "*must already be inwardly divided in their thoughts,*" and that there must be some doubt or alternatives or "*some contradictions, actual or implied, among their habits or values.*" These contradictions often become more pointed through discussion, and therefore may lead to reflection and even attitude changes.

4.15.1.3 Manipulative persuasion

Another form of persuasion in political discourses is manipulative persuasion which Dahl (1957) described as the misleading of people into action through lies. This form of persuasion was ambivalent within the political messages the researcher could notice from the discourses held by the political parties involved in this research.

Mio (1997) points out in referring to the 'uninformed voter theory' that the problem does not lie in the media neither the politician's communication, rather it is in the hands of the voters themselves. Further, the author notes the existence of two types of voters;

- 1) "*being the stubbornly ignorant who refuses to pay attention to the issues and messages of media or politicians and*
- 2) *the uninterested who has already drawn his own ideas and opinions about the various media presentations, and only allows those consonant with pre-existing beliefs.*" (Mio 1997:116).

In addition, all the political boards were active in the attempt to persuade their electorate. Through the different rallies that were organised during their campaign, there was a constant approach in persuading the public to adhere to their manifesto programme. Therefore, persuasion can be said to be the recurrent strategy pattern used by the political parties for their electoral campaign.

4.16 The messages

McNair (2011) concedes that the campaign theme is the central message. The message aims to attain a particular target and thus allows the political parties to put forward their candidates and arguments to persuade people to vote for their candidates and parties. Hence the message of the campaign represents the ideas that political parties and candidates want to share with the voters. Considering this, the overall view showed that the parties did not maximize the intended effect of their manifesto program. The common messages were driven in a form of counterpunch activity from the two major political parties, the African National Congress (ANC) on the one part and the Democratic Alliance (DA) on the other, as revealed in quotes 10, 11, 20, 30 and 37.

Quote 10: Cape Times newspaper, 10 January 2014, page 4 Mbombela said: *“The meaning of the word hustle is under the spotlight after the ANC put up posters in Mpumalanga encouraging the youth to register for the upcoming elections. The ANC poster read ‘step up for your hustle , register now to vote.’”*

Quote 11: Cape Times newspaper, 10 January 2014, page 4 ANC spokesperson Jackson Mthembu said: *“the ANC would never encourage anyone to use illicit means to accumulate wealth. We didn’t mean that and seriously, the youth knows what we mean about that word. If you are not young you won’t understand the word; it’s a slang word used by the youth ...even artists say I am hustling.”*

Quote 20: Cape Times newspaper, 5 May 2014, page 1, ANC provincial chairman Marius Fransman said: *“The DA must stop harassing ANC members. While we are having a rally with thousands of people, the DA literally drove into this rally. What is the objective? To provoke and create crisis. We are saying to our members; do not let them provoke anyone.”*

Quote 30: Cape Times newspaper, 20 January 2014, page 3, Mazibuko in defending the legitimacy of the DA cabinet said: *“Throughout his term of office, we have been unable to allocate him a mark higher than a E or an F, Mazibuko said Zuma score was heavenly influenced by the Nkandla and the Gupta plane scandals. The deployment of South African soldiers to the Central African Republic, where 13 of them were killed, played a role.”*

Quote 37: Cape Times newspaper, 28 February 2014, page 4. The DA said ANC can't take credit for DA's work. Zille said that: *"If the ANC wants to supply this completely 'false logic' of saying that if the money comes from the central fiscus it must be ANC projects and ANC delivery, then why don't they just continue that false logic a little more backwards and do a pro rata analysis of which party's supporters pay tax."*

4.16.1.1 Direction of communication

The world of politics is characterised by the ability to influence the potential electorate; hence politicians use tactics at hand in order to attain their objectives. As argued by Brant and Voltmer (2011) in the horizontal dimension of political communication, politicians and journalists interact with each other in the production of political messages. In a vertical dimension there is an increasing dynamic of awareness of political messages which links political and media elites with audience members and citizens (Mazzoleni & Schulz 1999).

Linked to the latter, the vertical dimension was the most present as shown in (*Graph 4-12*). As a matter of fact, the Democratic Alliance got the most upwards (BUP) direction of communication, in contrast with the African National Congress whose communication was rather driven downwards or (TOPD). Besides, Agang and the Economic Freedom Fighters' direction of communication were equally directed upwards (BUP).

4.16.1.2 The actors and tone of the messages

McNair (2011) argues that the media or those who work in them are important political actors. He stresses the role they play in the transmission of messages coming from the political entities to the public that may undergo various processes of news-making and interpretation. Indeed, in the process, the politician's views may be altered to the benefit or disadvantage of the political organisation. This fact leads to understand that the media are part of the political activity as they represent an available resource for political actors and their advisers.

Furthermore, the political communication process is dominated by political actors and is concerned with all forms of communication, whether it occurs horizontally, upward to downward, or vice-versa, amongst these political actors who can be active, passive or uninterested in politics.

Referring to that, the researcher found that other relevant actors within the news coverage are journalists, whose presence could be considered neutral to some extent. However, it remains important to highlight that the researcher could notice clear biases and some subjectivity in the content of the articles as illustrated in (*Graph 4-4*), as in the ANC stories shared with the DA, the DA got most negative tones, while it was not the case for the DA stories shared with ANC. The main political actors cited in the news stories articles were political leaders from the two major political parties of this research, Democratic Alliance (DA) and African National Congress (ANC).

4.17 Public relations communication models

The public relations communication models revealed in the political party election campaign communication throughout the 2014 general South African election were mainly characterised by; 1) *persuasion model* (Van Ruler, 2004; Smith 2013); 2), *the public information or dissemination of information* (Grunig & Hunt, 1984; Smith, 2013) and 3) the press agency, or propaganda (Grunig & Hunt, 1984; Smith, 2013; *graph 4-14*).

The use of public relations communication models, play a pervasive role into shaping the messages and get them across to attain a particular target during the time of campaign (Grunig & Hunt, 1984; McNair, 2011; Stromback & Kiouisis, 2011).

4.17.1.1 Persuasion model or (two-way asymmetrical model)

Van Ruler (2004:126) recognises Grunig & Hunt's (1984) models of public relations as being 'a first classification of insights into communication' and is satisfied that Grunig & Hunt's two-way symmetrical communication concept indicates that different players in the communication process influence each other. However, this is not the case for Grunig and Hunt's two-way asymmetrical communication, Van Ruler argues, where it is unclear the extent to which communication is established, insofar as the nature of the interaction and the actors involved in the process (Fauconnier, 2000; Van Ruler, 2004). Furthermore, she suggests one-way communication is simply a transmission, and therefore Grunig and Hunt's two-way asymmetric communication is actual one-way persuasive communication. This inter alia suggests that communication via one-way transmission or one-way persuasion routes have different purposes. The first is a "*flow of information in which a sender disseminates a message to receivers by revealing its meanings in its message*" (Shannon & Weaver, 1949; McQuail &

Windah, 1986; Littlejohn, 1992; Van Ruler 2004), while the second is one-way persuasive communication focused on changing the receiver's attitude. As a matter of fact the persuasion model of public relations communication model was at the core of the political party election campaign communication through the 2014 South African election as shown in *figure 4.19*. Therefore, the persuasive communication model, or the two-way asymmetrical, works to persuade an audience to embrace a certain behaviour, that fits its objectives.

4.17.1.2 Public information model

The public information model known as the second earliest communication model of public relations, revolved from half-truths to more ethical practices (Skinner, 2004). This model aims to inform the public and thus involves little research, and is mainly practiced by the government, non-profit association and business (Grunig, 1984).

According to Grunig and Hunt (1984:22), *"the purpose is the dissemination of information necessarily with persuasive intent. The public relations person objectively reports information about the organisation to the public."* Unlike the press agency model, public information model is more turned to the spread of information than to generate news. Its main objective is to give clear and factual information to the audience. An illustration is provided in *quotes 2 and 4*.

Quote 2: Cape Times newspaper, 19 February 2014, page 4, Mazibuko in reference to the DA's application for Nkandla report said *"in truth there never was any lawful basis to classify the report as top secret... In light of what Masilo has revealed the minister abused the government's national security protection."*

Quote 4: Cape Times newspaper 2 May 2014, page 4 Hellen Zille on her jobs creation and economic growth; *"our policies make it possible for entrepreneurs to grow"*. *"She further told the gathering to bring change to their communities by voting for the party during the national and provincial elections on Wednesday. She said the ANC and president Jacob Zuma did not want change because it would threaten their power."*

4.17.1.3 Press agency

Considered the earliest public relations communication model (Grunig & Hunt, 1984), the press agency model is intended to get favourable attention in media. Mostly used to inform the public,

the press agency model is one-way communication characterised as the flow of information that is from the sender with the aim to persuade people and influence their behaviours. Furthermore, the press agency model seeks to provide a positive image for the organisation, advocacy, and influence and orchestrate public opinion (Grunig & Hunt, 1984; van Ruler, 2004; Smith, 2013). Press agency relies on spin and more turned to the interpretation of facts that fit one's view and to get media coverage (Grunig & Hunt, 1984).

As a matter of fact, this model was clearly used in the news articles as illustrated in *quotes 13, 14, 16, 27, 28 and 35*.

Quote 13: Cape Times newspaper, 10 March 2014, page 5; ANC Treasurer Zweli Mkhize said: *“The ANC is saying yes, we are uncomfortable with this and there must be further investigation.”*

Quote 14: Cape Times newspaper, 10 March 2014, page 5; ANC Treasurer Zweli Mkhize said: *“There is a whole host of ministers , a whole hosts of officials who should have been out there communicating .If government had been upfront about it all, it would have made a big difference. And the ANC is uncomfortable with this.”*

Quote 16: Cape Time newspaper, 21 March 2014, page 1, Lebogang Seale reported ANC statement saying: *“The ANC will not apologise to South Africans or recall President Jacob Zuma over the Nkandla scandal , following Public protector Thuli Madonsela’s report that he and his family unduly benefited from the R215 millions upgrades at his private home. Any apology if necessary will have to come from Zuma himself.”*

Quote 27: Cape Times newspaper 13 January 2014, page 4, Lebogang Seale, Piet Rampedi and George Matlala reporting ANC head of policy Jeff Radebe: *“the policies of the ANC are very clear in that the President of the ANC becomes the president of the country.” “This is the decision of the national conference, which is the highest decision-making body of the ANC.”*

Quote 28: Asked if the ANC will maintain its 65 percent majority, he answered: *“well, I can only say that we are aiming to ensure that we have a decisive, overwhelming victory in these elections. What the percentage will be I don’t know, but I am confident that the*

vast majority of South African will continue voting for the ANC as the party that has brought freedom and created a much better life than when we came in 1994.”

Quote 35: Cape Times newspaper, 21 February 2014, page 4, speaking on DA manifesto for jobs; DA Federal chairman, Wilmot James said: *“Under Jacob Zuma corruption has increased along with unemployment.”* He further adds that: *“we will use the occasion of our launch in Polokwane to show that only the DA can fix the problems caused by Jacob Zuma’s leadership.”*

CHAPTER FOUR presented the findings and provided an in-depth discussion according to the research questions. It started with an overview of the data collected and concluded with the findings relevant to the main research question.

CHAPTER FIVE will present the conclusions and recommendations for future research.

5 CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

With the aim to answer the research question: *“How does the application of public relations principles compare between political parties during their campaign communication in a democratic election?”* I performed a qualitative content analysis on the political party election campaign communication of various political parties involved in this research; as well as the thematic analysis of the Democratic Alliance manifesto. This chapter summarises the key findings of the research; discusses the theoretical implications as well as the significance of the study; and finally makes conclusions and give recommendations for future research.

5.2 Brief overview of the thesis

The main purpose of this study was to explore the application of public relations principles in political parties ‘campaign communication, during the South African 2014 general election. Determining public relations according to its strategic roles and functions to society, then identifying its important role in the political communication context, referred to in this particular study as political public relations, or political party election campaign communication as assumed, to the public relations effort in organisation; was a determining step to take.

Related to that effort, it was necessary to get an understanding of the political communication literacy as well as it was for the main highlighted discipline of this research, public relations. In considering the literature in public relations, the researcher discussed the public relations communication models (*Table 2–2 and Graph 4–14*) to be able to identify and provide the evidence of their use in political party election campaign communication. Accordingly, the researcher developed a conceptual ‘framework’ (Chapter 3), that helped to analyse political party election campaign communication in a democracy. The analysis done through the use of that framework revealed the key findings discussed in section 5.3.

5.3 Summary of key findings

The key findings to the main research question: ***“How does the application of public relations principles compare between political parties during their campaign communication in a democratic election?”***

The public relations effort in political party campaign communication, as part of the strategic organisational communication is evident. Through its various strategic outcomes public relations helps the organisation to meet its agenda. Findings revealed that the political party election campaign communication of the Democratic Alliance was mainly influenced by the use of two public relations communication model, namely 1) *persuasion model or two-way asymmetrical* (Grunig & Hunt, 1984; Van Ruler, 2004; Smith 2013) and 2) *public information or dissemination of information* (Grunig & Hunt, 1984; Smith, 2013). The ruling party ANC, was influenced by the first two and 3) *press agency*, referred to as *propaganda*, where communicators use persuasion and manipulation to influence audience behaviours to their outlooks, (*Graph 4-14*).

In light of the sub-mentioned public relations communication models, it is important to stress that they are all characterised by one way-flow information with the intention to either persuade, orchestrate public opinion, influence behaviours, generate the organisation’s’ positive reputation, advocate and so forth. Hence the political party campaign communication of all the political parties of this research, in the 2014 general election used the persuasion model of communication as way to provoke a change in attitude to suit their political argument. Nevertheless, as Jackson (2010:12) reminds us, *“not all attempts at persuasion are successful”* and political actors often seek to control the flow of information to the public.

Alternatively, the Democratic Alliance in its strategic communication tried to position itself strategically through its willingness to merge the party with Agang, though the operation failed. This undeniably showed that the elite opposition party had a strategy and a plan to follow. In addition, building relationship as a strategic outcome of public relations effort was a part of it even though it didn’t generate the expected success.

5.3.1 What are the political messages of the political parties in their election campaign communication?

The key finding to the research sub-question: *What are the political messages of the political parties in their election campaign communication?*

In political campaign communication, messages play a crucial role in the evolvment of the called campaign as they represent the central unifying theme around which candidates and parties hope to garner support for election. Nevertheless, it was not the case throughout the 2014 South African general election. The candidates did not put forward their manifesto program as a way to promote it more effectively. On the contrary most political parties derived from their unifying theme. This was so evident by the recurrent counterpunching activities marked by the two elite parties of this research; the ruling party ANC, and the official opposition party DA. They were rather reactive to issues, than proactive based on their campaign plan, the manifesto. Hence the common messages were more centred on 'election', 'leadership', 'Nkandla', 'Finances', and 'Economic growth' as shown on (*Graph 4-7*).

5.3.2 How are the political messages of the political parties framed in their election campaign communication?

The findings to the research sub-question: *How are the political messages of the political parties framed in their election campaign communication?*

Undoubtedly, the analysis of the political messages revealed that framing which is an important concept in media coverage played a role in the direction and form of the political messages throughout the 2014 national election. Defined as a strategic game to influence behaviours and shape opinions in the public sphere (Froehlich & Rudiger, 2005), evidences were provided by the recurrent and most controversial issue during the election period, the Nkandla report; and the failed merging between Agang and the Democratic Alliance. In fact, Bennet and Entman (2001) refer to framing as being persuasive as it selects and highlights certain aspects over others in the communication. Therefore, strategic political framing is used to exert power over outcomes and to persuade audiences to accept interpretations that benefit the political party.

It is important to note that this study was specifically interested in examining the news elections related stories which were printed in the Cape Times newspapers throughout the period leading to the 2014 national election. The analysis of the political messages showed that the newspaper stories 'coverage of all the political parties was predominantly issues driven. In fact, the elite political parties the African National Congress (ANC) and the Democratic Alliance (DA) almost derived from their programmatic agenda and manifesto, as they did not demonstrate a lot of strength in defending it. They were rather driven by answering to issues thrown at each other, amongst which the Nkandla report and the Democratic Alliance failed merging with Agang.

Furthermore, the analysis showed that the Democratic Alliance (DA) promoted their manifesto in an extremely limited way as revealed in *Graph 4-11*. Related to this, it is assumed that political parties establish their programmatic agenda and manifesto from the media coverage. Thus, materials such as press releases represent the official stand point of these political parties and therefore must be communicated effectively, as it is essential to garnering public support for a political player, and a first indicator of public relations success. Considering this, the study revealed that the Democratic Alliance (DA) did not cover effectively its manifesto program with the exposure the party was attributed within the newspaper. The interactions marked by the two major political parties were characterised by an active and reactive process, following the issues they raised during the period leading towards the elections, which shows sign of lack of an effective and efficient public relations.

Yet, to consider this point of view the researcher deduced from the analysis of the articles in the newspaper that agenda setting undeniably exulted from the media coverage in newspaper. It is clear that framing and agenda setting were at the rendez-vous of the communication behaviour observed in the political messages published in the newspapers throughout the election. As a matter of fact, neither the Democratic Alliance nor the African National Congress extensively defended their manifesto program. On the contrary, there were driven in *counter-punch* activities in pointing out issues at each other.

Furthermore, as McCoombs *et.al*, (2009) note, the creation of public awareness and concerns about socio-political issues do not happen in isolation, as socio-political and cultural contexts help tailor those in the eye of the public, so as to give direction of '*what to think*' of and '*how to think of*' (Aalberg *et al.*, 2011). Thus, one can deduce that both the media and the political parties had set agendas that directed their campaign communication, and so did the journalist

who reported the stories in reference to the tone that characterised the published stories, although the question remains whether this was a strategic stance or a simple tactic.

Thus, agenda setting was equally an indicator of the direction and form of the political messages throughout the campaign, as noted by the prominence and tone of the messages. Though the general view showed that the journalists were neutral to some extent, there were some instances where, the use of a negative tone was prevalent, especially on the Democratic Alliance (DA) stories, as illustrated by *Graph 4-4*.

Furthermore, the study revealed another interesting finding linked to the page placement in newspaper. It was found that the African National Congress got more than half of the newspaper coverage placement on page 1, and the Democratic Alliance far more placement on page 3, as shown by (*Graph 4-2*). This was equally found on page 4 with the Democratic Alliance as the lead, followed by the African National Congress, which in turn was the lead on page 5 (*Table 4-2*); while the other political parties shared the other half of the pages.

Finally, another noticeable finding was that the African National Congress (ANC) had no single story shared with Agang, compared to the other political parties included in this research, namely the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) and the Democratic Alliance (DA), (*Graph 4-1*).

5.3.3 How does political party election campaign communication of the political parties use public relations models of communication?

The finding to the research sub-question: *How does political party election campaign communication of the political parties use public relations models of communication?*

Broad strategies such as deciding on the overall message of a campaign and the best way to communicate messages are part of the strategies put in place at the public relations level. Hence, the researcher points out that there were three public relations models of communication used in the 2014 election campaign, namely 1) *The persuasion model or two-way asymmetrical*; 2) *the public information or dissemination of information*; 3) *the press agency model*. The first and prominent model in the 2014 South African general election was the persuasion model or two-way asymmetrical model known as scientific persuasion (Bernays, 1928). According to Grunig and Hunt (1984), this model focuses on changing the audience's

behaviour and attitude in short periods of time. The authors note further that the purpose is to gain the public's feedback to place the organisation's messages that best serve the organisation's interests (Grunig & Hunt, 1984). Therefore, if one considers the issues highlighted in the newspaper's articles, such as matrix results, case of corruption or bad governance over the Nkandla affair, or mostly housing and service delivery, one can affirm that the political organisations involved in this study somehow conducted research to point out the very urgent needs of the potential voters (the South African populations).

The second model of public relations communication model used throughout the campaign was the public information model, which follows a one-way flow of information, and seeks to inform publics. This model constantly strives for telling the truth to the publics so as to educate the public for informed decision making (Grunig & Hunt, 1984). Here again the public relations model of communication was a noticeable pattern in the messages of the political parties, mostly the Democratic Alliance that took a strict stance towards the Nkandla report.

The third public relations model of communication was the press agency model of communication, also characterised by a one-way flow of information. This model aims to draw either good or bad attention in most any form for short term advantages (Grunig & Hunt, 1984; van Ruler, 2004, Smith, 2013). Press agency, influence, advertising and marketing are considered 'persuasion' as they have short-term advantages which are gained through the use of truth bending, '*alternative facts*' and even distortion, but it can be simply the staging of provocative acts to get publicity and draw attention to an individual, event, or cause. Furthermore, it is assumed that press agency relies on spin, and thus is more turned towards interpreting facts that fit one's view and to get media coverage (Steyn, 2004).

5.4 Discussion of theoretical implications

From the conclusions just discussed, I was able to arrive at the following observations and suggestions. The evidences showed that more of a public relations approach was used. Political party election campaign communication as publicity was predominantly reactive rather than proactive. More importantly, in theory, media and public relations cannot do without one another. In fact, media is the most suitable tool for the dissemination of information

and, although journalists present press releases prepared by public relations practitioners, these remain important to setting the daily media agenda.

Considering this, McNair (2011) argues that media management of information by political parties can generate favourable publicity and that the purpose of political party communication is to proactively attract a positive media coverage; as well as to use political party mandates to set the national political agenda; as opposed to the reactive approach of damage-limitation through lobbying journalists, the spinning of damaging stories and the suppression of damaging information (McNair, 2011:7).

5.4.1 Public relations effort in political party election campaign communication

Generally referred to as the management of mutually influential relationships within a web of stakeholders and organisational relationships, public relations is enacted and managed through communication (Coombs & Holladay 2001). Through its literature, the study was able to acknowledge the importance of the public relations expertise in campaign to develop a network of potential voters for elections purposes. Moreover, the value of public relations to organisations and societies is that it acts as a boundary spanner, and is able to address issues and concerns, from all perspectives, including both internal and external of the organisation and group, as well as the political and personal perspectives of the lobbyist or individual (Grunig & Hunt, 1984; White & Dozier, 1992).

Hence, public relations is an imperative focus in organisations, as it assists the organisation to monitor and interpret its social environment. Thus, advising management on proactive solutions to establish and maintain foundations for long term organisational. It is true that the observations drawn from the findings revealed that public relations principles were not adequately optimised. However, Sancar (2013) admits that political public relations represents a great tool that ensures the effective distribution of political parties' messages to their voters. Meanwhile it aims sustainability of political parties and their government.

As Lubbe and Puth (2000:82) point out: *"...basic objective of most public relations programmes is either to change or to neutralise hostile opinions, to crystallise unformed or latent opinions, or to conserve favourable opinions by reinforcing them."* Nevertheless, there is no consensus on the public relations and communication core themes required to contribute to the establishment

of a public relations framework, which can help to analyse political communication within a democracy.

Yet, to consider the public relations effort in the political party election campaign communication of the Democratic alliance (DA), this study contributed to the development of a public relations framework that helped to analyse political party election campaign communication in a democracy. Moreover, the communication patterns in this framework tested whether the media content supports the general or common rule that political communication is characterised by patterns of politics, namely *control*, *influence*, *power* and *authority* and thus, this presents an opportunity to link public relations approaches to the media content (Grunig & Hunt, 1984; Grunig, 1992; Van Ruler, 2004; Lilleker, 2006; Jackson, 2010).

5.4.2 Insights into public relations communication models' outcomes

According to Grunig and Hunt (1984) and Grunig (1992), the communication effects or purpose of public relations focus on four outcomes, namely: publicity (or propaganda); dissemination of information; persuasion and mutual benefit; while more recent effects focus on engagement and relationship building (Smith, 2013). Grunig and Hunt (1984) believe that no single model could be rated as best for all aspects of public relations; instead, all definitions are useful in everyday practice and should be evaluated and applied according to the long term goals of the organisation as well as the integrity of the long term established relationship between the organisation and its publics (Grunig, 2001). Gordon (1997) states that the mainstream of public relations is more than just about organisations and publics and rather that public relations seeks to make public relations practitioners more effective communicators that have a deeper understanding of their publics.

5.4.3 Communication strategy

When embarking on the field of political party election campaign communication during the South African 2014 national election, my assumptions were based on the fact that political parties should use public relations principles strategically to reach their key audiences. It is true that the political public relations is sometimes considered negatively as spin or as propaganda (Moloney 2001, Jackson 2010). Indeed, Grunig and Hunt (1984), Grunig (1992) and Van Ruler (2004) all include persuasive communication as a communication model; but Grunig and Hunt

(1984) consider propaganda as a communication strategy. Even more, Van Ruler (2004) argues that no field of public relations addresses all forms of possible communication strategies, and thus, presents alternative public relations models, which are based on the flow of information and the construction of meaning according to a communication grid ranging through information to persuasion.

Alternatively, Burke (1950:50) argues that *“persuasion involves choice, will; it is directed to a man only insofar as he is free”*. Considering this view, Gordon (1997:62) suggests that public relations is ethical because its efforts, including persuasion, operate within societies where people are able to make use of their free will and they can accept or reject the ideas advanced by public relations practitioners. In other words, the view of the ethical nature of persuasion and public relations activities depend on the situation.

5.4.4 Differences between public relations and political public relations

Table 5-1: Differences between public relations and political public relations (Adapted) (Stromback & Kiouisis, 2013; Freeman, 1984, p. 46; Weaver & Willnat, 2012; Groeling, 2010; Coombs, 2011)

	Public relations	Political public relations
Purpose	Organisational interests	Political interests
Use communication to Influence	Perceptions, reputation & relationships	Political processes & outcomes.
Aim	Prioritizes one strategic goal over another	Uses all strategic means possible
Focus	Communication	Communication & Action
Target audience (number and complexity)	Stakeholders “affect or is affected by”	Everyone (multiplicity of publics)
Involvement	Not critical to dissemination of information model to peripheral publics	Critical to all levels of stakeholder engagement.
Publics	Focussed	Highly inclusive
Common good / public interest	Optional	Essential
Regulations, transparency, oversight	Various	Seldom operate outside the public domain.
Main currency	Money (profit)	Ideas and power.
Product	Tangible (mostly).	Intangible
Success	Other models of success as not strictly win-lose.	Zero sum game (someone’s win is someone else’s loss)

Dependencies	Able to utilise other options therefore less dependent on news media and coverage.	News media and coverage
Media control	Press releases, advertising and media liaison increase control of media coverage	Media is critical of politics (watchdog function) and therefore highly critical of those with political power.
Conflict	Crisis communication	High levels of continuous conflict
Nature of crisis	Different crises and solutions; objective and preventable.	Crisis are caused by political actors; rooted in perceptions; and often incorrectly attributed to parties.
Components	Paid employees.	Political actors, members, activists, volunteers in addition to paid employees.
Measures of success	Objective financial indicators (variety of these) annual results.	Election Day results ONLY.

5.4.5 Limitations

In terms of the methodological approach, I realised that, the use of additional newspapers, which likely covered the political elections stories related to the political parties that formed the overall population of this research would have strengthen more the research and perhaps given different results. However the research produced a rich and thick description from a narrow view. Thus, the methodological approach was suitable to the specific study.

5.5 Conclusions and recommendations for future research

In summary, this research has reported on the public relations principles used in the political party election campaign communication process during the 2014 South African election. This unequivocally led to the creation of a framework offered as a workable answer that helped to identify the key tenets to the research question: *“How does the application of public relations principles compare between political parties during their campaign communication in a democratic election?”*

As such, this framework includes the necessary basis of a news story as well as isolating the components to measure them against political elements of control, power, quality, actors, direction, communication strategy, issue management and presence in the newspaper. To that, I the researcher admit that politics have long been influenced by the question of power control, as well as the perfectly tailored communication aimed at reaching the maximum target audience to fit the main goal of political campaign, which it is to get the majority of votes and be at the head of decision and policies making.

However, in reference to the noticeable gap observed in its manifesto coverage in the Cape Time newspaper, the Democratic Alliance (DA), needs to use public relations strategies, communication methods and media more effectively, to reach its different stakeholders so as to develop its base of voters. Political communication is concerned with gaining the attention of potential voters and there are numerous studies that show public relations as an effective tool in political communication for the ruling party, but there is limited information available on political communication by official opposition political parties in Africa.

Henceforth, in a democratic context, the main goal of political communication in a campaign year is still to persuade or influence voters, through the media, at minimum to vote for the political party concern or to join the political party as a party member going forward. Either way, one cannot ignore the views constituted by public opinion in the public sphere, or the impact of a continuous emerging information society where people have constant access to information. Therefore, it becomes important for political leaders to consider the relationship of the elite over influence, or those who get the most of what there is to get. Besides, Kent and Taylor (1998; 2002) speak of dialogic communication which is based on equal partnerships and common goals which aims to allow the parties to achieve collaboration, co-creation and co-operation. Hence, amongst the earliest public relations models of communication, Grunig and Hunt (1984) offered the two-way symmetrical model, as a way to resolve conflicts, since it represents the central route to persuasion.

The authors point out further that the central route to persuasion is persuaded by the arguments or content of the message, and ultimately leads to the resolution of conflicts that might have arisen from specific contexts. Moreover, McNair (2011:18) highlights that there are five types of political public relations functions which are promoted through the media namely; to inform; to educate; to provide a platform for public discourse; to hold the powerful accountable i.e. to give publicity to government and institutions in a watchdog function; and to provide a channel for

advocacy of political views which McNair (2011:20) states that the “*advocacy function may be viewed as one of persuasion.*”

Furthermore, public relations increases the effectiveness of organisations by maintaining the independence to organisation and publics, and this can be achievable when the organisation strives to build long term effect and stable the relationship between the organisation and its publics. In addition, two-way symmetrical model emphasis on dialogue, seeks to establish and promote complete and accurate two-way communication with the purpose of a mutual benefit. Alternatively, Dozier *et al.* (1995) believe that models of communication are situational and suggest a mixed-motive model of public relations which retains the central importance of self-interest while acknowledging opposing opinions.

To conclude, future research should include the use of this conceptual framework in all communication media including online media, social networks as well as print and broadcast media to measure political public relations, known as public communication.

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APPENDIX 1: CONTENT ANALYSIS

Cape Times Newspaper from January 8 to May 7, 2014 (May 7, 2014 is election day) Political party				Content						Purpose			Notes
No	Date	political party		Category	Headlines	Tone	Control	Power	Direction	PDC, (persuade,)	IPI, (inform,)	Communication	
p.9	08-01-2014	DA		education	Why unbelievable matric results fail the credibility test and must be audited	DA +	DA	Rat	BUP	Per		Per	DA calls on standardisation of the MAC marks
p.5	08-01-2014	Agang SA		finances	Financially troubled Agang seeks reform of political party funding	DA -	JO	mani	BUP		Inf	DOI	DA not mentioned in story, story mentions Agang, EFF and ANC
p.1	09-01-2014	ANC		politics	ANC will rule SA for ever, says, Zuma	DA-	JO	Rat	TOPB	Per		Per	Journalist reports on what Zuma said, in quoting him throughout the
p.4	10-01-2014	ANC		politics	ANC hustles poster encouraging young people to get	DA-	JO	mani	TOPB	Per		Per	Journalist reports on concerns raised from ANC poster's message 'hustle' throughout the article
p.4	10-01-2014	DA		education	DA denies Nehawu's 'neglect' charge	DA -/ manifes	JO	Rat	BUP	Per		Per	DA accused of neglect toward the improvement of education in poorer communities
p.4	10-01-2014	EFF		politics, social	We've got 400 000 members , claims Malema	N	JO	Rat	SIDW		Inf	DOI	Journalist reports on EFF members chart
p.4	13-01-2014	ANC		politics, elections	Zuma the right man to lead poll campaign	N	JO	mani	TOPD	Per		Per	ANC manifesto
p.4	13-01-2014	ANC (Zuma)		Nkandla report	Nkandla may hurt ANC at polls study	N	JO	Rat	TOPD	Per		PA	Nkandla scandal may hurt ANC at polls
p.5	14-01-2014	ANC		elections	ANC seeks the help of smaller parties	DA-	JO	Rat	TOPD		Int	Per	ANC calling smaller parties in Western cape to join in
p.5	14-01-2014	DA, Mmusi Maiman		electoral campaign	Zuma is killing party in Gauteng	DA+	JO	Rat	TOPD		Int	Per	ANC may be brought down in Gauteng in actual election compared to previous years
p.1	15-01-2014	ANC	EFF	electoral campaign	ANC and Economic Freedom Fighters to launch campaign trail in province	DA-	JO	Rat	TOPD	Per		Per	ANC and Economic Freedom Fighters campaign trail in province
p.4	16-01-2014	DA		finances	DA standsby cabinet 'weather report'; gloomy with a few ray of sunshine	DA-	JO	Rat	TOPD		Inf	DOI	DA stands by cabinet over its report
p.1	17-01-2014	DA (Zille, De Lille)		environment	Plea to Zille, De Lille on fires in Masiphumelele	DA-	JO	Rat	BUP		Per	DOI	Plea to Zille on fires issue
p.4	20-01-2014	EFF		electoral campaign	Workers can be farm bosses- Malema	N	JO	Rat	BUP	Per	Per	DOI	Malema whining on lands
p.4	20-01-2014	ANC		electoral campaign	Don't just shout: vote, Duarte tells local ANC	DA-	JO	Rat	TOPD	Per		Per	ANC calling for votes
p.5	21-01-2014	ANC		electoral campaign	The DA'scandidate lists will be set this weekend	N	JO	Rat	SIDW		Inf	DOI	DA candidate list
p.5	21-01-2014	EFF		politics	IFP, EFF, bury the hatchet- for now	N	JO	Rat	SIDW	Per		DOI	IFP, EFF bury the hatchet
p.5	21-01-2014	DA		politics	The DA'scandidate lists will be set this weekend	N	JO	Rat	BUP		Int	DOI	DA, vows at corruption
p.4	22-01-2014	DA		party elections	DA members jumpy ahead of meeting on MP	DA-	JO	Rat	SIDW		Inf	DOI	DA meeting on MP candidates
p.5	23-01-2014	ANC (Zuma)		judiciary status	Zuma gives date for judges 'disclosure	N	JO	Rat	TOPD		Inf	DOI	Zuma giving dates for judges disclosure
p.4	24-01-2014	DA		Lithuli House protest	DA march is an attack on the ANC, says SACP	DA-	JO	mani	TOPD	Per		Per	DA march
p.1	p.3	24-01-2014	DA	Social	Informal settlement sanitation protest to go ahead without religious leaders	DA-	JO	Rat	BUP	Per		Per	Informal areas can't be policed
p.4	24-01-2014	ANC		elections	ANC's top six prepare for all-important NEC meeting	N	JO	Rat	TOPD		Inf	DOI	ANC's top six prepare for al important NEC meeting
p.1	p.4	28-01-2014	DA	party elections	Mayco members moving up in DA ranks	N	JO	Rat	SIDW		Inf	DOI	DA ranks
p.4	28-01-2014	ANC		elections	ANC polls initiation poster 'offensive'	N	JO	Rat	SIDW	Per		Per	ANC poster
p.4	30-01-2014	DA	Agang	party merging	Retract unilateral merger or resign, Ramphele told	N	JO	Rat	SIDW		Inf	DOI	failed merging between AgangSA and DA

APPENDIX 3: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

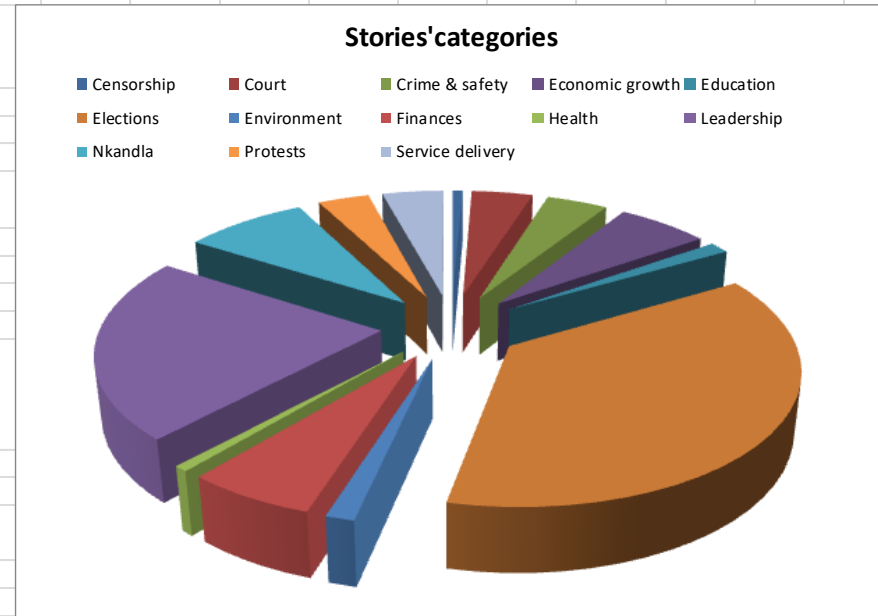
Political party campaign communication	Control	Content	Purpose
Messages: control, influence, power and authority; and framing	✓	✓	✓
Actors: media and political actors	✓	✓	✓
Strategy: political and public relations communication strategy	✓	✓	✓
Issues management:	✓	✓	

APPENDIX 4: SAMPLE OF CONTENT ANALYSIS

Page number	Political parties		Categories	Categories combined
p.9		DA	education	education
p.5		Agang SA	finances	finances
p.1		ANC	politics	leadership
p.4		ANC	politics	leadership
p.4		DA	education	education
p.4		EFF	politics, social	leadership
p.4		ANC	politics, elections	leadership
p.4		ANC (Zuma)	Nkandla report	Nkandla
p.5		ANC	elections	elections
p.5		DA, Mmusi Maimane	electoral campaign	elections
p.1		ANC EFF	electoral campaign	elections
p.4		DA	finances	finances
p.1		DA (Zille, De Lille)	environment	environment
p.4		EFF	electoral campaign	elections
p.4		ANC	electoral campaign	elections
p.5		ANC	electoral campaign	elections
p.5		EFF	politics	leadership
p.5		DA	politics	leadership
p.4		DA	party elections	elections
p.5		ANC, Zuma	judiciary status	court
p.4		DA	Lithuli House protest	crime & safety
p.1	p.3	DA	Social	service delivery
p.4		ANC	elections	elections
p.1	p.4	DA	party elections	elections
p.4		ANC	elections	elections
p.4		DA Agang	party merging	leadership
p.4		DA ANC	party seats	elections
p.4		DA Agang	politics	leadership
p.1	p.4	DA Agang	merging cancellation	leadership
p.1		ANC	march of protest	protest
p.4		DA	politics	leadership
p.4		DA	politics	leadership
p.4		Agang	politics	leadership
p.4		ANC	politics	leadership
p.1		ANC	march of protest	protest
p.5		Agang DA	poke fun at the two party merging by ministers	leadership

Final categories combined

Censorship	1
Court	6
Crime & safety	6
Economic growth	9
Education	2
Elections	53
Environment	2
Finances	9
Health	1
Leadership	32
Nkandla	12
Protests	5
Service delivery	6



APPENDIX 5: CAPE TIMES NEWSPAPER PHOTOGRAPH

