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QUALITATIVE EXPLORATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES ADDRESSING SALIENT ISSUES UTILISING YOUTUBE DURING 2019 SA GENERAL ELECTIONS

by

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DECLARATION

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MNM Mamabolo   **28 January 2024**

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ABSTRACT

Given the importance of issue salience and the growing use of social media, this study integrated media framing theory with salient theory to create a better understanding of how issues relating to political parties play out on the audio-visuals carried by YouTube. Salience plays a large role in the interest group literature. Despite the prominence of issue salience theory, there has not been much empirical implications of the saliency theory in terms of utilising YouTube as a facilitator to claim and address issues during electoral campaigns. It has been found and stated that during election campaigns the media such as YouTube, through "media framing", play a significant role in determining what audiences should think about campaign issues or agendas. In this study, Media framing theory focused on qualitatively exploring how audio-visual media carried by YouTube were used as a political communication tool by the African National Congress (ANC), Democratic Alliances (DA) and Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) to claim and address salient issues for the 2019 National Election Campaign. This study argues that audio-visual media carried by YouTube as a distribution channel, is a relevant medium used for electoral campaigns to facilitate claimed and addressed salient issues by the political parties. The methodology of data collection incorporate the content analysis of 24 YouTube based audio-visuals (8 audio-visuals per party) facilitating claimed and addressed salient issues, associating the message characteristics (nature, types and appeals) with message reach (number of views) and viewer engagement (types of comments). The DA and EFF notably utilised audio-visuals carried by YouTube to facilitate their intense messaging of negative campaign against the ANC, while the EFF simultaneously promoted electoral messages around its own salient issues and party's self-presentation.

Keywords: Political communication; Digital political communication; Salient theory; Issue salience; Media framing; Audio-visuals; YouTube; Political parties; Elections; Campaign; social media; social networks; Content analysis, Methodology

TABLE OF CONTENT

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

ADDENDA

LIST OF ACCRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ANC- African National Congress

AUTNES- Austrian National Election Study

CiC- Commander in Chief

CMP- Comparative Manifesto Project

CTR- Cultural Theory of Risks

DA- Democratic Alliances

EFF- Economic Freedom Fighters

EU- European Union

GDP- Gross Domestic Product

ICT- Information Communication Technologies

MP- Member of Parliament

PSOE- Spanish Socialist Workers' Party

UK- United Kingdom

UN- United Nations

US- United States

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

YouTube is a channel for distributing audio visual content produced by political parties and actors to communicate their salient issues with the voters during electoral campaigns. Social networking sites have become a critical hotspot for political data just as political support for communicating with the audience when campaigning for the elections (Heiss, Schmuck and Matthes, 2018). There is promise for greater ties between citizens and politicians and more participatory politics, thanks to social networking sites and video sharing websites like YouTube, especially at the national level. This study explored the use of audio-visual media carried by YouTube as a political communication tool by the African National Congress (ANC), Democratic Alliance (DA) and Economic Freedom Fighter (EFF) to claim salient issues for the 2019 national election campaigns using a qualitative method. Furthermore, this research examined these claims by analysing YouTube as a video producer and distributor of political parties' campaigns in the General Elections. Political parties' salient issues are addressed by political actors through audio visual mediums carried by YouTube to the voters. Once the message has reached the voters, feedback is given to the political parties through comments as well as the number of shares, likes and dislikes.

This chapter presents the thesis research strategy and gives a general summary of the studies that are presented in it. This chapter begins with a discussion of the background that also addresses the research problem of this research; followed by three research questions; and the objectives of the study. This study aims To explore the characteristics and theoretical criteria of issue salience and media framing through the lens of political communication over YouTube; to explore how the ANC, DA and EFF utilised audio-visual media carried by YouTube to facilitate the claimed and addressed salient issues; and to investigate how audio-visual media, such as videos and audio recordings, are carried by YouTube as a distribution channel, served the political aims of parties (ANC, DA and EFF) to address and claim salient issues for the 2019 General Elections. This study argues that the audio-visual media, carried by YouTube as a distribution channel, is a relevant medium used for electoral campaigns to claim and address the salient issues of the political parties. It is further argued that YouTube as a distribution channel is the main carrier of all audio-visual content that is produced and distributed via other social media platforms, such as Twitter and Facebook; and that videos and

audio recordings that are available and being watched on YouTube are a way of political parties to claim the salient issues.

1.2 THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

A research problem is a particular difficulty or gap in the body of knowledge that the researcher hopes to fill with the research study. This study addresses the gaps in the knowledge regarding the utilisation of YouTube as a political communication tool to facilitate messages amongst the parties to the citizens of South Africa. South African political parties also adopted the trend, with social media featuring in electoral campaigns of various political parties during the 2009 and 2014 elections. Notwithstanding that some researchers have explored social media usage during the 2009 and 2014 South African elections (Steenkamp & Hyde-Clarke, 2014; Ayankoya, 2013; Malherbe, 2015), there is still a gap in the literature in this field, especially on how issue salience theory is reflected on YouTube. The studies that have been conducted have focused on whether the political parties applied social media strategies effectively in their election campaigns. According to Booysen (2014), South African political parties still lack expertise and skills to use the social media platforms and thus understanding of social media in political marketing needs to be further developed among political leaders, political parties and politicians.

For South African political parties, social media platforms presented a viable platform to reach the youth, who have been demonstrating a trend of political apathy and lack interest in politics. This was evident from the declining youth voter turnout over the years (Mattes, 2012; Mattes & Richmond, 2014). Also the low voter numbers during the 2014 registrations talked to that lack of youth political participation (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2014). Ahead of the 2009 SA general election, both the African National Congress (ANC) and Democratic Alliance (DA) created Facebook pages as a part of their online campaign strategies in an effort to communicate directly to citizens. Although parties had social media presence, a study by Walton and Donner (2011) contend that social media did not facilitate electoral communication and thus did not allow for broader contestation or deliberation. During the 2014 elections, parties endeavoured to expand their social media usage. Therefore, the research problem of this study is an exploration of how audio-visual media carried by YouTube were used as a political communication tool by the African National Congress (ANC), Democratic Alliance (DA) and Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) to claim salient issues for the 2019 National Election Campaign.

1.3 THE CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The concept of issue salience (i.e., regardless of whether an issue is critical to somebody) "has been utilized for quite a long time to exhibit that any given arrangement issue (abortion, gun control and so on) might be a focal point of intuition for certain residents while being overlooked by others simultaneously" (Miller, Krosnick & Fabriger, 2016: 125). Moreover, citizens are required to be intellectually, behaviourally, and emotionally more occupied with issues that are salient to them (Lazarus & Smith, 1988). For instance, it has been discovered in experimental studies that there is a positive relationship between emotional reactions of respondents and their involvement when they are confronted with reports on salient issues addressed by political parties (Miller et al., 2016).

Political parties and candidates can now use these media tools, thanks to the growth of internet-based social media (Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, Instagram, WhatsApp, TikTok, etc.) and their features. Voters could keep track of political developments and stay in touch with politicians outside of election seasons by using social media. Consequently, the usage of social media platforms in the political sphere opened the door for voters to become more politically aware, maintaining their interest in political matters and raising their level of involvement in political processes. According to Atabek (2020: 38), political parties and candidates in Turkey have shifted the election race to social media platforms due to the country's high voter turnout.

To be exact, campaigns for elections are now tailored for both traditional and social media. There is no need for time or location urgency when using social media platforms like Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, YouTube, and others as they facilitate interactive communication. Furthermore, contrary viewpoints can be heard because the content creator, or source, is also in the receiver's position (Correa, Hinsley, & Zuniga, 2010; Ellison, Steinfield & Lampe, 2007; Hughes, Rowe, Batey & Lee, 2012; Lee & Ma, 2012; Special & Li-Barber, 2012). Both politicians and voters can now use these tools, thanks to all of these opportunities. A public mass media function on YouTube (an audio-visual media distributor) sets it apart from other social media platforms, enabling users to watch material anywhere on the internet without requiring personal or business accounts. Furthermore, Hootsuite and We Are Social have released studies that feature digital data from various nations broken down by year. These reports mention that YouTube is the most widely used social media site in Turkey in 2019 (92 percent), 2020 (90 percent), and 2021 (94.5 percent) (Datareportal, 2001).

This scenario highlights the need for studying on YouTube. Springer, Engelmann, and Pfaffinfer (2015) state that variables pertaining to cognitive dimensions—like sharing information or voicing opinions—are what make users especially interested in leaving comments, but they also hope to be able to interact with political parties and actors. They obtain the greatest satisfaction when these interactions take place. The study of Springer also stresses the importance of posts with high negativity made by the users of YouTube. In fact, posts with high negativity increase users' edge to respond in online conversations (Ziegele, Breiner & Quiring, 2014). Furthermore, negative online news is bound to be shared on both YouTube and Twitter (Trilling, Tolochko & Bursher, 2017).

The 2000s saw the emergence of effective global political communication campaigns made possible by the use of social media and the internet. In terms of utilizing the internet as a new mass media tool in political campaigns, the US presidential election of 2000 is significant. 144 million Americans were kept informed during this election period's campaigns by accessing party or candidate websites from the comfort of their homes (Kaid, 2002: 27). Nicolas Sarkozy used the internet to reach out to voters during the 2007 French presidential election. Sarkozy also sent emails and posted election-related content on YouTube (Vesnic-Alujevic & Van Bauwel, 2014: 196). Barack Obama used social media in a methodical and successful way during the 2008 US presidential race. During this process, Obama used social media platforms including Myspace, Facebook, YouTube, and Twitter in addition to the interactive website mybarackobama.com to spread information about the elections and solicit support for the campaign. According to Zhang, Johnson, Seltzer and Bichard (2010), social media played a significant role in Obama's win in the US election of 2008.

According to a study looking at how political parties in Macedonia used YouTube for political communication campaigns, they announced press conferences, party meetings, and interviews to draw attention to certain unfavourable situations for the voters. However, the public was not allowed to comment on these materials. The study's findings indicate that communication was done in a one-way fashion and that social media's interaction aspect was disregarded (Emruli, Zejneli & Agai, 2011: 464).

According to a different study on the use of social media in political campaigns, YouTube has altered the way voters are informed about political campaigns by giving them flexibility over the time, location, and quantity of videos they watch. It has also elevated the conversation

between candidates and voters to a mutually beneficial level, something that traditional tools have not done (Vonderschmitt, 2012).

Vesnic-Alujevic and Van Bauwel (2014: 208) examined 67 political ads on YouTube that were made by 13 different political parties. Based on the study, it was found that these adverts have a longer duration than television commercials, employ fewer slogans, and receive less likes, dislikes, and comments despite having more views. The study's findings indicate that while YouTube is an interactive platform, its functionality is not frequently utilized.

It was found that neither politicians nor voters were making enough use of YouTube's interactive capabilities in a different study by Sohal and Kahur (2019: 17) that examined the significance of the platform in voter communication during election seasons. Furthermore, it was shown that the content of YouTube advertising messages is more often critical and negative.

Additionally, Litvinenko (2021: 1) used the content analysis technique to examine 169 political videos that were released during the Russian presidential election campaign of 2018. The analysis's findings indicated that dissenting viewpoints dominated the YouTube videos posted throughout the election process, which led to the perception of YouTube as a substitute medium for communication.

Politicians took note of YouTube's substantial user base and the youthful voters that frequent this social media platform. Therefore, political candidates have chosen to use YouTube efficiently in their campaigns in an effort to stay up to date with new communication technologies and connect with younger voters. First, YouTube began to be utilized for political communication with the use of brief video clips (Aziz, 2010: 133). Nowadays, practically all phases of political campaigns make use of YouTube. Voters can access and share all of the political candidates' actions, including speeches at public gatherings, political commercials, visits by craftsmen, and open sessions, via their official YouTube accounts. Politicians are able to actively and successfully use YouTube outside of election campaigns, thanks to its features which include the ability to directly distribute videos, check and hate content, and insert extensive text alongside the video. These YouTube capabilities enable political parties and candidates to have access to specific information about issues, such as what topics voters are interested in seeing covered in greater detail in their videos and which content should be prioritized. The feature that sets this channel apart from the rest is the "dislike" button, which is exclusive to YouTube and cannot be found on any other social networking platform.

For the purpose of this study the specific focus was on YouTube because it is the main distributing channel of audio-visual quality content. Although social networking sites such as YouTube was used to a limited degree in the previous South African General Elections, the use of such platform proved to be crucial in the 2019 elections (Fakir, Bhengu & Larsen, 2010: 112). This study addresses the intersection and integration between campaigning and the use of social networking and video sharing sites such as YouTube as part of political parties' communication tools. This is the first study, also, to understand and explore how South Africa's top three political parties (ANC, DA and EFF) utilised and leveraged audio-visual media carried by YouTube as a communication tool to promote and facilitate claimed and addressed salient issues during the 2019 General Elections.

According to Bosch (2013), "the online 'event' of the Egyptian revolutionary saw more than 80 000 people being mobilised by social media, mostly Facebook". Evidence also suggest that the Arab revolution and Philippines upheaval, which culminated the resignation of the president, were both facilitated by social media. This indicates that social media are becoming very useful tools for political mobilisation (Bosch, 2013).

Similarly, the 2014 Indian election saw an increased use of Facebook. In view of the extensive use of social media election, CNN referred to the election as 'India's first social media election' (Makama, 2014). Politicians in African countries have also used Facebook extensively in election campaigns. President Goodluck Jonathan of Nigeria and his cabinet, as well as the Rwandise President, Paul Kagamewere, were among the first heads of state to interact with people through Facebook (Makama, 2014).

Kenyan president Uhuru Kenyatta also used social media to engage young people (Tracey, 2013; Wasswa, 2013). Kenya has more than 14 million internet users, many of whom make use of social media sites. Uhuru Kenyatta's Facebook page had an enormous following, with over 500 000 'likes'. Without doubt, many comments or items of information reached more than 500 000 followers. In addition, Portland Communications also stated that Kenya ranks second after South Africa in the use of mobile social networking. Wasswa (2013) states that social media profoundly contributed to Kenyatta'success. Tracey (2013) claims that political parties were visible in social media in the build-up to the 2014 election in South Africa. By 13 November 2013, Economic Freedom Fighters had the most likes on Facebook, followed by the African National Congress and Democratic Alliance. According to Bosch (2013), South

African political parties, the Electoral Commission, and civil society are all stepping up their use of social media to drive the masses to the polls.

Botswana 2014 general election saw an unprecedented use of social media as a campaign tool. Facebook pages of Batswana youth were dominated by pictures taken at political rallies and portraits of political candidates. Certainly social media had become an important platform for political campaigning. The ruling party also created several Facebook pages, with each candidate using Facebook to mobilise supporters. The official party page was 'Botswana Democratic Party 2014 Elections', which bore the slogan 'Together we can strive for a better Botswana'. This page had approximately 9000 likes. The page was coloured red and showed photos of the party at various rallies (Masilo & Seabo, 2014).

1.4 THE AIM AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

During the South Africa's 2019 General Elections, the ANC, DA and EFF benefited from social networking and video sharing sites including YouTube as a facilitator of claimed issues, to access and engage with potential voters. This study argues that the audio-visual media, carried by YouTube as a distribution channel, was a more relevant medium used for electoral campaigns to claim and address the salient issues of the political parties (ANC, DA and EFF). This study then focuses on how YouTube functions as a political communication tool and a facilitator of claimed issues, promotes party salient issues during electoral campaigns.

This study aims to add and contribute more theoretical perspective on how the social networking and video sharing site is utilised by political parties (ANC, DA and EFF), due to the dynamic and evolving nature of social media in the political space. Furthermore, there are still unexplored areas in how issue saliency is reflected in social media sites such as YouTube during electoral campaigns.

The goal of this study is to explore and investigate how political parties (ANC, DA, and EFF) use YouTube as a digital political communication tool to support and facilitate the salience of party-political digital issues. It also aims to demonstrate how the social networking and video sharing site can be utilized to assert and address issues that are important to the target audience. Finally, this study aims to propose a conceptual framework (Media framing) for political communication that is likely to forecast the actions of political actors and candidates who use YouTube-hosted audio-visual content to engage in authoritative discourse on issues, while also using the platform as a tool for electoral campaigning.

1.5 FORMULATION OF THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

A research question is defined as a question that a study or research project aims to answer. These questions often addresses the problem, which, through analysis and interpretation of data, is answered in the study's conclusion. In case of this study, the research questions is:

1.5.1 Research questions

- What are the theoretical criteria of issue salience and media framing within the context of political communication over YouTube?
- How did the ANC, DA and EFF utilise audio-visual media carried by YouTube to facilitate the claimed and addressed salient issues?
- How did audio-visual media carried by YouTube serve the political aims of parties (ANC, EFF and DA) to address and claim salient issues for the 2019 General Elections?

1.5.2 The objectives of the study

The research objective describes concisely what the research is trying to achieve. The research objectives summarise the accomplishments a researcher wishes to achieve through the project and provides direction to the study (Creswell, 2009). The research objectives of this study are as follows:

- To explore the characteristics and theoretical criteria of issue salience and media framing through the lens of political communication over YouTube.
- To explore how the ANC, DA and EFF utilised audio-visual media carried by YouTube to facilitate the claimed and addressed salient issues.
- To investigate how audio-visual media carried by YouTube serves the political aims of parties (ANC, DA and EFF) to address and claim salient issues for the 2019 General Elections.

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study generated invaluable insights and created impetus to strengthen the knowledge base on the issue salience and media framing framework that political parties could develop to align their social media activities especially on audio-visual media carried by YouTube and with their overall campaign strategy. Furthermore, the study augments the limited knowledge surrounding the utilisation of audio-visual media carried by YouTube as a facilitator of claimed and addressed salient issues. The current study, therefore aims to add to the existing body of

knowledge by exploring the subject of audio-visual media carried by YouTube as a facilitator of issue salience, in the context of 2019 South African general election. This will ensure consistency and coherence on all social media channels especially audio-visual media carried by YouTube, and will also be valuable in aiding political parties reach their campaign objectives, particularly in the upcoming South African general election in 2024. The findings from this study will be relevant and important for any other person who will pursue research on political communication tools such as YouTube and the role it plays in helping to claim and facilitate salient issues, and different impacts the platform has compared to other social networking sites that are often used to communicate political engagements. The researcher hopes that this research study will provide an insight into the South African political spheres and that these findings can be used by political parties to ignite more constructive dialogue that can help to improve South Africa's electoral campaigning strategies for better outcomes.

1.7 DISSERTATION LAYOUT

Chapter one introduces the study by focusing on the research problem, the aim, purpose of the study, objectives and research questions. Chapter two explores the literature review, which elaborates more into social networks as political communication tool. It also contextualises theoretical framework by demonstrating how the social networks help political parties to claim, address and facilitate issues through focusing on Saliency and media framing theories. For this study, theories are used to explore the topic under the discussion. Chapter three details the research methodology that puts into context the research techniques and paradigms employed to gather the data. Furthermore, the discussion in chapter three also contextualises the method of data analysis, rationale of the study, ethical considerations and method of data verification. Chapter four presents the findings and analysis of data collected. Lastly, chapter five further discusses the findings presented in chapter four. The chapter also presents recommendations and limitations of the study based on the interpretation of the data provided in chapter four. In addition, chapter five also presents a summary of all the chapters involved in this research study.

1.8 SUMMARY

Chapter one introduced the study, its aims and purposes; objectives; and a broader background of the phenomenon. South Africa has yet to have a research study on the exploration of YouTube as a political communication tool and a facilitator of claimed and addressed salient issues utilised by political parties. Chapter two, will elaborate more into the theoretical

framework of this study and the literature which was used as a primary point of understanding the research problem.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the digital political communication concept is extended to issue salience within the context of the 2019 General Elections in South Africa (to be expanded upon in chapter three). As illustrated in chapter one, political parties (ANC, DA and EFF) addressed the salient issues that affect the public using the YouTube medium to facilitate the audio visual posted during the 2019 election campaigns. The public which was the recipient expressed their views on the on-going salient issues through likes, dislikes and comments made on the audio visual posted.

This chapter, therefore, aims to present an exploration of the theoretical framework and political communication as a discipline which consists of changes in the political communication, digital political communication and impact of social networking sites on political communication. Furthermore, this chapter presents the issue salience concept by zooming into the definitions from other studies, the theoretical background and evolution of issue salience. Furthermore, media framing analysis will be discussed by exploring media frames as dependent variables. This will be achieved by analysing a wide range of factors that influence the way politicians and other interest groups frame a specific salient issue or topic.

Chapter three will also go in depth explaining the impact of social networking sites on political communication, the understanding of YouTube as an audio visual medium with its functions, evolution of election campaigns and the many sources as well as dimensions and drivers of issue salience. Issue salience is then located within a South African context, reflecting briefly on voting patterns in this country and how political parties have been addressing the salient issue and claiming them as their own in manifestos during the 2019 election campaigns. The chapter ends by analysing and observing other authors' studies in relation to the concept of issue salience by looking at how it was handled as well as the methodologies used and the findings of those studies.

2.2 POLITICAL COMMUNICATION AS A DISCIPLINE

Political communication has been the subject of numerous definitions attempts by writers (Hlungwani, 2021). According to Denton and Kuypers (2007), McNair (2017) including Bennett and Lyegnar (2008), political communication is the process through which leaders, the media, or citizens use language and symbols to exert intended or unintended effects on people's

political cognition, attitudes, or behaviours, or on outcomes that have an impact on a nation, state, or community's public policy.

In terms of information exchange between politicians, the news media, and the general public, political communication is an interactive process (Norris, 2004). In addition to operating upward from public opinion toward authorities, the process also operates downward from governing institutions toward citizens and horizontally in the connections between political actors. Since the early 1990s, a number of significant developments have radically changed the electoral and policy-making processes that have always relied heavily on political communication (Norris, 2004).

Dhawraj (2019) states that political communication is a word that combines politics, diplomacy, and the effective dissemination of political ideas to the general public. It appears to be a very simple notion. The first civilization to promote the development of effective human communication forms as a means of enabling a participatory democracy that functions was the Greek society. In this way, persuasion guaranteed the smooth operation of city-state society, which in turn guaranteed political judgments based on the relative merits of opposing viewpoints and reached by consensus. Greek philosopher Aristotle developed one of the first theories of persuasive communication. According to Aristotle (1941) and Romarheim (2005), communication is a process that is started by a speaker who presents reasons in speech to an audience that is listening. The ancient Greeks thought that language could be a very effective tool for persuasion if it was handled properly. Thus, strategic human communication should serve as the foundation for one such process, which was Aristotle (Radakovic, 2010).

Moving from Aristotle's concept of persuasive political communication, "political communication in modern times can be achieved through a variety of avenues, such as party and leader speeches, election manifestos, parliamentary debates, media releases, paid and free political advertising, and media appearances" (Kluver & Sagarzazu, 2015: 384). These elements all represent different aspects of the current party political communication process. For example, the African National Congress (ANC), the ruling party in South Africa, has benefited greatly from home visits, large-scale rallies, and grassroots mobilization.

2.2.1 Evolution of Election Campaigns

The emergence of televised campaigns and the regular release of opinion polls marked the beginning of the process of transforming pre-modern campaigning, which began in 19th-

century democracies with the expansion of the franchise. This type of campaigning persisted in most post-industrial societies until at least the 1950s Norris (2004). Pre-modern campaigns in general elections were typified by a campaign organization at the top led by the party leader and a small circle of personal political advisors, who ran a national campaign that was ad hoc and very brief. A loose network of volunteers from the party spread out over the local areas served as the base (Bowler &nd Farrell, 1992; Norris, 2004).

The party organization was primarily local in nature, bringing together politicians, party employees, and constituents directly through events like town hall hosting, canvassing, and branch party gatherings. Members of mass-branch party groups worked unpaid as volunteers to support the local candidate, as directed by the constituency party agent. The partisan press served as the primary source of mediated information for pre-modern campaigns. It was either independently owned and managed or directly owned and supported by party organizations, but it nonetheless provided sympathetic partisan spin through editorial columns and political commentary. Radio and film, which were significant news sources throughout the interwar years, began to tangentially support newspapers in the 1920s and helped nationalize the campaign before television even existed (Wlezien & Erikson, 2002: 969; Anstead & Chadwick, 2008; Kapor & Weitzner, 2010).

Norris (2004) identifies several related developments that occurred in established democracies during the evolution of the modern campaign from the early 1950s to the mid-1980s. These developments included the shift from dispersed state and local party organizations to a nationally coordinated strategic campaign, the replacement of party officials and volunteers with paid professional consultants who specialized in communications, marketing, polling, and campaign management, the move away from more partisan newspapers to national television news, and the evolution of an electorate that was less strongly anchored to party loyalties and social divisions. The 'long campaign' that took place almost a year prior to Election Day progressively had the same strategic significance as the brief 'official' campaign.

The post-modern campaign views the era of television as the pinnacle of modernity, with narratives typically identifying only two steps in this historical sequence Norris (2004). Yet over the past ten years, there has been evidence of the emergence of the 'post-modern' campaign, as evidenced by a number of related developments: the dispersion of television channels, as national broadcasting gives way to a wider range of news sources such as talk radio, satellite and cable stations, and round-the-clock rolling news bulletins; the opening up

of new avenues for voter-party interaction made possible by the growth of the Internet; and the effort made by the parties to regain control in a news environment that is more complicated, fragmented, and changing quickly through media management and strategic communications during the ongoing campaign. Polls, focus groups, and electronic town meetings continuously provide feedback to inform regular decision-making, not just campaign-related decisions (Fishwick, Walsh & Howard, 2014; Kumar, 2014; Pawhajetley, 2014).

Though it is still in its infancy and is more pronounced in some countries than others, this final phase of modernization appears to be where political campaigning in post-industrial civilizations will likely go in the future. A more inchoate and confused sense of identity is one of the characteristics commonly associated with "postmodernism," which is a complex phenomenon open to multiple interpretations. Other characteristics include increased challenges to traditional forms of hierarchical authority and external standards of rational knowledge, as well as greater social diversity and fragmentation of sources. For these reasons, at least in post-industrial cultures, the word does appear to encapsulate many of the innovations that are currently changing the nature of campaigning (Norris, 2004; Pawhajetley, 2014).

During election campaigns, social media has emerged as a universal platform for communication for candidates (Stier, Posch, Bleier & Strohmaier, 2017). Social media sites such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube give candidates the ability to interact directly with voters, rally supporters, and set public policy. This broadens the strategic options available to candidates for office as a result of these fundamental shifts in political communication. Gaining deeper insights into how social media shapes political communication requires an understanding of how politicians modify the content of their communications to fit the format of various platforms. Politicians must adjust to the special affordances of social media sites and interact directly with individuals who have rather particular demographic traits and political interests on these platforms

2.2.2 Changing Political Communication

Despite the fact that the media plays a more central role in politics, research questions about the mediatisation of politics are rising in importance. A proponent in a seminal writing called on rhetoric, after discovering a connection between rhetoric and persuasion. According to Aristotle (1941), rhetoric consists of five elements which emphasize that: speechmaking is an art in and of itself; it must be persuasive; language must be used strategically; it must show the rhetoric's skill; and communication concepts such as "media democracy" and "electronic

democracy" have been introduced in order to characterise the transformation that politics contributed in the evolution of mass media The modifications are a result of a broadening mediatisation of society that affects all aspects of social life and society (Davis & Owens, 1998).

The world is currently experiencing the emergence of a "third age" of political communication, according to a model put forth by Blumler and Kavanagh (1999). This new era is marked by the proliferation of media, the expansion of political marketing, the intensification of the professionalization of political publicity, and strong currents of populism that permeate both politics and the media. Politics is conforming to the "media logic" and is therefore continuously shaped by the interactions with mass media. The redistribution of power that coincides with the evolution of mass media is affecting the orientations and norms that regulate the behaviour of political actors and journalists. Additionally, the way in which political actors and the media communicate with the general public is assuming new modes and formats.

The primary means of political communication in the past have been face-to-face interactions between voters and party members, as well as large-scale rallies organized by political formations (Rommele, 2003). Later, newspapers, radio, and television were used, and finally, the most recent method of using a multi-dimensional approach that uses almost every means possible to send political messages across is popular (Rommele, 2003). However, the results of this study indicate that there has been a shift in the way that political messaging is produced. Trent, Friedenburg and Denton (2016) mention that there is a rise in the use of social media applications as a result of the increase in internet access. The increasing availability of communication technologies also allows citizens to engage with the media, breaking the editors' gatekeeping monopoly in content development. They can also play a part in the process by producing and sharing political content (Gurevitch, Coleman & Blumler, 2009).

Paatelainen, Kannasto and Isotalus (2022) stated that the use social media in political campaign communication has become routine, thus giving political players a direct line of communication with the public while eschewing traditional media (Larsson & Kalsnes, 2014). Social media platforms are frequently used by political parties and politicians to educate the public on their platforms, policies and points of strength, while also enticing supporters to vote, donate and volunteer for the cause (Hixson, 2018). Social media facilitates ties between individual candidates and the public since, by definition, it is customized media (Metz, Kruikemeier & Lecheler, 2020; Small, 2011). There has been a claim that this will make

politics more individualized (Enli & Skogerbø, 2013), a process that prioritizes politicians' personal lives and traits over political parties and concerns (Van Aelst, Sheafer & Stanyer, 2012).

The interesting thing about social media, according to Chadwick (2013), is not how it is used, but rather how it functions as a component of the hybrid media system, in which actors "create, tap and steer information flows" across and between older and newer media to suit their goals (Chadwick & Stromer-Galley, 2016: 4). Karlsen and Enjolras (2016) argue that campaigns can only be successful if they are able to forge synergies between social and traditional media. This is evident in the way political actors use social media in political campaign communication, not only to circumvent but also to benefit from it. All traditional campaign events such as televised debates, news media, and press conferences, are now "documented, debated and mentioned" on social media (Enli, 2017: 51).

The South African political landscape has changed dramatically, from politicians campaigning door to door, holding rallies and public speeches to social media playing a pivotal role in persuading potential voters, particularly youth voters, about the party to vote for. During South Africa's 5th democratic elections, parties embarked on vigorous campaigning, using social media as one of the key battlefields for votes, particularly the youth vote. With new parties such as the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook were used to make substantial headways in the battle for South African voters. Although parties have fully embraced social media as part of their campaign strategy, they still realise that they cannot abandon traditional media, to secure the adult voters, who are not on social media, cannot afford smartphones or are in remote areas where internet access is limited (Booysen, 2014).

During the 2014 general elections, political parties included social media in their media strategies although the extent thereof differed as there was still a big imperative to achieve a proper balance with other forms of media. Research indicates that Twitter and Facebook were the most prevalent platforms that were utilized by the parties during the 2014 elections (Booysen, 2014; Schulz-Herzenberg, 2014) and according to these researchers, the selection of platforms was influenced by cost, ease of use, and ability of the medium to drive the message across, having some control over the diffusion of communication and whether the youth audiences attach some fashion status to that platform. The social media platforms were used by the parties for communicating the party's policies and posting key announcements, sharing

successes in debates, magnifying their party profiles; galvanising citizens to register for and vote in elections; encouraging supporters to attend campaign events and launching their campaign adverts. From this, it appears that when it came to using online and social media, the trend was to use these media to disseminate existing electoral messages rather than interacting with existing and potential supporters, which could have provided the parties' space to make their voices heard in an uncontrolled manner (Duncan, 2014).

During the 2014 elections, Twitter seemed to be the most popular mouthpiece amongst influential users including politicians, analysts and experts and news agencies (Findlay & Janse van Rensburg, 2015). The DA was the early adopter of social media platforms, in particular, Twitter with the ANC and EFF following suit. The data presented in a study conducted by Findlay and Janse van Rensburg (2015) posits that South Africa's political conversation is now clearly a three horse race between the DA, EFF and ANC.

According to Dhawraj (2019), similar to other industrialized and developing nations, South Africa is demonstrating itself to be a favourable environment for large-scale protests. Technology is the unifying factor behind initiatives like Fees Must Fall and Rhodes Must Fall, as it enables activists to mobilize and essentially "spread the word" through web-enabled smartphone technology (Gumede 2017; Habib 2019). This chapter and subsequent chapters will expand on this premise, demonstrating how this nation is not exempt from the technological revolution in political communication that is sweeping through other developing states, whether or not they are democratic. This time, the emphasis will be on how the governing African National Congress (ANC) and the main opposition Democratic Alliance (DA) and Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) used YouTube to digitally communicate about the 2019 general elections in South Africa.

According to Masilo and Seabo (2014), social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube were originally intended for social networking and interacting with acquaintances, but they are now important tools in political communication. Barack Obama's aggressive use of social media to raise money and rally support is partially responsible for his 2008 election to the White House. The effectiveness of social media as a mobilization tool has been proven by the successful use of Facebook and Twitter to organize revolutionaries who overthrew the East African monarchies. It is arguable that the use of YouTube for political communication and election campaigns has expanded the democratic space by enabling previously marginalized populations to take part in the political process (Javuru 2013; Wasswa 2013).

Above all, social media has made political communication easier for parties that were having trouble reaching new voters.

The study argues that the integration of traditional and new media has enhanced political communication, which presents a great opportunity for all parties to reach out to their voters. New media, in contrast to traditional media, are accessible at less cost and are insulated from excessive editorial interference and state censorship. YouTube's effectiveness stems from features like sharing audios and audio-visuals, making of comments, sharing of content, and the 'like or dislike' functions. However, social media do not replace the traditional medium of political campaigning; rather, they serve to complement it.

2.2.3 Digital political communication

According to the definition of Patten (2013: 25) "all political messages communicated over digital platforms by political parties and other relevant factors such as politicians, ordinary citizens, and the media to exchange political ideas" as digital political communication. In addition, digital political communication is an adjunct to traditional political communication, centred on characteristics like interactivity that facilitate earned media (Patten, 2013: 25). The description is suitable since it encompasses the various internet sentiments and communication channels that exist between political parties and their respective supporters. Interactive Internet-based communication that is two-way rather than one-way is one of the key components of digital political communication. On a single digital social networking site like YouTube, where components including images, text, audio, video, and live feeds aim to enhance one another in a single widely shared message, this relationship is upheld.

In practical terms, this definition of digital political communication aligns with the original (and revised) definition of McNair (2011:5), which encompasses "all political discourse." The only deviation is that "all political discourse" takes into account all communications made by the ANC and DA on YouTube both before and after the 2016 local government elections (1 May 2016 - 31 August 2016), as a result of the study's broad reach and exclusive focus on the platform. Every discussion contains audio-visual content that has been submitted, shared from each party, and comments from recipients that have been liked or disliked on the political parties' channels. The researcher acknowledges the influential political communication literature of Graber (1981); Denton and Woodward (1990); and Blumler (2016) in order to reach a consensus on this definition. One anticipates a more in-depth and sophisticated

definition of digital political communication as a concept after arguing and demonstrating YouTube's use as an urban electioneering platform during South Africa's 2019 elections.

According to Hamid, Abror, Anwar and Hartati (2022), social media and the internet have a huge influence on people's social lives and political engagement. Safiullah, Pathak, Singh and Anshul (2017) claim that social media, a type of digital communication, gives politicians— including candidates, public servants, and party members—a place to remain in the public eye and shape public opinion. According to Newman (2012), social media has a beneficial role in both the success of campaigns and the spread of political information. Social media content quality promotes the growth of collective knowledge (Zhang, Fan, Yao, Hu & Mostafavi, 2019).

Presentation of high-quality material has an impact on social media reputation as well. With social media's massive amount of data, consumers in a marketing context also experience high degrees of information asymmetry and overload (Tang, Gu & Whinston, 2012). Likewise, people' political engagement on social media is influenced by their level of trust in the content they find there. Information flow and credibility problems, which frequently surface in social media, can be evaluated using trust. Trust may enhance the quality and trustworthiness of information on social media by supplying relevant and reliable information as claimed by Tang, Qin and Liu (2015).

According to Dhawraj (2019), technology is driving this transition of political communication from the third to the still-developing fourth age in an increasingly significant way. This fourth era, which we may refer to as the "digital age," is characterized by the widespread use of personal computers, mobile phones, and other communications-enabled gadgets that are changing the balance of power between the people they are supposed to govern and the institutions of authority.

2.2.4 Impact of social networking sites on political communication

Social media can be defined as "a collection of web-based applications that enable the production and sharing of user-generated content, building on the conceptual framework and technological underpinnings of Web 2.0." (Stieglitz & Dang-Xuan, 2014: 217). Given its ability to promote more involvement and democracy, social media's future in the political sphere seems particularly bright. For political communication and persuasion, social media technologies have grown in significance. It became clear that social media could be effectively

used to communicate with voters, have discussions with them, and provide them with crucial information. In most regions of the world, political communication has changed as a result of the internet. Politicians now have a plethora of options to engage with their voters and run effective campaigns, thanks to information and communication technologies (ICTs) (Wattal, Schuff, Mandviwalla & Williams, 2010).

According to Ennser-Jedenastik, Gahn and Bodlos (2022), politicians can obtain real-time and dynamic information on voter preferences in today's elections thanks to digital communication platforms. User interactions also offer in-the-moment evaluations of the parties' communication tactics. Parties are able to modify their electoral approach by monitoring user input on their social media platforms. If politicians demonstrate their willingness to address issues that voters are currently concerned about, responsiveness may help them win over more voters. Political actors can, on the one hand, use social media to monitor the topics people discuss and gain insight into their preferences. Campaign communications can be disseminated practically instantly, thanks to social media sites' far faster production speed than traditional communication channels (Bode, Lassen, Kim, Shah, Fowler, Ridout & Franz, 2016).

2.3 EXPLORATION OF THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.3.1 Definition of issue salience

According to Miller, Krosnick and Fabrigar (2017), a citizen's cognitive and behavioural engagement with a policy problem increases with its salience. In other words, when an issue is important to someone, they will consider it carefully and often, learn enough about it to store it in their long-term memory, and use it to guide their voting choices and other political actions. "Salient" means "leaping or springing for movement, or standing out in a conspicuous way," according to Merriam-Webster (2017). The word "salient issues" refers to sticking out in this context. Consequently, an issue that distinguishes itself from others is considered salient.

Beyers, Dur, Marshall and Wonka (2014) state that a crucial idea in political science is salience, which is broadly defined as the weight that players give to a political issue. It has been demonstrated to have an impact on a wide range of issues, including how interest groups behave, the possible influence of lobbyists, the kinds of interests that organize, and how legislators engage with one another during actual policy-making processes. Furthermore, it is asserted that salience influences public opinion, influences how people vote, and influences how political parties run their campaigns.

The concept of salience is often discussed in the literature on party politics and legislation. It is especially important in accounts that represent group decision-making as exchanges, like the bargain and log rolling models. The different levels of salience that decision-makers assign to a particular topic influence the dynamics and results of collective decision making because they enable actors to reach a compromise and an agreement (Arregui, Stokman & Thomson, 2006).

There are two different ways in which actors' influence on a decision's result can be influenced by salience, as has been contended and empirically proven. In order to maximize the likelihood of a decision, policymakers who place a high value on a particular problem may be more likely to make compromises and so "lose" control over the outcome (Schneider, Finke & Bailer 2010: 92-97). In contrast, policymakers who place a great deal of importance on a given topic would devote a significant amount of political capital to sway it in the direction of their own inclinations and goals (Thomson, 2011: 234).

In order for the political parties to identify salient issues and also capitalise on them, certain factors are taken into consideration. Firstly, political parties decide whether an issue is salient by observing the trends. An issue is supposed to be trending for political parties to pick up on it. When an issue is trending, this means that the issue is currently popular or it is widely discussed online, especially on social media. Secondly, political parties observe the YouTube productions on issues that became prominent by trending. Lastly, the political parties observe the responses made on the audio visual by the recipients and then decide which issues are salient.

2.3.2 Theoretical background

Since "attaching importance to an issue may activate and engage a person's emotion systems," this is the main causal mechanism that explains salience's impacts on behaviour (Miller, Krosnick & Fabrigar, 2017: 131). Research (Lazarus & Smith, 1988; Smith, Haynes, Lazarus & Pope, 1993) has shown that people are only likely to revaluate their political behaviour in response to a political issue if it engages their emotions. Only issues that are salient are those that elicit strong emotions, such as pride, hope, happiness, fear, and sympathy, and that are therefore likely to cause people to act differently. On the other hand, situations that people do not think are important—even ones that they have strong opinions about—do not activate their emotional systems and, as a result, do not influence behaviour. In other words, in order for someone to alter their political behaviour, they must not only change their viewpoint on a

matter, but also experience a shift in their emotional state; this can only occur if the person believes that the subject is significant.

Issue salience was first used to describe the weight that particular voters give to various topics when assessing political candidates, or the relevance of an issue while casting a ballot (Berelson, Lazersfeld & McPhee 1954; Wlezien 2005; Jennings & Wlezien 2011). Additionally, it serves as a gauge for how much of a concern a voter has on their mind, that is, how easily accessible the subject is to them when they are faced with a political choice (Wlezien 2005). Political scientists frequently employ issue salience measures, especially in studies on agenda-setting (Soroka 2002; Jones & Baumgartner 2004; Wlezien 2005), policy representation (Soroka & Wlezien 2010; Lindeboom 2012), and voting behaviour (Bélanger & Meguid 2008).

To better understand how political problems can influence people' party preferences, issue salience is a crucial addition to models. Election-related party selection is based on the distance, or directional congruence, between the party's position and the voter's position on issue dimensions, according to the directional and proximity models of issue voting (Enelow & Hinich 1984; Rabinowitz & Macdonald 1989; Macdonald, Listhaug & Rabinowitz 1991).

Although these models play a significant role in explaining issue-based vote choice, they usually make the assumption that issues have the same effect on voting behaviour regardless of party; nevertheless, in reality, issues may be more important to some party's voters than to others. By considering the relative importance of the issues to voters, the salience model of issue voting enhances existing models. Its fundamental premise is that voters who now consider a particular problem to be salient are more likely to elect parties and candidates who share those views or objectives (Borre 2001). As a result, if a voter can demonstrate a connection between a party or candidate and the topic at hand, it is more probable that they will support that candidate or party on the issue if it is important to them. This indicates that the relationship between an issue's relative importance and voters' preference for a certain party is mostly determined by the extent to which a political issue is associated with that party.

Parties has advantages over their rivals on some subjects, according to salience theory. Because of this, it makes sense for parties to highlight "their" issues while downplaying the significance of ones held by rivals. The motivations of parties to concentrate on problems that benefit them are the exclusive focus of salience theory. Issue salience techniques pursued by parties are not

fully considered by this "one-sided theoretical focus" (Green-Pedersen & Mortensen, 2014: 1), which is problematic.

The three components overlooked are as followed:-

2.3.2.1 The first is issue overlap

According to salience theory, various parties prioritize various topics. "Most of the time opponents do not talk about the same things" occurs when political elites focus solely on problems that benefit them while ignoring those that affect their rivals (Riker, 1993b: 82). Salience theory's central tenet is that parties seldom discuss the problems and agendas of their rivals (see also Dolezal, Ennser-Jedenastik, Muller & Winkler, 2014: 59).

On the other hand, empirical analyses of elite issue attention present a different picture. Research indicates that Democratic and Republican presidential candidates frequently focus their campaigns on similar issues (Damore, 2004, 2005; Sigelman & Buell, 2004). Similarly, in European multiparty systems, there is significant overlap in the issues that the various parties address (Green-Pedersen, 2007). Such interactions in issue competition are largely ignored by salience theories. In the South African context, two political parties (ANC and EFF) were found focusing on different issues. The EFF, for example, will never address the same issues as the opposition parties. The ANC addresses the prevention of crime in the country then the EFF addresses corruption by the ruling party in the country.

2.3.2.2 The second is issue diversity

Research indicates that issue agendas in contemporary democracies have diversified over time (Green-Pedersen, 2007). Salience theory, on the other hand, focuses on the type of issues that parties are expected to address rather than the quantity of issues; it makes no distinctions about the extent of issue agendas, including whether parties give equal weight to a wide range of issues or only a select few key issues. In the South African context, for example the ruling party (ANC) is not forced to focus on all the issues that are raised by the public, but it rather focuses on issues that the political party considers as salient. This issues are prevention of crime in the country and more job creation for the youth.

2.3.2.3 The third is innovation in issue agendas

According to salience theory, parties' attention to issues is largely constant. Parties should essentially have fixed issue profiles if they consistently highlight the topics that they dominate.

But new problems have emerged in European party structures in recent years. Environmental, immigration, and European integration concerns are a few examples. Regarding how innovation takes place in issue markets, salience theory is largely silent. In the South African context, for example the DA focuses and capitalises on the issues of corruption and unemployment as the ruling party is not doing much to improve on the issues. Since their profile becomes fixed on this issues, they also innovate towards the rising issue electricity (load-shedding) which can be integrated with corruption and unemployment. Due to load-shedding most companies in the country close down and this increases the rate of unemployment. The DA believes that the government is benefiting from load-shedding as opposed to the public.

It is the theory of issue ownership that best captures the relationship between specific parties and issues. Nonetheless, it is not easy to define problem ownership. According to more recent research, issue ownership is made up of two related dimensions: a competence dimension and an associative dimension. Previous studies (Budge & Farlie 1983; Petrocik 1996) defined issue ownership primarily as a party's perceived ability to deal with a particular problem or issue (Petrocik, Benoit & Hansen 2003; Damore 2004; Holian 2004; Van der Brug 2004; Walgrave, Lefevere & Nuytemans 2009; Walgrave, Lefevere & Tresch, 2012). According to Waldgrave et al. (2009), "people, when hearing or reading about an issue, automatically and spontaneously start thinking about a certain party" is the implication of associative issue ownership. Parties are consequently said to "own" an issue if they can demonstrate that they have a program or policy interest in the matter and are therefore associated with it, or if their policy recommendations are accepted by the public and are deemed trustworthy.

The unsolved question is how theories of ownership and issue salience could advance our knowledge of the current problem of unstable voters. The changing nature of problem salience provides one tenable explanation: Voters' policy views tend to stay relatively constant over time, but the weight they give certain issues varies because of a variety of circumstances, including news coverage and the overall course of events (Page & Shapiro 1992). Parties have been believed to base their issue agendas on their historic constituency's stance on the main conflict aspects, in accordance with the classical cleavage theory (Lipset & Rokkan, 1967; Klingemann, Hofferbert & Budge 1994; Petrocik, 1996). Whilst the historical divisions are becoming less significant, social-democratic or liberal parties continue to be primarily connected with key topics like welfare, taxation, and labour. Therefore, even in the event that

ownership of such issues changes, it does so gradually; short-term swings would not be relevant for such concerns.

Parties may purposefully highlight or control specific problems throughout the election campaign in order to ensure their electoral victory and election to office. Parties to frame issues may be decided by factors such as issue salience. Parties and candidates can respond to a topic that gains prominence throughout the campaign by simply devoting more time to talking about it (Ansolabehere & Iyengar, 1994). Parties may also utilize the tactic of addressing so-called "wedge" topics (such as immigration, abortion, etc.) during a campaign to draw in cross-pressured voters (Hillygus & Shields, 2008). The perceived relationship between parties and specific issues is greatly influenced by mass media coverage, which can also lead to shifts in these beliefs, especially with regard to short-term issue ownership dynamics (Walgrave & De Swert, 2007).

Despite the possibility of ownership variations, it is thought that certain circumstances lead to the changes (Walgrave et al., 2009). First and foremost, issue type affects stability and ownership transfers. While new or peripheral issues are more easily claimed by different parties, core topics, like classic left-right concerns, are firmly owned by particular parties and therefore harder for other parties to recast. Second, the issue ownership dimension is important. Unlike the associative component of ownership, the competence dimension—that is, the perceived capacity to handle problems—is more performance-based and hence more flexible. Lastly, the degree to which issue ownership can vary can be dictated by the features of the party system: Two-party systems seem to be more stable than multiparty systems when it comes to perceptions of issue ownership swings. Issue ownership and issue salience are both dynamic processes that have the potential to change party competitions and, consequently, voter views. Depending on the type and degree of the change in both phenomena, this can therefore result in electoral volatility (de Vries & Hobolt, 2012; Hobolt & de Vries, 2015; van de Wardt, de Vries & Hobolt, 2014; van de Wardt, 2015).

2.3.3 Issue salience evolution

According to the issue evolution model of partisan dynamics, most partisan change happens gradually over a long period of time, leaving the party system with "an indelible imprint" (Carmines 2001, Carmines & Stimson, 1989). The majority of problems never reach the critical mass required to propel meaningful party change. Partisan elites are defined as members of Congress, the president, and candidates running for key political offices. The responses of the

general populace shape the way issues evolve (Carmines & Stimson, 1989). The public is given partisan cues by a party's reputation on a certain subject. Parties' elites frequently take opposing stances on issues in order to improve their prospects of winning elections. A minority party's members are motivated to strive to topple the coalition led by the majority (Riker, 1982), and one can exploit political issues in this way.

Determining whether to heed the partisan issue cues of elites and activists is a crucial function of the mass electorate. Usually, the electorate ignores these indications. But in those instances when the public does react, it does so gradually as opposed to suddenly, as one might assume in a "critical election." The general electorate does not always adapt, even when political elites raise new topics. The issue evolution model developed by Carmines and Stimson (1989) calls for two intermediate steps: The general public's perceptions of the parties must first change in light of the new issue dimension, but even these perceptions being altered is unlikely to cause a shift in the mass issue alignment on its own. Issues must elicit a strong emotional response in order to influence voters to change their political affiliation (at the "critical moment") and bias the recruitment of identifiers (afterward).

In other words, to overcome the general immovability of party identification, the electorate's new view of the parties' positions on the matter needs to be accompanied by strong sympathies for or against the parties (Campbell, 1960). Temporal ordering is important to the evolution of issues; changes in the "cognitive and affective images of the parties" emerge before mass partisan response, and elite reorientation on the subject comes before that (Carmines, 2001).

A third group of political actors is crucial to the evolution of an issue, in addition to party insiders and the general public. Party activists operate as a mediator between the majority of the people, who are largely disengaged, and prominent office holders (Carmines & Woods, 2002). Thousands of state and local office holders, party officials, and delegates to national and state nominating conventions are just a few examples of the diverse range of overlapping groups that make up party activists rather than a single identifiable group. Their shared identity stems from their significantly higher level of political participation and attention than the millions of voters who visit the polls just once every four years.

Party elites mostly use national media coverage to inform the general public about their preferred issues. In contrast, party activists connect with the public through their extensive and deeply ingrained social networks, which are augmented by local media. Party activists serve as

a second channel by which the general public can learn about the political parties' preferred policies and reinforce the issue signals of the party elites (Miller & Schofield, 2003).

Salience has become a prominent issue in recent political communication research (Wlezien, 2005). The word originally was used by voting behaviour scholars to designate the importance individual voters attach to different issues when evaluating political candidates. The theory "issue saliency" is used in this study to explore how political parties (ANC, DA and EFF) have addressed and claimed issues for the 2019 National Election Campaign with the aid of YouTube as a political communication tool. Salient issues mean standing out; therefore, a salient issue is the one that stands out from other issues (Wlezien, 2005).

Politics' salience implies that when salience shifts, preferences also tend to shift along with it. Though the ideas of a player or policymaker are frequently unknown, their inclinations are typically made clear in their party's manifestos. Politicians frequently have to make decisions based on the offers that are presented, rather than being able to realize their goals. When analysing political policies, political scientists concur that salience has a somewhat significant role since the political parties' priorities influence policies in addition to the topics that individuals find essential. Examining the topics that the media chooses to highlight and neglect is part of this process. "When and how salience and changes in salience matter for political action" (Wlezien, 2005; Moniz & Wlezien, 2020) is one study question that political scientists are interested in learning more about.

In the literature on interest groups, salience also has a significant impact. Research by Rasmussen, Carroll and Lowery (2014) demonstrates that interest groups are more likely to organize around problems that have great importance for the general public. In turn, it has been demonstrated that interest groups are crucial in determining how salient problems are in the public eye (Dür & Mateo 2015). Interest groups can assist in transforming a potentially salient issue into a salient one, even though some issues may naturally be more likely to garner widespread public attention. Another prominent thesis in this literature is that interest groups, and commercial players in particular, tend to have less influence on issues of high public salience than on matters of low public salience (Weaver, 1991; Mahoney 2007; Culpepper 2011; Dür and Mateo, 2014; Rasmussen 2014).

Klüver (2011) demonstrates that with an emphasis on salience to interest groups, high relevance enhances the impact of actors in the substantially bigger lobbying coalition on a given subject and diminishes the effect of actors in the smaller coalition. Additional study on

interest groups demonstrates how these players attempt to influence the level of public awareness of issues, for instance using media-related tactics (Beyers 2004; Chalmers 2013; Dür and Mateo, 2015).

There are three related understandings of salience:

2.3.3.1 Issue voting theory

Issue voting is a theoretically developed literature strand that employs the concept of issue salience. It operates under the assumption that voters select the political candidate they deem to be the most effective, qualified, or perhaps simply associated with salient topics. As per this theoretical framework, political parties strive to maintain the generally unchanging views of the public (Dennison & Dražanová, 2018). Building on a body of research, the 2012 USA House of Representatives elections provide evidence in favour of the theory (Green & Hobolt, 2008; Bélanger & Meguid, 2008; Clarke, Lodge & Shevlin, 2012). Nevertheless, Walgrave, Tresch and Lefevere (2015) contend that the measures of party competence and association, which are confused with general party evaluations and attitudinal positions, call into question the validity of these findings. Despite this, Budge (2015: 770) summarizes the data supporting issue ownership theory by saying that "the prominence of 'your' issues on the agenda does indeed increase votes."

2.3.3.2 Voter Participation

Lastly, research has demonstrated that issue salience influences voter turnout. Moreover, Clark (2014) discovered that poor voter attendance in European elections can be attributed to the low importance of topics falling under EU purview. Voter involvement is strongly impacted by issue salience, as demonstrated by Weaver (1991). It makes sense that a person who thinks fewer topics essential will also experience less emotional activation, be less interested in politics in general, and be less likely to hold strong opinions about politicians and policies, all of which will reduce the likelihood that they will cast a vote.

2.3.3.3 The issue competition theory

According to the issue competition hypothesis, in addition to highlighting their own concerns, parties frequently adjust their agendas to address the concerns of their rivals and win over voters (Green-Pedersen & Mortensen, 2010). Scholars studying issue competition argue that, in contrast to the spatial approach, parties compete by emphasizing specific issues (Budge & Farlie, 1983). More importantly, they respond to shifts in a so-called "party system agenda,"

which comprises all issues at a given moment that are anticipated to be addressed whether parties own them or not (Green-Pedersen & Mortensen, 2010). This is in contrast to simply highlighting the issues they are associated with as having expertise in (Petrocik, 1996). Party systems, therefore, assume a certain degree of interconnection and provide incentives for parties to deal with issues that are "owned" by rival parties. Moreover, the topics that are prioritized within the agenda of the party system become politicized, meaning that they gain a great deal of prominence and enter into the party race in this political democracy (Carter, 2006).

2.4 MEDIA FRAMING THEORY

According to Lugalambi (2006: 4), "in the study of media framing, scholars have proposed several definitions for the concept, each tending to emphasize a particular function or process." Media framing has been defined from a variety of angles by different scholars. Oates, Kaid, and Berry (2010) define media framing as the practice of journalists telling readers or audiences what to believe about (or how to think about) a story. They choose what to write, what to include in the narrative's framework, and what to omit. Researchers also choose the language, facts, and tone to use when interpreting key points in YouTube-hosted audio-visual content.

According to Greussing and Boomgaarden (2017), Matthes (2009) and Schuck (2017), audience frames can also be defined as the type of framing that is created by audiences/individuals among themselves through debates, interactions, and interpretations of topics surrounding or presented to them. It typically develops or is produced when audiences are exposed to novel situations, phenomena, or specific events like plays, gatherings, political campaigns, and a host of other events. Audience frames typically arise when people choose to seek information from other sources. In addition to their heavy reliance on media platforms like YouTube, readers and audiences are actively seeking out new sources of information because they generally have doubts about the veracity of the material in the media (Gerth & Siegert, 2012; Hänggli & Kriesi, 2012).

The impacts of media framing on audiences have been reported in previous studies. According to some, the media, including YouTube, uses a technique known as "media framing" to influence how and what viewers should think about campaign topics and objectives during political campaigns (Simon, 2000; Cook, 1998; Yaser, Mahsud & Paracha, 2010). Additionally, there are some components that aid people in understanding media frames or the ways in which YouTube influences voters. According to Chang (2009), the language used by

media channels like YouTube acts to change how audiences understand circumstances and aids in helping them recall information.

According to reports, the media, particularly YouTube, plays a big role in educating the public and audience about the election process, the major agenda, and the subjects that are being campaigned for. Audiovisual frames are one method that YouTube manipulates voters during elections (Wojdynski, 2008). The media (YouTube) presents frames in audio visuals as the presence of specific keywords, stereotyped images, information sources, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts judgments with the goal of swaying voters toward a particular political party or candidate. Another way that YouTube may sway potential voters is through news stories that present candidates in an audio-visual format in a way that is either helpful or detrimental. Based on this, it is possible that potential voters will view 11 of these candidates similarly (Hofmann, Asnaani, Vonk, Sawyer & Fang, 2012).

Moreover, the way a salient issue is framed (described) and presented by YouTube in an audio-visual context may have a significant impact on an individual's preference for how they vote (Thomson, 2006). This is because the language used in a news story during an election can provide clues to potential voters about how they should vote regarding that salient issue in relation to the candidates and the election process in general.

According to Cartee (2005), YouTube has the power to shape public opinion, affect the tone of political debate, and affect the standards that voters use when making judgments. Voter preferences have been influenced by YouTube in numerous instances. For instance, Baraka Obama was enthusiastically and favourably covered by the media during the US presidential election of 2008 (Schmuck, Heiss, Matthes, Engesser, and Esser, 2017; Schuck, Vliegenthart, Boomgaarden, Elenbaas, Azrout, van Spanje & de Vreese, 2013; Schuck, Boomgaarden, & de Vreese, 2013). More politicians are discovering the value of YouTube as an electoral tool because the majority of political parties are aware of the public's preferences and rhythms on social media (YouTube) timelines (Wallsten, 2007). More than any other age group, young people—who are typically the future voters—seem to obtain their political information from social media platforms like YouTube. Hence, it is becoming evident that online resources, particularly during election seasons, have a big influence on public opinion and political agendas (Wallsten, 2007).

New social media platforms like Twitter, Facebook and YouTube are being used by politicians, citizens and journalists more frequently to further their political goals. These goals might

include interacting with other public figures, running campaigns, disseminating information, or participating in reasoned, critical debates (Bruns, 2014). YouTube creates new avenues for expression and inspiration. YouTube's influence over the course and comprehension of political behaviour has grown dramatically. According to Hanson (2010), online social networks such as YouTube offer a modern means of keeping people informed about political matters. Politicians work diligently to modify their messaging for these new platforms in order to connect with potential voters. Political leaders make an effort to project a positive social media image because they are aware that YouTube influences how people vote (Hanson, 2010).

2.5 TYPES OF MEDIA FRAMING

Numerous academics (Oates, Kaid & Berry, 2010; Saunders, 2006; Mauro, 2001; Robert, Hammond & Sulfaro, 2012; Seib, 2008; Chang, 2009) have written on the various kinds or manifestations of media framing and others have listed the following as examples of media framing types or manifestations:

2.5.1 Thematic frames

Thematic frames or big picture frames, are a means of presenting the story in a way that is both understandable and accessible to audiences. They do this by offering statistics, professional analysis, and other newsworthy information to help the audience see the event in a broader context. The emphasis that the mass media uses to help the public comprehend the news stories drives this kind of framing in the media. Put differently, thematic framing is defined by the various ways in which the mass media informs the public about various issues by employing a variety of strategies. Since the media has the ability to influence public opinion, politicians can utilize it to their advantage during election season by framing news stories in a way that could persuade potential voters to trust what the media reports. For instance, to convince the public that a particular candidate is ahead, the media may present inflated statistics (Chang, 2009; Oates, Kaid & Berry, 2010).

2.5.2 Horse-race frames

The horse-race framework primarily concentrates on the campaign's growth and development as a competition amongst contenders. For instance, it provides information about who is ahead and behind in the polls. It does not include any explanations, descriptions, or a wider presentation of the story. Scholars have criticized this coverage, saying that it fails to provide voters with high-quality information to support their decisions. To put it another way, the media

employs the horse race framing as one more tactic to direct viewers toward its desired subject. Typically, the writing style of this kind of reporting aims to influence the audience's thoughts and perceptions so they will focus and accept the information the media has provided. During an election, the media may employ horse race framing to support a particular political party by using inflated or fraudulent statistics to indicate that a particular candidate or political party is leading the polls. In order to undermine a particular candidate during an election campaign, the media occasionally withholds crucial information about them (Saunders, 2006).

2.5.3 Personality frames

The media's propensity to minimize political implications while elevating individual traits and human interest perspectives on events is known as the "personality cantered frame." When an incident is presented in a way that suggests the government or a certain person is to blame for its cause or its resolution, the media may choose to place the blame on a particular person or group. Another way to utilize it is to give credit or blame to a certain political party or candidate. If this kind of media framing occurs during an election, its true goal is to educate the public about the unique qualities of each candidate. In other words, the media may employ this kind of framing to strengthen, marginalize, or promote a particular candidate. For instance, by focusing on a political candidate's personal traits and disregarding their promises, the media may choose to persuade the public that they are dishonest or reliable (Mauro, 2001; Robert, Hammond & Sulfaro, 2012).

2.5.4 Episodic frames

The media typically covers current events in this type of coverage, which is event-oriented and known as "event-centred reporting" since the facts are presented in a more understandable and detailed manner. Similarly, episodic frames primarily highlight the current occurrence or crisis and provide scant or no background information on underlying problems. Put another way, the goal of this kind of framing is to inform the public on every occurrence during the electoral process that the media deems important enough for them to be aware of. Every fact and/or topic is typically covered by the media during election season in a way that is more insightful and clear to the public (Lengauer, Esser & Berganza, 2012; Sevenans & Vliegenthart, 2016).

For example, the media might attempt to report in a way that makes the audience aware of the kinds and nature of jobs believed to be produced if the candidate pledges to increase employment in the country. In order to learn more about a subject, the media may occasionally

consult experts or conduct interviews with them. When it comes to helping the audience make an impartial and knowledgeable voting decision during election season, this kind of media framing is genuinely concentrated on providing the news items in a more thorough manner (Schuck, Vliegenthart, & de Vreese, 2016).

2.5.5 Conflict frames

Although a great deal of research on how to frame election campaigns has concentrated on these two general news frames, media outlets frequently employ different frames when covering elections, such as the conflict frame approach, which some authors have viewed as being closely related to politics (de Vreese, 2014; Schuck, Vliegenthart, & de Vreese, 2016). Any news item can utilize a conflict framework, which is a generalist news frame, to highlight the disagreements among the many political actors (Neuman, Just, & Crigler, 1992; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Strömbäck & Luengo 2008). In light of this, it pushes us to associate conflict with negativity, but other writers argue that the conflict frame should be seen more as a political discourse tool, where ideas are challenged through the pursuit of agreement, dedication, or collaboration (Lengauer, Esser & Berganza, 2012; Sevenans & Vliegenthart, 2016).

The conflict frame is frequently used in information content to address public issues (de Vreese, 2012; Schuck et al., 2013). This is especially true when covering policy issues and, most importantly, election campaigns (Dimitrova & Strömbäck, 2012; Schuck, 2017). As a result, some have said that this method of handling conflict or framing is crucial to politics and has become a mainstay of political news reporting (de Vreese, 2014; Schuck et al., 2013). Even though the media frequently highlights conflict, particularly in reporting on politics and election campaigns, other news sources that cover events more closely related to people's daily lives also adopt this frame (de Vreese, Peter, & Semetko, 2001; Price & Tewksbury, 1997). According to Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), conflict can be used to highlight "conflict between individuals, groups, or institutions as a means of capturing audience interest" in any news article because it is a generalist frame.

There are a few explanations why the media use the conflict news frame so frequently. Undoubtedly, one of the news values of informative messages is negativity, which is closely associated with the conflict (Berganza, 2008; Lengauer et al., 2012). This makes the messages more relevant to the media (Sevenans & Vliegenthart, 2016). Furthermore, the utilisation of conflict in news stories can aid in obtaining objective and balanced information, as it is molded

by opposing viewpoints on a subject (Bartholomé, Lecheler, & de Vreese, 2018; Schuck, Vliegenthart, & de Vreese, 2016). Furthermore, the media can employ it to pique public attention (Schuck et al., 2016) and to extend the information's exposure and reading duration (Zillmann, Chen, Knobloch & Callison, 2004). As a result, the audience's likelihood of being impacted by the actors' encounter can rise, leading to a cognitive channelling that influences the audience's beliefs and attitudes (de Vreese, 2014; Schuck et al., 2016).

Conflict frames are among the most often used generic news frames because of their extensive research on their use in the media, both in politically charged content and in general concerns (de Vreese, 2005; Lengauer et al. 2012). Due, in large part, to the influence of Semetko and Valkenburg's (2000) work, which established the theoretical and practical foundations for the conflict analysis, a large number of these studies have been conducted throughout Europe. The authors used earlier research, including that of Neuman, Just, and Crigler (1992), to examine the conflict's visibility in the press and on television news coverage of the 1997 conference of the leaders of state and government of the European Union. According to their research, the conflict was the second most popular frame, with newspapers using it most frequently. High levels of presence in policy information have been found in subsequent research (de Vreese, Peter & Semetko, 2001), emphasizing the press's negative coverage when compared to television (Berganza, Arcila, & de Miguel Pascual, 2016). Prior research on electoral coverage (Strömbäck & Luengo, 2008) has revealed similar trends, with a predominance of conflict treatment. This is especially evident in newspaper reporting (Schuck, Vliegenthart, Boomgaarden, Elenbaas, Azrout, van Spanje & de Vreese, 2013).

2.6 DIMENSIONS OF MEDIA FRAMING

The dimensions of media framing are categorized into two categories; cognitive attributes and affective attributes (Guy & Wayne, 2003).

2.6.1   Cognitive Attributes

Information regarding newsmakers, such as candidates or other sources, is included in the cognitive attribute category. Guy and Wayne (2003) state that these cognitive attributes typically consist of knowledge about both candidate concerns and candidate attributes, or information about personal traits. Guy and Wayne (2003) clarify that information about newsmakers (candidate issues) are the topics (like moral issues, the environment, and other topics) that the media covered, presented, or highlighted about the candidates during the

coverage of the political campaign, whereas information about personal traits (candidate attributes) is the manner in which the media connected the issues raised by the candidates to their personal traits.

During the framing process, the media may purposefully focus more on highlighting a specific candidate's personal traits in order to mould the audience's perception of that candidate in a way that may compel them to do so (Stephen & Renita, 2006; Wilcox, 2011). Similarly, the media may equally focus on different issues raised by a certain candidate or by that candidate's opponents during election season. According to Wilcox (2011), cognitive attributes are news items or articles that are published on the traits of the newsmaker (candidate) and/or about different issues related to a certain newsmaker; put another way, they are essentially what the mass media publishes about the information sources (newsmakers).

2.6.2 Media Affective Attributes

Aparasu and Bentley (2014) claim that the term "affective" refers to the idea of affect or emotional tones, such as positive, negative, or neutral tones, and how these are chosen, allocated, or presented in news reports; these tones typically highlight the emotional aspects of the attributes. Affective characteristics are a general phrase that includes assessments, feelings, and moods. According to Stephen and Renita (2006) as well as Wilcox (2011), affective attributes are the traits, qualities, and characteristics that characterize subjects, objects, or persons in the news, as well as the tone of those descriptions. According Kramer (2009), certain voters have chosen to cast their ballots based on their emotional qualities and/or political party affiliation, instead of relying on verified facts from the media or other sources that portray the candidate's background and key campaign concerns.

According to Guy and Wayne (2003), the main components of the affective attributes are positive, negative, and neutral coverage about the candidates (the tone used by the media in covering or describing the candidates). The tone of the media the coverage normally is confirmed to have similar influence on the audience or public perceptions about the candidates. Affective attributes in media framing are typically characterized by media influence on candidates' affective attributes which involve opinions (posed by the media) about the candidates. According to Guy and Wayne (2000), audiences exposed to a positive or negative tone during campaign coverage are typically inclined to rate or evaluate candidates in a similar or similar manner. Based on current literature, it is highly likely that the media frames during election campaigns have a significant impact on voters' perceptions of candidates.

According to Stephen and Renita (2006), research has demonstrated that the affective attributes that the media reports about news makers, such as political candidates, do influence the attributes that the audience associates with those news makers (candidates). To put it briefly, affective attributes are the methods by which journalists or mass media shape the perceptions of their audiences. The media typically reports on a variety of news items about candidates or political parties during election season (cognitive attributes). In addition, the media employs affective techniques by giving the news items a tone (positive, negative, or neutral).

2.6.2.1 Emotions

According to West (2007), emotions are the affective states of awareness that include happiness, sadness, fear, hate, and similar experiences. It can also refer to any intense emotional agitation brought on by experiencing love, hate, or fear. It is typically accompanied by psychological changes such as elevated heart rate or breathing and frequently manifests itself overtly through sobbing or shaking. Prior research (Marcus, 2007; Christopher, 2013) has demonstrated a wide range of studies that have been able to demonstrate that people's behaviour is impacted by the emotions they encounter throughout their lives. During elections, emotions play considerable impact on the voting preferences individuals.

Some voters base their choices for political parties or candidates on their feelings of love, hate, or other strong emotions. One way to characterize campaign emotions is how candidates engage with voters, particularly throughout the campaign trail (Marcus, 2007). Voters organize and successfully streamline their judgment tasks during the voting process by tacitly using their feelings toward candidates (Christopher, 2013). While advertisements that incite fear, grief, or threats would inevitably demoralize participation, especially during the voting process, campaigns that incite rage or enthusiasm may have the behavioural effects of higher political involvement (Lau & Redlawsk, 2006).

Emotions influence voters' decisions in two ways: directly and through influencing the thought processes that result in voting preferences (Lee, 2000). Certain emotions can have a significant impact on a voter's voting choice, including love for a candidate, pride, rage, hatred, and grief. Election decisions are influenced by emotions in two ways. First approach is positive emotions that convey enthusiasm have a direct impact on citizens' opinions of the candidates and, as a result, indirectly influence how they vote (Marcus & MacKuen, 1993, Marcus, Neuman & MacKuen, 2000).

The second approach looks at emotion, specifically the factor of anxiety, which the authors define as determining the degree to which people rely on routine behaviour. Emotional responses have a major role in the cognitive information processing of less politically and/or emotionally sophisticated voters while making voting decisions. According to Weber (2008), people's perceptions of the candidates and the issues raised during an election campaign are significantly influenced by their emotions, and this may have an effect on how they vote.

2.6.2.2 Party Affiliation

A person's membership in or adherence to a certain political party is referred to as their party affiliation. Political affiliation, according to Rebecca (2005), is the belief that one is a member of a particular political party. It is believed that a person will typically exhibit party loyalty if they are a member of, linked with, or a fervent supporter of a particular political party. The loyalty that people have to a political party affects how they behave politically in progressive democracies. Party affiliations frequently influence how people vote as well as how they view their government (Bartels, 2000).

Voter preferences have been found to be significantly influenced by party affiliation. Chiu (2002) reports that a significant portion of American voters are party loyalists in American politics. Party identifications are among the most reliable indicators of voter preferences and election results during elections. It should be emphasized that the majority of American voters firmly believe that they belong to one of the two major political parties and consistently support the presidential nominees of their respective parties (Chiu, 2002).

2.6.2.3 Media framing analysis

A growing field of study in communication studies is called "media framing analysis," and it examines how the media portrays a particular subject by emphasizing some issues over others, the different players and variables that may have an impact on this process of selection, and the possible effects that news framing may have on the attitudes and behaviour of its audience. Entman (1993) provided one of the most often referenced definitions of media framing, saying that it primarily entails salience and selection. The act of framing involves highlighting certain characteristics of a perceived reality in a communication text so as to support a specific definition of the problem, causal interpretation, moral assessment, and/or suggested course of action for the item being discussed.

2.6.2.4 Framing strategies

The strategic frame is employed to highlight the strategies and tactics that candidates and/or parties use to gain an advantage or accomplish a particular objective, such as assuming leadership, winning elections, or providing justifications for their political actions (Aalberg, Strömbäck, & de Vreese, 2012; Cappella & Jamieson, 1997; Schmuck, Heiss, Matthes, Engesser, & Esser, 2017). The game frame, which is typically employed in the literature to explain how the election campaign is covered by the media, is quite similar to this conception. In order to influence public opinion and obtain an edge in the election, parties and/or candidates often depict politics as a competition or game in the game frame. This leads to the portrayal of politics as a contest between victors and losers (Greussing &d Boomgaarden, 2017; Cappella & Jamieson, 1997; Schmuck et al., 2017).

2.6.2.5 Political Candidates' Self-Presentation and Visual Framing

In order to draw in voters, candidates seek to project an appealing picture of themselves throughout election campaigns. In his book The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, sociologist Erving Goffman introduced a theory of self-presentation as early as 1959. Using a dramatic, theatrical approach to the study of human social interactions, Goffman argues that when a person interacts with other people, they try to manipulate their perceptions of them by "fixing" their appearance and behaviour. Goffman's primary focus was on how we shape our own and other people's perceptions of ourselves through symbolic mechanisms. Recent political research on the digital media environment has heavily drawn from Goffman's theory of self-presentation. Examples of this research include analyses of political candidates' social media profiles (Colliander, Marder, Falkman, Madestam, Modig & Sagfossen 2017; Jackson & Lilleker, 2011) and websites (Stanyer, 2008; Lilleker & Koc-Michalska, 2013).

Stanyer (2008) conducted a comparative analysis of how American and British lawmakers presented themselves online and discovered that American House of Representatives members more often than their British counterparts projected elements of their personal lives. Party allegiance is not as strong in the U.S. as it is in the UK, which explains why American politicians are more prone to emphasize their personal attributes. British MPs use Twitter as a political marketing tool and as part of their impression management plan, according to a different study by Jackson and Lilleker (2011). According to their findings, members of parliament tweeted about their personal preferences, political beliefs, and day-to-day lives. Colliander, Marder, Falkman, Madestam, Modig and Sagfossen (2017) showed that tweets that

integrated elements of politicians' personal and professional lives raised voters' interest in the candidates and their propensity to vote for them in an experimental study on the usage of Twitter by Swedish political candidates.

These studies mostly concentrate on textual or verbal components, even though they provide us with insightful information about the candidates' campaign communication techniques. However, visual communication is a major component of social media platforms (Gupta, 2013). Voters' and consumers' use of social media platforms like Pinterest, Tumblr, Instagram, Snapchat, and YouTube has increased significantly. Political campaigning requires a deeper awareness of the significance and influence of pictures, since visual-centric media platforms provide new opportunities for self-presentation and image management (Muñoz & Towner, 2017). Visual framing has been used extensively in research on candidates' self-presentation to examine how they construct their public personas. By examining how elements of reality are viewed, visual framing builds on the basic framing theory first presented in Goffman's (1974) work and highlights and advances a certain interpretation of a given event, problem, or person (see also Entman, 1993).

Hertog and McLeod (2001) claim that frames obtain their strength from their symbolic meaning by employing recognizable myths and metaphors in the stories they support. Since images require less cognitive effort than words, they are effective framing tools because they are less invasive. Consequently, audiences are more likely to accept the visual frame without question when images are used in campaigns because peripheral rather than central processing in the brain is more likely to be stimulated (Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011: 50).

2.7 UNDERSTANDING YOUTUBE AS AN AUDIO-VISUAL MEDIUM AND ITS FUNCTIONS

According to Moller, Mangos, Drummond and Reiser (2008), social media has altered not just how individuals engage and communicate with one another but also how media is delivered and used by its audience. The video-sharing website YouTube is one platform that has significantly altered how audio-visual content is presented and used. One unique characteristic that sets YouTube videos apart from conventional offline videos is that user-generated content is usually displayed alongside the videos. Views, (dis)likes, and comments are used to display this information. It is a crucial component of YouTube's content since it tells users about the ratings that their audience has given certain videos. For instance, viewers can learn how

favourable or bad the video's entire audience felt about it by looking at the (dis)likes (Thewall, Sud & Vis, 2011).

Khan (2017) made a distinction between the two ways that people utilize YouTube: actively and passively. When people actively interact with the site by leaving comments and (dis)likes on videos, they are exhibiting active involvement. The way that the viewers' experience of the platform's material is influenced by the setting is known as passive consumption.

Shih, Feng and Tsai (2008) state that there are instances that show how online video can influence voter sentiment and election outcomes. After performing the aforementioned analysis, the study found that both negative campaign content and educational video clips are among the YouTube content that receives the most page views. Emruli, Zejneli and Agai (2011) went on to say that as a result, YouTube has given independent actors significant chances to participate in the framework of political campaigns.

YouTube was created to allow users to upload videos, share clips with friends, and create a platform for social networking centred on video content. It is an online platform that hosts a wide variety of video content. Upon noticing this new platform, the political community assumed it would give candidates and supporters the ability to publish web videos featuring and discussing them. So far, the campaign and voters have shared a variety of items on the website, including negative campaign content, speeches, interviews, comedy, and news clips. The first content produced by users and political campaigns during an election is seen here. As a result of their efforts, a vast array of videos, both flattering and disparaging of candidates, have been uploaded. For instance, at the start of the 2008 presidential contest, YouTube videos featuring the top three Democratic contenders—Barack Obama, Hillary Clinton, and John Edwards—were used to declare their candidacies (Dimitrova & Matthes, 2018; Earl & Kimport, 2011; Stromer-Galley, 2019; Tarrow, 2011).

Another method by which voters can learn more about a candidate is through YouTube and other online video content. As a result, politicians of all stripes have determined that using this platform to interact with voters can be advantageous. Politics on the Internet underwent a sea change because to YouTube (Stier, Bleier, Lietz & Strohmaier, 2018). According to Wood and Pasquier (2018), information is submitted instantly and shared with the public more quickly than ever before on YouTube, in addition to offering a platform for video material in a manner not previously possible. Additionally, Vromen (2017) said that, in contrast to TV, which has a control element that online video lacks, the Internet, and especially YouTube, is providing

constituents and campaigns with the ability to release information that is transparent, easy to distribute, and permits voter participation.

Upchurch and Grassman (2015) predict that as a larger percentage of voters log on, video sharing websites will play a bigger role in reaching voters. Additionally, YouTube will impact elections by expanding the reach of campaign materials, giving underfunded candidates "face time," engaging young people with visually stimulating content, democratizing political information while undermining the power of candidates to control their message, drawing attention to negative advertising, and elevating or prolonging scandals (Vesnic-Alujevic & Van Bauwel, 2014).

Rymes (2012) claims that YouTube allows candidates, political parties, and interest groups to inexpensively contact a larger portion of the public. This is likely to lead to more candidates in contests where early exposure and momentum are critical, such as the presidential election. YouTube, according to Panagiotopoulos and Barnett (2015), enables more candidates to emulate "Howard Dean" and use the Internet to build "underground" momentum. Even if it's improbable that obscure presidential contenders will garner a substantial following on YouTube, well-known politicians will profit from having their advertisements freely viewable by the public without the need for costly media purchases. With any luck, YouTube will soon be a mainstay in the parties' communication plans.

2.8 PREVIOUS RESEARCH

2.8.1 Salience

The authors made studies on saliency which is the quality of being particularly noticeable or important and prominent. The example of salience is the issue of corruption within a country because it affects everyone in the country and it is the issue that is most talked about by the public on all forms of social media.

Beyers, Dur, Marshall and Wonka (2014) examined the definition and assessment of salience in research on groups, public opinion, interest, political communication, and the creation of legislative policies within the European Union. Using primary data on EU legislative policy-making, they empirically investigate the (non-) complimentary nature of various conceptualizations. They used datasets created as part of a sizable project on EU interest group politics (INTEREURO) to achieve this. They incorporated evidence on salience gathered from in-depth assessments of five media channels, interviews with 70 Commission experts, and 143

representatives of interest groups for a sample of 125 legislative proceedings the European Commission started (between 2008 and 2010).

Givens and Luedtke (2005) investigated, from 1990 to 2002, the effects of political partisanship and issue salience on the restrictiveness of immigration legislation in France, Germany, and the United Kingdom. Their initial prediction was that client politics often dominate immigration decisions in liberal governments, minimizing restrictiveness towards immigrant rights; but, policy becomes more restrictive in times of high issue salience and extensive media coverage. Their second hypothesis was that, while both Left and Right parties are equally tight when it comes to immigration control laws, Right parties are more restrictive when it comes to policies to integrate immigrants who are already residents of the country into society. In Western Europe, the authors statistically examine both of these hypotheses while accounting for the effects of GDP growth, unemployment, and the population of immigrants and refugees. According to their analysis, partisanship influences policies aimed at integrating current immigrants rather than limiting the number of new arrivals, and issue salience is a predictor of how restrictive national immigration laws will be.

Ansolabehere and Puy (2018) offered a novel method for measuring issue salience that clarifies the ways in which voter salience and party positions on a particular topic interact to influence voting decisions and overall election outcomes. Through an analysis of the spatial voting model, they demonstrated how voting probabilities can be calculated using a multinomial logic regression, in which voters' ideal policy locations on each issue dimension are independent variables and no personal perceptions of the locations of the political parties are taken into account. The following survey data points are utilized to determine problem salience: (i) respondents' specific positions on each issue dimension; (ii) vote choice; and (iii) parties' policy positions on each issue dimension, as determined by the mean perceived position. Instead, all that is required is a general approximation of the party positions on various subjects. They examined regional elections in the Spanish province of the Basques to illustrate the workings and worth of the methodology. They discovered that nationalism is nearly twice as salient in that region as the left-right dimension. Still, the nationalism issue caused more rifts than the left-right conflict. This demonstrated that the subject people care about the most might not be the same as the issue on which the parties have more unique policy offerings.

Magistro and Wittstock (2021) examined the underappreciated instance of Italy, a country that had historically had anti-immigration political groups. After analysing a variety of data sources,

they discovered that while people's preferences for immigration did not change in 2006, 2013, or 2018, issue salience did, and this variation tracked the anti-immigration vote. When immigration was a high salience issue, voters were more likely to choose anti-immigration parties; this suggests that far right political success is linked to salience rather than shifting preferences.

Spirig (2021) demonstrated how voters' political behaviour is shaped by the prominence of immigration; however, nothing is known about how this effects the behaviour of judges. According to the article's theory, where there is a direct link between a legally significant matter and a highly salient, politicized topic, judges' actions are influenced by variations in issue salience. The researcher used every asylum appeal decision made in Switzerland between 2007 and 2015 to test this theory. According to the study, judges will rule less favourably on otherwise similar asylum cases when asylum is more salient. This impact is not limited to judges connected to anti-immigrant parties, is not likely to be influenced by accountability demands, and is greatest when it comes to subjects that are well-known to incite anti-immigrant feeling in the broader public. Collectively, these results sparked worries that the consistency of court rulings may be threatened by issue salience.

Dolezal (2015) examined five saliency theory predictions, the main one being that parties compete by emphasizing different issues selectively rather than by confronting one other directly. This article used fresh manifesto data from the Austrian National Election Study (AUTNES) because a fair test of the theory's assumptions requires to rely on data that evaluates party issue saliency and party stances independently. A thorough examination of all manifestos released for the general elections in 2002, 2006, and 2008 revealed that saliency theory accurately describes certain aspects of party competitiveness. Parties, for example, disproportionately highlight topics that they "own." However, the fundamental tenet of saliency theory—that parties engage in competition by emphasizing different concerns rather than confronting each other directly on the same ones—fails to materialize in most situations.

Using the methodology developed by the Comparative Manifesto Project (CMP) and a modified list of issue categories to reflect the division of government competences between the central and regional governments, Pogorelis, Maddens and Swendan (2005) revealed the salience of specific issues in the manifestos of the main British parties for the UK general elections of 1997 and 2003, as well as the Scottish and Welsh elections. The social and ideological foundation of a party, along with the boundaries of governmental authority, are

discovered to be significant factors in determining the relevance of an issue. When compared to national elections, there appeared to have been greater room for disagreement among the issue platforms of the parties running in regional elections due to the more cooperative institutional structure of regional government in Scotland and Wales. However, as devolution became more institutionalized, they noticed a rise in the similarity of issue profiles between the parties running in the same regional elections, as well as between the parties running in the general and Scottish and Welsh elections (Pogorelis, Maddens & Swendan, 2005). Adaptation is a necessary step for society to effectively manage the impacts of climate change.

Janusch (2021) defines the audience as a group composed of individuals and societal actors that can punish a government and pay attention to the issue being negotiated. Thus, the audience could vary depending on the issue salience. When the issue salience was low, the audience consisted only of interest groups and the attentive public. In addition, there was a disconnection between knowledge and action on climate change. The salience of adaptation to climate change may be a precondition for action, but this issue has so far been neglected in the adaptation literature. This indicated a missing link between perception, values, and world-views on one side and policy formation on the other. However, more voters from the general public join the audience as the topic becomes more salient. The makeup of the crowd in turn dictated the extent of the audience's expenses. The audience costs should be higher when the problem salience is high since the general public tends to value national honour more highly than interest groups and the attentive public, and they also tend to be less knowledgeable and have fewer clearly defined choices. In addition, the audience has the ability to create exogenous audience costs or block the impact of audience costs.

According to Lefevere, Sevenans, Walgrave and Lesschaeve's (2019) theories, parties reframe issues in their external communication at different times and in different ways. Utilizing newly collected Belgian data on the formal positions of political parties on a wide range of policy matters along with their spoken justifications for such views, they tested a novel theory concerning the causes and mechanisms of problem reframing. They discovered that parties recast issues in terms of policy domains that are important to the party and to the public at large—that is, to the extent that the party "owns" the policy domain and has a history of focusing on it.

2.8.2 Social media

The authors made studies on social media which are websites and applications that enable users to create and share content or participate in social networking. The examples of social media are YouTube, Twitter, Facebook and Instagram.

In the run-up to the 2017 Austrian parliamentary election, Ennser-Jedenastik (2021) employed a unique data collection that included all Facebook posts made by party leaders and organizations. They conducted research to investigate the theory that party actors are more inclined to focus on problems that have already resulted in higher levels of user involvement. Additionally, they proposed that pre-campaign issue salience and major/minor party status influenced responsiveness. According to the analysis, parties' issue strategies—particularly those of major parties on low-salience issues—respond to user participation. This constituted a portion of the initial empirical data regarding the ways in which social media can improve parties' responsiveness to issues.

Mhlomi and Osunkunle (2014) emphasized some facets of the function of social media in the political participation of youth in the 2014 general election in South Africa. The theoretical framework that was used to analyse the results was provided by the information society theory and the uses and gratifications theory. To represent the population of the University at the time of the study, the volunteers were methodically chosen. According to the study's findings, young people are not indifferent to politics, and using social media to promote a political cause was thought to influence young people's voting behaviour in a favourable way.

In Dhawraj's (2019) conceptualization of Grounded Theory, he concentrated on comprehending how the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the African National Congress (ANC), South Africa's two numerically dominant political parties, used Twitter, a microblogging platform, as part of their electioneering toolkit during the 2016 municipal elections to advance party-political digital issue ownership in an urban setting. This three-phase study, which looked at the 2016 election manifestos of both parties and a corpus of tweets, discovered that while both the DA and the ANC used Twitter as a digital political communication platform to communicate their campaigns, the DA made notable use of the social networking site for intense "focused" messaging of its negative campaign against the ANC and concurrently for positive electoral messaging around its own "core" issues and metro mayoral candidates. The DA designated "battleground" metropolises in Ekurhuleni, Johannesburg, Tshwane, and Nelson Mandela Bay, which prompted a focused urban campaign aimed at either galvanizing

the party's own constituency or stifling the ANC's participation in these hotly disputed places. Furthermore, it was discovered that during the 2016 municipal elections, the ANC and DA employed 35 Twitter accounts to claim ownership of party-related political issues, both explicitly and implicitly. The study concluded with the development of three interrelated components of a conceptual framework for digital political communication, which political parties may utilize to encourage digital ownership of party political issues in a prominent urban electioneering environment. When combined, these strategies—"coordinating and managing how an election is tweeted," "focusing" on the election, and "audience-segmentation as a message-tailoring strategy"—can assist political parties in improving their communication and, eventually, their overall effectiveness in the highly mediatized technological media environment.

The importance of foreign and security policy issues to domestic actors, their place in the study of international politics, and their implications for the formulation of foreign policy were examined by Oppermann and Viehrig (2011). It advanced the state of the art and offered a thorough and organized summary of the significance of the issue. It has a strong comparative framework and focuses on many domestic actors, including the media, political elites, and the general people. It starts with a chapter on the idea of issue salience and its function in analysing international politics. It addressed the importance of many topic areas in three important areas of international politics: transatlantic ties, foreign and security policy, and European integration. Empirical studies from Western Europe and North America were included. Lastly, the study provided critical evaluations of the theories that support the idea of issue salience and the techniques used to quantify it. The scholarly discussions on the function of public opinion in foreign policy and the future of parliamentary oversight of foreign and security policy benefited greatly from this collection. Students and academics studying political science, international relations, and foreign policy will find it interesting. When do people adopt knowledge pertinent to policies into their political attitudes, and when do they rely on party cues?

2.8.3 Campaign (electoral competition)

The authors conducted studies on campaigning which is an organised course of action to achieve a political goal. Electoral competition describes the amount of competition in electoral politics between political parties, usually measured by the margin of victory.

Žúborová (2011) puts the ideas to the test using the Slovak election campaign of 2010. The issue salience is linked to one of the various theories of voting behaviour with the general decrease of cleavage-based politics. Public discourse around issues may have an impact on elections, yet studies in the field of agenda-setting indicate that public opinion is shaped by the media. Two tiers of analysis existed. Prior to testing any individual particular variables separate from the media and parties' content, the overall relationship between the public, media, and parties' agenda is explored. This is done to see if any of these variables could be useful in explaining variance in the public problem concern. Multinomial logistic regression results suggested that individual level variation in issue concern cannot be explained by the need for orientation, education, and issue sensitivity, despite some evidence that suggests citizens are more likely to resemble the media agenda (i.e., the most salient issues in the media).

In a coalition government, Greene, Henceroth and Jensen (2020) emphasized the impact of prominent portfolios on elections. They postulated that the degree of electoral cost of coalition participation is partly predicted by the distinction between coalition parties holding prominent portfolios and those that do not. They demonstrated that, for junior coalition partners, keeping their most salient portfolios has electoral benefits even if they do not control their most salient portfolios by using a dataset spanning 11 European parliamentary democracies from 1966 to 2002. On the other hand, if they retain their most prominent portfolio along with more ministries, they will lose more votes in the next legislative election. These findings suggest that the parties' ability to successfully negotiate for their desired policies in coalition administrations has implications for their future electoral success.

A study conducted in 2009 by Libbrecht, Maddens, Swenden and Fabre (2009) examined the dynamics of electoral rivalry within a multilevel context. A content analysis of the party manifestos of the Spanish PP and PSOE in eight regional elections between 2001 and 2003 served as the basis for this study. It offered a novel coding system for analysing regional party manifestos and attempts to take into consideration variations in regional campaigning within and within regions as well as between parties. Using a model with four independent variables—the asymmetric nature of the system, the electoral cycle, the regional party systems, and the organization of the state-wide parties—the authors attempted to explain the inter-regional variation of the issue profiles of state-wide parties in regional elections. Though three of their theories are disproved, the more pronounced differences in the PSOE's regional issue profiles support the notion that parties with more decentralized party structures encourage more diverse

regional campaigns. The article's conclusion provided a different interpretation for this result and suggested directions for future study.

Sipma and Berning (2021) used data from the European Election Study from nine Western European nations to demonstrate how immigration and the economy are important issues that help us comprehend the complex relationship between economic conditions and support for the radical right populist movements. When it comes to other issues, immigration is regarded as less important than the economy in nations when the economy is weak or deteriorating. When it comes to immigration or even other concerns, those who believe that the economy is the biggest issue are more inclined to support the radical right populism. It seemed that extreme right-wing populist parties not only gained support on immigration issues but also lost support on economic issues. Lastly, despite the economy's greater salience than other issues—partially because immigration is a more salient concern than other issues—negative views of the economy increased populist radical right vote, in contrast to the real state of the economy.

According to Lazarus (2013), the majority of laws submitted in the House and Senate reflect members' electoral stances. Every year, thousands of bills were introduced; only a small percentage of these were really voted into law or given any real consideration in the chamber. Additionally, bills were excellent position-taking tools because they give the impression to voters that they are an official part of the election process. The researcher looked at the laws that the members introduced in order to look for electoral motivations. The study discovered a significant relationship between a member's district-level indicators of issue salience and the quantity of bills they introduced in each of the five policy areas, in both the House and the Senate. Furthermore, in the House, vulnerable members had the largest correlation between salience and bill introduction; in the Senate, however, this association is unaffected by vulnerability. Do political parties who provide vague policy stances stand to gain an electoral advantage?

According to Yan (2022), the impact of position ambiguity on an issue's election outcome is contingent upon the issue's perceived importance to voters. In addition to survey data on voters' issue salience, the researcher used data on political parties' party positions, position ambiguity, and issue emphasis. Research has shown that parties with unclear stances on issues tend to lose the support of voters to whom the topic is important. On the other hand, those who do not think the topic important still support the same candidates regardless of position ambiguity. The findings suggested that party competitiveness in a multidimensional issue space should be

taken into consideration when analysing the electoral impact of stance blurring in Western Europe. By providing ambiguous party viewpoints, they also suggested that political parties might have to choose between losing elections and maintaining policy flexibility. Parties' policy priorities are influenced by intra-party factions. Scholars haven't yet mapped the most influential paths, though.

In Dellis' (2009) model, the set of salient topics—that is, the problems that determine the outcome of an election—is endogenous. The model considered a crucial aspect of the policy-making process, which is that the decision-maker has financial and time limitations that impede him from addressing every item on the agenda. The study demonstrated that this characteristic gives a policy-motivated decision-maker a justification to manipulate his choice of policies in order to affect the problems that would be important in the upcoming election. Three reasons were found by the researcher to explain why the decision-maker might modify his choice of policy to make it seem more salient. One was to draw attention to a topic on which he is more likely to win an election. A further incentive was to mitigate the prominence of a topic on which he lacks electoral support, which is achieved by either tacitly endorsing a policy outcome or instigating a shift in the challenger's focal point of contention. To persuade the opposing party to choose a candidate who, if elected, will carry out a policy that the ruling party considers more agreeable was a third reason.

In their study from 2021, Costello, Toshkov, Bos, and Krouwel (2021) attempted to explain why party-voter congruence varied among problems and parties. They concentrated on the following two hypotheses: (1) that voters' positions and the party they support will be most closely aligned on subjects that the party emphasizes during the election campaign, and (2) that this relationship will be stronger for niche parties. Using information on voter preferences, party views, attention profiles, and salience on specific policy topics in four countries—the Netherlands, Ireland, Germany, and Sweden—they examined these assumptions. In general, we observe that voter proximity to the party is higher on problems that the party prioritizes. This suggested that the best representation occurs where it counts most, since these are the subjects on which parties usually have the biggest influence on policy. There was also scant evidence suggesting that for niche parties, there is a higher positive correlation between issue salience and closeness. In summary, party-level issue salience and, to a lesser extent, political party type both have a significant impact on the quality of policy representation. The absence of an examination of the audience, the audience cost theory's key component, represents a theoretical gap in the theory.

Ascencio and Gibilisco (2015) examined an electoral competition model grounded in the issue ownership theory of campaigns. Parties used resources to influence the model's salience of issues, which was defined as the likelihood that a voter would vote on a particular topic based on her party preferences. Campaigns were utilized by parties to get people to consider various causes. Their findings demonstrated that parties will typically run their campaigns on a single issue and revealed Riker's "dominance principle." The two-dimensional version of the model showed how parties shout over each other and suggested that when parties are equally good at campaigning and the concerns are not immediately obvious, competition will be at its highest. When there are more than two parties, there is a chance that some will take advantage of the most successful parties' campaigns. Voters and political parties frequently use the left-right dimension as a "super-issue" with a fluid, changing definition. Therefore, understanding how voters rank parties on the left-right spectrum is crucial.

2.8.4 Environmental issues

The authors made studies on environmental issues which are effects of human activity on the biophysical environment, most often which are harmful effects that cause environmental degradation.

Moller, Trilling and Helberger (2018) investigated the quantity and quality of social information found in online entertainment videos and contrasted it with that found in online political videos. Upon doing an automated content analysis on 463 videos, 39 602 comments, likes, and dislikes, it was discovered that more people viewed and commented on entertainment videos than on political ones. Additionally, comments on entertainment videos were more impartial than those on political videos. They also discovered that comments with a higher positive or negative valence got more likes and replies, with the exception that political videos' positive valence had no effect and that their negative valence resulted in less likes. Finally, they discovered that the favourable tone of the comments on political videos increased with the number of views. Overall, these findings demonstrated that the kind of video affects the quantity and quality of social information that is sent through it.

In this study, Sithole (2018) used a qualitative research approach to investigate, characterize, and contextualize the experiences and difficulties faced by social workers providing social support services to battered women in shelters. Purposive sampling was employed to choose the participants, and semi-structured interviews with social workers who assist abused women in Gauteng shelters were carried out with them. Consideration was given to ethical

considerations. To evaluate the reliability of the data, Tesch's eight steps (in Creswell, 2009) were used for analysis, and Guba and Lincoln's model (in Krefting, 2003) was used for verification. The study's main conclusions emphasized the critical role that social workers play in the process of empowering and protecting abused women residing in shelters. These women gain from the daily social support services that the shelters provide. These results also showed that the social workers require assistance in order to properly provide these social support services due to resource constraints. This study also demonstrated the need for a multidisciplinary approach and emphasized the importance of other stakeholders playing a larger role within the sheltering services in order to provide comprehensive services to abused women. These stakeholders include the SAPS, Health, Home Affairs, Department of Social Development, and foreign embassies. It was evident that providing social services presents numerous problems for social workers, who also receive little assistance from their peers.

The impact of providing decision makers with additional knowledge about their own and other companies on this process was examined by Desai (2014). It was discovered by the researcher that decisions about resource allocation can be influenced by media coverage of specific difficulties that arise from failures in the field, and that in certain instances, publicity about other companies may have a greater impact than coverage about the main firm. The investigation and results advanced knowledge about how companies survey their surroundings and how various, interrelated exterior information sources might collectively impact internal organizational operations.

Wojdynski (2016) examined the reporting of "corrective rape" in South African publications. Corrective: meant to improve something. When used to the efforts of scientists and activists to discover and provide solutions for global issues, this word carries positive implications. However, the word is used to describe a method used to "rectify" the personal identity of South African lesbians, the majority of whom are black and live in poor communities, when combined with sexual assault against them. Therefore, the phrase "corrective rape" becomes an ironic misnomer for a sexual assault in which the victim's behaviour is thought to be "deviant," "lesbian," or gay (Bryson, 2011). Alcoholism and/or homophobia, as well as a sexist culture based in old views of women confronting a new and emancipatory democracy, are the main causes of the rise in "corrective rape" incidents in South Africa (Rape crisis, 2012).

The topic of "corrective rape" was covered in this study, which calls for an explanation of what constitutes rape and the power dynamics that allow it to continue. The report also made the

case that media messages have desensitized South African citizens, leading to apathy among the populace as a whole. This study looked into how South African media reported on and framed "corrective rape." In order to comprehend how the media portrays the problem of "corrective rape," a critical paradigm that incorporates the agenda-setting theory as well as framing and representation was presented and used. According to the study, "corrective rape" has been grossly underrepresented in South African print media. Additionally, the issue has not received the attention it deserves, particularly given its emergence as a trend and its flagrant violation of the liberties guaranteed to lesbian citizens by the South African Constitution (Rape crisis, 2012).

Using a mixed-methods approach, Mesquita and Seabra (2022) investigated the variations in the stability provided by regional powers. Regional order is jeopardized by political, military, and humanitarian disasters. Regional powers are supposed to calm the situation in these situations, yet their responses to grave demands differ in scope and severity. Reactions range from fervent involvement to protracted apathy and resistance, frequently relying on regional or ad hoc processes in addition to international multilateral institutions. They chose crises that attracted different levels of attention from regional powers, even though their severity was identical, by comparing the intensity of regional crises with issue salience in the UN General Assembly. The study examined how Brazil and South Africa could act as possible regional stabilizers by contrasting their responses to crises in regions with high and low salience, respectively, such as Somalia, Haiti, Congo-Brazzaville and Colombia. The study's findings indicate that the adjustment of regional power responses is often influenced by factors such as status concerns, domestic support, and possible rivalry with other stabilizers. One of the most important theories of party competition is saliency theory, which also served as the theoretical foundation for the Comparative Manifesto Project, which is one of the most popular databases in comparative politics. The saliency hypothesis of party competition has gained popularity, although not all of its empirical implications have been thoroughly examined.

Dannevig and Hovelsrud (2016) examined how members of three different occupational groups in a community in northern Norway that depends on natural resources view and react to variations in the weather and resource circumstances, as well as climate projections. The findings showed that various players view the need for adaptation in different ways, if at all. In order to help policymakers understand when and why autonomous players are willing to adapt, the paper aims to explain this variation in perceptions and responses among various actors by utilizing concepts from governance literatures and the cultural theory of risks (CTR).

They discovered that actors who fall into the individualist CTR type and who do not explicitly apply scientific information in their profession cannot be expected to respond to climate change.

Ciuk and Yost (2016) proposed that when the public has access to policy-relevant information, they should utilize it to shape their opinions just as much as they would party cues. By defining the circumstances that encourage people to use content over cues and vice versa, they sought to further this research. More specifically, they thought that higher problem salience encourages people to process policy-relevant information systematically rather than just using heuristics. They discovered that when considering hydraulic fracturing (fracking), a particularly high-salience topic, people are more likely to take policy-relevant information into consideration using data from a survey experiment that separates the effects of party cues, issue salience, and policy-relevant information. Party cues were more frequently used when discussing storm-water management, a rather low-salience subject. It is unclear how successful political representation is when it comes to specific policy issues because of the wide variations in the degree of congruence between parties and their voters.

How does the importance of environmental issues affect the states' adoption of climate policies in the United States? Bromley-Trujillo and Poe (2020) examined the relationship between environmental interest group membership and two components of public salience—issue problem status and issue attention—to affect the implementation of climate policy in the states of the United States. They provided alternate measures that account for variations in salience among subnational units and contributed to the theoretical development of issue salience. The researchers discovered evidence that states are more likely to adopt pertinent policies when environmental issues are given considerable attention and where climate change is seen as a problem. Moreover, the likelihood of states enacting climate measures is lower when Republicans control both chambers of Congress. Their conclusions have ramifications for how salience affects the formulation of public policy.

2.8.5 Ideological

The writers conducted research on ideology, which is a framework for beliefs and values, particularly as it relates to political and economic theory and practice. The writers recognized an opening in the social media space and developed concepts for bridging the gap. According to Aruguete, Calvo, and Ventura (2021), social media news sharing has grown in importance as a topic of academic study for communication studies. It was crucial to estimate relevant

parameters of news sharing behaviour using observational data in order to evaluate current ideas. This article uses measurements of media reputation, problem salience, and ideological congruence to explain why people share news on social media. The suggested statistical model's relationships to other news sharing literature strands were expounded upon by the authors. They then 43 provided an examination of the connection between problem salience and ideological congruence to demonstrate the value of the model. The findings demonstrated that ideologues' (i.e., people who place a higher value on ideological congruence) preferences will be overrepresented in observational data if ideology and salience are correlated. As a result, polarization was seen more strongly. Using information from the US, Argentina, and Brazil, we evaluate the model's performance.

A paradigm for analysing the relative relevance of topics for the voters was proposed by Ansolabehere and Puy (2015). They separated out two ideas, issue division and problem salience, and presented them within the framework of the multidimensional spatial model. The weight of one issue over another in a typical voter's utility function is known as issue salience, and it has been extensively researched in both empirical and theoretical models. The distinction between the issues, which was based on the stances or alliances of opposing parties and candidates on each topic, is known as issue divisiveness. The regression coefficient in a multiple regression of vote choice on issues reflected both the weight and salience of each problem and the distinctiveness of the two parties on each issue, demonstrating how empirical research frequently confuses salience and divisiveness. They used the example of regional elections in Spain's Basque province to analyse the efficacy and workings of the devised methodology. This region's politics offered a good example of how salience and division are confused in the argument over the significance of nationalism and ideology. Concerns about immigration are among the most common among people worldwide.

Voters deduce left-right party policies based on two major ideological sub-dimensions, according to Meyer and Wagner (2020): economic and cultural issues. However, if a sub dimension is significant to the party and the party system overall, then it should have a greater impact on party placements on the left-right dimension. They demonstrated that the perceived left-right position of a party reflects in specific party positions on issue dimensions that are (1) more important to the party and (2) more salient in the party system in aggregate level models that use voter data from the 2014 European Election Study and party data from the 2014 Chapel Hill Expert Survey. The result shed light on the causes of voter perceptions and has broader ramifications for our comprehension of party rivalry since it demonstrates the impact that

parties' salience tactics can have on voters' perceptions and decisions based on ideological positions.

Party congresses, according to Ceron and Greene (2019), functioned as forums for decision-making since they permitted comments and motions in favour of opposing agenda items. They suggested that discussions and alternative motions should have separate effects on the final policy declarations, taking into account the parties' internal procedures. They then looked at this viewpoint with a focus on French Socialist Party meetings. The issues raised in 74 motions, 1439 speeches, and 9 manifestos from congresses held between 1969 and 2015 were analysed using structural topic models in order to determine whether factional motions or individual speeches more accurately reflected the content of manifestos and to appraise the internal agenda-setting procedure. The findings revealed that motions were a more accurate indicator of the parties' manifesto contents. But when we just looked the majority faction, we discovered that speeches and motions both foretell the contents of manifestos. This provided credence to the idea of factional supremacy and intra-party decision-making.

2.9 SUMMARY

This chapter has explored the theoretical framework of issue salience, political communication as a discipline which included digital political communication and the impact of social networking sites on political communication. Furthermore, this chapter also explored the issue salience concept which consisted of: the definitions from other studies, the theoretical background of issue salience and evolution of issue salience. From the discussion above, it is arguably and empirically demonstrated that the effect of salience on actors' influence on a decision outcome, can work in different directions. In addition, it is also argued that salience affects citizens' attitudes, informs their voting behaviour as well as how political parties campaign on different issues. There is little to say regarding the scope of issue agendas, whether parties attach salience to many different issues or whether they confine their attention on few core issues only.

Lastly, it is arguable that none of the theories can fully explain the nature of social networking sites (YouTube) as a facilitator of salient issues in the context of political communication in South Africa. However, hypothetically, each of the theories might be correct under different circumstances and as they seek to explain the nature of social networking sites as a political communication platform. Media framing has been defined in different perspectives by various scholars in this study. Below the chapter, there are two criteria tables for issue salience; media

framing and salience theory; and a pyramid figure for media framing and salience theory. The tables and pyramid figure will be utilised to help identify salient audio-visuals carried by YouTube and to also answer the three research questions. The next chapter details the methods that are used in the study and how the study will answer its research questions and meet its objectives.

Criteria for saliency	Description	Measurement
Issue Relevance	How closely the issue aligns with the overall campaign agenda	Content analysis (Keyword frequency)
Issue Popularity	The level of attention and interest the issue receives	Views, Likes, Comments, and Shares
Duration of Attention	How long viewers engage with the video discussing the issue	Average watch time
Audience Interaction	The extent to which viewers engage with the issue content	Number of comments, likes, dislikes and number of views (for the no. of views to be counted, the video must be watched from beginning to end). The no. of views does not necessarily align with the amount of people who watched, e.g. 1 million views could be 1000 people who watched it combined.
Video Placement	The position of the video in search results and related videos	Search ranking and recommendations
Social Media Mentions	The number of times the issue is mentioned across social media	Social media analytics
Virality Potential	The likelihood of the issue being shared widely	Sharing rate and network analysis

Sentiment Analysis	The overall sentiment of comments and discussions on the issue	Sentiment analysis of comments and replies
Click-Through Rate	The ratio of users who click on the video after seeing the title	Search ranking and recommendations
Subscriber Engagement	How many subscribers engage with the issue-related content	Subscriber interactions and growth

Table 1: Criteria for issue Salience

Table 1 criteria has been developed to identify salient audio-visuals carried by YouTube. The table will also be applied in the process of selecting and judging which audio-visuals stand out or are the most important. The salience criteria enables the researcher to determine the most necessary or relevant issues being claimed and addressed by political parties, utilising YouTube as a facilitator. The prominent audio-visuals facilitated by YouTube must have most of the elements or factors under the criteria for saliency. All 24 audio-visuals carried by YouTube were sampled following the criteria for issue salience.

Variable	Description	Measurement Indicators
Framing Strategies	Strategies used to frame key issues, candidates, and the overall narrative in YouTube videos.	- Identify key themes and narratives presented in the videos. - Determine whether the framing is episodic (individual stories) or thematic (broader issues).
Agenda-Setting Functions	The function of YouTube videos in setting the agenda by emphasizing specific topics and issues.	- Analyse topics and issues emphasized in the videos. - Identify recurring themes aligned with the party's election agenda.
Framing Salience of valence	The tone, language, and visual elements used to emphasize aspects like candidates, policies, or rivals.	- Evaluate the emotional tone (positive, negative, neutral) and language used. - Analyse visual cues and expressions that convey emphasis.
Visual framing and Verbal Cues	Symbols, imagery, language, and non-verbal elements used to present the party's brand and key messages.	- Study visuals, symbols, colours, logos, and language in the videos. - Analyse non-verbal cues like facial expressions to understand framing.
Saliency and Fame Resonance	- Tailoring of content to specific demographics, regions, or voter segments on YouTube. - Framing and messaging to different segments of the target audience based on their specific saliency preferences.	- Analyse language, themes, and messaging to identify targeted demographics. - Assess alignment with the intended target audience for the campaign.

Stakeholder Perceptions	How different stakeholders interpret and respond to the YouTube videos (e.g., media, opponents).	- Evaluate media, opponents, and interest groups' responses to the videos. - Compare their framing and interpretation of the party's content.
Viewer Reactions and Engagement	Audience response and engagement with the YouTube videos, including likes, comments, and shares.	- Analyse viewer comments, likes, shares, and engagement metrics. - Interpret audience sentiment, concerns, and support expressed in comments.
Parties' self-presentation	Political parties' appearance, manner in which they deliver the speech and impressions they make in the YouTube videos.	Analyse the parties' image and reputation; candidates' personal qualities and political views.
Framing Party Competition	Parties complete by emphasizing salient issues on which they hold comparative advantages on YouTube.	Evaluate changes in voters' preferences and behaviour when a new salient issue is addressed during campaigns on YouTube. Analysis the voters and the parties' reactions on each issue addressed and claimed on YouTube.
Framing party positions and issue salience	Issues that parties choose to address which they deem salient, while avoiding other topics that might decrease their popularity.	Analysis party manifestos, speeches, debates, accessible data provided by expert judgements, comments and YouTube coverage in the same election campaign.
Framing Audience attention	The amount of time viewers engage and interact with the audio visuals discussing the salient issues.	Analyse the average watch time; numbers of view; numbers of comments; number of likes and dislikes; and number of audio visuals on the particular issue.

Framing issue prominence	The issue that stood out and are viewed as important to the voters and parties.	Evaluating the importance of the issue in the audio visuals facilitated on YouTube. How long the segments are in the audio visuals and if the issues were prioritised; and became headline of the campaigns. Also the number of audio visuals containing the particular issue.

Table 2: Media framing integrated with salience

The development of table 2 criteria is to explain and provide an image of how framing theory helps shape the way information is presented, while saliency theory underscores the factor that influence what individuals pay attention to. The interplay between framing and saliency is important in understanding how political communication can effectively engage and influence the public. This criteria will be applied in chapter 4: findings and interpretations. Each audio-visual that was sampled had features and characteristics that are referred in table 2 criteria. This criteria table also helps the research to explore how framing theory and saliency can be deliberately used to produce audio-visual material in support of political parties' campaign strategy. Capitalising on saliency issues from a framing perspective in a campaign audio-visual productions is a strategic approach that can help a political party (ANC, DA, and EFF) to effectively communicate their message and engage with the audience. This was also elaborated more in figure 1 pyramid.
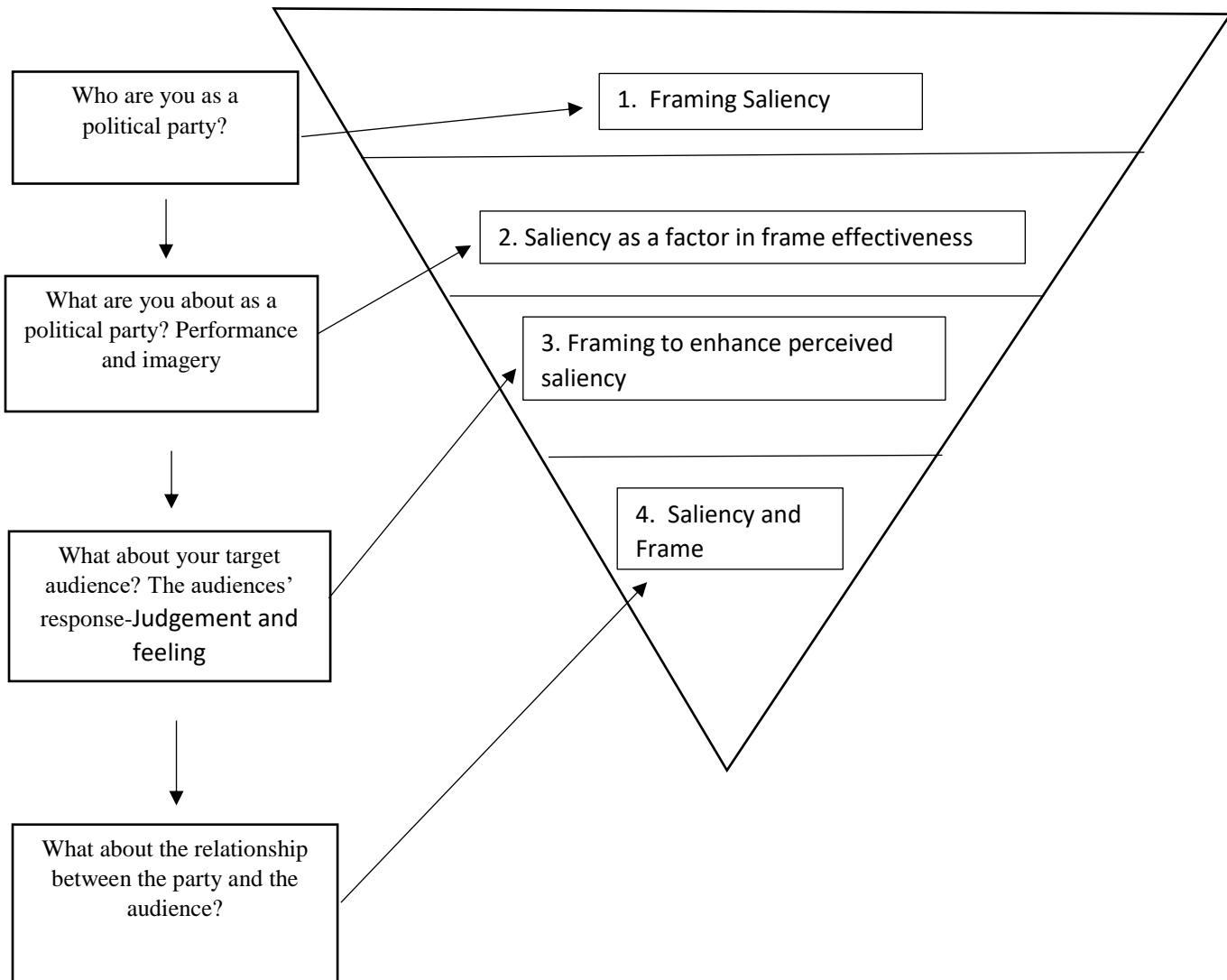
Figure 1: Media framing and salience framework pyramid

STEP 1: FRAMING SALIENCY

- Identify salient issues that are important to the target audience.

- These are the issues that are at the forefront of the campaign's messaging, as they are more likely to capture the audience's attention and resonate with them.

- Framing information in a way that makes certain elements more noticeable or compelling.

STEP 2: SALIENCY AS A FACTOR IN FRAME EFFECTIVENESS

- These are framed issues that align with the audience's pre-existing beliefs, values, or priorities and are salient to them (e.g, corruption, unemployment and crime- these are

issues that are always a subject of thought in the media, worldwide. Also these issues do not have to affect you directly, to prioritise them).

- The framing will use attention-grabbing visuals, impactful imagery, and emotionally resonant music to evoke a strong response from the audience. The combination of compelling visuals and engaging audio can significantly increase the salience of the framed issues.

- Frame the salient issues in a way that humanises them and makes them relatable to individuals.

- Personalise the stories and narratives to evoke empathy and connection.

- People are more likely to find issues salient and compelling when they can relate to them on a personal level.

- These issues are more likely to be persuasive and influential in shaping attitudes and behaviours.

STEP 3: FRAMING TO ENHANCE PERCEIVED SALIENCY

- Through framing techniques such as vivid language, repetition, or emphasizing specific consequences, communicators can increase the perceived saliency of certain aspects, thereby influencing public perception and opinion.

- Repeat the framed messages consistently throughout the campaign's audio-visual productions.

- Repetition helps reinforce the saliency of the issues and ensures that the framing is deeply ingrained in the audience's minds.

- This also includes the feedback from the public in a form of comments; likes and dislikes and number of views. All of these will determine the emotions and feelings of the audience and public (e.g high number of dislikes will signify disappointment; and high number of likes will signify warmth, excitement and approval).

STEP 4: SALIENCY AND FRAME RESONANCE

- Highly salient frames are more likely to resonate with individuals, prompting them to process the information more deeply and potentially leading to attitude or behaviour change.

- This includes, segments of individuals, audience behaviour/attitude, attention, loyalty, interaction, engagements, culture and community.

- Framing and messaging to different segments of the target audience based on their specific saliency preferences.

- Understand the unique concerns and priorities of each audience segment, and adjust the framing accordingly to maximise saliency.

- Frame the salient issues in a way that humanises them and makes them relatable to individuals.

- Personalise the stories and narratives to evoke empathy and connection. People are more likely to find issues salient and compelling when they can relate to them on a personal level.

- This will also enhance a good relationship between parties and the audience (voters).

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on reviewing the methodology of the study. A thorough motivation is provided for using the theory issue saliency. The theory "issue saliency" will be used in this study to explore how political parties (ANC, DA and EFF) addressed and claimed issues for the 2019 National Election Campaign with the aid of YouTube as a political communication tool. Salient issues mean standing out; therefore, a salient issue is the one that stands out from other issues. This chapter consists of the research paradigm; research approach; research design and research method. The research approach consists of interpretive approach; ontology and epistemology; methodology; methods and quality criteria. A qualitative research method is applied in the study which consists of content analysis, analysing numbers of interaction, textual analysis and historical analysis.

The study aims to answer the research questions; to explore the characteristics and theoretical criteria of issue salience and media framing through the lens of political communication over YouTube; to explore how the ANC, DA and EFF utilised audio-visual media carried by YouTube to facilitate the claimed and addressed salient issues; and how political parties identify and capitalised on salient issues during their campaigns. The data collection techniques includes preparation for data collection, methods of data collection, role of the researcher and methods of analysis. The population and sample method of the study includes; target population, accessible population, and unit of analysis, population parameters and sampling method. The study also conducts the methods of data verification which consists of truth value and consistency; then ethical considerations which includes confidentiality and management of information.

3.2 RESEARCH APPROACH

According to Franklin (2012), a research methodology refers to the plans and processes for the study that cover choices ranging from general hypotheses to specific techniques for gathering and analysing data. They entail the meeting point of particular techniques, designs, and philosophical presumptions. Nonetheless, a research paradigm, according to Creswell (2019) as well as Rehman and Alharthi (2016), comprises a body of presumptive knowledge that guides philosophical Chapter 1: Orientation assumptions about the nature of reality, the structure of knowledge, and the methods by which knowledge can be established. A research

paradigm further defines "assumptions about ethics (axiology), reality (ontology), knowledge (epistemology), and systematic inquiry (methodology)" as a philosophical foundation (Mertens, 2012: 256).

A research methodology, according to Fraser and Robinson (2004), is a set of procedures and strategies for the study that include anything from broad hypotheses to particular methods for collecting and interpreting data. They comprise the point of convergence of certain methods, blueprints, and theoretical frameworks. However, according to Brooke (2013) and Guba (1990: 17), a research paradigm is defined as a set of presumptive knowledge that informs philosophical Chapter 1: Orientation assumptions about the nature of reality, the structure of knowledge, and the processes by which knowledge can be established (Creswell, 2019; Rehman and Alharthi, 2016). Further defined as a philosophical foundation, a research paradigm comprises "assumptions about ethics (axiology), reality (ontology), knowledge (epistemology), and systematic inquiry (methodology)" (Mertens, 2012: 256). According to Hughes (2010), a paradigm is a particular approach to "seeing the world and making sense of it," and it forms the foundation of any research project (Mukherji and Albon, 2015: 24). According to Chilisa and Kawulich (2012), each researcher has a unique perspective on what constitutes knowledge and truth. Researchers' ideas about the world and about themselves are shaped by these understandings just as much as their ideas about other individuals (Schwandt, 2001).

This investigation was carried out using an interpretive research methodology. Using content analysis and textual analysis, this method helped the researcher investigate the audio-visual representations of important issues that political parties address on YouTube. Merriam (2002) states that the goal of qualitative research is to comprehend how individuals make sense of their experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what significance they attach to them. The goal of qualitative research is to understand people's understanding and views of life and how they apply these ideas to their everyday interactions with others, their social environments, and their daily lives (Creswell, 2014).

In this study, the researcher explored the salient issues addressed by political parties using YouTube as a channel to communicate with the recipients during the general elections. The advantage of this type of data (views, comments, likes and dislikes made by YouTube recipients) enables the researcher to give a voice to the recipients in the study. More people can get to view and be aware of on-going salient issues that are not being addressed by political

parties. This study has limitations, as not all the salient issues that affect the mass are being addressed by political parties. Most of this issues have been affecting people for a while and the leading party does not seem to be able to solve or even make improvements.

The motivation for choosing to explore YouTube as a facilitator of salient issues, especially during elections, is because the study wanted to see how political parties capitalise on salient issues using this medium during the electoral campaigns. Secondly, the study sought to understand and find out what makes it different from other platforms that were previously used; and to determine the role YouTube played in the political sphere as opposed to other platforms or channels.

3.2.1 Interpretive Approach

The two most prominent proponents of interpretivism are Max Weber (Crotty, 1998) and Alfred Schutz (Pring, 2000). The distinctive characteristics of the interpretative paradigm are outlined by Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2003: 21–22). Interpretivists assert that reality is intricate and multifaceted. They think that individuals actively create their social reality through creativity. They go on to say that research on the social world should be conducted in a natural setting, using participant perspectives, free from the researcher's influence. Grix (2004) states that interpretivism holds that people interact to form the universe. This is one of the foundations of the interpretive paradigm. Researchers are involved in the social reality they investigate and are not separate from the subjects they examine; the natural and social worlds are intertwined.

The interpretive approach is based on naturalistic approach of data collection that is usually associated with qualitative social science. This research paradigm is also based on the assumption that social reality is not singular or objective, but rather shaped by human experiences and social contexts. The study interpreted the manifestos of the political parties (ANC, DA and EFF), by looking at issues that the parties have claimed as their own before the election campaign. The study also interpreted the books, literature of other studies that have the similar topic and also the audio visual posted on YouTube by the political parties; identifying and claiming the issues that became salient during the electoral campaigns through a criteria of salient issues. The issues claimed and addressed by the political parties only became salient during the campaigns and this is how the political parties capitalised on them and claiming them as their own.

3.2.2 Epistemology

According to Prindle (2000), interpretivists hold a subjectivist epistemological stance in which subjective interpretations and meanings are highly significant. It is said by Crotty (1998: 79) that "neither the object nor the subject can be adequately described apart from each other." As such, the relationship is one of involvement and interaction rather than separation between the knower and the topic to be understood.

The Greek term for knowledge, episteme, is the etymology of epistemology. In short, epistemology in research refers to how we learn something, how we know reality or the truth, or, to put it another way, what knowledge in the world is considered to be (Cooksey & McDonald, 2011). The essence of knowledge, including its nature, forms, acquisition process, and transmission to other individuals, are the subjects of this study. This study centres on the types of human knowledge and understanding that you, as the researcher or knower, might be able to obtain in order to expand, widen, and enhance understanding within your area of expertise.

Epistemology is the investigation and exploration of the study that is based on the research questions of the study. . The study wants to explore the characteristics and theoretical criteria of issue salience and media framing through the lens of political communication over YouTube; to explore how the ANC, DA and EFF utilised audio-visual media carried by YouTube to facilitate the claimed and addressed salient issues and how audio-visual media carried by YouTube serves the political aims of parties (ANC, DA and EFF) to address and claim salient issues for the 2019 General Elections. Each research question was explored and investigated in depth to satisfy the purpose of the study.

3.2.3 Ontology

Realism and anti-foundationalism characterize the ontology of interpretivists. That reality varies from person to person and is known as relativism (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Multiple realities and social construction of reality are two beliefs held by interpretive researchers (Crotty, 1998; Pring, 2000).

According to Scotland (2012), ontology is a subfield of philosophy that studies the assumptions we make about the nature of the phenomena we study or its essence, as well as the reasons we have for believing what we do. Philosophy of existence, reality, being, and becoming, together with the fundamental categories of objects that exist and their relationships are all studied in

this field. It investigates your fundamental assumptions about the nature of life and being as the researcher. It is focused on the presumptions we make about things in order to accept them as true or logical, as well as the nature or substance of the social phenomenon under investigation. It aids in the conceptualization of reality's form, nature, and what you think can be learned about it.

Ontology is analysing how the study is going to find out the questions that are being investigated and explored. This is basically what the study will be using to answer its research questions or to reach its objectives. The objectives of the study to explore the characteristics and theoretical criteria of issue salience and media framing through the lens of political communication over YouTube. This was done through the political parties' manifestos, books and literature from other authors with the similar topic. The second objective is to discover how audio-visual media carried by YouTube can facilitate the claiming of issue saliency. This was done through the observation of several videos that became salient during the campaigns. The third objective is to investigate how audio-visual media carried by YouTube serves the political aims of parties (ANC and DA) to address and claim salient issues for the 2019 General Elections. This was obtained through videos where political parties identified the salient issues during the campaigns, claim them and wanting to capitalise on them as their own.

3.2.4 Methodology

Phenomenology, ethnography, and case studies are just a few of the approaches that interpretive researchers employ. Qualitative researchers use a variety of interrelated interpretive techniques, constantly looking for new ways to make worlds of experiences they have researched easier to understand (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008: 29). Exploring and comprehending phenomena inductively is the goal of interpretivist technique. As per Cohen Manion and Morrison (2003), interpretivists hold that understanding the social environment requires considering the perspectives of the individuals involved in the activity under investigation.

To better understand how people interpret the environment around them, interpretative researchers begin with individuals. The researcher is likened to a bicolour by Denzin and Lincoln (2008: 9), who explain that "the interpretative bicolour recognizes that research is a collaborative process influenced by several factors such as the researcher's background, biography, gender, socioeconomic class, race, and ethnicity, as well as members of the surrounding community". It is the theory that should come from the data, not the other way

around (Creswell, 2013); theory should come from the data, not the other way around (Cohen, 2003). Additionally, researchers are involved in the situation they are studying. According to Edge and Richards (1998: 11), "they see themselves as participants in the situation they investigate". Interpretivism holds that researchers are able to provide a detailed account of the situation they are studying because of their engagement (Holliday, 2007:74–5).

A research methodology, according to Creswell (2009), is a logical collection of techniques that are interchangeable and capable of producing study data and conclusions. The research design, data collection strategy, research method, and type of data analysis used by the researcher are all included in the research methodology of this study (De Vos, Strydom, Fouché & Delport, 2011), in addition to a description of the specific techniques used (Silverman, 2011).

The methodology of the study describes how the study reaches its results after doing an analysis. The study went through audio visuals on YouTube of different political parties claiming and addressing the salient issues. The audio visuals were analysed through comments, shares, likes and dislikes made by the recipients of the message from political parties. From the analysis of the videos and using a criteria, videos communicating salient issues can be identified and the study gets to find out which issues became prominent throughout the campaigns. The issues that became prominent during the campaign are then addressed by political parties as a way of capitalising them since they were not mentioned in their manifestos.

3.2.5 Axiology

The term "axiology" describes the moral considerations that must be made when organizing a research project. It takes into account the philosophical method for reaching morally sound or ethically correct conclusions (Finnis, 1980). It entails identifying, assessing, and comprehending notions of appropriate and inappropriate behaviour in relation to the study. It takes into account the values we will place on the various components of our study, the participants, the data, and the audience to which we will present the findings. In short, it answers the following query: What is the nature of ethics or moral behaviour? It is critical to answer this issue with consideration for everyone who will be involved in or participate in your study endeavour and their respect for human values. The following questions will help you think through these issues: What moral principles will you uphold or follow while conducting your research? What measures should be taken to protect the rights of all participants? What moral issues and qualities need to be taken into account? Which cultural, intercultural, and moral issues arise, and how will I address them? How will I ensure the participants' goodwill?

How will I conduct the research in a way that is socially just, respectful, and peaceful? How will I minimize or avoid risk or harm, whether it be legal, psychological, social, economic, or other? (ARC, 2015).

The four ethical behaviour standards of teleology, deontology, morality, and fairness provide the best guidance for answering these concerns (Miller, Krosnick & Fabrigar, 2017). According to its technical definition, teleology is the theory of morality that holds that pursuing what is morally just or desirable is a responsibility that should be carried out in all human endeavours. Thus, teleology describes efforts in research to ensure that the study yields a significant conclusion that will fulfil the needs of the greatest number of individuals. It is easier to use this criterion when one considers questions like: Are the research methodologies practical and reasonable? Will there be more advantages than disadvantages from the research's actions? Am I certain that the course of action chosen for the research will be the best one? Have I thought through every outcome this research could have? According to Scheffler (1982), deontology is the belief that each activity made during a research project has a purpose and is meant to benefit the participants, the researcher, the academic community, or the general public. Additionally, it gives you freedom in how you handle certain participants or observations. The inherent moral principles that will be upheld during the investigation are referred to as the morality criterion. For instance, that the data will be interpreted truthfully by the researcher. In conclusion, the fairness criterion highlights the need of treating all study participants equally and making sure their rights are respected for the researcher. How fair will my research actions be? Is one question that helps guide the application of this criterion? Will they provide the same care to every research subject? Do my behaviour demonstrate bias or favouritism toward any one of the participants?

The study considered the ethical issues since the information used for the study is sourced and does not belong to the author. The study sourced political parties' manifestos, books and literature from other authors, YouTube audio visuals of political parties during campaigns addressing issues that became prominent to them and Views, comments, shares, likes and dislikes by the recipients of the audio visuals on YouTube.

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

The "whole plan" that researchers use to address a research question is called a research design. The primary research topic, the kind of evidence required to address it, and the methods and locations for gathering that evidence must all be included in this design. Furthermore, the

research design ought to encompass the methods for data analysis and verification (Dhawraj, 2019). This exploration utilized cross sectional investigation which involves data collection on several cases during the same time to collect qualitative data related to two or more variables (audio-visuals carried by YouTube and salient issues during election campaigns); to explore how political parties claim salient issues. The study explored the use of YouTube as a political communication tool by the African National Congress (ANC), Democratic Alliance (DA) and Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) to claim salient issues for the 2019 National Election Campaign. The research approach for the paradigm used in the study is a qualitative method. According to Wagner, Kawulich and Garner (2012: 89), in a qualitative method, the research approach is selected because the techniques that are used to gather data are mainly in the form of observations and analysis.

3.3.1 Exploratory research design

Researchers do exploratory research, according to Babbie (2010), Burns and Grove (2010), and other scholars, when they investigate a novel area of interest or a comparatively unexplored topic. Another source for grounded theory is exploratory investigations. They fit better with more enduring phenomena since they are necessary for any new research endeavour and consistently provide fresh perspectives on the subject of study. Little is known about the salient issues that are addressed by the political parties specifically how they use YouTube to claim salient issues as part of their campaign strategy. This research study explored the salient issues (corruption, unemployment and crime) that are addressed by political parties on YouTube during the general elections. An exploratory research design was employed to analyse the views, comments, likes and dislikes made on the audio visuals addressing the issues of corruption, unemployment and crime from YouTube.

3.3.2 Cross sectional time dimension

A cross-sectional study design is one kind of observational study design, according to Setia (2016). In a cross-sectional study, the researcher simultaneously assesses the participants' exposures and outcomes. In contrast to cohort studies, where participants are chosen based on exposure status, or case-control studies, where participants are chosen based on the result status; the campaign started with the launch of the election date proceeding to the announcement of manifestos by the political parties until the Election Day (12 October 2018 to 8 May 2019). Cross-sectional designs are used for population-based surveys and to assess the prevalence of diseases in clinic-based samples. For the purpose of this study, different audio

visual media from YouTube on the salient were explored to find out whether the political parties have addressed the salient issues and how many views, comments, likes and dislikes were made. These are the criteria to select the sample of salient issues (those with the most will be selected to be analysed). Furthermore more, the study sought to determine if the political parties have claimed the salient issues and capitalised on the salient issues during their campaigns for the general elections.

3.3.3 Contextualise research design

In order to better comprehend a study problem and provide a description of it within the context in which the participants function, Monette, Sullivan and DeJong (2008) claim that contextual research aids in this process. In order to comprehend the social meaning and significance of an event or social action from the social environment in which it appears, a qualitative research study uses the contextual research design, as explained by Neuman (2005). Additionally, according to Hennink, Hutter and Baily (2011), a qualitative research study employs a contextual research design to comprehend the social relevance and meaning of an event or social action by examining the social context in which it occurs.

The researcher chose to use a contextual research design for this investigation. Babbie (2010), as well as Burns and Grove (2010) highlight that when contextualizing the research design, the phenomena are investigated due to their inherent curiosity, and that the goal of contextual design is to generate a comprehensive explanation of the phenomenon within the specific context of the phenomenon's domain. This study focuses on the political parties addressing the salient issues (corruption, unemployment and crime). Furthermore, top comments, likes and dislikes were analysed on the audio visuals uploaded on YouTube.

3.4 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

According to Franklin (2012), a research topic might be present in this situation and describes justification as the "why bother question." The reasoning outlines the researcher's motivations for starting this endeavour, both personally and in light of competing philosophical viewpoints. It also outlines her more ambitious goals. The project is given direction by it, but along the route, goals and objectives are adjusted or changed (Denscombe, 2012). Important arguments need to be expanded upon and demonstrated in order to be deemed persuasive.

In case of this study, the rationale was a focus on the prominent salient issues identified from the audio visuals on YouTube. During the observation and analysis of audio visuals on

YouTube from different political parties prior to the elections, corruption, unemployment and crime would often be claimed. The prominent issues facilitated by the audio visuals carried by YouTube and also distributed amongst other social media sites (Twitter and Facebook).

To determine that salience in political communication during campaigns is relevant, was answered by the literature review – from a theoretical perspective. This is to answer the first research question. The information needed to answer the first research question was gathered and found from books and articles, literature, relevant studies on the topic and political parties' manifestos. The books and articles are to establish what has been written by past theorists on salience and the literature is to establish what the theory is saying about salience. Lastly, the Manifestos were looked at to see where the saliency was addressed. Issue salience is relevant in politics or campaigns because political parties address and claim them during their campaigns. The aims of the political parties are based on the salient issues they claimed in their manifestos. The kind of data required is from the literature review, developing a criterion for identifying salient issues and political parties' pre-election claiming of salient issues. The data is represented by a systematic representation of existing theory, a set of criteria for identifying salient issues and listing of salient issues for each political party.

This study focused on the three political parties, ANC, DA and EFF claiming and addressing issues that are salient during rallies campaigns and launching of manifestos. All three political parties have claimed and addressed similar issues that are very critical in South Africa. During rallies, all parties seemed to show interest in claiming and addressing issues that are a subject of thoughts to the citizens of South Africa. The issues claimed became prominent, because each campaign that was held on different occasions kept being brought up whether by the politicians of the respective parties or the citizens. The prominent issues that were highlighted by political parties are identified in the analysis of the study.

To prove that YouTube can facilitate the claiming of salient issues, prominent issues were identified during the campaigns and this are issues that have gone viral on social media (YouTube). This is to answer the second research question. The issues that have become prominent was narrowed to three most prominent issues. In order for the issues to be viewed as important, a criterion was developed with the observations made on the comments, views, shares, likes and dislikes by recipients of the audio visual on YouTube. This gives us prove that YouTube can indeed facilitate the claiming of salient issues during the election campaigns.

To prove how YouTube served the political aims of parties (ANC, DA and EFF), three most dominant salient issues were used to see what political parties did with it and how they integrated them into their campaigns. The study analysed, using the saliency and media framing criteria, all audio-visual media on the YouTube channel and all audio-visual tweets made which are viewed on the channel to identify the three most prominent issues. Furthermore, the study then analysed in detail the identified three most prominent issues which have developed during the 2019 Campaign and see what the political parties have done with them.

In order to see what the political parties have done with them, the study investigated the formal responses that were made by the political parties on the three most prominent issues. The information needed to answer the third research question is from the salient issues that manifest during the campaign and how the two political parties then claim the issues for themselves. The political parties produced material on their channels and comments made raised new issues which they capitalized on to serve their political aims. Other political parties capitalized on the salient issues during their campaigns that the leading party are not addressing. These are viewed as serious ongoing matters to date and the political parties become more vocal about the issues to score votes.

3.5 DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES

In order to obtain a comprehensive knowledge, case study research collects data from a variety of sources, including observations, interviews, documents, audio-visual materials, and reports (Creswell, 2007; Darke, Shanks & Broadbent., 1998; Woodside, 2010). Actually, having access to a wide range of evidence sources is one of the main benefits of doing case study data collection. The fact that there are several sources of evidence aids in the triangulation process and improves the richness and calibre of the results is a significant benefit (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2009). According to Yin (2009), any case study finding or conclusion that draws from multiple sources of data is likely to be more accurate and convincing.

The study applied four data collection techniques which are: published audio-visual material on YouTube channel, responses of the published audio visuals on YouTube, Political parties' Manifestos and Literature review. The published audio visuals were selected to highlight or focus on videos that address salient issues. In addition, the comments where political parties engaged with respondents were selected to show how the parties deal with salient issues at hand as the channel allows them to show expression through the number of likes and dislikes; and share opinions by writing comments and reviews. The published audio-visual was chosen

because it shows the connection between voters and political parties during the campaigns, and it will prove that certain issues are popular. The popular issues are identified as salient which enables the political parties to address and claim them during campaigns. Furthermore, the literature review in the form of books, journals, manifestos, and historical research, was selected as a secondary data collection technique to help support the finding from responses of the published audio-visual on YouTube and make the analysis authentic and credible. Reliability refers to the degree to which a scale produces consistent results if repeated measurements are made (Malhotra, 2011: 318).

3.5.1 Historical research

In addition to many of the techniques commonly used in the social sciences, historical researchers frequently employ documentary, biographical, oral history, and archival methods. There are two categories of historical research: primary and secondary. Primary sources comprise first-hand information, such as eyewitness reposts and original documents; examples of primary sources include diaries, journals, speeches, interviews, letters, memos, photographs, videos, public opinion polls, and government records. Secondary sources comprise second-hand information, such as an account of an event by someone other than an eyewitness or a literature review. The explanation behind choosing these examination techniques is firstly, YouTube is a web-based medium that empowers individuals to post their content as audio visual and the investigation will make an examination on the content (Mukhopodhyay & Gupta, 2014: 113). Secondly, users and subscribers of YouTube comment on audio visual contents produced on the channel; like, dislike and even share some of the contents on other social media platforms, hence analysis will have to be made on the textual content. Thirdly, the data gathered will be supported by literature review in a form of historical research such as previous studies made on the similar topics (Cameron, 2018: 240).

3.5.2 Preparation for data collection

The researcher made the decision to identify pre-election issues selected by political parties (doing historical research); identify the popular issues that are salient which affect most people and focused on what has been said by the political parties in resolving the issue. The study searched for audio visual material on the popular salient issue that is being published on the YouTube channel. Saliency was determined based on the audio visual analysis in terms of the volumes of responses; the amount of views being observed, the comments that are being made on the issues; and how many likes and dislikes does the audio visual contain. The study also

observed the responses that are made by the political parties on the comments made on the audio visual by recipients. The political parties' views on the comments made were observed and analysed to find out if the salient issue is being addressed.

The study also analysed the manifestos of the ANC, DA and EFF to find out if the political parties have addressed the popular salient issues (corruption, unemployment, and crime) that is affecting the people in the country. An analysis of how the political parties were planning on resolving and combating the issues was made as well as how the political parties are claiming the salient issue during their campaigns of the general elections, 2019. The study observed the similar studies that have been made on the salient issues. The literature review provided the study evidence that the issues of corruption, unemployment and crime have always been a problem in the country and not much is being done by political parties to resolve the on-going issues. Corruption, unemployment, and crime have been salient issues for over a decade, for example there are mismanagement of funds within the government, more qualified youth are still unemployed; and cases of women being violated and murdered are not solved to date.

3.5.3 Role of the researcher

The investigator's contribution to the research setting can be beneficial rather than harmful, according to Creswell (2009), who states that the researcher is the primary data gathering instrument and that personal views, assumptions, and biases should be disclosed from the outset (Creswell, 2014).

In this study, the role of a researcher is to analyses and interpret data collected from YouTube comments, likes, and views. To also sample 10 audio visuals by three prominent political parties (ANC, DA and EFF) where they are addressing or claiming salient issues. The responsibility of the researcher is also to make ensure the information is credible and the research is conducted ethically as well.

3.5.4 Methods of analysis

According to Babbie (2009), data analysis techniques are ways to look at social research data without putting them into a numerical structure. Preparing and organizing text data, such as transcriptions, coding and condensing the codes to separate the data into themes, and then presenting the data in a discussion are the steps involved in data analysis (Creswell, 2013).

Data analysis was done using content analysis. Maree (2010) defines content analysis as a methodical process for identifying and condensing information in qualitative data analysis.

Inductive, deductive, and iterative procedures are also used in this kind of analysis, which looks for patterns and variances in texts that support or refute theories.

The data was analysed on two levels. The first, and most fundamental, level of analysis involved a descriptive description of the data, or what the participants actually stated, devoid of any interpretations or presumptions. Interpretive analysis, the second and higher level, focuses on interpreting the data and attempting to decipher what the response meant or what was intended or inferred. According to Nieuwenhuis (2007), it is sometimes referred to as the latent level of analysis.

This research utilised a qualitative approach to highlight the claiming and addressing of salient issues during electoral campaigns. The study used three types of research methods to help with guidance in obtaining significant results. The research methods are content analysis, analysing number of interaction and textual analysis.

3.5.4.1 Content Analysis

Content analysis can help with the creation of questionnaires and surveys that are used in the research setting to gather data. In addition, content analysis can give researchers qualitative data—text and visuals derived from human thoughts, behaviours, and emotional reactions—to support their quantitative, or numerical, studies of a particular issue. Content analysis comes in two flavours: relational and conceptual. The investigator creates content categories during conceptual content analysis to direct their coding procedure. A concept, action, or mind-set pertinent to the research issue is represented by each content category. After that, the investigator goes through the text, coding certain terms that are pertinent to each content category in order to look for patterns of occurrence or analyse conceptual implications.

In relational content analysis, the researcher looks at the relationships between two or more concepts in each text sample. There are similarities between this research procedure and the conceptual content analysis approach. But now, in order to prevent concepts from being misunderstood by others, the researcher needs to formulate a more focused study topic. The following kinds of inquiries are excellent candidates for relational content analysis: Finding out whether two concepts—for example, fear of climate change and financial support for sustainable clothing—are related through the process of affect extraction; constructing a visual model of the relationships between various concepts through the process of proximity analysis;

and incorporating the findings of both affect extraction and proximity analysis into a cognitive mapping.

The primary goal of content analysis is to investigate the communication's content element by identifying particular message characteristics. It enables the portrayal of how media content changes over time. This approach is commonly employed, particularly in the study of how new media platforms like YouTube are utilized for political communication and how frequently and intensely they are used during political campaigns. Content analysis can be used to analyse a wide range of topics, including the influence of new media on political participation, the democratization of online communication, and problems related to the investigation of political leadership, the influence of political communication, and the flow of political communication itself.

Content analysis is frequently used in the study of political communication on social media platforms, particularly Facebook and Twitter (Geber & Scherr, 2015; Owusu-Acheaw & Larson, 2015; Borah, 2016) and Twitter (Graham, Woodfield & Harrison, 2013; McKelvey, Morgaine & Thomson 2014; Ceron, 2017). On Twitter, the study of a particular hashtag (#) is also common (Small, 2011; Christensen, 2013; Raynauld & Greenberg, 2014). Content analysis is also used in the study of web pages (Jackson & Lilleker, 2009; Vaccari, Valeriani, Barbera, Bonneau, Jost, Nagler,and Tucker, 2013) and their interactive aspects (van Noort, Voorveld & van Reijmersdal, 2012) as well as political blogs (Meraz, 2015).

Overall, researchers apply content analysis above all the textual messages on social media networks, while research focusing on audio-visual content is less prevalent. Gerodimos and Justinussen (2015) included visual posts, but they analysed only the text part of the visual content (titles or word messages in pictures, sketches, or drawings etc.) and some explicit visual aspects (e.g. the appearance of specific figures in pictures). Edgerly, Vraga, Bode, Thorson and Thorson (2018) took into consideration more detailed characteristics of visual content; they conducted an in-depth analysis of visual posts, including photos, charts and infographics, videos, links and posters with text. McCain and Campbell (2018) carried out a long- -term analysis of the organizational and persuasive appeals of online digital posters in the UK. When it comes to YouTube analysis, audio-visual content is typically examined (Church 2010; Klotz & Prakash, 2008; Vesnic, Alujevic & van Bauwel 2014). However, the structural elements of this kind of political communication were the subject of relatively few research.

It is crucial to consider not only the number of readers, but also the impact and prominence of the messages, as well as the number of users who would forward the content to their followers when conducting research on online political communication. In order to achieve this, Bode and Epstein (2015) used the sophisticated, constantly updated Klout platform, which assigns a social media user's score based on their online social influence. Scholars typically decide to examine and contrast fewer cases within the framework of a single nation or region. Broader content analysis can be time-consuming and technically demanding, hence it is uncommon to analyse a larger number of countries. However, some research does compare a greater number of instances or situations (Ceron & Curini 2016).

Following selection, a number of films and the textual material they relate to are to be examined. Researchers interested in normative standards for an ideal of public discourse within different online forums have prioritized the analysis of online political discussion (Schneider, 1997; Dahlberg, 2001; Tsaliki, Jankowski & van Selm, 2002; Wilhelm, 2004; Graham, 2007). While the analysis of the textual debates in this YouTube study will build upon previous work, the analysis of the video footage will call for new approaches to the analysis process. While the majority of comments on YouTube videos are text-based, there are also some video-based responses; these include people responding individually by recording themselves while addressing snippets from the media combined with images and linguistic slogans. Textual analysis on internet videos is easier to apply when people are speaking for themselves, but much more difficult when additional content is uploaded. This phase of the project provided a number of methodological obstacles, including the analysis of reciprocity, the coding of drawings and images, determining the "ownership" of arguments, and the analysis of slogans in relation to visuals. In summary, the challenge is in extending the methods

3.5.4.2 Analysing numbers of interaction

An analysis of the quantity of views and text or video responses a video has managed to garner can help answer the third research question regarding mobilizing efforts and publicness. YouTube provides a detailed description for each video, including the number of views, ratings, and average rating, the number of comments, and the number of times the video has been selected as favourite (see figure 2). The most significant issue is the interpretation of the obtained figures and providing theoretical grounding for the results. The only other study that looked at participation rate was Borah, Flowler and Ridout (2018). They refer to the examination of online forum and thread involvement as "participation analysis" and employs

it to respond to the study question, "Is there a relationship between forum popularity and racial issues?" Analysing the degree to which the three different forms of mobilizing activities influenced public debates was also done in the context of this YouTube study using participation rates in discussions.
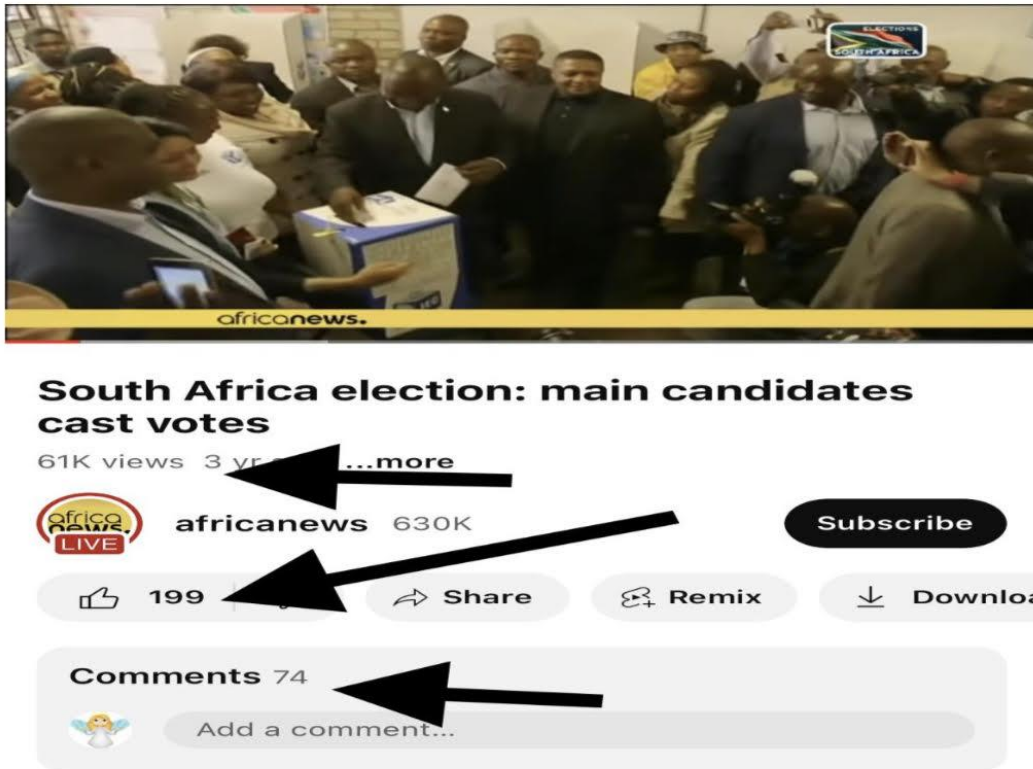
Figure 2: Video posted on YouTube by Africa News with information on number views, comments and online sites linking to video.

Source: https://youtu.be/IJ8U-r-TtXo; consulted 17 April 2023

3.5.4.3 Textual Analysis

The phrase "textual analysis" refers broadly to a variety of study techniques used to characterize, decipher, and comprehend texts. Texts can yield a wealth of information, ranging from their literal meaning to the subtext, symbols, assumptions, and values they disclose. Communication scholars employ these insights to characterize and understand the features of recorded or visual messages. Textual analysis aims to delineate the messages embedded in texts, including their content, structure, and roles. Choosing the kinds of texts to be examined, obtaining relevant texts, and figuring out the specific method to use for analysis are crucial factors in textual analysis (Frey, Botan & Kreps, 1999). In this study, the audio visuals from

YouTube were transcribed in words (text) to show the interaction between different political parties and viewers claiming and addressing salient issues.

3.6 THE POPULATION AND SAMPLING METHOD

According to Holloway and Wheeler (2010), the study population is made up of people that the researcher could access and who possessed the necessary training and background. According to Brink (2003), a population is a collection of documents and other analytical units that have certain similarities and are relevant to the researcher. Every person who meets the requirements outlined by a researcher for research participants is referred to as a population (Strydom, 2005; Saumure & Given, 2008; Guest, Namey & Mitchell, 2013).

3.6.1 Target Population

A target population is a subset of the general public that is chosen as the intended market for a product, advertisement, or study because they have comparable traits. It is a subset of all people chosen to be the target audience (Willie, 2022).

The study's target population was all the published audio-visual media on YouTube addressing salient issues. This exploration targets focusing on all the videos posted by the three political parties (ANC, DA and EFF) from the first announcement of the manifestos (where chosen salient issues are announced) 12 October 2018 until the day of the elections (where the campaigns stop) 8 May 2019. The first question is explored by analysing the manifestos and identifying salient issues selected by the political parties as intended focus for their campaigns. The three political parties' manifestos as published are the population and sample.

For the exploration and analysis of the issues raised by the second and third question, the population was all the audio-visual material published by the political parties during the course of the campaign. The target population is the content (from the population) that contain saliency issues (identified by using the criteria for saliency from the literature review and the theory). From this target population, a sample was drawn of most prominent salient issues as identified for each political party. This content for each political party then provided the data to be analysed to answer the second and third research questions. In the final sample, the study analysed the engagement of political parties and respondents' comments

3.6.2 Accessible population

The accessible population in this study was the most prominent videos that stood out during the campaigns (these are the videos that represent salient issues) (Alvi, 2016). Firstly, these are the issues of saliency identified in the manifestos (content analysis of all the manifestos – unit of analysis of each published manifesto for each party and the outcome of the identification of a specific party's issues they want to focus on during the campaigns). Secondly, the three parties' audio-visual content (all output as population, saliency output as accessible population and the three most prominent salient issues that arises during the course of the campaigns for each political party as sample). Lastly, the audio-visual output for each of the salient issues of each political party were analysed using the criteria developed in the theory and literature review section (these is to answer both research question 2 and 3). It is from the accessible population that researchers draw their samples (Asiaamah, Mensah & Oteng-Abayie, 2017: 1615).

3.6.3 Sampling procedure

A study of all the elements of the population would be difficult to conduct, but sampling is a practical way to collect data in these situations (Bless-Smith, Higson & Kagee, 2006). Guthrie (2010) and Babbie (2010) define sampling as one of the foundations of research methods and design because samples are almost always used in research design. Sampling has implications for handling the findings and how much they can be applied outside of the sample.

The sampling procedure consisted of three most prominent salient issues as identified according to the criteria from each political party's channel.

3.6.4 Unit of analysis

The term unit analysis can basically be characterized as 'the element that is broken down in a logical exploration' (Creswell, 2014: 12). The thing that frames what is being looked at in a study, or the entity being investigated as a whole, is known as the unit of analysis. In social science research, the state is most frequently cited as the unit of analysis at the macro level, where it is seen to be a society. The unit of analysis in this study was firstly, specific audio-visual media from each party, the ANC, DA and EFF that are claiming or addressing the salient issues. Firstly, the study identifies salient issues by analysing the manifestos announced by the three political parties. Secondly, the unit of analysis was the salient issues published on the political parties YouTube channel that became prominent, and political parties

opportunistically jumped on to make sure that they align with the respondents' comments. From this, the study did a content analysis to answer the third research question. Thirdly the unit of analysis was the audience responses where the political parties engaged.

3.6.5 Population parameters/characteristics

Population parameters are fixed amounts or statistical measures that are employed as the value of a variable in a general distribution or frequency function to describe a specific population. Population parameters include a population's mean and variance.

The study used the population parameter of all the audio-visual media posted by the three political parties seven months before the election date. The reason for using audio visual media posted on YouTube during the election period is: The campaigns made by the parties were more effective from 12 October 2018, which was seven months before the election date (8 May 2019). This period is when most parties build a momentum on the campaigns of the election and start hosting campaigns.

3.6.6 Sample method

Tuovila (2020) states that sampling is a statistical analysis technique where a pre-specified number of observations are drawn from a bigger population. Depending on the kind of study being done, a bigger population may be sampled using a basic random sample or a systematic sampling technique. By using a technique called sampling, researchers can draw conclusions about a community without having to look into every single person by analysing data from a portion of the population. Given that qualitative sampling focuses on the richness of the information, suitable and sufficient sampling techniques are required (Fossey, Harvey, McDermott & Davidson, 2002). Nonprobability sampling approaches are employed in qualitative research, namely purposive sample methods, when studying a specialized community that is challenging to reach (De Vos, Dams, Sels & Jacobs, 2002).

Purposive sampling was used in this study since, in the first place, it was intended to identify special cases that would yield particular information. Second, this approach is suitable when the population's members are specialized and challenging to reach (Babbie, 2010). The study used the purposive sample method to choose the receivers' remarks, thus the reader would be able to determine which comments stood out based on their reactions, shares, likes, and dislikes. This study utilized non-probability sampling. As is usually the case with qualitative research, the objective is to gain insights into a phenomenon, persons, or events rather than to

draw generalizations to a community. Consequently, the investigator deliberately chooses subjects, cohorts, and environments to optimize comprehension of the phenomena. Because contexts, persons, and groups are selected based on their information richness, intentional sampling is the most often used sampling technique in qualitative research (Wagner, Kawulich & Garner, 2012: 89).

Several methods and stages of sampling have to be taken into account in investigating public discourse on YouTube. First, there is the matter of sampling videos on YouTube. Since the aim is to explore the facilitation of audio visual content carried by YouTube during the electoral campaigns in 2019, the ideal would be to sample all the published audio-visual media on YouTube addressing salient issues. The sampling procedure could be done by a broad keyword, such as 2019 South African General Elections. This can be achieved with the YouTube word search engine (Dewiche, 2005). Evaluation of YouTube's word search engine is only possible with information about how it operates. YouTube allows users to search for words in videos using two different sorting criteria: relevance and date. Since there is no information about the specifics of how the sorting is done, the most appropriate selection criteria appear to be date of publishing.

Secondly, even though the YouTube engine searches for videos, it uses a word search feature. The search engine makes this determination based on the language that appears alongside the video under the heading "2019 South African General Elections," as well as textual tags and the uploader's definition of the video's category (see figure 3). One issue is that when words are chosen based on dates, other words that are thought to be related to the designated term are also taken into consideration. In the case of the phrase "2019 South African General Elections", the selection only provides those videos that include both words; selection by date also includes videos related to "2019 South African General Elections", such as "SA Elections" and "South Africa's 2019 Elections".
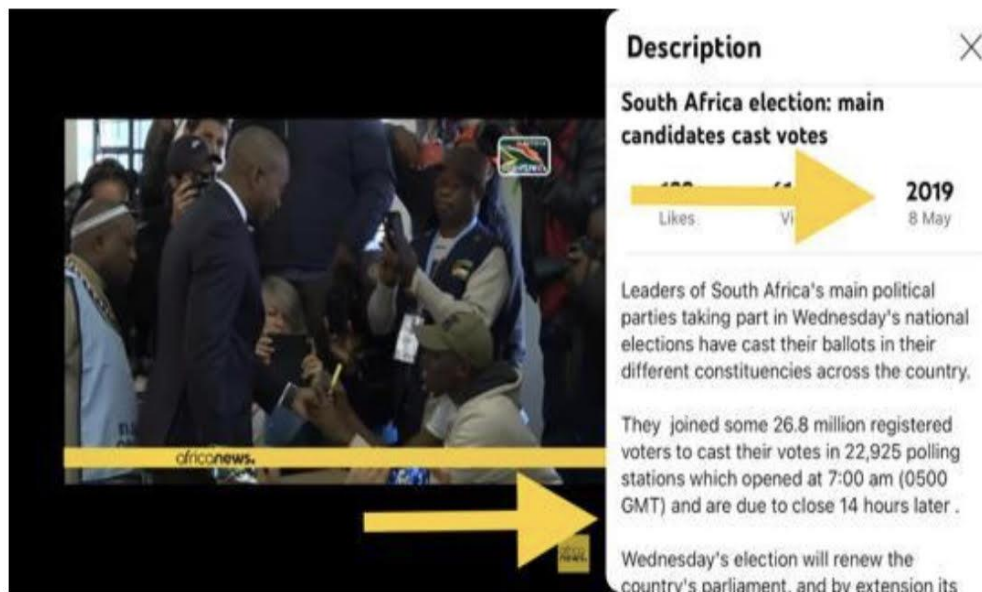
Figure 3: video posted on a YouTube News Africa and accompanying text

Following the above-described video selection process, the sampling procedure was further expanded to include comments regarding the videos. In certain instances, there are a lot of comments, so it may be necessary to restrict the number of comments for analysis. For instance, the first 100 comments may be chosen in a way that allows for the analysis of reciprocity between respondents and the publisher of the video. The third sampling procedure entailed sampling other websites that link to a selection of videos – either by providing links to the videos themselves or by embedding the YouTube content on their own websites. For each video, YouTube specifically provides information on where the users who viewed it were able to access it (from YouTube directly or from other websites). An instance of this would be if someone uploaded a YouTube video to another blog. In that case, YouTube would track the number of hits from this blog that the video receives from visitors from this blog. Additionally, it will make available to the public the blog's URL and click-through rate. Thus, YouTube gives each video information about the URL and the amount of clicks it has received from other websites (but only for the top 5 websites).

Subsequently, the non-probability inspecting method to be applied in this exploration is purposeful sampling. The study utilized a qualitative exploration approach with information of all the videos based on the criteria of salience posted by the two political parties four months before the election date. The study sampled all identified issues that meet the criteria for salience, look at all of them and then select the videos that represents the three most prominent

salient issues. For the relevance of saliency in politics, the sampling that was used is the literature on the topic identified in searches and the full manifestos of both political parties. In the case study, the sampling that was used was by showing activity on the YouTube channel of different political parties' (ANC, DA and EFF) related to corruption, unemployment, and crime issues. To show which salient issues political parties capitalised on to serve their political aims, the sample will be purposeful sampling. Three salient issues that were prominent during the election period with the most activity analysed to see how the parties claimed a position on those saliency issues.

3.7 METHODS OF DATA VERIFICATION

The process by which a researcher tests the accuracy of the findings by utilizing specific procedures is known as qualitative validity, according to Creswell (2014). Qualitative reliability shows that a researcher's methodology has been consistent across research projects and investigations. The researcher utilized YouTube audio-visual content. Guba suggests four criteria that researchers should take into consideration in order to produce a reliable study: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Kumar, 2008; Silverman, 2011).

To authenticate the research findings and conclusions, a study must demonstrate its credibility. The following aspects were examined in this study using Lincoln and Guba's methodology (Kumar, 2008; Shenton, 2004; Rolfe, 2004; Krefting, 2003) for assuring the reliability of qualitative data:

3.7.1 Truth value

Babbie (2009) and Creswell (2009) state that one factor a researcher must take into account to assess how well the data and analysis procedures have addressed the purpose of the study is truth value. Prior to establishing themes based on combining multiple data sources or participant perspectives, various data sources are triangulated by looking at evidence elicited from these sources and using it to build coherent justification for generating themes (Creswell, 2014). Only then can this process add value to the validity of the study. Following data collection, the researcher transcribed the audio visual she had obtained from each individual and cross-referenced the transcripts with her notes to ascertain and confirm the veracity of the data. The researcher used audio visuals from YouTube, watched the recipients' reactions during the process, and took notes based on their responses.

3.7.2 Consistency

The term "consistency of data" describes whether the results would hold up under other conditions or if the same participants and study were to be conducted again (Krefting, 1991; 2003). When the same results are obtained when the study is repeated in a comparable setting or with the same participants, it is considered reliable (Rubin & Babbie, 2007). In this study, dependability is established through the use of an independent coder as an approach for consistency. Following their separate coding of the data, the supervisor and the researcher collaborate to determine the themes, subthemes, and categories that will be reported as research findings.

3.7.3 Validity

When an event cannot be directly witnessed, internal validity primarily concerns whether the researcher's judgments are accurate (Yin, 2009). Also referred to as "logical validity," it examines if the researcher offers a convincing and strong enough logical argument to support the study's findings (Gibbert, Ruigrok & Wicki, 2008). Generally speaking, it alludes to the data analysis stage. Yin (2009) recommends triangulating the evidence and comparing the findings with the body of existing literature in order to establish internal validity. In order to ensure data triangulation, many data sources are also helpful. In addition, statements and citations that link back to the original data can be used. By use of pattern matching, researchers ought to juxtapose patterns that are experimentally observed with those that are either predicted or established by earlier research (Eisenhardt, 1989).

When it comes to case research, external validity refers to how far the conclusions of a certain study can be applied outside of the case study itself (Yin, 2009). Through replication logic, analytical generalization, and expert examination of the results, many case studies can acquire external validity. External validity can be ensured with the aid of cross-case analysis and many case studies. According to Eisenhardt (1989), case studies can serve as a foundation for the construction of theories. A cross-case study with four to ten case studies could offer a solid foundation for analytical generalization.

3.7.4 Reliability

In case research, reliability may be proven by making sure that study processes, including data collection methods, can be repeated and yield the same outcomes (Yin, 2009). Reliability seeks to reduce study biases and errors to a minimum. Two tactics that can be implemented to

enhance the reliability of case study research are the creation of a case study database and the use of a case study procedure (Yin, 2009). The complete case study's methodology is laid out in a case study protocol. The case study notes, case study papers, and the narratives gathered throughout the study should all be included in a case study database and arranged to make retrieval easier for future researchers.

3.7.5 Credibility

According to Pandey and Patnaik (2014), there are several methods that can be used to guarantee credibility in qualitative research, including extended participation, continuous observation, triangulation, peer debriefing, and thick description. Triangulation is seen as a potent tactic for boosting the legitimacy of qualitative research, involving several data sources, investigators, or ideas (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Four types of triangulation are proposed by Patton (1999): Triangulation of methods refers to comparing the consistency of results from various data collection techniques; triangulation of sources refers to comparing the consistency of various data sources within a single method; triangulation of analysts refers to comparing the results from multiple analysts; and triangulation of theory/perspective refers to comparing the results from multiple perspectives or theories.

3.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethics, according to David and Sutton (2011), are guidelines that a researcher follows to protect research participants from potential harm and to uphold their rights. Additionally, Creswell (2012) states that ethical behaviour should be an essential component of a researcher's role as an insider/outsider in relation to the participants when assessing issues that may cause interviewees to be reluctant or fearful to disclose sensitive information. The researcher should build respectful and supportive relationships with the participants without stereotyping or passing judgment on them. The final study will feature the voices of the participants. The researcher received ethical approval for the study from the Department of Research and Ethics Committee at the University of South Africa.

To ensure that the researcher always remains ethical in her behaviour, the following ethical considerations were considered:

3.8.1 Beneficence and by implication Non-Maledicence

By putting "clients' needs above other concerns," encouraging "information literacy," and aiming for the "highest possible skill and competence." Worthwhile research should yield

benefits that exceed any hazards or drawbacks. Maximizing research benefits and minimizing risks to themselves should be the goals of researchers. Strong safety measures should be implemented to reduce any potential risk or injury.

3.8.2 Justice

By promoting 'equality of access' to information by providing resources representing a 'diversity of opinion' and by respecting 'intellectual property rights'

3.8.3 Integrity

To guarantee that established norms of integrity are upheld and that quality and transparency are guaranteed, research should be planned, evaluated, and carried out. Falsifications by inappropriate manipulation and/or selection of data, imagery, and/or consents are unacceptable practices. Plagiarism is the misappropriation or use of another person's ideas, intellectual property, or work (written or otherwise) without acknowledgment or permission. It also includes misrepresenting data. Fabrication is the creation of false data or other aspects of research, including documentation and participant consent.

3.9 SUMMARY

Research is a voyage of discovery; a journey; an attitude; an experience; a method of critical thinking; an activity caused by instinct of inquisitiveness to gain fresh insight or find answers to question or acquire knowledge. In conclusion, this chapter looked at the various research methodologies and research methods that are commonly used by researchers in the field of communication. The research methodology and research method used in this research were acknowledged and discussed.

From the discussion above, it is arguable that research methods are a fundamental part of the research methodology, which talks about the justification of selecting one method over others and which instrument can best collect the required data. This research design utilized a cross sectional investigation to collect qualitative data, audio-visuals carried by YouTube and salient issues during election campaigns; to explore how political parties claim salient issues. The research approach that was used is an interpretive approach to explore the salient issues addressed by political parties using YouTube as a channel to communicate with the recipients during the general elections.

The unit of analysis utilized was firstly specific audio-visual media from each party, the ANC, DA and EFF that are claiming or addressing the salient issues. The second unit of analysis used is all the posts reviews and remarks made that are related to the salient issues addressed by the parties. In a nutshell, the research method which consists of content analysis, textual analysis and historical analysis; the qualitative methods to highlight the claiming and addressing of salient issues during electoral campaign. Content analysis enables the study to obtain findings from recipients through the comments, shares, likes and dislikes made on the posted videos by political parties addressing the salient issues. The next chapter, which is chapter four, will detail the analysis process and discuss the findings of the research.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS, FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter explores, analyses, finds and interprets how audio-visuals media carried by YouTube were used as a political communication tool by the African National Congress (ANC), Democratic Alliances (DA) and Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), to claim and address salient issues for the 2019 General Elections Campaign. Chapter four analyses, addresses and interprets findings through answering research question 1: What are the theoretical criteria of issue salience and media framing within the context of political communication over YouTube?; research question 2: How did the ANC, DA and EFF utilise audio-visual media carried by YouTube to facilitate the claimed salient and addressed issues?; and research question 3: How audio-visual media carried by YouTube serves the political aim of parties (ANC, EFF, and DA) to address and claim salient issues for the 2019 General Elections?

This chapter reviews the results and analysis of the qualitative data and the compilation of the audio-visuals analysis from YouTube, authored by the ANC, DA and EFF. The findings are also discussed in the light of previous research findings and available literature, where applicable, in order to identify similarities and differences between this study and previous studies and literature. To complete this study properly, it is necessary to analyse the data collected in order to answer the research questions. This chapter presents the research findings of the data collected from the 24 YouTube audio-visuals samples. The findings are presented in relation to the research objectives stated in the study. The method used to analyse the data is already discussed in the methodology chapter.

4.2 YOUTUBE AS A FACILITATOR TO CLAIM SALIENT ISSUES

This section aims to address and discuss research question 2, which is as follows: - How did the ANC, DA and EFF utilise audio-visual media carried by YouTube to facilitate the claimed and addressed salient issues?

The data analysis to answer research question 2 is from the audio-visual media carried and facilitated by YouTube that were published between 12 October 2018 and 8 May 2019. However, the number of sampled audio-visuals is 24 (8 audio-visuals per party). The focus was on the audio-visuals from the YouTube channels belonging to the political parties (ANC, DA and EFF).

This section provides a theoretical underpinning for the term audio-visual media carried by YouTube platform, explaining its role as a facilitator of salient issues and application to the study at hand. YouTube is the second most used website in the world (Szmuda, Syed, Singh, Ali, Özdemir & Słoniewski, 2020). By focusing on a single salient political issue, the viability of audio-visuals carried by YouTube to facilitate political exchanges and the claiming of salient issues can be more readily assessed. YouTube analytics provides political candidates and parties (ANC, DA and EFF) with detailed data on the number of viewers, where they are coming from, demographics and watch-time. Combined with direct responses such as likes/dislikes and comments, this enables the political parties (ANC, DA and EFF) rapidly to adapt their productions through audio visuals, increasing and retaining audiences and supporters by giving them what they seem to want (Munger & Phillips, 2019: 12).

Importantly, not much literature is available on audio visuals carried by YouTube facilitating the claiming of issue saliency; hence the audio-visual analysis became part of the literature review – amplifying the significance of this section further.

4.2.1 The effects of negative and positive campaign on candidates' success and voter turnouts

Audio-visuals carried by YouTube can facilitate the claiming of issue saliency through political parties making choices as to whether the campaigns will have a negative or positive approach. The candidates of political parties have to make decisions about how much time to devote utilising audio–visual media carried by YouTube as a facilitator of claiming and addressing salient issues to different geographic areas, in addition to the decision about whether to go "positive" or "negative." As Shaw (2006) notes, there are "blackout" and "battleground" states: battleground states are those states that are considered "competitive" and so presidential candidates focus their campaigns to "win" these votes. While blackout states are those in which one candidate is guaranteed to win and so candidates spend very few campaign resources in those types of areas. Tone matters, as political appeals to a fearful, fretting public further heightens the salience of crime in the public imagination (Zimring & Johnson 2006).

Utilising audio-visuals carried by YouTube to facilitate salient issues with a positive tone or approach, could recruit voters by: (a) increasing the positive traits associated with the candidates and increasing the availability of that quality to the voter's mind (Ackerberg, 2001; Gabrielcik & Fazio, 1984); and (b) by leaving the electorate with the sense that the candidate is likely to be civil towards opposing news. Attacking one's opponent in this sense comes with

a cost by backfiring and turning off voters who might otherwise have voted for the candidates (Allen & Burrell, 2002; Brooks & Murov, 2012). For example, one comment on the DA audio-visual facilitating salient issues wrote "*If you guys would tell us the positive things you intend to do to get this country on track I would vote for you in a heartbeat, your campaign is literally aimed at pointing out negatives the other guys are doing and although its true ...im not voting for you based on the other guy being worse! I need to know what YOU will do to make better...this is more of a piss contest than an actual serious campaign, it's like the ANC bringing up apartheid to put fear in us! Do better*". Furthermore, another comment added with almost similar views as the first comment stating: *"You posted this advert and the ANC decisively responded by visiting your metros and exposing lack of service delivery. If you fail to visit disgruntled people of Alex, why should I vote for you- how can I trust that you'll take care of the entire country?"* Lastly another comment added that *"The DA better start producing. You just talk, talk, talk. Take for instance the crime in the Western Cape. It's not getting any better. I am going to cancel my membership"* These comments were from an audio-visual titled: "is this the 'new dawn'?!" which was dated on the 30th of March 2019, with 409008 views, 70 comments, 382 likes and 55 dislikes.

However, negative campaign in terms of attacking the opponents could also be used to persuade voters away from voting for the rival candidates through persuasion and reducing turnouts of the other candidates' supporters (Slovic, Finucane & Peters, 2002 & 2007). For instance, the EFF also approached the electoral campaign in a negative light against the ANC in few of their audio-visuals; and voters stood by the party because most members of the EFF were once members of the ANC. Sometimes, the voters would rather listen to a party that is negatively speaking of its opponent, if they know each other on a personal level. In many instances, viewers and audiences do not maintain a neutral stance; they are inclined to leave both negative and positive comments.

Figure 4: negative campaign aimed at ANC by the DA
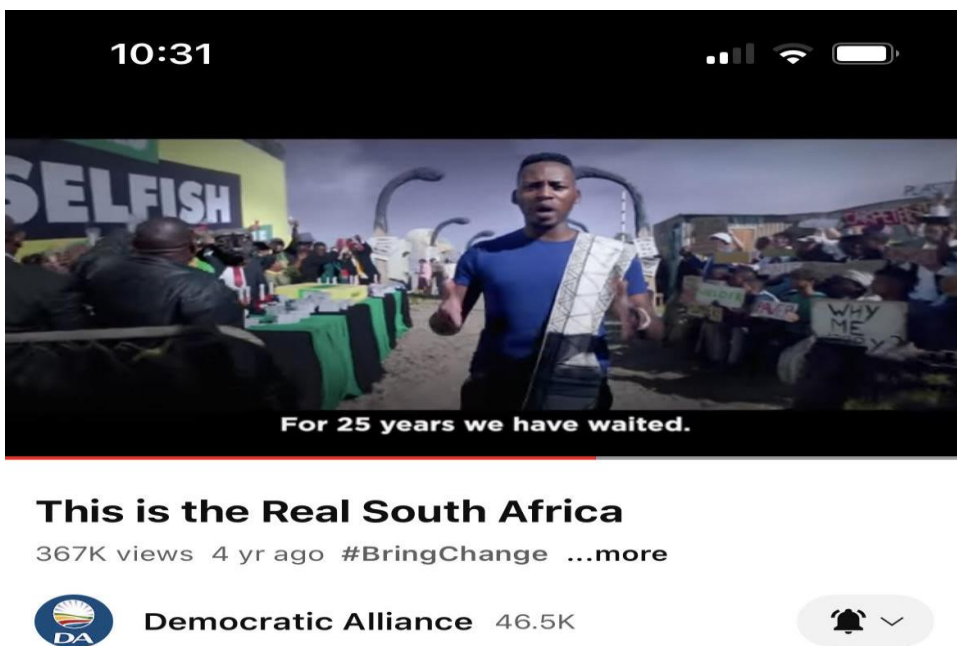
Figure 5: negative campaign aimed at the ANC by the DA

Figure 6: negative campaign aimed at the ANC by the DA

4.2.2 Description of the three parties

Most of the comments are in English; however, there are some comments written in other South African languages. This is dependent on the geographical areas where the salient issues claimed were facilitated by the audio-visuals carried by YouTube. The majority of ANC supporters are Black Africans (96%) with the remaining 4% being Indians and Coloureds. These supporters are primarily concentrated in KwaZulu-Natal (22%), Gauteng (19%), the Eastern Cape (16%), and Limpopo (13%). Notably, only 4% of their support base calls the DA-led Western Cape home. The predominant languages spoken by ANC supporters are isiZulu (29%) and isiXhosa (20%). English only makes up 4% and Afrikaans is spoken by 2% of ANC supporters. The other notable languages spoken by ANC supporters are Sepedi (12%), Setswana (11%) and Sesotho (11%).

A November 2013 Ipsos survey found that the party's supporters are younger than average—49% are under 24—overwhelmingly black (99%), male, and make up the majority of the support base—women making up just 33%. Just 1% of supporters reside in KwaZulu-Natal, a more populous province, yet a disproportionate amount (28%) do so in Malema's home province of Limpopo. According to a 2018 survey by social research firm Citizen Surveys, roughly 70% of EFF supporters were between the ages of 18 and 34, primarily black (97%),

primarily based in large cities (48%), primarily male (62%), and 43% of their support base was situated in Gauteng Province. It was anticipated that the party will have an effect in the 2014 general election, capturing 4% to 8% of the national vote. The party might have been able to maintain the balance of power in provinces where the ruling African National Congress was in jeopardy of losing its absolute majority with this. In the 2014 election, the EFF received 6.35% of the vote, while the ANC maintained its absolute majority. Voter share climbed to 10.79% in 2019. This indicates that there are now 44 seats in 2019 instead of just 25 as there were in 2014. In 2019 the share of votes increased to 10.79%. This means the number of seats have also increased from 25 in 2014 to 44 in 2019.

The majority of DA supporters speak Afrikaans (50%) and English (32%), with the remaining 18% speaking Black African languages. This is noteworthy, given that the party frequently touts its ability to draw in more Black voters. The racial demographic makeup of the population is largely consistent with these numbers: 50% White, 27% Coloured, 20% Black African, and 3% Indian. A very identical Ipsos/Markinor study conducted in 2011 revealed that DA partisans speak English (55%), Afrikaans (24%), and Black African language (21%). This indicates that between 2010 and 2013, support for the Democratic Alliance (DA) among Black Africans fell by a whole two percentage points (Harris, 2011).

Voters' choices are influenced by the employment of music and images in advertisements that evoke certain emotions, such as fear and excitement. The way that individuals view candidates is influenced by technological distortions to the photographs themselves (Kaid, 1997). According to Brader's (2005) research, viewers' pre-existing preferences for a candidate were strengthened when pleasant ad frames were combined with indicators of excitement (such as upbeat music or vibrant images of kids). When discordant music and grainy images of violence were combined with unfavourable ad frames, viewers were effectively persuaded based on their poor perceptions of the candidates' responses to the concerns. In essence, YouTube-facilitated audio-visual campaigns blend the problems of the campaign and the candidate's image with visual and auditory signals designed to influence viewers' perceptions and preferences in a more tangible manner than a traditional stump speech.

According to Grady (2007), campaign ad visuals are understood as iconic constructs, made with a specific purpose in mind for their particular time and place, but that meaning grows as they are used in different situations. Referring back to Castells (2009), it is critical to emphasize the campaigns that "strike a connection between particular images and particular experiences."

When the system receives favourable feedback about that pursuit, people experience the emotional state linked with feelings of joy, excitement, and so forth. Specifically, when benefits seem attainable, are drawing near, or have already been realized (Brader & Marcus, 2013: 176), which is what pride and hope provide. For instance, ANC Video 1- The video starts by showing the logo of the political party. The audio-visual supports its statements with human expressions. In the video it is heard that the future of this country is in the hands of its people. The statement was followed by a visual gesture of a hand. The language in the audio visual seems to be very positive as one can see the actors receiving the message with hope and believe. The facial expressions are supported by smiles and this also justifies the fact that they stand with what the political party is promising them.

Video 2- The video starts by playing music in the background and showing members of the ANC that were on the panel dressed in shirts with the logo of the political party (ANC). More goes into the use of music in political campaigns than just gaining support or drawing attention. Political parties and politicians utilize music in many forms as part of their image-building and communication strategies, as it may be employed in various ways to sway voters. The audio-visual support it statements with human expression. Viewers can read facial expressions of the president as he speaks on certain issues. At some point his face expresses sadness and disappointment. The language in the audio visual seems to be very strong and serious. The atmosphere is very silent and tense.

Video 3- The audio visual starts by showing the logo of the ANC and the slogan of the campaign. Secondly, the message that is being conveyed and addressed by the actor in the video, matches the visuals and images. For example, the prominent issue in this audio visual was free higher education, and it can be seen playing out at a location that looks similar to a higher learning institution (university). Images and visuals in a campaign allows viewers to connect and relate with the message. Not only are the viewers hearing the message, but they can also see it.

Video 4- The audio visual starts by showing the logo of the ANC and the slogan of the campaign. Secondly, the message that is being conveyed and addressed by the actor in the video, matches the visuals and images.in this case, the prominent issue that was address was unemployment/job creations. The actors in the video seem to be happy and hopeful. Also, the video was shot at a location where it showed a group of men working at a firm. Another audio visual that had its message match the images and visuals.

Video 5- The audio visual starts with the logo/colours of the ANC and slogan of the party ('a better life for all') and campaign ('let's grow South Africa together'). Viewers reacted positively to campaign on the audio visual carried and facilitated by YouTube. The language used in the audio visual was clear and formal and it is a language that majority of South Africa understands. Every statement in the audio visual was supported by visuals and images.

Video 6- The audio visual was shot and recorded in Western Cape Province, in the City of Cape Town. The audio-visual shows happy and smiling citizens who are portrayed by actors conveying the message of salient issue. The audio visual ended with the message "vote ANC" and the slogan of the ANC campaign "let's grow South Africa together."

Video 7- The audio consists of a background song. He audio visual was recorded from the office of the President. The audio-visual ends with the campaign slogan ('let's grow South Africa together') and ANC logo with the slogan 'A better life for all.'

Video 8- The audio visual starts with the logo/colours of the ANC and slogan of the campaign ('let's grow South Africa together'). The audio visual has an ANC logo. The manifesto was delivered by President Ramaphosa, who was dressed in an ANC T-shirt with the colours Green, Gold and Black. Some of the people who were in attendance were also dressed in ANC T-shirts and caps along with the colours of the party Green, Gold and Black. Some of the people who were in attendance were also dressed in ANC T-shirts and caps along with the colours of the party

DA

Video 1- The video starts by showing the different sectors that the ANC has corrupted, namely SAA, Arms deal, Eskom, Prasa, SABC, SARB, Bell Pottinger, VBS and BOSSASA. The different sectors are shown through headlines of newspapers articles. It also shows the impact that the corruption of ANC has caused in the country. The facial expressions that appear are of disappointment stating the failure of the ruling party with the empty promises.

Video 2- The video starts by playing music in the background and showing actors as citizens of the country, from different ages and races coming together as one nation praying for the nation to become a better place for all. The music used in the background is to trigger the emotion of pain that the country has been experiencing from the ruling party.

Video 3- The audio visual starts by showing the South Africa flag emphasising the hope that the country had when the first democratic elections took place in 1994. South Africa as a nation

became one united front with a dream to grow together as a nation. Then the ruling party did not do as promised, instead of moving forward as one, the corruption in the country has made the nation move backwards and lose hope.

Video 4- The audio visual starts by showing a city which symbolises the whole South Africa. Secondly, the message that is being conveyed and addressed by the actors in the video which matches the visuals and images. In this case, the prominent issue that was addressed is corruption. The main actor, (Mmusi Maimane) was calling all South Africans, all races to come together and vote for change. He was also giving the people hope that the journey of corruption and fixing the country will be achieve if we all come together and unite.

Video 5-The audio visual starts with an elderly lady writing a letter to the former leader of the DA, asking for assistance in make their lives better by fighting unemployment which is a broad issue that can contribute to more issues such as crime and poverty. Viewers reacted positively to campaign on the audio visual carried and facilitated by YouTube. The language used in the audio visual was clear and formal and it is a language that majority of South Africa understands. Every statement in the audio visual was supported by visuals and images.

Video 6- When the DA mentions a new salient issue, it attaches the issue to a specific political party. For example, when DA claimed and addressed the issue of corruption, it stated that this message was aimed at the party with the green, gold and black. These are the colours of the ANC. Furthermore, the DA addressed the issue of VBS to the EFF by referring to them according to how they are dressed (the party that wears overalls and gumboots like mine workers; and also wear red dresses like domestic helpers). In this audio visual, members of the DA and EFF were both dressed in the colours of the respective parties. The EFF were dressed in their red, black and green uniform and the DA was dressed in blue colours which the symbols of their party (DA).

Video 7- The audio visual has a logo of the Parliament of South Africa. One could hear people clapping their hands when a new issue is mentioned and addressed to their satisfaction. The DA's Steenhuisen was addressing this issue in the parliaments and was dressed in formal, so is the majority of members of the parliament.

Video 8- The audio-visual shows supporters and members of DA dressed in blue coloured T-shirts with the logo of the party and slogan written "One South African for all". The stage in this audio visual is branded with the South African flag and DA logo and flag. The audio visual

is also inclusive of all 12 official languages, as a result of that there is also a slot for sign language at the corner of the video. The audience show appreciation whenever a new issue is claimed and address by clapping hand. Clapping hands is also a sign to show that the audience agree with the statements made. The audience also perform chants after a salient issue is claimed and addressed. Also, when the DA ensures people that there will be change and promises to improve various factors to grow the economy. Some of the chants are "Amandla, awethu" meaning the power is ours.

EFF

Video 1- The audio visual has an EFF and parliament of RSA logo. The member of the EFF addressing the parliament was dressed in the party's uniform with colours red, black and green. The women's uniform represents the lives of black domestic workers in South Africa. The most interesting factor about this audio visual is that Makoti Khawula is the only Member of Parliament who refuses to address the house and communicate in English, but only in isiZulu and isiXhosa. The reaction and expressions in this audio visual signify confusion, because of language barrier. Also in various time stamps, the audio-visual show people clapping hands and applauding Makoti Khawula for being brave to address an issue that others failed to claim.

Video 2- The setup of the meeting was gala dinners and it was addressed by the EFF President, Julius Malema. The members of the party were dressed in formal, but incorporated the colours of the EFF which are red, black and green. The audio visual has an EFF and logo. The language used in the audio visual was professional and formal. Every time a salient issue is claimed and addressed; the audience clap to signify that they agree with the importance of the message. The audience showed emotions of happiness as they could be heard laughing. The viewers as well in a form of views and likes does tell that the message has reached the masses on and offline.

Video 3- The audio visual starts by playing background song called 'sizo jiki izinto', which means 'we will turn things around'. Secondly, the audio-visual shows books art piece, together with a picture of the EFF members in graduation regalia. The audio-visual ends with logo of the EFF that has a face of the EFF president, Julius Malema and the slogan of the campaign 'our land and jobs now'. Thirdly, the message that is being conveyed and addressed by the actor in the video, matches the visuals and images. Images and visuals in a campaign allows viewers to connect and relate with the message. Not only are the viewers hearing the message, but they can also see it.

Video 4- The audio visual starts by playing background song called 'sizo jiki izinto', which means 'we will turn things around' from time stamp 0:01- 6:25. The audio visual is branded with the EFF logo, also the characters in the video are shown wearing EFF branded merchandise. The closing of the audio visual includes audience expressing feeling of gratitude and appreciation. The people in Julius Malema's home town value his work ethics and honesty. Malema also expressed that he is proud of himself and the success of EFF.

Video 5- The EFF President was dressed in the party's uniform. The male uniform is red overall and beret which signifies the lives of black mine workers who were murdered in Marikana on the 16th of August 2012. The language used in this audio visual is Sepedi (Northern Sotho), since the common language spoken in Polokwane and Seshego. Every time a salient issue is claimed and addressed; the audience clap to signify that they agree with the importance of the message. The audience showed emotions of happiness as they could be heard laughing.

Video 6- The members of the EFF are dressed in their red overalls and dresses, which symbolises mine workers and domestic helpers. The EFF supporters reacted positively to the address by singing chant songs and clapping hands. Furthermore, the supporters were whistling after every new salient issue was claimed and addressed. In the space of politics, whistling means the audience support what you are saying, and also believe that it is fact that no one can challenge. The audio visual had a logo and also it was the visuals were taken in an EFF mobile broadcasting truck.

Video 7- The audio visual has an EFF and parliament of RSA logo. The member of the EFF addressing the parliament was dressed in the party's uniform with colour, full red attire. The most interesting factor about this audio visual is that deputy president of the EFF Floyd Shivambu emphasises on that fact that the President, Cyril Ramaphosa has not delivered to his commitments and what he has been doing all this time is to make empty promises and lie to the people of the country.

Video 8- The audio visual has an EFF logo and the president of the EFF CiC Julius Malema is the on addressing the manifesto, dressed in the EFF colours with a red shirt and red beret of the party. The most interesting factor about this audio visual is that EFF President CiC Julius Malema emphasised on all the issues that affect the citizens of the country, all the issues that the ruling party has promised but only gave bare minimum to its people. This manifesto launch came in a serious manner where by prominent issues were being addressed with a purpose of

bringing change in the country. The issues that were prioritised in the manifesto launch were health care and corruption.

4.2.3 Audio-visuals facilitate issue saliency through viewers' engagement and interaction

While mainstream media has limited opportunities to engage with the audience, YouTube through audio-visual media is a two-way system and has exposed a unique aspect (Chaffee & Metzger, 2001). Chung (2015) demonstrated that anti-crime, anti-corruption, free education and unemployment can be evaluated by analysing comments, likes/dislikes and views. In fact, the ability to "like" or "dislike" is one of the most affordances of social media (Hayes, Carr and Wohn, 2016). Furthermore, counts of "views", "likes" and "dislikes" can also be used to analyse audience reaction and emotions (Chung, 2015).

For instance, the most watched audio visuals of EFF in a particular order are: video 1 – gender based violence with 119082 views, 550 likes and 31 dislikes; video 2 - health care with 62774 views, 710 likes and 5 dislikes; video 3 – education and corruption with 53952 views, 1180 likes and 373 dislikes; video 4- land expropriation with 26465 views, 298 likes and 5 dislikes; video 5- land expropriation and unemployment, with 24535 views, 379 likes and 0 dislikes; video 6- corruption with 22326 views, 374 likes and 0 dislikes; video 7- education, health care and unemployment with 16155 views, 214 likes and 6 dislikes; and video 8- corruption and health care with 15117 views, 173 likes and 1 dislike. The comment section of all audio-visuals of the EFF were disabled. The EFF has 199000 subscribers. EFF had a total of **340 306 views, 3878 likes and 421 dislikes** in all the eight audio-visuals combined between 12 October 2018 and 8 May 2019.

The most watched ANC audio visuals claiming and addressing salient issues, from high to low are: video 1 – corruption with 158838 views, 20 likes, 59 dislikes and 30 comments; video 2 – unemployment with 56489 views, 14 likes, 0 dislikes and 5 comments; video 3: education with 55253 views, 15 likes, 0 dislikes and 7 comments; video 4- crime and drug abuse with 39750 views, 14 likes, 0 dislikes and 11 comments; video 5- corruption and lawlessness with 14279 views, 109 likes, 1 dislike, and 32 comments; video 6- NSFAS (Free education) with 6150 views, 17 likes, 0 dislike, and 2 comments; video 7-. Gender-based violence with 2133 views, 5 likes, 0 dislike, and 0 comments; and video 8- Unemployment with 1987 views, 10 likes, 0 dislike, and 10 comments. The ANC had the lowest interaction in the comment section and most comments were light with one or two words. The ANC has 6800 subscribers. ANC had a

total of **334 879 views, 204 likes, 60 dislikes** and **97 comments** in all the eight audio-visuals combined between 12 October 2018 and 8 May 2019.

The most watched DA audio visual claiming and addressing the salient issues, from high to low are: video 1 – corruption with 409008 views, 382 likes, 55 dislikes and 70 comments; video 2 - crime and education with 406428 views, 420 likes, 0 dislikes and 74 comments; video 3 – corruption with 367443 views, 1400 likes, 33 dislikes and 390 comments; video 4- corruption with 247331 views, 216 likes, 10 dislikes and 44 comments; video 5- crime and education with 136993 views, 148 likes, 2 dislikes and 12 comments; video 6- corruption with 22749 views, 140 likes, 49 dislikes, and 56 comments; video 7- crime with 20359 views, 274 likes, 11 dislikes and 40 comments; and video 8- poverty and corruption with 9192 views, 64 likes, 8 dislikes and 37 comments. DA has 45100 subscribers. DA had a total of **1 619 503 views, 3044 likes, 168 dislikes** and **723 comments** in all the eight audio-visuals combined between 12 October 2018 and 8 May 2019.

Audio-visuals popularity and prominence is measured by number of views. In this case, the DA had the highest viewed audio-visuals combined, followed by the EFF and lastly by the ANC. Furthermore, the EFF had the most liked audio-visuals combined, followed by the DA and lastly by the ANC. EFF once again, had the most disliked audio-visuals, followed by the ANC, and lastly by the DA. Lastly, DA had the most and highest interactions in the comment section, followed by the ANC. In addition, the EFF had the most followers in terms of subscribers, followed by the DA, and lastly by the ANC. Most of the ANC comments were of light nature comments as opposed to the DA, the comments were of deep nature comments. Also, other audio-visuals of the ANC did not have any comments at all.

The results of the study show that viewers from the political parties have responded extensively to the viral audio-visuals and salient issues (corruption, crime, free education and unemployment) facilitated by YouTube. Some comments are very informative which create a huge meaning for thinking and learning and shows many unknown and hidden issues which were not directly capitalised on in the audio visuals. Viewers provide comments on the entire audio visual, focus on specific parts and related salient issues, or even comments on irrelevant matters using slang and meaningless words. It is important for political parties to understand the natures of comments and viewers in order to prevent disinformation and misinformation.

4.2.3.1 Two types of comments in nature perspective

Analysing all comments, it is found that two types of comments are noticed from a nature perspective. Viewers have written a variety of comments on their critical points of view.

4.2.3.1.1 Light nature comments

Some of the comments were seen to be light because there is no detailed information in such comments. Most of the light-type comments were one or two words. For example: "*Vote ANC*", which was from audio-visual 4 authored by the ANC, titled: "Yusuf is voting ANC"; "*Vote EFF*" or "*Vote DA*", which was from audio-visual 3 authored by the DA, titled: "This is the real South Africa". There are four common patterns in light-type comments: comments lacking information and explanation ("best funny video ever"), the use of obscene or vulgar language ("voetsek ANC"), comments related to entertainment ("STOP PLEASE, I AM LAUGHING"), and comments that are in fewer words ("Powerful").
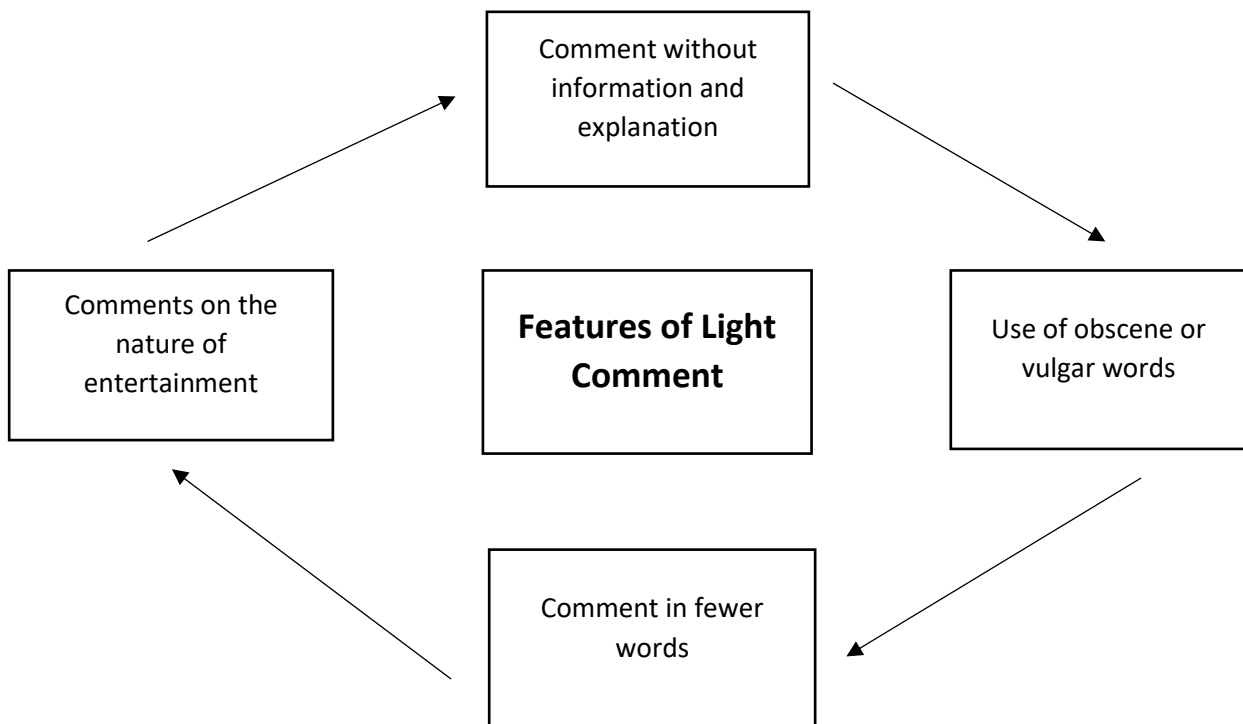
Figure 7. Features of light comment

4.2.3.1.2 Deep nature comments

Many of the comments from the audience were deep in nature. Comments of a deeper nature were two or more sentences. The in-depth comments contained explanations, information, and arguments. Such comments were full of critical thinking. Viewers and supporters faced to criticize in deeper nature comments. However, there were information, explanations and arguments.
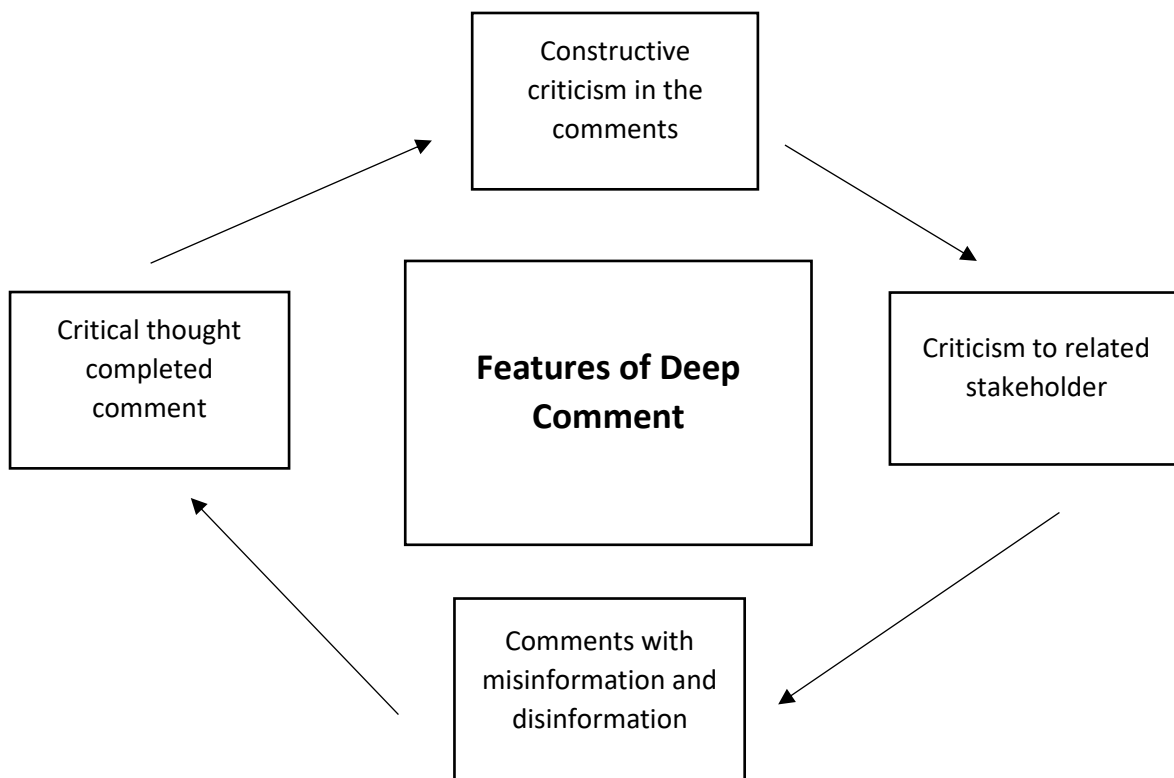
Figure 8. Features of deep comment

i. **Constructive criticism in the comments**

In this type of comment, users and viewers criticize the education system and share information about salient issues related to audio-visuals carried by YouTube. For example, one comment on the audio-visual titled "Hannah is voting ANC" authored by 'My ANC' channel wrote: "*Free higher education? You can pass with flying colours and yet receive no bursary whatsoever. Meanwhile, someone who has just barely scraped by is given completely free higher education. That's not exactly fair*"

ii.   Criticism of related stakeholders

In comments of this nature, users and viewers share criticism aimed at the leading government (ANC). For example, one comment on the audio-visual titled "is this the new dawn?" authored by 'Democratic Alliance' channel wrote: "*today we have free education because of the anc…My vote is with ANC",* another comment challenged this statement saying: *"How can you call this free education. Everybody is paying school fees and for books. Only the privileged are getting something free for instance Medunsa students."*

iii.   Critical thought-related comments

In this category, users discuss education politics, history, and business. For instance, one comment on the audio-visual titled "is this the new dawn?" authored by 'Democratic Alliance' channel wrote: "*What about PAC? Steve Biko, the students of Soweto? Many people worked to obtain free South Africa"* this comment was referring to the 1976 students protest and the stakeholders that played a role into encouraging improvement within the educational system of South Africa.

iv.   Comments with misinformation and disinformation

These comments provide information about salient issues related to the claims in the audio-visuals carried by YouTube. Various types of misinformation and disinformation have been found in such comments. For instance, one user shared false information on the audio-visual titled: "President Thabo Mbeki speaks at The Rand Easter Show" authored by 'MyANC' channel about individuals within the education system in South Africa, claiming "*…35% pass rate, how and why?? That made sense…"* Another user disagreed and corrected the first user saying "*Listen to understand then comment. To mention Marikana, grants and the rest sound a bit irrelevant and misinforming to this video, unless level of my intelligence is lacking".*

Madden, Ruthven and McMenemy (2013: 693) noted that commenters played a role in presenting certain information related to the video. Additionally, it was observed that, as described, most comments were directly related to the audio-visual's content facilitated by YouTube and the salient issues raised (Madden et al., 2013). However, it is important to note that commenters did not solely focus on the video's issues and information; they also shared a multitude of irrelevant topics and information in the comment section. These unrelated comments were frequently noticed throughout the study.

4.2.4 Utilising audio-visuals carried by YouTube to facilitate the saliency of parties' self-presentation

Audio-visual campaigns carried by YouTube facilitating the claiming of issue saliency frameworks that capitalize on the public's pre-existing beliefs and values in order to supposedly highlight candidates' personalities as well as their policy positions (Franz, Freedman, Goldstein & Ridout, 2007). (Ramirez, 2013). Advertisements use a variety of strategies to create a parody of the opponent as well as an image of the candidate. In fact, branding a politician is viewed as essential to being popular and building a connection with voters in today's politics, since visuals have grown more important than words (Nielsen 2017; Scammell 2015). The metaphorical rhetoric employed by candidates in their stump speeches and press appearances provides almost ready-made visualizations to promote the brand. The verbal and nonverbal elements of political ads, alongside other video techniques, give campaigns more control of the candidate's brand (Barnhurst & Quinn, 2012).

The brand comprises the standard performance metrics, like the candidate's goals, achievements, and desired qualities (like reliability and leadership). According to studies on presidential advertising, people are swayed toward politicians whose commercials successfully convey likeability, for example, even though they do not learn about topics directly from advertisements (Huber & Arceneaux 2007). Half of the eight audio-visuals sampled and authored by the ANC on "My ANC" channel, were claimed and addressed by ANC member such as Former president, Thabo Mbeki claimed and addressed the issue salience of corruption on the audio-visual titled: "President Thabo Mbeki speaks at the Rand Easter Show". Mbeki is a well-respected candidate who led the ANC for 9 years (1999-2008) and he is still regarded among many people who served this country with dignity. Thabo Mbeki is known for his diplomatic style and sophistication. He is still seen as pragmatic, eloquent, rational and urbane. In this video Thabo Mbeki advocates greater democracy, transparency, and respect for human rights. Lastly, his political style is elitist, secretive, and authoritarian.

The following audio-visuals titled: "A message from the president" facilitated the issue salience of free higher education through the expansion of NSFAS; "AD: Cyril Ramaphosa on children and women abuse" facilitated issue salience of gender-based violence against women and children and "2019 manifesto Launch Lets grow South Africa together" facilitated the issue salience of unemployment, were claimed and addressed by ANC President, Cyril Ramaphosa facilitated by YouTube. The president is known for his charismatic personality that includes

showing emotions to the people of South Africa. Ramaphosa is one of the respected leaderships that South Africa has had, considering that he once served as a secretariat for the late Former president Nelson Mandela. Ramaphosa's resume is well respected and trusted. Ramaphosa has good leadership and communication skills. In this case, Ramaphosa is seen as a reflection and image of the ANC. His credentials for the struggle against apartheid can be traced to his activism in student politics at the University of the North (now University of Limpopo).

EFF

The EFF is led by the co-founder, Commander in Chief, Julius Malema. Malema claimed and addressed the issue salience of health care (audio-visual 2); education and corruption (audio-visual 3); land expropriation (audio-visual 4); land expropriation and unemployment (audio-visual 5); corruption (audio-visual 6); and health care and corruption (audio-visual 8). Malema is known for being amongst those who played a huge role of kingmaker for former President Jacob Zuma after effectively dethroning former President Thabo Mbeki from presidency. Julius Malema has a combination of both autocratic and transformational leadership style. Malema is also known having the ability to zoom in on the essence of what the majority of South Africans need and connect with them. The party has managed to be in the top three considering that in 2019, it was only six years old. The EFF only prioritise the needs of black people. This party is anti-white. The EFF is a black conscious movement and it focuses on only on the Black population.

DA

Maimane claimed and addressed the issue salience of crime and education (audio-visual 2); corruption (audio-visual 4); and poverty and corruption (audio-visual 8). Mmusi Maimane, who was chosen to lead the DA at its Federal Congress in May 2015 (Van Damme, 2015), served as its leader during the 2019 election campaign. In 2018, Mr. Maimane was chosen again. Maimane was the first Black head of the party. Former Western Cape premier Mrs. Helen Zille had been leading the party since May 2007 before Mr. Maimane's historic victory. Mr. Tony Leon headed the DA before Mrs. Zille took it in 1996 and resigned in 2007 (Jolobe, 2014: 63; Selfe, 2015: 20). The DA has not been able to effectively shed the perception that it is a racially exclusive party led by Whites and reserved for White people and other minorities like Indians and Coloureds, despite the party's continuous electoral ascent following each election cycle. For this reason, the DA considered Mr. Maimane's victory and election as leader in May 2015 to be historic. In addition to becoming the first Black person to lead the DA since its

founding, Mr. Maimane also emerged as a potent transformation symbol for those who criticize the party for continuously accusing it of utilising Black politicians as fronts for its reconciliation initiative (Southall, 2016: 213).

4.2.5 Agenda-settings function of salient issues facilitated by YouTube

Crime and drug abuse, corruption, free education and unemployment may be more or less politicized across time. When raised as salient policy topics or as social issues; however, they are tools for agenda-setting and campaign sloganeering (Zimring & Johnson 2006). Furthermore, the ability to influence which issues, persons, and topics are perceived as the most important and salient, has to be called agenda-setting role of the audio-visual facilitated by YouTube. Agenda setting describes how the emphasis of certain issues by audio-visual media carried by YouTube increases the salience of those issues among members of the public (McCombs, 2005).

The repetition of messages about public salient issues in the news day after day, along with the pervasiveness of the audio-visual media facilitated by YouTube in our daily lives, constitutes a major source of journalism's influence on the audience. The recurring themes and issues in the audio-visuals facilitated by YouTube of the ANC are corruption; unemployment; and education. The recurring themes and issues in the audio-visuals facilitated by YouTube of the EFF are health care; education; corruption; land expropriation. The recurring themes and issues in the audio-visuals facilitated by YouTube of the DA are corruption; crime and education. Furthermore, Audio-visuals media carried by YouTube have become important in political agenda setting as it influences journalists' news judgment (McGregor & Molyneux, 2018).

The public can easily learn about important issues and other news subjects with little conscious effort on their part thanks to the news agenda's redundancy. According to Mitchell (2015), YouTube is "a platform where influence is driven to a strong degree by friends and algorithms." Algorithms are used by many online social networks, like YouTube, to control the content that users see. While some contend that algorithms might lead to selective exposure (Pariser, 2011), others contend that diversity exposure actually increases (Bakshy, Messing & Adamic, 2015; Bakshy, Rosenn, Marlow & Adamic, 2012). 2019). Media coverage is also a strong predictor of which salient issues are likely to evoke discussion on audio-visual carried by YouTube. The intermedia dynamics between news media and YouTube has been suggested to follow a logic in which audio-visuals media carried by YouTube are more likely to influence news media's agenda in terms of breaking news, whereas news media are more likely to lead YouTube's

agenda in terms of ongoing discussions (Su & Borah, 2019). This implies that citizens' perceptions of issue saliency are reflected in discussions on audio-visuals carried by YouTube as a result of news media's influence.

4.2.6 Audio-visual carried by YouTube as a facilitator for party position and issue saliency

Political parties such as the ANC, DA and EFF use audio-visual carried by YouTube to facilitate and strategically to communicate their issue salience, positions and priorities and to influence their media coverage (Van Ditmars, Maggini & van Spanje, 2020). Additionally, the direct feedback provided through audio-visuals carried by YouTube facilitates party responsiveness to discussions concerning how the party is perceived as well as which issues evoke the most engagement (Barberá, Casas, Nagler, Egan, Bonneau, Jost & Tucker, 2018). It was found that the ANC and EFF concentrated on issues and strategies that were tailored to the audience on the audio-visuals carried by YouTube. This behaviour means that the images of the ANC and EFF that were presented to the electorate often deviates from the official parties' positions that are expressed in the manifestos. The EFF varies with the DA and ANC having published the most audio-visuals carried by YouTube in the period of 12 October 2018 and 8 May 2019.

The difference in these parties (ANC, DA and EFF) is greater when taking into account the number of comments on the audio-visuals on YouTube. The difference is not entirely due to users and viewers' interaction, but it was affected by the fact that the comment section of all audio-visuals of the EFF were disabled. The EFF positioned its party to a point were by it would not have to deal with viewers; feedback and opinion. The only way the EFF would know that the Audio-visuals did capitalise and prioritised on issues, was through the number of views, likes and dislikes. EFF is very autocratic as opposed to other parties. It is those parties that believe in telling people what to do and say, without being challenged. Viewers on the audio-visuals carried on YouTube did not have an opportunity to express themselves in words. Maybe the EFF disabled the comment section, because the party avoided to claim and address certain issues and allegation that were directed to them. Such allegations include the issue of corruption in terms of VBS. Rather, the EFF positioned itself as a facilitator of the issue of corruption, to create awareness and educate the citizens about the corruption scandals of other parties. The DA's audio-visuals carried by YouTube had more comments, likes and views than the ANC and the EFF. For future elections, the DA should avoid not claiming, addressing and prioritising issues, but rather focusing on a negative campaign against the ANC and EFF. The negative approach did not do justice for the DA, even experts and comments called it out.

In one of the audio visuals claiming the issue salience of corruption authored by the EFF, CIC Julius Malema addressed the members of the EFF at the Brooklyn police station in Johannesburg, Gauteng Province. In this audio visual the EFF made an awareness about corruption and a case being opened against the minister of public enterprises, Mr Pravin Gordon accusing him of corruption. The audio visual was titled: "CIC Julius Malema at Brooklyn Police station" The EFF avoided to include the issue of VBS under corruption. Few of EFF members were implicated in the scandal of VBS, where money was stolen and illegally transferred into their personal bank accounts. The people of Venda, suffered the consequences of this illegal act caused by their trusted politician and bank, which resulted in loss of financial policies and investment. Malema rather shifted attention of the campaign to the opposition party (ANC) by using audio visual media carried by YouTube to facilitate salient issues, particularly corruption.

The ANC also failed to capitalise on the issue salience of corruption, especially when most parties always attach the party (ANC) with the crisis of corruption. Instead, in all audio visuals that the ANC claimed the issue of corruption, the party never discussed the issue on a deeper level. Even though in one audio visual that was addressed by Former President Mbeki, where he accused them of losing trust and loyalty of the South Africans due to lawlessness and corruption, the current ANC leadership did not use that as an opportunity to jump on the issue and capitalism it. The issue of corruption overall was avoided, but only discussed when it tarnishes the brands and images of other parties.

The DA on the other hand also avoided to address the issue of crime and drug abuse, the DA blamed the ANC on every issue that is affecting South Africa. Western Cape has been under the government of DA since 2009 and the province is known for its highest rate of crime and drug abuse. For the DA to position itself as party that will bring change, when one of its majority states are in deep crisis of crime, is very hypocritical.

4.2.6.1 The background of VBS saga

The study emphasizes party positions with regard to the importance of corruption, as asserted by the DA, and one of the most contentious scandals surrounding VBS. A mutual bank in South Africa was called VBS (Venda Building Society). After defrauding South African individuals and taxpayers out of almost R2 billion, it was deemed insolvent and bankrupt in 2018 and placed under curatorship. The South African Reserve Bank discovered evidence of widespread fraud, corruption, and looting in a study that was published in October 2018. The report

suggested filing criminal charges and pursuing civil lawsuits against bank executives, government employees, and auditors. According to the study, between March 15, 2015, and June 17, 2018, R1,894,923,674 was transferred from the Bank to fifty-three people. A report claims that Brian Shivambu, the younger brother of Floyd Shivambu, the senior politician for the Economic Freedom Fighters, received R16,148,569 of that money.

The African National Congress's treasurer, Danny Msiza, and deputy chairman for Limpopo, Florence Radzilani, were both named in the report. The study also claimed that before to the bank's collapse, South African municipalities that had irregularly deposited R1.57 billion with it were informed by the national government that they would not be helped. It was discovered that the bank had R372 million in negative equity following its failure. The bank's failure to uphold its responsibilities to burial societies and insurance companies had a severe negative effect on the funeral business in the province of Limpopo. It also had a terrible effect on the poor, mostly black South Africans living in stokvel and saving societies in the province of Limpopo.`

This as a result, showed that South African citizens were failed by the government that was meant to protect them. Facing the upcoming elections which were held on 8th May 2019, citizens were left to decide which political party would be fit to help fight corruption. This also brought in lack of trust and citizens were left helpless. Most of the people who invested with VBS were unemployed, and therefore, with the money being lost, people resorted to crime as way of meeting their daily needs. Crime statistics increased, as people were not working nor having money to fund their education. Corruption became the deadly root of an increase in crime, lack of education, unemployment and poverty. This VBS issue was facilitated on many audio visuals carried by YouTube authored by the likes of DA, SABC, ENCA and Times Live.

4.2.7 Audio-visual carried by YouTube as a facilitator for party competition, attention and issue saliency

Parties and their candidates attempt to mobilize voters by emphasizing issues on which they hold a reputation of competence. For instance, the EFF capitalised a lot on the issue of land expropriation. Malema emphasised how many people in Seshego have now started to occupy vacant land to build houses and use for business opportunities. The EFF is now well known for the issue salience of land expropriation, because the party has managed to do what it promised the people of South Africa on the issue of land. This issue differentiated the party to the ANC

and DA. Political parties in turn receive support on the basis of those issues that they are perceived to own at election time" (Bélanger & Meguid, 2008: 477).

The popularity of a viral audio-visual that addressed salient issues facilitated by YouTube, can make it a topic of discussion at the national and international level, bringing attention to the issues being raised. Attention has also been given to how politicians influence public opinion about crime and control issues, as well as the effect of public opinion on the politics of crime and punishment (Brown, 2012; & Frost, 2010). Enns (2016) found political elites (ANC and DA), including those involved in presidential campaigns, were responsive to public opinion polls that cited crime, corruption, education and unemployment as the "most important" problems or issues. Presidential candidates of the ANC and DA often rely on symbolic rhetoric when discussing crime, corruption, education and unemployment issues, intensifying the saliency of crime in order to increase their popularity and electability (Marion, 2011 & Marion and Oliver, 2013).

Not all issues are equally favourable for all parties. For instance, the DA's most watched audio-visual caught the attention of 409008 viewers and supporters, which capitalised on the issue salience of corruption (the DA wanted more on the issue salience of crime, but it did not make the party competitive against the opposition); while the EFF's most watched audio-visual caught the attention of 119082 viewers and supporters, which claimed and prioritised the issue salience Gender-based violence (the EFF was more strong on the issue salience of land expropriation, but the issue did not catch more attention as opposed to the issue of corruption); and the ANC's most watched audio-visual caught the attention of 158838 viewers and supporters, which capitalised on the issue salience of corruption. In the end, it is believed that the issue that caught the most attention in all the involved was the issue salience of corruption.

4.3 YOUTUBE SERVES THE POLITICAL AIM OF PARTIES

This section aim to address and discuss research question 3, which is as follows: - How did audio-visual media carried by YouTube serve the political aim of parties (ANC, EFF, and DA) to address and claim salient issues for the 2019 General Elections?

This category encapsulates how each political party utilised audio visual media carried by YouTube as a supplementary broadcast and political communication tool. This is possible to label audio visual media carried by YouTube as such because the social networking site served

the aim to claim and address each political parties' salient issues during the 2019 General Elections.

4.4 FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS

This study intends to take the existing objectives by linking the message characteristics of the political campaigns in terms of claiming and addressing salient issues facilitated by audio visuals media carried by YouTube with message reach (number of views, likes and dislikes) and viewers engagement (types of comments).

The introduction of audio-visuals carried by YouTube as a political communication tool serves the parties' (ANC, DA and EFF) aims to claim and address salient issues by mobilising especially in relation to individual candidates to generate preference voting. For the ANC, DA and EFF, a mobilizing social media through the utilisation of audio-visuals carried and facilitated by YouTube, aim to reinforce citizens' willingness to participate in an election (Vissers & Stolle 2014; Keller & Kleinen-von Konigslow, 2018). The mobilisation potential of audio-visual carried by YouTube depended on whether the facilitation of claiming and addressing salient issues can attract a large audience (the most followers) and echo the opinions that are salient in society (the most comments). The audio-visuals served the aim of the DA by addressing and claiming issue saliency of corruption, crime and unemployment through a high volume of interaction in the comments section; while the audio-visuals served the aim of the EFF by addressing and claiming issue saliency of land expropriation, corruption, health care and free education through a high number of following in terms of subscribers.

The content analysis of this study is the 24 YouTube-based audio–visual political communication campaigns (ANC, DA & EFF), claiming and addressing salient issues, and associating the message characteristics (natures, types and appeals) with message reach (number of views, likes and dislikes) and viewer engagement (types of comments). The results reveal the failure of the (ANC and DA) viewers not being able to recognize the association between message reach and viewers' engagement with message characteristics that includes issues being claimed, addressed and capitalised, confirming the 'marginal' use of audio-visuals media carried by YouTube.

However, the EFF managed to reach through the audience and that justifies the brilliant performance during the 2019 General Elections. The EFF capitalised on each issue that was also a top priority on the agenda of the manifesto, and this includes capitalising on new issues

that were identified outside of the party's speeches and manifestos. The EFF made it a point to engage in any conversation that may seem to be addressing a prominent issue that could be salient to the voters, audience and viewers. The EFF salient issue-based audio-visuals increased the level of awareness and confidence of the voters by making them feel more involved in the electoral setup (2019 General Elections), and, on the other hand, the viewers of image-based audio-visuals give more attention to the videos and the image of the candidates. One can remember that during the audio visual framing analysis, it was stated that parties such as DA and EFF used the actual candidates to facilitate and communicate salient issues, as opposed to the ANC, the party used too many paid actor to carry out the message of the salient issues that needed to be claimed and address.

Even through that, from the ANC's eight audio visuals that were sampled, each video mentioned issues that the party claimed. The ANC claimed the following issues in their audio visuals: Video 1 - crime and drug abuse; video 2 - gender based violence; video 3 – unemployment; video 4 – corruption; video 5 – corruption; video 6 – free education; video 7 – unemployment and video 8 – NSFAS, but failed to capitalise on these issues by also making the videos longer. Furthermore, most of the ANC's audio-visuals had short segments which were not enough to unpack certain issues in a broader manner. For the few videos that had most views, were mainly based on the attention that most viewers had on the visuals as opposed to the salient issues being addressed. This is another reason as to why the numbers of likes and comments were low, which could result in limited interaction in the comments sections and for the party to know how the supporters and voters truly feel. The DA claimed the following issues in their audio visuals: video 1 - corruption; video 2 - crime; video 3 – poverty and corruption; video 4 – corruption; video 5 – crime and education; video 6 – corruption; video 7 – corruption; and video 8 – unemployment and crime, but failed to capitalise on these issues by also making the videos longer. The DA segments were not so long and they were attacking their wrongs of the ANC, discrediting them to make sure that they win people's votes.

The EFF prioritised, claimed and capitalised on the following issues from the eight audio visuals sampled: video 1 - gender based violence; video 2 - health care and poverty; video 3 - free education, land expropriation and corruption; video 4 - land expropriation; video 5 – land expropriation and unemployment; video 6 - education, health care and unemployment; video 6 - corruption; video 8 – corruption, health care and land expropriation. The only factor that could contribute more to the party's good performance, was the comment section. The EFF did not have any interaction through comments, because the party had intentionally and purposely

disabled the comments, preventing the viewers and voters from stating their opinions and feedback.

How do we know that the issues became prominent from each party's audio visual on YouTube? To find out how the issues became prominent, we see these issues by repetition within one audio visual. For the ANC, the issues that kept repeating themselves and also that the party prioritised on are unemployment and corruption. For the DA, issues that kept repeating themselves and were claimed, not fully prioritised and capitalised on are corruption and crime. For the EFF, they are the only party that seemed to have capitalised on everything, the issues that the party capitalised and prioritised on are corruption, land expropriation, unemployment, health care and education. When further analyses are done on the three political parties, the main issue that keep repeating itself is corruption which mean that every party prioritised the issue of corruption.

However, going back to slogans and logos, only the EFF's audio visual carried by YouTube did serve the aim of the political communication of the political party, to claim, address and capitalise on the salient issues. Furthermore, the EFF's campaign slogan was "Land and Jobs now", and the party did capitalise on the issues mentioned on their slogan. The DA's slogan was "One South Africa for all" which is vague, because to a certain extend when the issue of corruption is addressed it affects everyone and it justifies the slogan. The DA did not completely capitalise on the issues that they were addressing, most of the actors in the audio visuals were all over the place with the discussion of the issues. The ANC's had two slogans "Let's grow South Africa together ", and "A better life for all"; when you observe the slogan "a better life for all" could justify the importance of the issues of unemployment and corruption. To a certain extend the ANC did not fully capitalise on the issues compared to what their manifestos are saying and also did not address new issues, which makes the only political party that have claimed and addressed the new issues to be the EFF.

The DA, in terms of following and number of interaction through the comments, views and subscribers was higher than the other two parties (ANC and EFF). However, the DA used the same strategy that the ANC used, which is to only utilise the audio visual carried by YouTube, to address issues that were already on their manifesto and address issues that the parties were able to prioritise on in the previous election by also addressing more on the historical data just as the ANC. The ANC is known to continue using the fact that they were the leading party to take South Africa out of the apartheid government into the democratic government. ANC is

still using the same technique to guilt trip the South African to vote for them mainly because they were able to do something that has been the highlight of their party. However, even though the ANC has many supporters, people should not keep voting for the party, because the ANC continues to show failure to claim and address issues that are salient to the voters through audio visuals media carried by YouTube.

Furthermore the ANC only capitalises on what it has managed to do in the past, for example it utilises the audio visuals carried by YouTube, talking about something that has happened in 1994. After 1994 the ANC does not show that the party is still fit to puts the emotions of people first. Most of the ANC audio visual utilised to address the salient issues were based on historical data as opposed to the EFF, which talks about the things that the party has managed to achieve and what the party continues to strive for. For example, the EFF leads by action. One audio visual showed the EFF addressing the issue of corruption against the ANC at the Brooklyn police station. This type of strategy to politically communicate with the supporters through live broadcast, help parties such as the EFF to gain more trust and votes, because the party walks the talk. Often times, it is found that parties such as the ANC and DA not so much would claim issues for the sake of it, because the same issues are on the manifesto, but fail to capitalise on those issues to make them come alive. This means, the people are promised change and improvement, however, after voting situations are still the same.

Furthermore, the DA talks more about what it has done during the 2016 local election and after that, between 2016 to2019 there is not much to show. In conclusion, the results show that the DA and ANC's technique of politically communicating and campaigning for votes as a political parties, was to only refer back to all that it was able to achieve in the past as opposed to the EFF. The DA had a huge positive interaction because people are engaging based on what is being said on the audio visuals, however that does not mean that the party has prioritised on new issues and capitalised on them. People were giving positive feedback considering the fact that most of this audio visuals talked about good performances and competency back then. The DA, instead of capitalising on new issues (with ongoing debates and speeches around the 12th of October 2018 to the day of the election), the party focused on having a smear campaign against the ANC, navigating its campaign negatively by shifting the views' and attention from themselves with emphasising on the failures of the ANC. The DA had huge segments which could have been utilised to tackle more issues so that voters gain confidence in them. On the other hand, as much as the EFF had a negative approach and tone by having a smear campaign against the ANC was an advantageous move, because most of the members in the EFF used to

be in the ANC. Chances were high that people would listen to the EFF, because the party claimed and addressed issues against the ANC that only the EFF could know on a personal level.

This justifies, why the ANC never capitalised on these claims by the EFF and addressed them on a broader scale, to help increase trust and votes. In most cases the opposition parties always go out of their way to show the voters the incompetency of the leading party to win votes. Even though the EEF used that technique, the party continued to utilise the audio visuals carried by YouTube to address and capitalise on those issues by also stating the goals it is also trying to achieve as a party through these audio visuals. Most of the audio visuals of the EFF are of live audiences at the stadium, halls and community grounds (people going through real issues). The strategy of addressing members of communities at live broadcasts (at the stadiums, halls and grounds) could help the party to get feedback and opinions from the reaction of the audience, since the party has disabled the comments section on the audio visuals carried by YouTube.

The most watched audio visuals of EFF: video 1 – gender based violence with 119082 views, 550 likes and 31 dislikes; video 2 - health care with 62774 views, 710 likes and 5 dislikes; and video 3 – education and corruption with 53952 views, 1180 likes and 373 dislikes. The EFF has 199000 subscribers. Because of the success that the EFF has managed to show that other political parties should also in the near future prioritise the importance of audio visual media carried by YouTube. The audio visuals carried by YouTube does help the political communication through the interaction of comments, views, likes and dislikes and search bars. The top 3 most watched ANC audio visuals claiming and addressing salient issues are: video 1 – corruption with 158838 views, 20 likes, 59 dislikes and 30 comments ; video 2 – unemployment with 56489 views, 14 likes, 0 dislikes and 5 comments; and video 3: education with 55253 views, 15 likes, 0 dislikes and 7 comments. The ANC has 6800 subscribers. The top 3 most watched DA audio visual claiming and addressing the salient issues are: video 1 – corruption with 409008 views, 382 likes, 55 dislikes and 70 comments; video 2 - crime and education with 406428 views, 420 likes, 0 dislikes and 74 comments; and video 3 – corruption with 367443, 1400 likes, 33 dislikes and 390 comments. The DA has 45100 subscribers. The voters and supporters of the political parties (ANC, DA and EFF) expressed their pleasure as well as displeasure on both positive and negative campaigns addressing salient issues through audio visuals carried by YouTube. The analysis highlights that majority of positive comments and minority of negative comments were on the issue based audio visuals carried by YouTube

addressing concerns such as corruption, unemployment and education, which are the direct need of a developing country like South Africa.

Claims that audio visual media carried by YouTube served the political aim of the ANC, DA and EFF to address party-political salient issues, could only be verified by comparing this data to what each party initially claimed in their 2019 National Election manifestos. The DA and ANC failed to capitalise on the issues claimed on the audio visuals carried by YouTube, and that could have played a major role in the decline of votes during the 2019 General Elections. Rather, one can believe that these two parties, especially the DA stood a chance to perform better considering the number of following it has.

The analysis is evident that the targeted political communication in urban yielded better results for political parties especially the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF). The EFF President, CiC Julius Malema used skilful political communication through audio visual media carried by YouTube to claim and address salient issues in the 2019 National Election, which helped to purposely suppress the turnout numbers for the two main rivals (ANC and DA). This analysis proved how the EFF's audio-visuals carried by YouTube has increased the political communication currency within the South African political campaigns, especially during the 2019 General Elections. Furthermore, for future electoral campaigns, political parties especially the ANC and DA should utilise audio visuals carried by YouTube as communication tool to facilitate and address salient issues to the voters and supporters.

4.5 SUMMARY

The findings of the audio-visuals carried and facilitated by YouTube were presented above. In conclusion, the analysis show that the data conform to some of saliency theory's assumption. This chapter only has the analysis and finding from research question two and research question three. The analysis from audio-visuals carried by YouTube showed that parties approach campaigns differently. With that being said, the DA and EFF approached the campaign in a negative manner. However, this does not mean the DA and EFF did not have positively approached audio-visuals, it is that majority of their audio-visuals were negative and seriously attacking the leading party (ANC). The EFF benefited from the negative campaigning, while DA lost most its voters for focusing on negative campaigning against the ANC. The ANC did approach the campaign positively, but there was a decline in votes. This analysis and findings applied media framing criteria integrated with issue salience theory and also the incorporation of literature including manifestos (see table 1 and 2 in chapter 2).

This study analysed 24 sampled audio-visuals, in which 8 audio-visuals were authored by each party being it the ANC, DA and EFF. The top three issues that became prominent and were almost capitalised on were: Corruption, crime and education/unemployment. The issue that every political party claimed the most was corruption and this makes this topic and issue of corruption salient. The DA had the most subscribers, viewed audio-visuals and comments combined, while the EFF had the most liked and disliked audio-visuals combines. The ANC did not make use of the audio-visual to facilitate the issue saliency to lure and mobilise more voters and supporters. Most of the ANC's audio visual did not spark too much interaction and engagement especially in the comments section and number of subscribers. This study proved that number of views, likes, dislikes and subscribers are not the reason why people vote for parties, but the parties must also be able to utilise audio-visuals media carried by YouTube to facilitate the claiming and addressing of salient issue. Another important factor to mobilise voters while utilising audio-visuals carried by YouTube to communicate with voters and viewers, is to also be aware of party competition, positioning, party self-presentation, visuals (logo, flags, music …etc.) and also capitalise issues that are also on the agenda of the manifestos. In closing, YouTube is a more useful source and channel to facilitate issues and salient topics than the so-called traditional media, because YouTube is a two-communication platform and traditional media is a one-way communication platform. Moreover of this will be discussed in chapter five.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the findings of the study obtained from answering the three research questions. Firstly the study is summarised; and the findings are explicitly and comprehensively described. This chapter also demonstrates how YouTube functioned as a political communication tool to facilitate the claiming and addressing of the salient issues during the 2019 South African General Elections. The criteria for media framing and saliency theory was applied to answer the three research questions. Based on the criteria that was developed, it was demonstrated by the discussion of the three research questions how they could be answered through the outcome of the analysis. A final conclusion is then presented to confirm the use of audio-visuals carried by YouTube as a facilitator of salient issues claimed and addressed by the political parties (ANC, DA and EFF).

5.2 SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTERS

In essence, this study explored audio-visuals media carried by YouTube as a political communication tool to facilitate salient issues during election campaigns. Chapter one presented an outline of the research problem. Chapter two broadly discussed the literature review, with the theoretical framework of issue salience and media framing also being presented. The theories were used to support the claim found and gathered from the audio-visuals analyses which can be applied to the study. That was followed by chapter three, which details the methodology that the study observed. Furthermore, Chapter Four contained the presentation and analysis of the data which answered research questions provided in chapter one. Finally, chapter five presents a summary of the key findings, the recommendations and study recommendations based on this study's findings

5.3 WHAT DID THE STUDY TRY TO DISCOVER?

This study main objective is to explore how audio-visual media carried by YouTube were used as a political communication to by the ANC, DA and EFF to claim and address salient issues for the 2019 General Elections campaign in South Africa. This study argued that the audio-visual media, carried by YouTube as a distribution channel, is a more relevant medium used for electoral campaigns to claim and address the salient issues of the political parties. The study's objective were explored through the three research questions which are:-

RQ1: What are the theoretical criteria of issue salience and media framing within the context of political communication over YouTube?

RQ2 How did the ANC, DA and EFF utilise audio-visual media carried by YouTube to facilitate the claimed and addressed salient issues?

RQ3: How did audio-visual media carried by YouTube serve the political aim of parties (ANC, EFF, and DA) to address and claim salient issues for the 2019 General Elections?

Research question 1 explored the characteristics and theoretical criteria of issue salience and media framing through the lens of political communication over social media, particularly YouTube, which was supported by literature in chapter 2. Research question 2 explored how the ANC, DA and EFF utilised audio-visual media carried by YouTube to facilitate the claimed and addressed salient issues, which was answered through the use of issue salience and media framing criteria that is in chapter 2 and the literature from the manifestos and other academic sources. Research question 3 investigated how audio-visual media carried by YouTube served the political aims of parties (ANC and DA) to address and claim salient issues for the 2019 General Elections through the use of salience criteria, media framing and audio-visual analysis carried and produced by YouTube.

5.3.1 Research question 1 findings

The findings of research question 1 were aimed and answered by claims supported in chapter two, and the findings are as follows:

The comprehension of current party competitiveness, position, and attention has been greatly enhanced by the use of saliency theory. Because political parties also have a say in policies, salience in political communication is somewhat relevant. Political parties' positions on topics also influence public policy. Public opinion and democratic politics are significantly influenced by the prominence of issues. Mass publics can influence political debates, contests, agendas, and outcomes when they have a strong concern for specific societal issues, as reported by Paul and Fitzgerald (2021: 370). More and more, it is important to understand the dynamics of issue salience given the way that issues are becoming more politicized in mature democracies and how important it is for people to vote based on their perspectives on issues.

A significant and pertinent addition to models elucidating the influence of political issues on voters' party preferences is issue salience. According to the directional and proximity models of issue voting (Enelow & Hinich 1984; Rabinowitz & Macdonald 1989; Macdonald, Listhaug

& Rabinowitz 1991), voters choose their party in elections based on the distance, or directional congruence, between the party's position and their own position on issue dimensions. In political communication, the significance of issue salience is also utilized to show how noticeable a topic is in a voter's mind, or how easily available it is when the person is asked to make a political decision.

5.3.2 Research question 2 findings

The findings of research question 2 are as follows:

The overall picture found that in party competition and position, 'direct confrontation' is more important than 'selective emphasis'. This analysis found that politicians especially of the DA and ANC seemed anxious to emphasize on certain favourable issue areas and play down others which are unfavourable. For example, DA should have jumped on to the issue of crime after the ANC claimed and addressed the issue of high crime rate in Western Cape through the utilisation of YouTube facilitated by audio-visuals. However, the DA chose to address the issue of crime in other areas where the ANC has majority of the votes and avoided addressing and claiming the issue saliency of crime in an area where it has the most votes and seats in parliament. This was a strategy for the DA to deflect by trying to shift the blame to the ANC and it was undeserving. Furthermore, parties (ANC, DA and EFF) invest campaign spending to attract voters' attention; political parties choose the ratio of issues that they broadcast on the audio-visuals facilitated by YouTube to maximize their profit; and voters' salience weights change through audio-visuals media selection and viewing time, and they decide their votes based on these weights after priming.

In Summary, as mentioned in Chapter four, the DA had it's entire campaign to attack the ANC, as opposed to have invested in a positive campaign that is aligned with the party's visual framing, competition and positioning. It is assumed that due to the DA's negative campaigning, it resulted in the decrease of the voters in the government and political setup. However, the EFF also had half negative campaign and half positive campaign, and the negativity did not damage the reputation of the party's campaign, due to the assumption that the party also made a lot of references on the apartheid system and the failures of the ANC. This is because, most EFF members were previously members of the ANC and what they present to the audience will be believable. In fact, the EFF had the most improved turnout votes as opposed to the DA and ANC. The ANC on the other hand, approached the campaign in a positive way, but failed to capitalise on the salient issue that most voters seem to view as important and prominent. For

this reason, the positive approach did not improvise for the ANC, because the audio-visuals carried by YouTube and authored by the ANC did not facilitate much of the salient issues that viewers and the audiences expected. The finding in chapter four provides evidence that the DA in future should make use of positive advertisements as they enclose the power to influence the voter's emotional valence without targeting the opposing candidate.

The findings of the study determined and found how the viewers' engagement (types of comments) varies across the positive, negative and comparative nature of utilising audio-visuals to facilitate the claiming of salient issues. The voters expressed their pleasure as well as displeasure on both positive and negative campaigns that were facilitated by the audio-visuals carried by YouTube. YouTube viewers were vocal in expressing their opinions for various issues raised by the parties. An interesting examination of voter responses to the political parties; audio-visuals using YouTube to facilitate the claiming and addressing of issue salience of corruption, health care, crime and unemployment/education was conducted and it was found out that negative approach when compared to a positive approached campaigns, had the ability to extract negative responses from the voters and had less effect on the image of the opposite party. Lastly, this analysis established and found a relation between the types of comments and the nature of the campaigns. Most of the comments were light natured comments such as 'lol' and 'nice ad'. Furthermore, the political parties had both episodic and thematic framed audio-visuals, which provided visuals and images of the ANC, DA and EFF, through the use of logos (with the parties' colours) and slogans (see chapter 4). Furthermore, majority of the audio visuals were addressed and claimed by the party leaders, with only few audio visuals being addressed by paid actors which are ordinary people.

5.3.3 Research question 3 findings

The findings of research question 3 are as follows:

The findings clearly signifies that audio-visual carried by YouTube served the aim of the parties, especially the EFF to address and claim salient issues for the 2019 General Elections. Furthermore, the audio-visuals media carried by YouTube are being conscientiously used by politicians and political parties for disseminating political information and their opinions to the voters (Emruli & Baca, 2011). Nevertheless, even the voters are updated regularly about their political parties of choice, the dutifully chosen governors of the country through the medium of audio-visuals carried by YouTube. The emerging communication platform of audio-visuals media carried by YouTube has provided 'new' tools for the political communication for the

ANC, DA and EFF (Smith, 2011). It is found that social media in terms of audio-visuals carried by YouTube has the ability to generate and facilitate the addressing and claiming of salient issues such as corruption, health care, crime and unemployment/education through which the users and audience, participate and even politicize among themselves.

It was found that for the ANC, DA and EFF, a mobilizing social media through the utilisation of audio-visuals carried and facilitated by YouTube, aim to reinforce citizens' willingness to participate in an election (Vissers & Stolle 2014; Keller & Kleinen-von Konigslow, 2018). Study and findings show that interest groups are most likely to mobilize on issues that are of high salience to citizens. However, claims that audio visual media carried by YouTube served the political aim of the ANC, DA and EFF to address party-political salient issues, was verified by comparing this data to what each party initially claimed in their 2019 National Election manifestos. For this reason, it was found that the DA and ANC failed to capitalise on the issues claimed on the audio visuals carried by YouTube, and that could have played a major role in the decline of votes during the 2019 General Elections. Rather, one can believe that these two parties, especially the DA stood a chance to perform better considering the number of following it has. The number of views reflects the popularity of the video, and comments indicate the response and opinion of the viewers.

Lastly, the analysis is evident that the targeted political communication in urban yielded better results for political parties especially the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF). The EFF President, CiC Julius Malema used skilful political communication through audio visual media carried by YouTube to claim and address salient issues in the 2019 National Election, which helped to purposely suppress the turnout numbers for the two main rivals (ANC and DA). This section investigated how audio-visual media carried by YouTube served the political aims of parties (ANC and DA) to address and claim salient issues for the 2019 General Elections through the use of salience criteria, media framing and audio-visual analysis carried and produced by YouTube (see chapter 4 for findings). The EFF aimed to leave no stone unturned in wooing the voters.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

- It is recommended that future analyses of party competition should therefore attempt at identifying the specific conditions under which parties are more likely to adopt a strategy based on selective emphasis rather than direct confrontation.

- It is also recommended that the issue agenda of the audio-visuals media carried and facilitated by YouTube for parties to account for the fact that responsiveness should be higher on issues that are salient in the news or in the party system (Hofmann, Asnaani, Vonk, Sawyer & Fang, 2012; Meyer, McDowell, Lansing, Brower, Smith, Tully & Herring, 2020). This recommendation should also apply to the EFF, because the party chose to disable the comments section.

- Moreover, there should be a control for a potential feedback loop of parties responding to salient issues because they know that these topics are more likely to get media attention.

- For future electoral campaigns, political parties especially the ANC and DA should utilise audio visuals carried by YouTube as communication tool to facilitate and address salient issues to the voters and supporters.

- The campaign team of political parties especially for the DA, should take into consideration that positive advertisements are viewed more than the negative.

5.5 STUDY LIMITATIONS

Limitation to this study is that there is no data on sponsored audio-visuals available for the period of observation. Sponsored audio-visuals allow parties to promote their messages and claims beyond reach. Since these audio-visuals are viewed mostly by more users, they will likely produce more user engagement. The other limitation of this study is that YouTube does not provide fixed number of views, likes, dislikes and comments- the numbers change every day. Also YouTube has removed the number of dislikes and that means one must buy software to track the dislikes. This study used chrome software in partnership with google.

5.6 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, Issue salience is an important and relevant addition to models explaining how political issues can play a role on voters' party preferences. The overall analysis of the results builds an argument that it is quite true to say that social media in terms of audio-visuals carried by YouTube has the capability to win votes in the elections, by facilitating the claiming and addressing of salient issues. It is indeed a very evident fact that during 2019 General Elections, the voter turnout for the EFF had surpassed the ANC and DA's voter turnout. The results reveal that there is a relationship between the nature (positive and negative) of campaigns ad and the type (no comments, positive, negative, mix) of comments. This unambiguously reveals that the

viewers either do not like to express their opinion on the audio-visuals or they express their support through positive comments.

In addition, it showed that the EFF viewers did not care much about the disabled comment section, as that has not negatively affect the EFF campaign through the utilisation of audio-visuals carried by YouTube. The analysis regarding the number of views of the audio-visuals carried by YouTube is important for the political parties (ANC, DA and EFF) as it facilitates them in being more acquainted with the degree of message reach represented by the number of views. For the parties such as the ANC that did not have a lot of views, likes and comments, it was found to be that the audio-visuals did not facilitate and capitalise on the issue salience of corruption, health care, crime and unemployment/education. These salient issues, were noticed to be in demand by viewers and the ANC and DA avoided to address the prominence of these issues.

Substantively, it is all about the issues that parties emphasise (salience) and the positions they take. Answering the research question 1 of "What are the theoretical criteria of issue salience and media framing within the context of political communication over YouTube?" empirically, requires information on manifestos' impact on post-election politics. Finding and study show that interest groups are most likely to mobilize on issues that are of high salience to citizens. Previous studies have presented the effects of media framing on audiences. They have stated that during election campaigns the media such YouTube through "media framing", play a significant role in deciding what audiences should think about and how they should think about campaign issues or agendas. This study has proved through the incorporation of literature that there are five types of media framing and this study only applied thematic and episodic frames to answer research question 2: "How did the ANC, DA and EFF utilise audio-visual media carried by YouTube to facilitate the claimed and addressed salient issues? " and research question 3: "How did audio-visual media carried by YouTube serve the political aim of parties (ANC, EFF, and DA) to address and claim salient issues for the 2019 General Elections"?

The efficacy of YouTube derives from features such as sharing audios and audio-visuals, making of comments, sharing of content and the 'like or dislike 'functions. However, social media do not replace the traditional medium of political campaigning but rather serve to compliment it.

VARIABLES & VIDEOS	VIDEO 1: ANC	VIDEO 2: ANC	VIDEO 3: ANC	VIDEO 4: ANC	VIDEO 5: ANC
	Title: why are we voting ANC on May 8 **Date of the release: 11 April 2019** **Views: 158838** **Likes: 20 Dislikes: 59** **Comments: 30**	**Title: Mondli is voting ANC** **Date of release: 11 April 2019** **Views: 56489** **Likes:14 dislikes: 0** **Comments: 5**	**Title: Hannah is voting ANC** **Date of release: 10 April 2019** **Views: 55253** **Likes:15 dislikes: 0** **Comments: 7**	**Title: Yosuf is voting ANC** **Date of the release: 10 April 2023** **Views: 39750** **Likes: 14 Dislikes: 0** **Comments: 11**	**Title: President Thabo Mbeki speaks at the Rand Easter Show** **Date of the release: 24 April 2019** **Views: 14279** **Likes: 109 Dislikes: 1** **Comments: 32**
FRAMING STRATEGIES	The audio visual is thematic, because it addresses broader issues. The audio visual has identified at least five issues namely state capture, corruption, safer communities, unemployment with more decent jobs and the promise of free education.	The audio visual is episodic, because it is based more on the individual experiences. In the case of this audio visual, the issue saliency of unemployment is claimed and addressed by an individual based on their personal experiences. The audio visual was authored and utilised by the ANC as part of the election campaign.	The audio visual is episodic frame, because it is based more on the individual experiences. In the case of this audio visual, the issue saliency of free higher education is claimed and addressed by an individual based on their personal experiences. The audio visual was authored and utilised by the ANC as part of the election campaign.	This audio visual is an episodic frame, because it is based more on the individual experiences. In the case of this audio visual, the issue saliency of crime and drug abuse is claimed and addressed by an individual based on their personal experiences. This audio visual was authored by the ANC as part of the election campaign.	The audio visual Is thematic, because It addresses broader issues. Furthermore, The former president addressed the issues and solutions that could be applied to fix the conditions that led to the problem. In case of this study, the president blamed the ANC leadership for the failure of its governance, hence the rate of corruption and other factors that could lead to the citizens not having faith in the party, are high. Some of the key themes that were also addressed and claimed

					are the corruption within the party that is destroying the morale of the voters; the integrity of the party and lawlessness.
AGENDA-SETTING FUNCTIONS	The audio visual has addressed corruption and state capture. These issues are one and the same, because state capture is among the activities of corruption. In this case, the recurring theme would be corruption as it is also an agenda on the party's manifesto.	The entire audio visual campaign was mainly focused on the issue of unemployment. The character featured in the audio visual emphasised on the topic of employment and job creations being the main reason they will be voting for the ANC. Poverty and unemployment are among the most prioritised issues on the agenda of the party's manifesto and campaign. Unemployment poses a serious problem to any nation and has a significant social and economic costs to the unemployed individuals, their dependants and society.	The recurring theme, if not the only prioritised issue in this audio visual is free higher education. This issue was also claimed and addressed on the ANC's manifesto. The issue of free higher education has dominated the media coverage, especially in 2015-2016 during 'Fees Must Fall' students' campaign. The issue of free basic education is without a doubt salient. Hence why the ANC had to capitalise on the issue to lure and mobilise more voters and loyal supporters.	The recurring theme is crime and drug abuse in Cape Town. This issue is among the most top prioritised on the agenda of the manifesto of the ANC. Once young members become addicted of drugs, they turn to petty crime like burglaries and robbery in their community to sustain their drug habits.	The audio visual has addressed corruption and lawlessness. These issues fall under one umbrella, because where there is no law, there is corruption. In this case the recurring theme would be corruption as it is also an agenda on the parties manifesto. These issues were also raised by the veterans of the ANC, as they are also aware of what is going on in the party.
FRAMING SALIENCE OF VALENCE	The tone of the audio visual is positive as the messaging is received well by the actors portrayed in the video posing as the citizens of	The tone of the audio visual is neutral. It was a good idea to dedicate an entire video to address the saliency of unemployment and how the	The tone of the audio visual is positive. This audio visual is addressing the benefits of free higher education, through various funding	The tone of the audio visual is positive, because it aims to promote a drug and crime free city. The tone is also positive,	The tone of the audio visual is serious and reprimanding. The tone keeps fluctuating, at some point it gets

South Africa. The positive emotions in this video carry the aspect of enthusiasm, which directly influence citizens' feelings about the candidates involved and thereby indirectly influence the direction of their vote decisions.	party (ANC) is aiming to create more jobs. This believes that the audio visual would set a positive tone, because the character is praising the ANC for being able to provide them (him) with employment, hence the reason why they are convincing people to vote for the ANC. However, it is noticed that the messaging was based on an individual experience, and seen as not enough to convince people to vote for the ANC. It then becomes one of those messages that make it hard for people to choose a side. So it ended up resulting to a neutral tone, because viewers were conflicted.	programmes that help less privileged people to afford equal access to higher education. The ANC capitalised on the 2015 students' campaign of 'Fees Must Fall' and ensured to claim and address the prominent issues of higher education during this campaign. On its own, it brings positive emotions, because it shows that the people are being heard and they are a priority to the government. Delivery is key.	because the actor portrayed in the audio visual highlights on how the city of Cape Town used to be crime and drug free under the ANC governance, which is why it is important to vote the ANC back into leadership. The language used in this audio visual sis Afrikaans, as it is commonly spoken in Cape Town, Western Cape.	negative due to frustration with the ANC. Thabo Mbeki also expresses disappointment with how the ANC has been conducting itself. Campaigns that elicit angers or enthusiasm may have the behavioural consequences of elevated political participation, whereas campaigns that elicit sadness fear or threats would automatically demoralize participation especially during the voting process. The former president commanded the ANC to take accountability for its corrupt tendencies and stated that even after the election it must be an ongoing issues that must still be addressed.
VISUAL FRAMING AND VERBAL CUES	The video starts by showing the logo of the political party. The audio visual support its statements with human expressions. In the video it is heard that the	The audio visual starts by showing the logo of the ANC and the slogan of the campaign. Secondly, the message that is being conveyed and addressed by	The audio visual starts by showing the logo of the ANC and the slogan of the campaign. Secondly, the message that is being conveyed and addressed by	The audio visual was shot and recorded in Western Cape province, in the City of Cape Town. The audio visual shows happy and smiling citizens who are	The video starts by playing music in the background and showing members of the ANC that were on the panel dressed in shirts with the logo of

	future of this country is in the hands of its people. The statement was followed by a visual gesture of a hand. The language in the audio visual seems to be very positive as one can see the actors receiving the message with hope and believe. The facial expressions are supported by smiles and this also justifies the fact that they stand with what the political party is promising them.	the actor in the video, matches the visuals and images.in this case, the prominent issue that was address was unemployment/job creations. The actors in the video seem to be happy and hopeful. Also the video was shot at a location where it showed a group of men working at a firm. Another audio visual that had its message match the images and visuals.	the actor in the video, matches the visuals and images. For example, the prominent issue in this audio visual was free higher education, and it can be seen playing out at a location that looks similar to a higher learning institution (university). Images and visuals in a campaign allows viewers to connect and relate with the message. Not only are the viewers hearing the message, but they can also see it.	portrayed by actors conveying the message of salient issue. The audio visual ended with the message "vote ANC" and the slogan of the ANC campaign "let's grow South Africa together."	the political party (ANC). The role of music in political campaigns adds up to much more than just rallying around the cause, or simply attracting attention. Music, in all different forms, is included in political parties' and candidates' image-building and communication agendas, which can be used in multiple ways to influence voters. The audio visual support it statements with human expression. Viewers can read facial expressions of the president as he speaks on certain issues. At some point his face expresses sadness and disappointment. The language in the audio visual seem to be very strong and serious. The atmosphere is very silent and tense.

SALIENCY AND FAME RESONANCE	The video does channel to the relevant audience. Every messaging that is addressed in this video is backed up by portraying an actor that fits the relevant criteria. For example, the video addressed the issue of free education and it was portrayed by a young woman who fits the right age of a university student. Another example, would be when the video addressed the issue of corruption and state capture; it was also portrayed by someone within the legal field who was dressed in a lawyer's regalia. The video featured mostly black and coloured ethnicity. There was only one white male, who had no role being part of that campaign, because his role was misinterpreted and misplaced. However, the target audience is all races in South Africa.	The target audience is every unemployed citizen of South Africa. This also include all races and ethnicity. This message is for people from the ages of 18 and upwards. The main priority is the people who come from less privilege backgrounds.	The target audience in this audio visual was everyone who is in a higher learning institution, parents who cannot afford to pay tuition fees and high school learners who will be embarking on a journey of university. The audio visual was portrayed by a young black lady who is in a higher learning institution, struggling to afford universities fees and also stating the benefits of qualifying for university fees funding.	The target audience of this audio visual is the people of Cape Town especially in Bo-Kaap. Most of the people who live in Bo-Kaap are coloureds. The languages spoken in Bo-Kaap, Cape Town are English and Afrikaans. The audio visual and images are aligned with the target audience, as the actors portrayed in the video representing the ethnicity involved. Cape Town is known for a high crime rate influenced by many factors including drug abuse.	The audio visual was recorded in the province of Gauteng with the presence of the Premier and former president. The target audience was everyone who is qualified to vote including the members of the ANC (present leadership).
STAKEHOLDER PERCEPTIONS	There was not much said from the stakeholder. However, this variable is equally as important and	There was not much said from the stakeholder. However, this variable is equally as important and	The relevant stakeholder in this audio visual was	There was not much said from the stakeholder. However, this variable is equally as important and	The stakeholders that were present are ANC's Head of Campaign (Fikile Mbalula), Premier

	others. This variable applies in other audio visuals, just not this one.	others. This variable applies in other audio visuals, just not this one.	National Students Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS).	others. This variable applies in other audio visuals, just not this one.	of Gauteng (David Makhura), former president of the ANC and various media houses. There were no opposition present during the 'question and answer' open discussion.
VIEWERS REACTIONS AND ENGAGEMENT	The video has 158838 views, which shows that it did well and it supports a huge number of audiences. The video was followed with 20 likes and 59 dislikes. Even though the number of dislikes are more than the number of likes, one can believe that this came from people who just do not like the party. The number of views is evident enough that people really did show interest in the campaign. The video had 30 interesting comments, one commented that they just came to dislike the video without watching and a few commenters stated that the messaging is backwards.	Some people in the comments section believe that the ANC pays actors to portray and convey a certain message to lure voters. However, the video had 0 dislikes and 14 likes, which is a good thing. The comments section does not influence much on the voters' choices, but the number of views, likes and dislikes carry more weight. One view is counted when the video has been watched from the beginning to the end. This means 56489 responded well to the video and the message.	The video has 55253 views, which shows that it has reached a huge number of support and following which can positively influence the number of votes in the elections. The video further gained 15 likes and 0 dislikes. This is good and it shows that the viewers and voters appreciate the party for prioritising on the issue of free higher education. It also shows that 'fees must fall' campaign was recognised and heard. This is a sign that the party does pay attention to the needs of the citizens of South Africa. The audio visual was received well by the people.	This audio visual had 39750 views, 14 likes, 0 dislikes and 11 comments. The good thing about this audio visual did not receive dislikes, which might help to attract more voters and supporters. However, the comments were a bit negative, which might impact the ANC into not gaining more votes and supports. One comment believes that the advert was misleading by writing "completely disgusting, Bo-Kaap is being threatened by ribah, it's a shame this guy ties to blame it on petty politics." This comment received four likes. The numbers of views is also another sign of large interactions of	The video has 14279 views, followed with 109 likes and 1 dislike. The number of likes in this video shows that viewers support the video. However, this is not always the case. Sometimes viewers have a tendency of liking or disliking the video before they watch, because it would have been influenced by the person delivering the message. In addition the number of dislike do tell that the message reached the audience well, because it received more positive reviews (likes) than negative reviews (dislike). This video also has 32 comments with majority stating that since

				supporters and voters. Another comments wrote "Vote ANC" and only one supporter agreed.	the main agenda is corruption and the party is also claiming it, it would fit best for the party to punish those that are involved in corruption and lawlessness acts. This would results in people voting for the ANC. Until then, the viewers believe that there is more talking than action.
PARTIES' SELF-PRESENTATION	This audio visual was a campaign advertisement, which utilised actors that endorsed the idea of the messaging and the party. The video did not feature anyone from the political party and therefore the only qualities that could be matched to the party would be the logo, slogan and colours of the ANC.	This audio visual was a campaign advertisement, which utilised actors that endorsed the idea of the messaging and the party. The video did not feature anyone from the political party and therefore the only qualities that could be matched to the party would be the logo, slogan and colours of the ANC.	This audio visual was a campaign advertisement, which utilised actors that endorsed the idea of the messaging and the party. The video did not feature anyone from the political party and therefore the only qualities that could be matched to the party would be the logo, slogan and colours of the ANC.	This audio visual was a campaign advertisement, which utilised actors that endorsed the idea of the messaging and the party. The video did not feature anyone from the political party and therefore the only qualities that could be matched to the party would be the logo, slogan and colours of the ANC.	The candidate addressing the issue is the former president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki. Mbeki is a well-respected candidate and he is still regarded among many people who served this country with dignity. However, the issues addressed in this video are evident enough to tell that the reputation of the ANC has not been a positive one. The brand itself has been attached and associated to negative reviews with corruption being in the lead. The party is known

| | | | | | for being in leadership for 25 years and is still not keeping up with the promises. Thabo Mbeki is known for his diplomatic style and sophistication. He is still seen as pragmatic, eloquent, rational and urbane. In this video Thabo Mbeki advocates greater democracy, transparency, and respect for human rights. Lastly, his political style is elitist, secretive, and authoritarian. |
| **FRAMING PARTY COMPETITION** | The voters in this context are the people in the comments section. The audio visual was received by mixed reactions. While some people believe the campaign in the audio visual was well put together, others argued that it was based on contradictory statements. One comment wrote "intelligent people do not vote for the ANC. Intelligent people know getting a new ruling party | The ANC dominate the political agenda, often manoeuvring their issues onto the agenda of their opposition parties. The ANC uses real people who are facing the problem or the issue to tell the story in their own word. This strategy legitimizes the ANC views, framing the party as honest and faithful representatives of public opinions. The issue of unemployment was prioritised and the numbers of views influenced the | This issue was prominent enough to not have a negative reaction. Also, it showed that the ANC did prioritise on the issue that dominated the media spaces and coverage since 2015-2016. In addition, the party also prioritised the needs and demand of the South African Youth. By addressing and claiming the issue of free higher education, helped the ANC to elevate to the top of the charts against it rivals and opposition parties. The ANC | The ANC dominate the political agenda, often manoeuvring their issues onto the agenda of their opposition parties. The ANC uses real people who are facing the problem or the issue to tell the story in their own word. This strategy legitimizes the ANC views, framing the party as honest and faithful representatives of public opinions. The issue of crime and drug abuse was | Based on the comments, every issue that is claimed and addressed does not seem to work in favour of the ANC. The reaction is not what the ANC expected. One comment reads "how long will we wait for changes from ANC? I am sorry I can't take it anymore". The change in behaviour increases negatively every time a new issue is addressed, even when the party is |

| | into government and promoting competition is the best thing for South Africa." Another commenter argued the slogan of the audio visual "let's grow South Africa together", stating that "there is no growth here in South Africa, only exponential decay." Another commented that the audio visual was a copy of DA (Democratic Alliance) advertisement, and DA is known to be ANC's biggest competitors and rival. One could notice the change in preference and behaviour every time a new issue is introduced and addressed in the audio visual. Another commenter added that "The ANC marginalise minorities and continue to make racially divisive statements like apartheid is alive in the Western Cape." It is believed that this is not the reaction the party could have expected from the viewers especially after being able to mention and | voters to remember that the ANC did address issues that matters to the public. The voters reacted well to the audio visual, hence there were no dislikes. The number of views is eight times more than the number of subscribers. | uses real people who are facing the problem or the issue to tell the story in their own word. This strategy legitimizes the ANC views, framing the party as honest and faithful representatives of public opinions. | prioritised and the numbers of views influenced the voters to remember that the ANC did address issues that matters to the public. However, the voters did not react well in the comments section of the audio visual. The number of views is more than the number of subscriber, which is good. | taking ownership, people are still not convinced. Another comment that stood out, showed signs of frustrations and they believed the former president, Thabo Mbeki did not touch on many other issues that are or were affecting lives of South Africans, let alone address issues that are on the manifestos. This media coverage on YouTube should have been capitalised to address issues that concerns the people of South Africa, instead the main focus on this audio visual was more on issues that people are not interested in and also were far from what was discussed in the manifesto except for the issue of corruption. |

	address issue that one could believe are salient and matter to the citizen of South Africa.			
FRAMING PARTY POSITIONS AND ISSUE SALIENCE	Racism is amongst the most salient issues in South Africa, an issue one could expect the party to address under slogan "let's grow South Africa together." In this audio visual also referencing the comments, the issue of racism was avoided, because it might decrease the popularity of the party's campaign. Majority of the people in the comments felt that the white man featured in the audio visual campaign was compensated prior to his appearance in the video. The man could be heard saying "the future of the country lies in the hands of every citizen of South Africa- batho kaofela." This statement means nothing especially that is coming from someone who is representing the minority of the population. It would have fit the picture had the	The issues claimed and addressed in this audio visual is also on the agenda of the party's manifesto. The comments do show that the campaign was well thought of and put together. One can also tell that the campaign sealed the deal and for that, people will vote for the ANC. While there was only one comment that disagreed with those that were encouraging others to vote for the ANC, stating that the ANC will continue to ruin the lives of people. The ANC ensured not to avoid the prominence and importance of the issue of unemployment and job creation. The ANC positioned itself in a manner that people will recognise its dedication and commitment on the issue of unemployment and job creation.	The issues claimed and addressed in this audio visual is also on the agenda of the party's manifesto. The comments do show that the campaign was well thought of and put together. One can also tell that the campaign sealed the deal and for that, people will vote for the ANC. While there was only one comment that disagreed with those that were encouraging others to vote for the ANC, stating that the ANC will continue to ruin the lives of people. The ANC ensured not to avoid the prominence and importance of the issue of free higher education. The ANC positioned itself in a manner that people will see it an honest and faithful way.	The issues claimed and addressed in this audio visual is also on the agenda of the party's manifesto. It is also a good idea to utilise actors that are able to claim and address issues that are closer to home. This also add an advantage for the party, in which the number of views also support the issue saliency of drug abuse and crime in Cape Town, Bo-Kaap. However, many comments felt that this advert was misleading to the viewers, since it is believed that the issue addressed especially in Bo-Kaap has nothing to do with politics. However, this could be a strategy for the ANC to win the votes by painting DA government in a negative light. The Western Cape province	The former president in this context also pose as an expert, because he is also part of the executive committee that oversees the administration of the party. The former president's judgement is highly trusted as he has been in the political field for more than 60 years and has led the ruling party from 1999 to 2008. One comment also believe that open discussions by political parties are important. Another human figure who was referenced in the audio visual is The former deputy president, Kgalema Motlanthe who advised the current ANC leadership to go and have self-introspection and that will help to restore the pride of the party. Furthermore, the were also people in the

	party used the white male as a figure to address issues that are concerning people of colour such as racism and unity. The segment was not utilised wisely, and the media space could have been utilised to address or claim an issue that is more salient and also affecting the people of South Africa such as crime, GBV and many other issues that are on the manifesto.			has been under the leadership of DA for the longest time, and the ANC used this opportunity to expose crime and drug abuse in the government of DA. This also tells that the ANC in this audio visual is exposing the incompetency of the current leading party in the Western Cape (DA).	comments section who felt the party during the open discussion failed and avoided to address other issues that were equally important as corruption that were also discussed in the manifesto. One mentioned that the party does speak of important issues, however, it never prioritise of issues that affected the lives of South Africans created by the ANC such as Marikana massacre (crime). The Marikana massacre was a lawlessness act by the ANC government, in which they abused their power and position by taking lives of mine workers who were protesting for their human rights. Since President Mbeki and Motlanthe are talking about reducing corruption in the ANC, they should have also capitalised the media

				space by addressing the issue of Marikana.
FRAMING **AUDIENCE** **ATTENTION**	The audio visual caught the attention of 158838 viewers at 0:39 seconds of the campaign. The video is 50 seconds long, however, most comments were based on the 0:39 time mark which featured a white male saying the following statement "the future of our country lies in the hands of the citizen of South Africa-Batho Kaofela." This is a segment the comments believe did not carry weight, considering the character portrayed in the video conveying the message. It is believed that the party could have utilised the slot to position that man as a figurehead to discuss and address issue saliency of racism. One viewer in the comments stated that they just watched the video to dislike it. The video had 59 dislikes and 20 likes. It is believed that the number of	The length of the audio visual is 31 seconds short enough to watch from the beginning to the end. The message was clear and straight to the point. The audio visual caught the attention **56489** viewers and 6800 subscribers. The video had 0 dislikes, 14 likes and 5 comments. There was only one negative comment, however, that does not mean the issue is not salient and important. The number of views compared to the numbers of subscribers is a proof that the audio visual has caught the attention of many people. The issue of unemployment is popular and relevant to the overall campaign agenda of the party's manifesto. From the 12 of October 2018 to 8 May 2019, 20 audio visuals were authored and produced on YouTube by the ANC. Seven (7) audio visuals	The length of the audio visual is 31 seconds short enough to watch from the beginning to the end. The message was clear and straight to the point. The audio visual caught the attention 55253 viewers and 6800 subscribers. The video had 0 dislikes, 15 likes and 7 comments. The message or the issue was addressed positively from the start to the end. There was not much to dislike about the video, because it was thoroughly prioritised and owned by the ANC. The number of views is higher than the number of subscriber, this also mean that the video was mention many times in different social media platforms and people came back to watch it through referrals. Also the mentions in the search bars do play a vital role to increase the saliency of the audio visual. The issue of free higher education gained	The length of the audio visual is 31 seconds short enough to watch from the beginning to the end. The message was clear and straight to the point. The audio visual caught the attention of 39750 viewers, followed by 14 likes and 11 comments. The video did not have any dislikes. The number of views compared to the numbers of subscribers is a proof that the audio visual has caught the attention of many people. The issue of crime and drug abuse is popular and relevant to the overall campaign agenda of the party's manifesto.	The length of the audio visual is 18 minutes and 48 seconds (18:48). The audio visual caught the attention of the 14279 viewers when the former President Thabo Mbeki claiming the issue of corruption as it is seen as an important factor affecting the performance of the party. The audio visual consisted of 32 comments, 109 likes and 1 dislikes. In the comments, majority of the viewers emphasised on corruption as they are eager to know what will the punishment be for the members of the party who are implicated in corruption and other lawlessness acts. In addition, people added that they will only vote for the ANC if the corrupt members are dealt with

140

	dislikes were influenced and impacted by the 0:39 segment. From the 12 of October 2018 to 8 May 2019, 20 audio visuals were authored and produced on YouTube by the ANC. Six (6) audio visual claimed and addressed the issue of corruption; Seven (7) audio visuals addressed and claimed unemployment; and Five (5) audio visuals addressed and claimed the issue saliency of free higher education. One audio visual would at other times address more than one issue.	claimed and addressed the issue saliency of unemployment and job creation.	popularity in 2016 during the 'Fees Must Fall' students' campaign. The numbers of views and interaction supports the relevancy and saliency of this issue. From the 12 of October 2018 to 8 May 2019, 20 audio visuals were authored and produced on YouTube by the ANC. Five (5) audio visuals claimed and addressed the issue saliency of free higher education.		accordingly. Others were convinced that if the party claims and own the issue of corruption, then there is hope and will definitely vote for the ANC. Lastly, the main issue that caught the attention of the viewers is how the president was taking accountability for the poor performance of the party and assuring the voters that things will change for the better. The discussion kept referring back to the manifesto and reminding the ANC party that it must act upon its word. From the 12 of October 2018 to 8 May 2019, 20 audio visuals were authored and produced on YouTube by the ANC. Six (6) audio visuals claimed and addressed the issue of corruption.
FRAMING ISSUE PROMINENCE	The prominent issues that were claimed and addressed in the audio visual were corruption and state capture (0:17- 0:20); safer	The entire segment of the video was focused on one issue. It showed the importance and salience of the issue of free	The entire segment of the video was focused on one issue. It showed the importance and salience of the issue of free higher	The entire segment of the video was focused on one issue. It showed the importance and salience of the issue of crime and	The prominent issues that were claimed and addressed in this audio visual is corruption and amongst the members of

communities (0:21- 0:24); unemployment (0:25- 0:31) and free education (0:32- 0:35). Each segment of the prominent issue lasted for 3 seconds, except for unemployment which lasted for 6 seconds. The segments were too short considering that the ANC has not delivered much since its governance. It could have utilised the media coverage for its own good and address the salient issues as broad as possible. From 0:01-0:16 and 0:36-0:50 is not the information that people want to hear judging from the people's reaction and comments. The ANC should have capitalised on those time segments to lure more voters. From the 12 of October 2018 to 8 May 2019, 20 audio visuals were authored and produced on YouTube by the ANC. Six (6) audio visual claimed and addressed the issue of corruption; Seven (7) audio visuals addressed and claimed unemployment;	unemployment and job creation. The issue of unemployment stands out and has dominated the media spaces and coverage for years. The video was 31 seconds and the ANC made sure to capitalise and prioritise on the issue to lure more supporters and votes. From the 12 of October 2018 to 8 May 2019, 20 audio visuals were authored and produced on YouTube by the ANC. Seven (7) audio visuals claimed and addressed the issue saliency of unemployment and job creation.	education. The issue of education stands out and has dominated the media spaces and coverage for years. The video was 31 seconds and the ANC made sure to capitalise and prioritise on the issue to lure more supporters and votes. From the 12 of October 2018 to 8 May 2019, 20 audio visuals were authored and produced on YouTube by the ANC. Five (5) audio visuals claimed and addressed the issue saliency of free higher education.	drug abuse. The issue of crime and drug abuse stands out and has dominated the media spaces and coverage for years especially in the city of Cape Town. The video was 31 seconds and the ANC made sure to capitalise and prioritise on the issue to lure more supporters and votes. From the 12 of October 2018 to 8 May 2019, 20 audio visuals were authored and produced on YouTube by the ANC. Seven (5) audio visuals claimed and addressed the issue saliency of crime and drug abuse.	the ANC (1:09- 6:30). The president capitalised on the media coverage especially on the issue of corruption. Corruption was the first issue that was claimed and addressed from the beginning of the audio visual. One can believe that the ANC is very much aware that this issue stands out the most and it is the reason the party has lost the people's loyalty and votes. It is a good thing that the segment of corruption as an outstanding issue was long enough and well dissected. While others argue that in as much as corruption is a salient issue, from 6:30 to the end of the video, the president could have capitalised on more prominent issues such as crime and unemployment. From the 12 of October 2018 to 8 May 2019, 20 audio

and Five (5) audio visuals addressed and claimed the issue saliency of free higher education. One audio visual would at other times address more than one issue.			visuals were authored and produced on YouTube by the ANC. Six (6) audio visuals claimed and addressed the issue of corruption.

| VARIABLES & VIDEOS | VIDEO 6: ANC

Title: A message from the president

Date of release: 29 April 2019

Views: 6150

Likes:17   dislikes: 0

Comments: 2 | VIDEO 7: ANC

Title: AD: Cyril Ramaphosa on children and women abuse

Date of the release: 30 April 2023

Views: 2133

Likes: 5 Dislikes: 0 Comments: 0 | VIDEO 8: ANC

Title: 2019 manifesto Launch| Lets grow South Africa together

Date of release: 20 March 2019

Views: 1987

Likes: 10 dislikes: 0 Comments: 10 |
|---|---|---|---|
| FRAMING STRATEGIES | The audio visual is thematic, because it addresses broader issues. The audio visual has claimed four issues and challenges such as jobs, growing the economy, the expansion of NSFAS (funding more young people), crime and abuse of women and children; and raiding of corruption. | The audio visual is thematic framed as it addresses the issue saliency on gender based violence against children and women in a broader manner. | This audio visual is thematic framed, as unemployment is a broader issue that affecting South Africans at large. In the case of this audio visual, the issue of saliency of job creation is claimed, however not capitalised on. |
| AGENDA-SETTING FUNCTIONS | The recurring themes are corruption. Unemployment and job creations; and free higher education through the expansion of NSFAS. The ANC through media (YouTube) determines what pictures are formed in the minds of the public and citizens therefore, refiguring the events to | The recurring theme and prioritised is gender based violence against children and women. This issue was also capitalised on the ANC manifesto and YouTube page. This use is on the top list of the party's agenda, hence, the entire audio visual was used to facilitate the issue saliency of | The recurring theme in this audio visual campaign is unemployment. The issue of unemployment is among the most top prioritised on the agenda of the manifesto of the ANC. Unemployment poses a serious problem to any nation and has a significant social and economic costs to the |

	make it simpler for viewers to understand. The ANC identified, claimed and addressed the issues to the media (YouTube). These issues are also a top priority on the agenda of the party's manifesto.	GBV, carried and authored by YouTube. According to UN Women, every 11 minutes a woman is killed by someone they know worldwide. In addition, the UNICE South Africa also stated that every 4 minutes, a woman is raped in South Africa. The issue of gender based violence was prioritised on the agenda during the campaign of '16 days of Activism of no violence against women and children.'	unemployed individuals, their dependants and society.
FRAMING **SALIENCE OF** **VALENCE**	The tone of the audio visual is positive and promising. There is hope and people believe that this this campaign will restore the trust that was once lost for the anc. Also the issues claimed and address in the audio visual can bring positive outcome during the elections. The audio visual received a positive outcome, also it had no dislikes and the comment section had positive feedback.	The tone is positive, because the president is mentioning how the ANC will improve the criminal justice system to prioritise the issue of gender based violence. In this audio visual the president reminds the viewers and supporter that the Department of women, youth and disability in the office of presidency has responded to the cries of the women of South Africa by agreeing that the ANC will set up a structure at a national level and the president's office to address various demands that women have raised. This is positive because it shows that the ANC is listening to the people's demands and attends to the issue instantly. This also tells that the party is honest and cares about the needs of the people.	The tone of the audio visual is neutral. It was a good idea to dedicate an entire video to address the saliency of unemployment and how the party (ANC) is aiming to create more jobs. The ANC did not capitalise more on the issue of unemployment, because there was not much said to support the claiming of the issue. It then becomes one of those messages that make it hard for people to choose a side. So it ended up resulting to a neutral tone, because viewers were conflicted.

VISUAL FRAMING AND VERBAL CUES	The audio visual starts with the logo/colours of the ANC and slogan of the party ('a better life for all') and campaign ('let's grow South Africa together'). Viewers reacted positively to campaign on the audio visual carried and facilitated by YouTube. The language used in the audio visual was clear and formal and it is a language that majority of South Africa understands. Every statement in the audio visual was supported by visuals and images.	The audio consist of a background song. He audio visual was recorded from the office of the President. The audio visual ends with the campaign slogan ('let's grow South Africa together') and ANC logo with the slogan 'A better life for all.'	The audio visual starts with the logo/colours of the ANC and slogan of the campaign ('let's grow South Africa together'). The audio visual has an ANC logo. The manifesto was delivered by President Ramaphosa, who was dressed in an ANC T-shirt with the colours Green, Gold and Black. Some of the people who were in attendance were also dressed in ANC T-shirts and caps along with the colours of the party.
SALIENCY AND FAME RESONANCE	The target audience was every youth that legible to vote, also that is in a higher learning institution. The second target audience was women and children; thirdly the target audience was also unemployed members of the citizen. The target audience includes all races in South Africa (black, white, coloured, Asians and Indians) and every gender (male, female, gay etc.). The target audience also include everyone who lives in urban and rural areas. The campaign did not exclude anyone.	The target audience in this audio visual is all women and children of all races in South Africa. The language used in this audio visual for communication is English, and the message was well addressed and claimed. This audio visual is formal and transparent. The issue of gender based violence affects everyone, be it rural or urban areas in South Africa.	The target audience of this audio visual is the people of South Africa who are of the legal age of voting and are in need and search of jobs. In addition, this audio visual include all races in South Africa in both urban and rural areas. The language used in the spoken in this audio visual is English, though South Africa has 12 official languages. The President was addressing the supporters of ANC at the stadium, also accompanied by various members of the ANC.
STAKEHOLDER PERCEPTIONS	There was not much said from the stakeholder. However, this variable is equally as important and others. This variable applies in other audio visuals.	There was not much said from the stakeholder. However, this variable is equally as important and others. This variable applies in other audio visuals, just not this one.	There was not much said from the stakeholder. However, this variable is equally as important and others. This variable applies in other audio visuals, just not this one.

VIEWERS REACTIONS AND ENGAGEMENT	The audio visual had 6150 views, 17 likes, 0 dislikes and 2 comments. The number of views was not bad, but convincing enough to gain more voters and supporters. The issues claimed and owned in the audio visual are the first five prioritised issues addressed in the manifesto of the ANC. The message on the audio visual highlighted the prominence and saliency of the issues therefore, there was nothing to dislike. The number of views, likes and comments prove that engagement and interaction was active and the message has reached the relevant target audience.	The audio visual had 2133 views, 5 likes, 0 dislike and 0 comments. This audio visual did not have dislikes and comments. There was not much interaction, a part of a good number of views. This can also be used as a good review since there was no negative feedback.	This audio visual had 1987 views, 10 likes, 0 dislikes and 10 comments. The good thing about this audio visual did not receive dislikes, which might help to attract more voters and supporters. However, the comments were a bit negative, which might impact the ANC into not gaining more votes and supports. One comments wrote "stealing money from the poor and giving it to your comrades buddies make you savage Cyril", this could also be influenced by the amount of times the ANC has promised the people jobs and nothing is still not done. The unemployment rate continues to increase drastically, and yet in every election campaigns people are promised jobs. This was not received well. Another comments wrote "vote DA", while the other comment supported the stamen by writing "I hate ANC". This is a concern, as one could tell that the people of South Africa are tired of empty promises and waiting for jobs that do not exist.
PARTIES' SELF-PRESENTATION	The candidate addressing the prominent issue is the current president of the ANC and South Africa, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa. The president is known for his charismatic personality that includes showing emotion to the people of South Africa. Ramaphosa is one of the respected leadership that south Africa has had, considering that he once served as a secretariat for the late Former president Nelson Mandela.	The candidate addressing the prominent issue is the current president of the ANC and South Africa, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa. The president is known for his charismatic personality that includes showing emotion to the people of South Africa. Ramaphosa is one of the respected leadership that south Africa has had, considering that he once served as a secretariat for the late Former president Nelson Mandela. Ramaphosa's	The candidate addressing the prominent issue is the current president of the ANC and South Africa, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa. The president is known for his charismatic personality that includes showing emotion to the people of South Africa. Ramaphosa is one of the respected leadership that south Africa has had, considering that he once served as a secretariat for the late Former president Nelson Mandela. Ramaphosa's

146

	Ramaphosa's resume is well respected and trusted. Ramaphosa has good leadership and communication skills. In this case, Ramaphosa is seen as a reflection and image of the ANC.	resume is well respected and trusted. Ramaphosa has good leadership and communication skills. In this case, Ramaphosa is seen as a reflection and image of the ANC.	resume is well respected and trusted. Ramaphosa has good leadership and communication skills. In this case, Ramaphosa is seen as a reflection and image of the ANC.
FRAMING PARTY COMPETITION	Based on the comments and likes, the viewers were convinced by what the president was addressing on the audio visual. The issues owned and claimed put the ANC at an advantageous position. The behaviour of the viewers remained the same, because every issue that is highly affected South Africa was prioritised, claimed and address.	The ANC prioritised on the issue of Gender based violence and did not avoid to address any underlying issue. The ANC took accountability of its errors in the criminal justice system to help gender based violence against women and children. The ANC capitalised on claimed salient issues facilitated on audio visuals carried by YouTube to promote its party, by displaying tenacity and less passivity.	The ANC dominate the political agenda, often manoeuvring their issues onto the agenda of their opposition parties. The ANC in this case did not capitalised on the issue of job creation. There was not much addressed on the issue saliency of unemployment and how the party will create more jobs.
FRAMING PARTY POSITIONS AND ISSUE SALIENCE	The issues that were prioritised match the speeches that the president had during the rallies and also the agenda of the manifesto. The comments on this audio visual were positive and convinced to vote for the ANC. The ANC left no stones unturned. The ANC did not avoid the issues that people always talk about. These are the issues that are always a subjects of thought, and they can affect anyone direct or indirect. It is rare to find a political party taking ownership of an issue that is affecting its performance, and for that the ANC did well by capitalising on these issues to ensure the citizen of the country that they are valued and heard.	The ANC prioritised on the issue saliency of gender based violence, as this issue is also on the main agenda of the manifesto. The ANC made sure to capitalise on this issue, so that it can be beneficial for the EFF on the day of election. This was a good strategy to show the supporters that the ANC does listen to the people and what is expected from them. This will help to increase the support and votes.	The ANC avoided addressing the issue of unemployment and how it is affecting the lives of poor South African who struggle to meet their end meets. This also justifies how the supporters and voters feel in the comments section. The party failed to utilise the media coverage on this audio visual to position itself in a manner that would be favourable. Unemployment is the top three prominent issues in South Africa, the president has to capitalise on this issue to win the voters 'support.

| FRAMING

AUDIENCE

ATTENTION | The audio visual was 60seconds long, short enough for viewers to watch without skipping. Once again, the ANC made sure that it addresses and claim as many issues as possible to capitalise on the media coverage. The number of likes was 17, not bad compared to the other audio visuals. The audio visual caught the attention of 6150 viewers of 6800 subscribers. From the 12 of October 2018 to 8 May 2019, 20 audio visuals were authored and produced on YouTube by the ANC. Six (6) audio visual claimed and addressed the issue of corruption; Seven (7) audio visuals addressed and claimed unemployment; Five (5) audio visuals addressed and claimed the issue saliency of free higher education; Three (3) audio visuals claimed and addressed the issue saliency of crime and Two (2) audio visuals addressed and claimed the issue saliency of gender based violence (on women and children. One audio visual would at other times address more than one issue. These salient issues claimed and addressed were facilitated by the audio visual media carried by YouTube. | The length of the audio visual is 50 seconds short. The issue of Gender based violence was unpacked very well and clear. Though the audio visual was about one issue (GBV), it is arguable to decide whether it was prominent or not, because the number of views compared to the other videos are not convincing enough. Also the number likes and comments are low. There was not much engagement and interaction, and it would have been interesting to find out how people think and feel from the comments. | The length of the audio visual is 31 seconds short enough to watch from the beginning to the end. The audio visual caught the attention of 1987 viewers, followed by 10 likes and 10 comments. The number of views is not bad. However, compared to other authored audio visuals, this has to be low, especially when it was about an issue that is important to the society. The issue of unemployment is popular and relevant to the overall campaign agenda of the party's manifesto. |
| FRAMING ISSUE

PROMINENCE | The full duration of the audio visual is 60 seconds. Segment 1 is jobs and growing the economy from 0:16- 0:21; segment 2 is the expansion of NSFAS for free higher education from 0:22-0:28; segment 3 is the plan to address socio economic | The issue of GBV is prominent, because the entire segment of the audio visual addressed and capitalised on the issue. The segment of the audio visual is 50 seconds. This has shown importance and saliency of the issue of gender based violence against | The entire segment of the video was focused on one issue. It showed the importance and salience of the issue of free unemployment and job creation. The issue of unemployment stands out and has dominated the media spaces and coverage |

challenges such as crime and abusive on women and children from 0:29-0:40; and segment 4 is corruption from 0:41-0:43. The rest of the video is when the president urges the viewers to vote for the ANC on the 8th of May 2019. The issues that are mentioned above, all stood out and dominated the media coverage during the election campaign. These issue were prominent as they were also prioritised on the party's manifesto.	women and children. The issue of Gender based violence has dominated the media space for decades. In this audio visual it was mentioned how the presidency's office will help to improve the criminal justice of South Africa to help prevent more case of gender based violence. From the 12 of October 2018 to 8 May 2019, 20 audio visuals were authored and produced on YouTube by the ANC. Seven (7) audio visuals claimed and addressed the issue saliency of Gender Based-Violence.	for years. The video was 44 seconds. However, the ANC failed to capitalise and prioritise on the issue to lure more supporters and votes. From the 12 of October 2018 to 8 May 2019, 20 audio visuals were authored and produced on YouTube by the ANC. Seven (7) audio visuals claimed and addressed the issue saliency of unemployment and job creation.

VARIABLES & VIDEOS	VIDEO 1: DA	VIDEO 2: DA	VIDEO 3: DA	VIDEO 4: DA	VIDEO 5: DA
	Title: Is this the new dawn? **Date of the release: 30 March 2019** **Views: 409008** **Likes: 382 Dislikes:** **Comments: 70**	**Title: One South Africa for all – first 2019 DA TV Commercial** **Date of the release: 7 March 2019** **Views: 406428** **Likes: 420 Dislikes:** **Comments: 74**	**Title: This is the real South Africa** **Date of release: 15 April 2019** **Views: 367443** **Likes:1.4k dislikes:** **Comments: 390**	**Title: We have to walk the road together** **Date of release: 22 April 2019** **Views: 247331** **Likes:216 dislikes:** **Comments: 44**	**Title: South African deserve fair access to jobs – DA TV ad** **Date of release: 18 March 2019** **Views: 136993** **Likes:148 dislikes: 0** **Comments: 12**
FRAMING STRATEGIES	The audio visual is thematic, because it addresses a broader issue. The audio visual has	The audio visual Is thematic, because It addresses broader issues. The audio visual has	The audio visual is thematic, because it addresses a broader issue. The audio visual has identified one issue which is corruption. The audio visual was authored	The audio visual is thematic, because it addresses broader issues. The audio visual has claimed and addressed one issue which is	The audio visual is thematic, because it addresses broader issue. The audio visual has claimed four issues and challenges such as

	identified one issue which is corruption.	identified the issues of crime and education.	and utilised by the DA as part of the election campaign.	corruption. The audio visual was authored and utilised by the DA as part of the election campaign.	unemployment and crime contributed by the lack of jobs in the country. An older woman is used in the campaign advertise writing a letter to the former DA leader Mmusi Maimane specifying the problem that is affect the whole family which is unemployment leading to crime.
AGENDA-SETTING FUNCTIONS	The audio visual has addressed corruption. In this case, the recurring theme would be corruption as it is also an agenda on the party's manifesto.	The audio visual has addressed crime and education. These are one of the main issues that are a big problem in South Africa, with no education in the country – these can only lead our youth to resort to committing crime to make ends meet.	The recurring theme, if not the only prioritised issue in this audio visual is corruption. This issue was also claimed and addressed on the DA's manifesto. It is portrayed in the images given off by the audio visual that 1994 when the country had its first democratic vote, there was hope and a dream of a better nation. The DA shows that the country's dream was hijacked by the ruling party with corruption.	The entire audio visual campaign was mainly focused on the issue of corruption. The character featured in the audio visual is the former DA leader Mmusi Maimane and he's emphasised on uniting together as South African, stand as one and fight the issue raised (corruption). He then mentioned that South African are the ones with the power to make a change. Corruption is a broader topic as it affects more issue within a nation.	The recurring themes are unemployment, job creations, poverty, education and crime. The DA identified, claimed and addressed the issue of unemployment, poverty and crime on the media (YouTube) prior the election to win more votes. These issues are also a top priority on the agenda of the party's manifesto.

FRAMING **SALIENCE OF** **VALENCE**	The tone of the audio visual is serious as the message given emphasis on the failure of the President since he came into power. The emotion in the video is of disappointment on the leadership of South Africa, as members of the top six get richer over corruption.	The tone of the audio visual is serious for this a cry by the leading opposition party praying for the nation to be a better place where education is accessible to all and the rate of crime is reduced .	The tone of the audio visual is serious. This audio visual is addressing the negative impact that corruption has in the country – instead of the country being hopeful for a better future after the bad experience of apartheid, it is presented that corruption has only been taking the country backwards.	The tone of the audio visual is serious and optimistic for a better future. It was a good idea to dedicate an entire video to address the saliency of the on-going corruption in the country and how the ruling party does nothing about but instead keep giving its people empty promises.	The tone of the audio visual is positive and promising. There is hope and people believe that this this campaign will restore the trust in giving the leading opposition party a chance to make a change. Also the issue claimed and address in the audio visual can bring positive outcome during the elections. The audio visual received a positive outcome, also had only 2 dislikes and the comment section had positive feedback.
VISUAL FRAMING **AND VERBAL** **CUES**	The video starts by showing the different sectors that the ANC has corrupted, namely SAA, Arms deal, Eskom, Prasa, SABC, SARB, Bell Pottinger, VBS and BOSSASA. The different sectors are shown through headlines of newspapers articles. It also shows the impact that the corruption of ANC has caused in the country. The facial expressions that appear are of disappointment stating	The video starts by playing music in the background and showing actors as citizens of the country, from different ages and races coming together as one nation praying for the nation to become a better place for all. The music used in the background is to trigger the emotion of pain that the country has been experience from the ruling party.	The audio visual starts by showing the South Africa flag emphasising the hope that the country had when the first democratic elections took place in 1994. South Africa as a nation became one united front with a dream to grow together as a nation. Then the ruling party did not do as promised, instead of moving forward as one, the corruption in the country has	The audio visual starts by showing a city which symbolises the whole South Africa. Secondly, the message that is being conveyed and addressed by the actors in the video which matches the visuals and images. In this case, the prominent issue that was addressed is corruption. The main actor, (Mmusi Maimane) was calling all South Africans, all races to	The audio visual starts with an elderly lady writing a letter to the former leader of the DA, asking for assistance in make their lives better by fighting unemployment which is a broad issue that can contribute to more issues such as crime and poverty. Viewers reacted positively to campaign on the audio visual carried and facilitated by YouTube.

	the failure of the ruling party with the empty promises.		made the nation move backwards and lose hope.	come together and vote for change. He was also give the people hope that the journey of corruption and fixing the country will be achieve if we all come together and unite.	The language used in the audio visual was clear and formal and it is a language that majority of South Africa understands. Every statement in the audio visual was supported by visuals and images.
SALIENCY AND FAME RESONANCE	The video does channel to the relevant audience. Every messaging that is addressed in this video is backed up images and scenery of what the corruption of the ruling party has been negatively affecting the country and the lives of the people that live in it. For example, the video addressed the issue of corruption and how the President is failing to take charge and make a difference in bring positive change in the country.	The target audience in this audio visual is everyone that lives in the country and the audio visual gives off the message of pain that the country has been experiencing for the past years with images of the people that are affected by lack of competency from the ruling party.	The target audience in this audio visual was everyone that lives in the country and being affected by the actions of the ruling party's corruption tendencies.	The target audience is all citizen of South Africa that are affected by the corruption in the country, this also includes all races and ethnicity. This message is for people from the ages of 18 and upwards that can actually register and vote.	The target audience was every youth that legible to vote, also that is in a higher learning institution. The second target audience was women and children; thirdly the target audience was also unemployed members of the citizen. The target audience includes all races in South Africa (black, white, coloured, Asians and Indians) and every gender (male, female, gay etc.…). The target audience also include everyone who lives in urban and rural areas. The campaign did not exclude anyone.

STAKEHOLDER PERCEPTIONS	The stakeholders present are the ANC President Cyril Ramaphosa, the top six of the ANC.	The stakeholders that were present are all the citizens in the country (from the children, women and men).	The relevant stakeholder in this audio visual is all the citizens in the country, the ANC officials that have been corrupting the country and the opposition party that seeks change for the county and keep the nation's dream alive (DA)	The relevant stakeholder in this audio visual is all the citizens in the country that are able to vote, the former Leader of DA, Mmusi Maimane as the one encouraging the people to do what is best for the country by voting for change.	The relevant stakeholder in this audio visual is all the citizens in the country that are able to vote, the former Leader of DA, Mmusi Maimane
VIEWERS REACTIONS AND ENGAGEMENT	The video has **409008** views, which shows that it did well and it supports a huge number of audiences. The video was followed with **382** likes and **55** dislikes. Even though the number of dislikes are more than the number of likes, one can believe that this came from people who just do not like the party. The number of views is evident enough that people really did show interest in the message that was sent out by DA. The video had 70 interesting comments, one commented that with Cyril Ramaposa being deputy President under Jacob Zuma, did nothing about corruption, what could be	The video has **406428** views, followed with **420** likes and **0** dislike. The number of likes in this video shows that viewers support the video. However, this is not always the case. Sometimes viewers have a tendency of liking or disliking the video before they watch, because it would have been influenced by the person delivering the message. This video also has 74 comments with majority stating that these is a good advertisement and they like what the DA is doing as they want to make sure change is witnessed in the country.	The video has **367456** views, which shows that it has reached a huge number of support and following which can positively influence the number of votes in the elections. The video further gained **1.4k** likes and **33** dislikes. This is good and it shows that the viewers and voters appreciate the party for prioritising on the issue of corruption which is the top issue in DA's manifesto. The audio visual was received well by the people.	The video has **247334** views, followed by **10** dislikes and **218** likes, which is a good thing. The comments section does not influence much on the voters' choices, but the number of views, likes and dislikes carry more weight. One view is counted when the video has been watched from the beginning to the end.	The audio visual had **136994** views, **148** likes, **2** dislikes and **12** comments. The number of views was high which shows that the message has reached the masses and is enough to gain more voters and supporters. The issues claimed and owned in the audio visual are the first five prioritised issues addressed in the manifesto of the DA. The message on the audio visual highlighted the prominence and saliency of the issues therefore, there were only 2 dislikes. The number of views, likes and comments prove that

	different now with him as a president.				engagement and interaction was active and the message has reached the relevant target audience.
PARTIES' SELF-PRESENTATION	This audio visual was a campaign advertisement, which utilised all the scandals of corruption that the ANC has been involved with and nothing being done to the corrupt ANC official that keep getting rich and affecting the citizens of the country with the empty promises.	The candidate addressing the issues is the former leader of the opposition party DA, Mmusi Maimane as well-respected candidate and he is still regarded among many people who want to see change in this country with dignity. At the end of the video Mmusi Maimane states the slogan of the DA which is "One South Africa for all".	This audio visual was a campaign advertisement, which utilised actors that endorsed the idea of the messaging and the party. The video presented by the leading opposition party shows the ruling party official posing as criminals robing the country from its positive growth through corruption. DA further emphasises on them being the only political party to bring hope and change for "one South Africa for all."	The candidate addressing the issues is the former leader of the opposition party DA, Mmusi Maimane addressing that all the people of the country should come together from different races to vote for change. At the end of the video Mmusi Maimane states the slogan of the DA	The citizen addressing the prominent issue is an elderly women representing all mother in the country with unemployed children write a letter to the former leader of the opposition party DA, Mmusi Maimane to help assist with the issue of unemployment and how it affect the people as it may lead to issues such as crime. DA regards itself as the best and fit political party in the country to enable change to occur as the ruling party has been failing
FRAMING PARTY COMPETITION	The voters in this context are the people in the comments section. The audio visual was received by mixed reactions. While some people believe the campaign in the audio	Based on the comments, every issue that is claimed and addressed does not seem to work in favour of the ANC. The reaction is not what the ANC expected. One comment reads "this is	This issue was prominent enough to not have a negative reaction. Also, it showed that the DA has been aware of what the ANC was not being doing to satisfy the needs of the people in the country. The	The DA dominate the political agenda, often manoeuvring their issues onto the agenda of their opposition parties. The DA uses real people in the advertisement who are	Based on the comments and likes, the viewers were convinced by what message is being sent in the audio visual. The issues owned and claimed by DA put them

	visual was well put together, others argued that it was based on contradictory statements. One comment wrote" that it is time to vote the ANC out." People have had it with the inconsistency and empty promises they've been getting from the ANC President where one of his mandate was to fight corruption. Another commenter mentioned that they want to be told about the plans the DA has for the country and not what the opposition country is doing.	true, accurate representation of all the people in South Africa who want to take the country forward, to greater heights together, without exclusion of any single culture, religion or race.	ruling party has been stealing from its people and allowing them to suffer with the corruption that they are doing. The DA uses this as an opportunity to claim and address the impact that corruption has in the country.	facing the problem or the issue to motivate people to come together and fight corruption by voting for the DA. The voters reacted well to the audio visual, hence there were a few dislikes. The number of views is 10 times more than the number of subscribers.	at an advantageous position. The behaviour of the viewers remained eager to try a different route and vote for change.
FRAMING PARTY POSITIONS AND ISSUE SALIENCE	Corruption is amongst the most salient issues in South Africa, an issue one could expect the party to address under slogan "let's grow South Africa together." In this audio visual also referencing the comments, the issue of corruption was avoided, because it might decrease the popularity of the party's campaign. Majority of the people in the comments felt that they are tired with all the promises	The two issues that are being addressed and claimed in these audio visual is crime and education which are also addressed in the party's manifesto. The country has been suffering from the effects of crime and education and this is a call by the former leader of the DA, Mmusi Maimane to come together as one united South Africa and seek for change for our beautiful country. One commenter	The issues claimed and addressed in this audio visual is also on the agenda of the party's manifesto. The comments do show that advertisement was well thought of and put together. One can also tell that the advertisement has opened people's eyes with to seeing how the ANC has been not doing much. The DA ensured not to avoid the prominence and importance of the issue of corruption. The leading	The issues claimed and addressed in this audio visual is also on the agenda of the party's manifesto. The comments do show that the campaign was well thought of and put together. One can also tell that the campaign sealed the deal and for that, people will vote for the ANC. While there was only one comment that disagreed with those that	The issues that were prioritised match the speeches that the former DA leader had during the rallies and also the agenda of the manifesto. The comments on this audio visual were positive and convinced to vote for the DA. The DA left no stones unturned. The DA did not avoid the issues that people always talk about. These are the issues that are always a

	they've been receive from the ANC. The President promised to reduce corruption in the country and the opposite has been happening as the killer of South Africa's economy keeps increasing. This was addressed in the manifesto of the party, to reduce corruption but a blind eye is place on the salient issue.	mentioned our country has be most beautiful flag and that the advertisement is nice and inspirational.	opposition party positioned itself in a manner that it is the only hope for people country to fight the prominent issue raised (corruption) is the DA.	were encouraging others to vote for the ANC, stating that the ANC will continue to ruin the lives of people. The ANC ensured not to avoid the prominence and importance of the issue of unemployment and job creation. The ANC positioned itself in a manner that people will recognise its dedication and commitment on the issue of unemployment and job creation.	subjects of thought, and they can affect anyone direct or indirect.
FRAMING **AUDIENCE** **ATTENTION**	The audio visual caught the attention of **409008** viewers. The video is 1:00 minute long and had () dislikes and **382** likes with 70 comments. From the 12 of October 2018 to 8 May 2019, more than 20 audio visuals were authored and produced on YouTube by the DA and they all claimed and addressed the issue of corruption.	The length of the audio visual is 1:00 minute and he audio visual caught the attention of the **406433** viewers when the former DA leader Mmusi Maimane calls for a united front and making a change as one South Africa. Issues being claimed in the video are of crime and education as their seen as one of the crucial issues having a negative impact in the country. The audio visual consisted of **74** comments, 420 likes and () dislikes. In the comments,	The length of the audio visual is 1 minute and 30 seconds short enough to watch from the beginning to the end. The message was clear and straight to the point. The audio visual caught the attention **367456** viewers and **45.9k** subscribers. The video had **33** dislikes, **1.4k** likes and **390** comments. The message or the issue was addressed positively from the start to the end. There was not much to dislike about the video, because it was thoroughly prioritised and	The length of the audio visual is 31 seconds short enough to watch from the beginning to the end. The message was clear and straight to the point. The audio visual caught the attention **56489** viewers and 6800 subscribers. The video had **0** dislikes, **14** likes and **5** comments. There was only one negative comment, however, that does not mean the issue is not salient and important. The number of views	The audio visual was 60 seconds long, short enough for viewers to watch without skipping. Once again, the DA made sure that it addresses and claim as many issues as possible to capitalise on the media coverage. The number of likes was **148** and the audio visual caught the attention of **136994** viewers of **45.9k** subscribers. From the 12 of October 2018 to 8 May 2019, 20 audio visuals were authored and

		majority of the viewers emphasised on how the DA has a good vision and plan to make the necessary change for a better one South Africa for all.	owned by the DA. The number of views is higher than the number of subscriber, this also mean that the video was mention many times in different social media platforms and people came back to watch it through referrals. Also the mentions in the search bars do play a vital role to increase the saliency of the audio visual. The issue of corruption has been on-going for years ever since the ANC got in power, everyone was hopeful for a new democratic nation little did they know that their dream will be robbed by corrupt ANC officials while they get richer when the poor keep suffering.	compared to the numbers of subscribers is a proof that the audio visual has caught the attention of many people. The issue of unemployment is popular and relevant to the overall campaign agenda of the party's manifesto. From the 12 of October 2018 to 8 May 2019, 20 audio visuals were authored and produced on YouTube by the ANC. Seven (7) audio visuals claimed and addressed the issue saliency of unemployment and job creation.	produced on YouTube by the DA. More than (10) audio visual claimed and addressed facilitated by the audio visual media carried by YouTube.
FRAMING ISSUE PROMINENCE	The prominent issue that was claimed and addressed in the audio visual is corruption. From the 12 of October 2018 to 8 May 2019, 20 audio visuals were authored and produced on YouTube by the ANC. Six (6) audio visual claimed and	The prominent issues that were claimed and addressed in this audio visual is crime and education, which is seen from the images portrayed by the actors in the audio visual. The former leader of the DA capitalised on the advertisement at the end by calling everyone in the country to stand together as	The entire segment of the video was focused on one issue. It showed the importance and salience of the issue corruption. The issue of corruption stands out and has dominated the media spaces and coverage for years. The video was 1 minute and 30 seconds and the DA made sure to	The entire segment of the video was focused on one issue. It showed the importance and salience of the issue corruption. The issue of corruption stands out and has dominated the media spaces and coverage for years. The video was 1 minute and 30 seconds	The entire segment of the video was focused on issues that affect the people in the country. It showed the importance and salience of the issue of free unemployment and job creation. The issue of unemployment stands out and has dominated the media

157

addressed the issue of corruption;	one united front to vote for the DA.	capitalise and prioritise on the issue to lure more supporters and votes.	and the DA made sure to capitalise and prioritise on the issue to lure more supporters and votes	spaces and coverage for years. These issues were prominent as they were also prioritised on the party's manifesto.

VARIABLES & VIDEOS	VIDEO 6: DA	VIDEO 7: DA	VIDEO 8: DA
	Title: EFF proves that it does not care about the poor. **Date of the release: 24 October 2018** **Views: 22749** **Likes: 140 Dislikes: 49 Comments: 56**	**Title: [Full speech] John Steenhuisen: SONA 2019 debate.** **Date of the release: 12 February 2019** **Views: 20359** **Likes:274 Dislikes: 11 Comments: 40**	**Title: Mmusi Maimane at the 2019 DA manifesto launch [Full speech].** **Date of release: 24 February 2019** **Views: 9192** **Likes: 64 dislikes: 8 Comments: 37**
FRAMING STRATEGIES	This audio visual is thematic framed and the issue that is claimed and addressed is corruption.	This audio visual is thematic framed and the issue that is claimed and addressed is Crime which also includes murders and sexual assaults on women and children. The DA claimed that people in South are not safe at home, churches, schools and farms, because of the uncontrollable crime rate in the country.	This audio visual is thematic framed, because it addressed most of the issues that are on the manifesto of the DA. Issues that are claimed and addressed are poverty, education, health care, racism, education, corruption and jobs.
AGENDA-SETTING FUNCTIONS	The recurring theme and prioritised is corruption. This issue is also prioritised on the DA's agenda of the manifesto. DA is known for being vocal in calling out the opposition parties about their wrong doing. Also the DA has always been	The recurring theme and prioritised is crime. An important issue that exist in each society is crime, and the people's fear of crime has increased. Crime has been one of those topics that captures the public's attention and popularity. The issue	The recurring theme and prioritised is poverty and corruption. The emphasis on manifestos is important because they play an important role in elections all over south Africa. For the DA to win an election, the

158

	passionate about the issue of corruption since its formation.	saliency of crime is also prioritised on the agenda of the DA manifesto. This claim motivates parties such as DA to capitalise on YouTube media coverage by utilising audio visuals to address crime related topics and news.	party needs to prepare manifesto and espouse ideologies.
FRAMING **SALIENCE OF** **VALENCE**	The tone of the audio visual is negative. The DA ensured to approach this campaign negatively, by exposing how incompetent the EFF and ANC are. The language used in this audio visual was informal as the DA referred to the EFF as "amasela" which is a Zulu phrase for 'sell outs.' Furthermore, DA also labelled the EFF as liars, which can damage the brand and the image of the EFF.	The tone of the audio visual is negative and reprimanding. This audio visual is addressing the negative impact of crime in South Africa and other elements that lead to the increase of crime. The language used in the audio visual is English and formal. Lastly, DA's Steenhuisen labelled the ANC as a party that keeps the people in suspense without delivering. Furthermore, the ANC thrives well in promising knowing very well that nothing will happen.	The tone of the audio visual is positive, because the aim of the manifesto through this audio visual, is unite South African to be able to build a better nation together. Also the Mmusi Maimane addressed the audience in 11 official languages, while there was a screen for sign language. The audience show appreciation whenever a new issue is claimed and address by clapping hand. Clapping hands is also a sign to show that the audience agree with the statements made
VISUAL FRAMING **AND VERBAL** **CUES**	When the DA mentions a new salient issue, it attaches the issue to a specific political party. For example, when DA claimed and addressed the issue of corruption, it stated that this message was aimed at the party with the green, gold and black. These are the colours of the ANC. Furthermore, the DA addressed the issue of VBS to the EFF by referring to them according to how they are dressed (the party that wears overalls and gumboots like mine workers; and also wear red dresses like domestic helpers). In this audio visual, members of the DA and EFF	The audio visual has a logo of the Parliament of South Africa. One could hear people clapping their hands when a new issue is mentioned and addressed to their satisfaction. The DA's Steenhuisen was addressing this issue in the parliaments and was dressed in formal, so is the majority of members of the parliament.	The audio visual shows supporters and members of DA dressed in blue coloured Tshirts with the logo of the party and slogan written "One South African for all". The stage in this audio visual is branded with the South African flag and DA logo and flag. The audio visual is also inclusive of all 12 official languages, as a result of that there is also a slot for sign language at the corner of the video. The audience show appreciation whenever a new issue is claimed and address by clapping hand. Clapping hands is also a sign to show that the audience agree with the statements made. The audience also perform

	were both dressed in the colours of the respective parties. The EFF were dressed in their red, black and green uniform and the DA was dressed in blue colours which the symbols of their party (DA).		chants after a salient issue is claimed and addressed. Also when the DA ensures people that there will be change and promises to improve various factors to grow the economy. Some of the chants are "Amandla, awethu" meaning the power is ours.
SALIENCY AND FAME RESONANCE	The target audience of this audio visual is the tax payers of South Africa, because the ANC misused tax payers' money to help build former President Jacob Zuma's Nkandla estate. Furthermore, the target audience is the black and poor South African who live in Venda who banked with VBS. The EFF was implicated in the mismanagement of funds, which includes certain members of the EFF being rewarded money illegally by the VBS bank and these has costed the lives of the people in Venda. Families in Venda lost their financial policies and investment due to political parties wiping out people's bank accounts.	The target audience of this audio visual is the all south Africans inclusive of all the races in all respective areas of the country. Crime affects everyone directly and indirectly.	The target audience of this audio visual is all men and women of all races who are legible to vote. Also the target audience is people who come from rural and urban areas who need employment; access to education, safety and security against crime; and quality access to service delivery in South Africa.
STAKEHOLDER PERCEPTIONS	The general secretary of the EFF, Mr Ghardee opposed the allegation of VBS made by the DA, stating this is false information and could mislead the people of South Africa. The speaker of the parliamentary house ruled out the EFF by stating that the DA is addressing an issue that has been mentioned several times in court documents. This audio visual was	The stakeholders in this audio visual are members of the opposition parties that were present in the parliament.	The stakeholder in this audio visual includes all voters in South Africa.

	recorded from the parliament of South Africa, during presidential debate session.		
VIEWERS REACTIONS AND ENGAGEMENT	The audio visual had a huge interaction and engagement. This audio visual had 22749 views, 140 likes, 56 comments and 49 dislikes. The number of dislikes was less than the number of likes, which would not negatively impact the DA's campaign. DA's comment section is the most effective and influential compared to all other parties in South Africa. One comment reacted from a remark made by the EFF labelling the DA speaker as a 'tea girl' and 'kitchen girl', the same people EFF pride itself to represent. The comment wrote "I can't believe that the EFF mocks people by using words such as 'tea girls' and 'kitchen girls' whom they are supposed to represent and protect, and also it is ironic that the EFF is wearing same clothes worn by them (domestic helper) at work." This comment received nine likes in which is signifies that people do agree. Another comment wrote that the EFF should pay back the money to VBS and then get jailed for their actions. This engagement shows that the DA has indeed addressed an issue that is considered salient and prominent. The comments and likes show that the DA really did put the needs of the people first.	The audio visual had a huge interaction and engagement. This audio visual had 20359 views, 274 likes, 40 comments and 11 dislikes. The number of dislikes was less than the number of likes, which would not negatively impact the DA's campaign. DA's comment section is the most effective and influential compared to all other parties in South Africa. Most of the comments showed appreciation and support to the DA, with majority saying that people must vote for the DA and also the audio visual was brilliant and well addressed. One comment wrote, "The ANC is dead quiet not like a year ago booing. The rope around their necks is becoming shorter and shorter" and this comment received 5 likes. Furthermore, this audio visual media coverage on the issue saliency of crime, significantly influenced viewers evaluation of ANC's presidential performance. This YouTube media coverage proved that the audio visual claiming and addressing the issue of crime influence the way audiences think about the political world in which they live in.	This audio visual had 9192 views, 64 likes, 8 dislikes and 37 comments. Compared to other political parties, this audio visual was by far the most successful. This audio visual received positive reaction and feedback, with one comment writing "Mmusi Maimane is a good man period. DA makes a promise and keeps it, the make progress against the odds. They don't steal tax money, they have the cleanest audits of all parties in South Africa. They have my support 100 percent. The only party that seeks to unite while all the others seek to divide… vote DA". The commenter urged other viewers not to vote out emotion, but to think about the future of South Africa. Another commenter added that Mmusi Maimane touches the hearts of South African through his speech, and resembles the same qualities of the former president of America, Mr Obama. This comment received 9 likes and 21 more comments that agree with the statement.

PARTIES' SELF-PRESENTATION	This audio visual was addressed by Phumzile Van Damme who was the member of the DA from 2014- 2021. Van Damme is known for dedicating her career to fighting corruption and protecting public interests. Van Damme was named to the Forbes' Top20 young power women , Mail and Guardian 's Top200 South Africans, and has participated in the International Visitor Leadership Program by U.S. Department of State Political Campaigns. Van Damme is also referred to by her peers as 'the young MP with a mission'. Van Damme's personal politics are liberal. DA's policies also reminds the people of South Africa that "All South Africans pay tax, and every cent of government money belongs to the South African people. Tax payers' money should be spent for the benefit of the people, not the connected few."	John Steenhuisen is a parliamentary leader of the DA, known for being polite, reasonable, open to persuasion and likeable. Ideologically, Steenhuisen has been described as a classical liberal, a supporter of non-racialism and a firm believer in racial equality. Steenhuisen is a well-known figure in South Africa with a compelling record leadership at a local government level; a skilled and experienced debater; and leader of a caucus over a hundred MPs. Lastly, Steenhuisen is fluent in English and Afrikaans.	Maimane was elected to head the party, thereby becoming the party's first Black leader. Under Maimane, the DA continued efforts to broaden its traditional base of white, liberal voters, though tensions over race were evident in the party and soon put his leadership to the test. Maimane is charismatic; likable; possesses a sufficient dose of humility and eloquent vocabulary; is educated, black (it matters in SA), has high emotional intelligence, is fairly young with time on his side, and is a happy family man. Even in this audio visual, Maimane kept on referencing his family, particularly his father. The role that Maimane's father played in his life, for him to be this passionate about the needs of the people and to also put people first.
FRAMING PARTY COMPETITION	This audio visual has received the most support in terms the comments section and how people feel. The DA capitalised on the issue saliency of corruption attacking its opponents in the election campaign. This audio visual talked more about the opposition party than the DA. When DA claim and address anew salient issue, the opposition quickly object, and many times the speaker of the house would rule against the DA's opponents. This audio visual favoured the DA, because every	What makes the DA in this audio visual to always be on top of the competition, is that the DA does not provide different answers to a given agenda of political problems, rather, the DA try to focus the electorate's attention on the issues that are advantageous for the party. This help in to making the issues more salient for the voters and this will result to a positive reward on the election day. DA is always consistent and ensure that it addressed and claim issue, by shifting the narrative to	This audio visual has received the most support in terms the comments section and how people feel. The DA capitalised on the issue saliency of corruption and poverty. Every time a new salient issue is addressed the audience start to raise their flags and applaud. Even in the comments section, one can tell that viewers were satisfied, and are confident that the DA capitalised on a very prominent issue. The DA also mentioned and addressed the issue of corruption about the bank in Venda called VBS. How many

	issue received a positive review in the comments section. The issue of corruption against the EFF and ANC has been dominating the media coverage especially in 2018. The issue of corruption influenced the removal of president Jacob Zuma, because the Nkandla smear campaign "pay back the money' was starting to damage the brand and image of the ANC.	favour the party. Selective emphasis instead of direct confrontation is seen as the most common and promising DA strategy in electoral competition. This audio visual favoured the DA, because every issue received a positive review in the comments section.	people who used to bank with VBS lost their money in the hands of the EFF and other politicians? The DA continued to mention some of their achievements in the metros that they are ruling in. the amount of improvement is very impressive and this can take the DA to the top.
FRAMING PARTY POSITIONS AND ISSUE SALIENCE	The DA capitalised and prioritised on the issue saliency of corruption, by exposing the how corrupt and lawlessness the ANC and EFF are. The DA has once again shifted its campaign battle against the ANC and EFF on an ongoing law fare campaign to abolish the ANC cadre deployment corruption from the face of South Africa. Parties such as the DA excessively use negative campaigning, because it is believed that it helps the party to win votes. Secondly, DA criticising ANC's government failure, blaming corruption or parties' mismanagement and providing voters with electoral alternatives through contrasting policy proposals are key functions of modern democracies and may help voters to make more informed voting decisions. The DA once again capitalised on the issue saliency of corruption against the EFF, since the party is also implicated in the	The DA capitalised and prioritised on the issue saliency of corruption, by exposing the leading government of not prioritising the issue of crime. Firstly the DA addressed factors that contributes to the increase of crime which includes unprofessionalism in the law enforcement of South Africa; underpaid police, understaffed, unequipped and untrained police officers; lack of resources. DA also stated that 57 people are murdered every day, 137 women are sexually assaulted and 685 homes are violated. This information makes the leading party (ANC) to look bad to the public, and as a result of this, people might resort to vote and support the DA. The DA also accused president Ramaphosa of giving the community a responsibility to help fight crime, but does not invest the same energy into hiring more police officers instead. However, this is hypocritical of the DA to attack the ANC, while it leads majority of the votes and	The DA capitalised on the issue saliency of corruption and poverty. According to DA, today poverty in South Africa is impacted by corruptions. Service delivery for the poor is of quality due to irregular expenditure and maladministration of funds. Politicians especially the ANC and EFF are taking and using tax payers' money for their own personal gains, while the poor continues to struggle. The DA reminded the audience that through its governance, especially in city of Johannesburg, Mayor Herman Mashaba created 100 000 jobs. This shows that DA does keep up to its promises, while the ANC continue to steal and take from the poor. The poor are unable to access quality education, due to poor infrastructure and lack of resources. This is also due to corruption, because companies are awarded tender to build an improve schools infrastructure, however, the job is always left incomplete. DA reminded the audience and viewers that Mayor Mashaba has

	VBS saga, where the people of Venda lost their money due to politician stealing it.	supporters in the province of Western Cape, where the crime rate in terms of gun violence and drug abuse is uncontrollable. The attack against the ANC orchestrated DA did improvise and the viewers had nothing negative to say about the audio visual, rather show support to the DA. This audio visual also addressed the ANC that under its governance, the police depopulation has worsened over the 2018 year. This mean the ratio of public safety is 1:375 (there is 1 police officer protecting 375 citizens in every city). The DA again used a negative approach to shame the ANC for being unable to fight crime, and this puts the DA on top of the competition. The DA went on to claim that the ANC invest more money into issuing protection and body guards to 17 ministers and deputy ministers, while South African are expected to deal with crime on their own. This smear campaign by the DA against the ANC positioned to DA to be an informed and educated, since no opposition objected all their claims.	already started dealing with corruption by initiating thousands of investigation that have led to 362 arrests, 16 suspension and 27 dismissal. DA reminded the audience that the issue of corruption will continue to be addressed and the party will ensure not to only focus on official, but also prominent politicians who are failing to do their jobs.
FRAMING **AUDIENCE** **ATTENTION**	This audio visual caught the attention of 22745 viewers which is enough to help the DA to get more support and votes. Furthermore, this audio visual sparked a huge conversation with 56 comments, 140 likes and 49 dislikes. This audio visual received a positive feedback and it did capitalise on the issue saliency of	Audio visuals carried by YouTube play an influential part in how issue saliency of crime gain public attention. This audio visual caught the attention of 20359 viewers which is enough to help the DA to get more support and votes. Furthermore, this audio visual sparked a huge conversation and positive feedback with	This audio visual caught the attention of 9192, followed by 64 likes, 8 dislikes and 37 comments. The comments section was very positive ad it shows that the viewers were impressed. The amount of views combined with the audience that was at the actual launch is good enough to prove that salient issues were capitalised on and also YouTube

	corruption. The length of the video is 13 minutes and 15 seconds, and every second of it was utilised well and proper.	40 comments, 274 likes and 11 dislikes. This audio visual received a positive feedback and it did capitalise on the issue saliency of crime. The length of the video is 9 minutes and 18 seconds, and every second of it was utilised well and proper.	through the facilitation of audio visual did contribute to the increase in support and votes for the DA. The length of the video is 50 minutes and 56 seconds, and every second of it was utilised well and proper.
FRAMING ISSUE **PROMINENCE**	The entire video which is 13 minutes and 15 seconds, claimed and addressed the issue saliency of corruption. The issue of corruption was well prioritised. The DA capitalised on the media coverage especially on the issue of corruption. Corruption was the first issue that was claimed and addressed from the beginning of the audio visual. It is a good thing that the segment of corruption as an outstanding issue was long enough and well dissected. From the 12 of October 2018 to 8 May 2019, 27 audio visuals were authored and produced on YouTube by the ANC, 11 audio visuals claimed and addressed the issue of corruption. Every three minutes of this audio visual, there would a point of order from the opposition parties, and this has helped to increase interaction through views, likes, dislikes and comments.	The entire video which is 9 minutes and 18 seconds, claimed and addressed the issue saliency of crime. The DA capitalised on the media coverage especially on the issue of crime. Moreover, the prominent the issue saliency of crime is in this audio visual carried by YouTube, the more influence it appears to have. This issue is prominent and this audio visual was a proof. No members of the parliament objected the DA, because crime can affect anyone even in the presence of law enforcement. The issue of crime has dominated media coverage for years, and this also includes police brutality. Everyone can be a victim of crime that is why it is important for the DA to prioritise on this issue to gain more popularity and loyalty from voters and supporters. From the 12 of October 2018 to 8 May 2019, 27 audio visuals were authored and produced on YouTube by the ANC, 7 audio visuals claimed and addressed the issue of corruption.	The length of the video is 50 minutes and 56 seconds, and every second of it was utilised well and proper. The issue of corruption was well prioritised. The DA capitalised on the media coverage especially on the issue of corruption. What makes corruption and poverty a prominent issue is that every issue that is claimed and address, the DA incorporates corruption and poverty. For example, the issue of lack of adequate health care facility is influenced by corruption due to money that was meant for improvement being stolen. This also means the poor people will suffer the most due to insufficient medication, lack of nurses and many other health care services. Each segment made sure to claim and address the issue saliency of corruption and poverty and how these two issue are prominent and marry each other. From the 12 of October 2018 to 8 May 2019, 27 audio visuals were authored and produced on YouTube by the ANC, 11 audio visuals claimed and addressed the issue of corruption.

VARIABLES & VIDEOS	VIDEO 1: EFF	VIDEO 2: EFF	VIDEO 3: EFF	VIDEO 4: EFF	VIDEO 5: EFF
	Title: Commissar Makoti Khawula **Date of the release: 29 November 2023** **Views: 119082** **Likes: 550 Dislikes: 31** **Subscribers: 199000**	**Title: CiC Julius Malema addressing people at the EFF Gala Dinner** **Date of the release: 2 February 2019** **Views: 62774** **Likes: 710 Dislikes: 5** **Subscribers: 199000**	**Title: EFF TV advert** **Date of release: 10 April 2019** **Views: 53952** **Likes: 1180 dislikes: 373** **Subscribers: 199000**	**Title: CiC Julius S Malema casting his vote in Seshego, Limpopo** **Date of release: 8 May 2019** **Views: 26465** **Likes: 298 dislikes: 5** **Subscribers: 199000**	**Title: CiC Julius Malema in Seshego for annual end year celebration** **Date of release: 27 December 2018** **Views: 24535** **Likes: 379 dislikes: 0** **Subscribers: 199000**
FRAMING STRATEGIES	The audio visual is thematic as it addresses the issue saliency on gender based violence in a broader manner. The EFF member addressing the parliament provided different themes and pattern that continue to influence gender based violence. Makoti Khawula mentioned rape in work spaces, homes, schools, malls, churches and streets. The second theme would be men oppressing women and children in homes, schools and work. The third theme is church leaders abusing their power in the name of religion by assaulting and	The audio visual is thematic framed, as it addresses issues in a broader manner. . The prominent issues addressed and claimed in this audio visuals are land expropriation, crime, Jobs, Health care/Poverty and Corruption.	The audio visual is thematic framed, as it addresses issues in a broader manner. The prominent issues addressed and claimed in this audio visuals are free education; decent wages for workers; corruption; fight for land; racism and gender based violent against women and children.	The audio visual is thematic framed, as it addresses issues in a broader manner. The prominent issues addressed and claimed in this audio visuals are land expropriation; corruption; and unemployment.	The audio visual is thematic framed, as it addresses issues in a broader manner. The prominent issues addressed and claimed in this audio visuals are free education; land expropriation; unemployment; Drug abuse; Health care/Poverty; road infrastructure; water and electricity; park and social recreation.

	taking advantages on the women in their facilities.				
AGENDA-SETTING FUNCTIONS	The recurring theme and prioritised issue is Gender based violence. This issue was also capitalised on the EFF manifesto and other document. This issue is on the top list of the party's agenda, hence, the entire audio visual was used to facilitate the issue saliency of GBV, carried and authored by YouTube. According to the UN Women, every 11 minutes a woman is killed by someone they know in the world. In addition, UNICEF South Africa also stated that every 4 minutes, a woman is raped in South Africa. The issue of GVB became on the agenda during the campaign of '16 days of Activism of no violence against women and children'.	The recurring theme is health care/poverty, where Malema claimed that health care systems fails the black poor majority in South Africa. Most of these people are unable to afford private health care facilities. Malema claimed and addresses that the public health care system need to improve to decrease death fatalities. The second recurring theme in this audio visual is crime, where Malema claimed that the reason crime continues to be an issue in South Africa, is due to lack of compensation for the police officers. Malema utilised audio visuals carried by YouTube to facilitate the saliency of crime in communities by adding that Police officers are paid less than what it is deserved. Therefore, the police officers feel demotivated to do and	The recurring theme and prioritised issues in this audio visual are free education and corruption. This issue was also claimed and addressed on the EFF manifesto. The issue of free higher education has dominated the media coverage, especially in 2015-2016 during 'Fees Must Fall' students' campaign, and the EFF were encouraging the movement. The issue of free basic education is without a doubt salient as it affects everyone (students and parents who pay tuition fees). Hence why the EFF had to capitalise on the issue of free education to lure and mobilise more voters and loyal supporters. EFF has also dominated the media addressing the issue of corruption by the ANC through the 'Pay back the money' smear campaign	The recurring theme and prioritised issue in this audio visual is the land expropriation of land. This issue is also the slogan of the EFF's election campaign 'Our land and jobs now'. . This issue is also the slogan of the EFF's election campaign 'Our land and jobs now'. Issue saliency of Unemployment and corruption were claimed but they were never addressed and emphasised. There is never an EFF speech or debate without mentioning the issue of land expropriation.	The recurring theme and prioritised issue in this audio visual is the land expropriation of land and unemployment. . This issue is also the slogan of the EFF's election campaign 'Our land and jobs now'. . This issue is also the slogan of the EFF's election campaign 'Our land and jobs now'. Malema claimed' addressed and emphasised on the issue of land by stating that land in Seshego need to be benefited by the people who live there to achieve the following:- to use the land for building houses; use the land for agricultural purposes; and use the land for business purpose to create more job opportunities, especially for the graduated youth. Malema also emphasised

		perform a thorough job. The third recurring theme is basic education. Malema also addressed the issue education, claiming that a child who do not want to go to school, must be arrested, because it is fruitless expenditure. This also mean that parents who refuse their children access to education, must also face the music of the law- it is crime. Malema also emphasised on the issue saliency of education, claiming that schools must also be in good condition and harmless.	against for ANC former president Jacob Zuma.		that drug abuse in Seshego is also created by unemployment (lack of jobs) and children not having access to free education. In addition, Malema claimed that lack of Jobs in Polokwane Municipality is caused by nepotism and corruption- by appointing unqualified people.
FRAMING **SALIENCE OF** **VALENCE**	The tone of the audio visual is negative, because the message is aimed at the ANC. EFF emphasised how ANC government failed to support and protect women and children, and that is the reason women are continued to be raped and killed in churches, homes, schools and streets. The effectiveness of negative campaigning lies in the basic human psychology. People form an opinion	The tone of the audio visual is positive. Malema focused primarily on the relevant issues; the EFF's own views, virtues and experiences, without attacking their opponents in an attempt to gain votes. Malema did criticise the incompetence of the opposition parties, which can be seen as a contrast of a positive toned campaign. However, positive campaigns do also allow	The tone of the audio visual is positive. This audio visual is addressing issues that the EFF has managed to deal with even in the previous years. The positive tone in this audio visual focused on changing the behaviour of voters and viewers by appealing to desirable emotions and outcome. This campaign might or may invoke emotions such as happiness, peace or gratitude.	The tone of the audio visual is negative, because instead of the EFF capitalising on the media coverage and attention, Malema prioritised on talking negatively about the opposition party, ANC. The audio visual carried by YouTube should have been utilised to facilitate salient issue to lure and mobilise more voters for the last time. However, it can be argued	The tone of the audio visual is positive. This audio visual is addressing issues that the EFF has managed to deal with even in the previous years. The tone of the audio visual is positive. Malema focused primarily on the relevant issues; the EFF's own views, virtues and experiences, without attacking their opponents in an attempt to gain

	based on how a political party or issue has been framed for them. Every political party has its weakness, and every policy proposal has its downsides. For EFF to put its opponents' weakness on full display, at least some voters are likely to see their opinion change.	fact-based criticism of an opponent, claiming it as fair, necessary and informative to the average voter.		that sometimes without negativity, voters would not have full information about all of their choices, since no candidate will say anything negative about themselves. Therefore, sometimes it is important for candidates to point out the flaws of their opponents for voters to fully be informed.	votes. People naturally prefer positive political parties than the negatives ones. Malema maximised positivity in the campaign by eliminating factors that make people feel negative emotions.
VISUAL FRAMING AND VERBAL CUES	The audio visual has an EFF and parliament of RSA logo. The member of the EFF addressing the parliament was dressed in the party's uniform with colours red, black and green. The women's uniform represent the lives of black domestic workers in South Africa. The most interesting factor about this audio visual is that Makoti Khawula is the only member of parliament who refuses to address the house and communicate in English, rather isiZulu and isiXhosa. The reaction and expressions in this audio visual signify confusion,	The setup of the meeting was gala dinners and it was addressed by the EFF President, Julius Malema. The members of the party were dressed in formal, but incorporated the colours of the EFF which are red, black and green. The audio visual has an EFF and logo. The language used in the audio visual was professional and formal. Every time a salient issue is claimed and addressed, the audience clap to signify that they agree with the importance of the message. The audience showed emotions of happiness as they could be heard laughing. The viewers	The audio visual starts by playing background song called 'sizo jiki izinto', which means 'we will turn things around'. Secondly, the audio visual shows books art piece, together with a picture of the EFF members in graduation regalia. The audio visual ends with logo of the EFF that has a face of the EFF president, Julius Malema and the slogan of the campaign 'our land and jobs now'. Thirdly, the message that is being conveyed and addressed by the actor in the video, matches the visuals and images. Images and visuals in a campaign allows viewers to connect and relate with the	The audio visual starts by playing background song called 'sizo jiki izinto', which means 'we will turn things around' from time stamp 0:01- 6:25. The audio visual is branded with the EFF logo, also the characters in the video are shown wearing EFF branded merchandise. The closing of the audio visual includes audience expressing feeling of gratitude and appreciation. The people in Julius Malema's home town value his work ethics and honesty. Malema also expressed	The EFF President was dressed in the party's uniform. The male uniform is red overall and beret which signifies the lives of black mine workers who were murdered in Marikana on the 16th of August 2012. The language used in this audio visual is Sepedi (Northern Sotho), since the common language spoken in Polokwane and Seshego. Every time a salient issue is claimed and addressed, the audience clap to signify that they agree with the importance of the message. The audience

	because of language barrier. Also in various time stamps, the audio visual show people clapping hands and applauding Makoti Khawula for being brave to address an issue that others failed to claim.	as well in a form of views and likes does tell that the message has reached the masses on and offline.	message. Not only are the viewers hearing the message, but they can also see it.	that he is proud of himself and the success of EFF.	showed emotions of happiness as they could be heard laughing.
SALIENCY AND FAME RESONANCE	The target audience in this audio visual are women, children, church leaders, school leaders and law enforcement. Khawula mentioned that there was a GBV case in the KZN province, and the EFF reported it to the MEC dealing with that department, and nothing has been done. Khawula also emphasised that the law enforcement does not apprehend the perpetrators, they rather go and target brothels and other adult/sex businesses, and make arrest (which is illegal, because people in adult businesses are not victims, most of them have volunteered). The issue of GBV affect anyone be it in the rural or urban areas. This issue also	The target audience in this audio is every black person, men and women in South Africa. This gala dinner was intended to brief the EFF sponsors and to also raise funds for the election campaigns, and also address issues that claimed in the manifesto and how the party aims to communicate and address those issues.	The target audience in this audio visual was everyone who is in a higher learning institution; parents who cannot afford to pay tuition fees and high school learners who will be embarking on a journey of university; and rest of south Africans who are suffering the consequences of corrupt governance; the South Africans who are impacted by racism, gender based violence and unfair wages at work. Judging on the issues being addressed, the message behind the campaign and visuals, it is safe to say the target audience is black people who come from less privilege background.	The target audience in this audio visual was people in Seshego and Polokwane who need land for housing and business purposes. The other target audience, was the voters in the area of Seshego, because that is where Julius Malema casted his vote. The demographics of the audience is black and majority are from poor background.	The target audience in this audio is every black person, male and female in Seshego, because the issue claimed and address were of those that affected the people in Seshego and Polokwane. Majority of the people in Seshego come from poor backgrounds and are also dependent on the assistance from the government. Most people cannot build or buy land on their own, they rely on the government to provide them with houses. Every school in Seshego have a feeding scheme programme, to provide food to the children who come from less privilege homes. The health care system is

					damaged as some of the clinic have been shut down due to lack of funds.
STAKEHOLDER PERCEPTIONS	The opposition parties were not pleased with how the EFF keep throwing them in the mud. The EFF claimed that there are leaders in the ANC that have pending cases of rape and the law is doing nothing about it. Therefore, this makes the ANC to look hypocritical by driving the movement of '16 days of activism of no violence against women and children'. The ANC members of parliament objected the claims, stating that the EFF member should withdraw, because there is lack of truth in the statement.	The stakeholders in this audio visual are the fund raisers and sponsors. However, the stakeholders do not have a segment for viewers to hear their opinions.	This variable is important, however, it had no role in this audio visual.	Even though the EFF kept on mentioning the rival and opposition party, the ANC, there has not been response or interaction from the ANC in response to the allegation made by Malema. IEC also ensure Malema that counting of ballot votes will be fair and transparent. This comes after some of the EFF supporters' complaint about the IEC members at the voting station in Seshego, that they are being harassed.	This variable is important, however, it had no role in this audio visual.
VIEWERS REACTIONS AND ENGAGEMENT	The audio visual has 119082 views, 550 likes and 31 dislikes. This audio visual does not have comments, as the political party has disabled the comment section. This	The audio visual had 62774 views, 710 likes and 5 dislikes. The comments section on this audio visual were disabled, therefore, it can never be known how the viewers and supporters	The video has 53952 views, which shows that it has reached a huge number of support and following which can positively influence the number of votes in the elections. The video further	The audience reacted positively when they saw EFF president, Julius Malema walking into the voting station. This changed the behaviour and shifted the mood of	The audio visual had 24535 views, 379 likes and 0 dislikes. The comments section on this audio visual were disabled, therefore, it can never be known how the

	could also show that EFF does not really care for the viewers and public opinion. EFF is a one-way leadership style. The audio visual did well and was received positively by many judging on the number of views, as this was the most watched video of the EFF during the time period of 12 October 2018- 8 May 2019. One can only assume that the number of dislikes was impacted by the language used to address the facilitated salient issues in this audio visual. isiZulu and isiXhosa are most common in KZN, Gauteng, Western Cape and Eastern Cape. However, most of the EFF fan base is in provinces that speak other languages. The common language that could have been used for everyone to understand, would have been English.	honestly feel. This is the second most watched video between of 12 October 2018 – 8 May 2019. The number of likes and views are convincing enough to believe that the message was received well and the saliencies of issue were also well addressed. 5 likes does not really negatively impact the purpose of the audio visual.	gained 1180 likes and 373 dislikes. This is good and it shows that the viewers and voters appreciate the party for prioritising on the issues mentioned in the audio visual. It also shows that issues such as free education are prioritised the most, since it had the most visuals. This is a sign that the party does pay attention to the needs of the citizens of South Africa. The audio visual was received well by the people. However, there were also a lot of people who did not like the video. One will never know, because the channel has disabled the comment section. It can only be assumed to be the opposition party that contributed on the number of dislikes.	supporters and audience for the better. The audience was happy to see and meet Julius Malema. This could also play a role in behaviour of the voters to change their minds and vote for the EFF. Watching a public figure on a media platform such as YouTube and seeing the candidates in person, brings out a different feeling and reaction. How the supporters react in real life, becomes an inspiration to those who are watching from their phones that they can also relate. The audio visual gained 26465 views, 298 likes and 5 dislikes. The positive thing is that the audio visual was uploaded on the same day of the elections. The comments section of this audio visual were disabled. However, unlike the other videos, this audio visual was live and the reaction and interaction from supporters at the voting	viewers and supporters honestly feel. This is the fifth most watched video between of 12 October 2018 – 8 May 2019. There was zero dislikes. The audience seemed to be happy hearing from their loud reaction of excitement and happiness.

				station make up for the YouTube comments section.	
PARTIES' SELF-PRESENTATION	Makoti Khawula is assigned to serve the portfolio committee on women in the presidency. Hence why there was passion for the issue of GBV, because Khawula works closely to the department that deals with similar issues on a daily basis. Khawula is loved and respected by members of the parliament, including the opponents. Khawula uses charismatic leadership style, which justifies the passion of emphasising more on socio economic issues. Khawuka is one of the few members of parliament that can speak without interruption, as opposed other members. Khawula is regarded highly by EFF and opponents, because of the work experience she has in the political sphere. The EFF only prioritise the needs of	This audio visual was addressed and facilitated by the EFF President and founder, Julius Malema. Malema is known for being amongst those played a huge role of kingmaker for former President Jacob Zuma after effectively dethroning former President Thabo Mbeki from presidency. Julius Malema has a combination of both autocratic and transformational leadership style. Malema is also known having the ability to zoom in on the essence of what the majority of South Africans need and connect with them. The party has managed to be in the top three considering that in 2019, it was only six years old. The EFF only prioritise the needs of black people. This party is anti-white. The EFF is a black conscious movement and it	This audio visual was narrated by the EFF President and founder, Julius Malema. Malema is known for being amongst those played a huge role of kingmaker for former President Jacob Zuma after effectively dethroning former President Thabo Mbeki from presidency. Julius Malema has a combination of both autocratic and transformational leadership style. Malema is also known having the ability to zoom in on the essence of what the majority of South Africans need and connect with them. The party has managed to be in the top three considering that in 2019, it was only six years old. The EFF only prioritise the needs of black people. This party is anti-white.	This audio visual was addressed and facilitated by the EFF President and founder, Julius Malema. Malema is known for being amongst those played a huge role of kingmaker for former President Jacob Zuma after effectively dethroning former President Thabo Mbeki from presidency. Julius Malema has a combination of both autocratic and transformational leadership style. Malema is also known having the ability to zoom in on the essence of what the majority of South Africans need and connect with them. The party has managed to be in the top three considering that in 2019, it was only six years old. The EFF only prioritise	This audio visual was addressed and facilitated by the EFF President and founder, Julius Malema. Malema is known for being amongst those played a huge role of kingmaker for former President Jacob Zuma after effectively dethroning former President Thabo Mbeki from presidency. Julius Malema has a combination of both autocratic and transformational leadership style. Malema is also known having the ability to zoom in on the essence of what the majority of South Africans need and connect with them. The party has managed to be in the top three considering that in 2019, it was only six years old. The EFF only prioritise

	black people. This party is anti-white.	focuses on only on the Black population.		the needs of black people. This party is anti-white.	the needs of black people. This party is anti-white.
FRAMING PARTY COMPETITION	The EFF dominate political agenda, often maneuvring their issues on to the agenda of the opposition parties (ANC and DA). The EFF capitalise on claimed salient issues facilitated on audio visuals carried by YouTube to promote its party, by displaying tenacity and less passivity when debating the opposition parties. This audio visual was the most watched with 119082 views, followed by 550 likes and 31 dislikes. During this segment of GBV, members of the opposition parties kept on objecting the claims addressed by the EFF in the parliament. The speaker and chair of the parliament, dismissed the opposition parties, ruling that the EFF claims stand. People cannot vote for parties that are condoning GBV and finding it offensive when	The EFF dominate political agenda, often manoeuvring their issues on to the agenda of the opposition parties (ANC and DA). The EFF capitalise on claimed salient issues facilitated on audio visuals carried by YouTube to promote its party, by displaying tenacity and less passivity when debating the opposition parties.	This issues were prominent enough to attract 53952 viewers and 1180 likes. Also, it showed that the EFF did prioritise on the issues that dominated the media spaces and coverage since and also issues that affect its target audience on a daily basis. Most political party fail to take ownership and accountability on errors created by its government. The EFF contested against ANC and DA by selectively emphasising issues favourable to the party and de-emphasising issues that are unfavourable. The only issue that might make the EFF to lose the elections even after addressing prominent and salient issues, is that the campaign excludes other races, and only prioritise on the Black Africans.	The audio visual gained 26465 views, 298 likes and 5 dislikes. The numbers of engagement and interactions compared to the opposition party ANC, positively put the EFF in a competitive spot. Also Malema tarnishing the name of the ANC in this audio visual, might turnout positive for the EFF. The EFF capitalised on the issues that were deemed important in the area of where the audio visual was recorded and produced, in the same time focused on the issued that the ANC did not prioritise. In addition to this, the negative PR that was meant to make the ANC look bad and EFF look good, might help to shift the attention to the EFF. Audiences can be heard agreeing with	The audio visual had 24535 views, 379 likes and 0 dislikes. The comments section on this audio visual were disabled, therefore, it can never be known how the viewers and supporters honestly feel. The prominent issues addressed and claimed in this audio visuals are free education; land expropriation; unemployment; Drug abuse; Health care/Poverty; road infrastructure; water and electricity; park and social recreation

	the EFF emphasises on this issue. The behaviour of the audience therefore, shift to valuing the EFF for being brave enough to speak when other parties are running form the issue of GBV.			Malema whenever the land issue is being addressed, reason is that the people of Seshego, Zone 1 have named a section after Malema. This comes after Malema has helped the members of the community to occupy the vacant land by building houses and using it for business purposes.	
FRAMING PARTY POSITIONS AND ISSUE SALIENCE	The EFF prioritised on the issue saliency of GBV, as this issue is also on the main agenda of the manifesto. Makoti Khawula also pose as an expert, considering the number of years she has been working in the portfolio committee of women, children and disability. The EFF made sure that it capitalise on this issue to make the opposition parties look bad, so that it can be beneficial for the EFF on the day of election. This was a strategy by the EFF to show the incompetence of the opponents, specifically the ANC, since it is the	The EFF capitalised on every issue and addressed it very clear and well. Also in as much as it criticised the opponents, it not say negative things, it was just giving fact based criticism and also comparing work ethic of their opponents. In the same breath they were able to refer to the projects at they have been able to successfully achieve in relation to land expropriation, crime, Jobs, Health care/Poverty and Corruption. The leader of the EFF, Julius Malema also emphasised on that in the form of free basic education he helped to fight for the	The EFF avoided to include the issue of VBS under corruption. Few of EFF members were implicated in the scandal of VBS, were money was stolen and illegally transferred into their personal bank account. The people of Venda, suffered the consequences of this illegal act caused by their trusted politician and bank, which resulted in loss of financial policies and investment. Malema rather shifted the campaign by using audio visual media carried by YouTube to facilitate salient issues. Malema emphasised on issues that gained him followers such as free	The EFF president avoided claiming and addressing many other important issue, and shifted the interview by wasting almost 80% of the media coverage talking nothing. Most of the things that were discussed in this audio visual were not politically or electoral related. The fact that the comment section is disabled, proves that Malema's leadership style is autocratic, meaning people's opinions are not valued. The only issue that was addressed and claimed, is the issue saliency of land because	The EFF capitalised on every issue and addressed it very clear and well. Also in as much as it criticised the opponents, it not say negative things, it was just giving fact based criticism and also comparing work ethic of their opponents. The EFF also capitalised by tackling all the issues that raised by the people that affect them on a daily.

	governing party. However, the EFF avoided to address the rape accusation of one of their own, spokesperson, Dr Mbuyiseni Ndlozi. This could be hypocritical for the EFF to prioritise an issue that they also failed to commit to when it was needed. The rape accusation made headlines in various media platform. GBV is among the most prominent issues in South Africa, so for the EFF to try to make its party look good, while hiding their skeletons, is not. However, this does not mean the support will decrease.	cleaners in the higher education institutions to have their children the attend the institutions they are working at for free.	education 'fees must fall' and corruption by Jacob Zuma 'pay back the money' campaign. Malema also capitalised on the issue of racism, in which most parties fail to own to the saliency of racism issue. In one of the audio visuals authored by the ANC it was mentioned that there was a segment where the party could have utilise to facilitate the issue of racism, instead the ANC focused on something less important. These issues were also prioritised in the agenda of their speeches, debates and manifesto. The EFF authored 41 audio visuals between 12 October 2018 and 8 May 2019.	the party benefited from the impact. Malema did mention corruption, but failed to discuss further, because some of the EFF members were implicated in the maladministration corruption scandal of VBS.	
FRAMING **AUDIENCE** **ATTENTION**	The length of this audio visual 5:36 long enough to prioritise and capitalise on the issue GVB. The issue of GBV was addressed and unpacked very well and clear. Even though the audio visual was about one issue, the discussion went deeper and broader, by explaining what GBV is, the	The audio visual is 1 hour, 34 minutes and 9 seconds long. The audio visual focused on three issues be it corruption, unemployment and land expropriation, but only capitalised and emphasised on Land expropriation. The comments in the video are disabled and The audio	The length of the audio visual is 50 seconds short enough to watch from the beginning to the end. The message was clear and straight to the point. The audio visual caught the attention 55253 viewers of 199000 subscribers. The video had 373 dislikes and 1180 likes. This tells the message or the issues	The audio visual is 16:44 long. This audio visual had three segments which are background music from 0:01- 6:25; the issue of land expropriation form 6:45-6:50; and the issues of land expropriation, unemployment and corruption from 8:31-	The audio visual caught the attention of 24535 viewers which had 375 likes and zero dislikes. This is a good number, considering that the EFF in 2018 was just five years old and it was campaigning for its second election.

	causes of GBV and the hotspot zones that GBV is mostly encountered. This segment was very informative, well communicated and educational. This audio visual caught the attention of 119082 viewers and the members of the parliament who were present during the debate. People think GBV is about abuse but not to what extent. This audio visual carried by YouTube served the political aims of the EFF by creating awareness and educating the people of south Africa about the saliency and importance of the issue of GBV. Another factor that helped to attract more attention was the hashtag 'hear me too' that was tagged on this audio visual.	visual had 62774 views, 710 likes and 5 dislikes. The comments section on this audio visual were disabled, therefore, it can never be known how the viewers and supporters honestly feel. The number of likes are paying attention to the audio visual as a view is only counted when a video has been watched until the end.	addressed were positively received based on the number of likes and views. The number of dislikes is worrying, even though the number of likes is high and convincing enough that the people do agree with the saliency of the issues addressed on the audio visual. The comments section is, however, disabled, which is also worrying, because the party will never know the honest opinions of their supporters and voters. . Also the mentions in the search bars do play a vital role to increase the saliency of the audio visual. E.g '2019 SA Elections'. The issue of free higher education gained popularity in 2016 during the 'Fees Must Fall' students' campaign. The issue of corruption became prominent for the EFF in 2018 when it also played a role in removing former president Jacob Zuma from presidency, after the scandal of Nkandla and Guptas under smear campaign of 'Pay back the	8:41. Normally people's attention span can only last 60 seconds short per issue that is facilitated on one audio visual. Anything over three minutes is very long. The viewers start to lose concentration, unless it is live. Chances are the five dislikes came from viewers who did not watch the entire video, or could be ANC supporters. The audio visual caught the attention of 26465 viewers and 298 likes. Likes could also be a validation that the viewers agree with message.	The prominent issues addressed and claimed in this audio visuals are free education; land expropriation; unemployment; Drug abuse; Health care/Poverty; road infrastructure; water and electricity; park and social recreation.

			money'. The amount of interaction and engagement in a form of views, likes and dislikes, supports the relevancy and saliency of these issues. From the 12 of October 2018 to 8 May 2019, 41 audio visuals were authored and produced on YouTube by the EFF.		
FRAMING ISSUE PROMINENCE	The issue of GBV is prominent, because entire segment of the audio visual addressed and capitalised on the issue. The segment of the audio visual is 5:36. This showed the importance and saliency of the issue, considering that this was the most watched video during 12 October 2018- 8 May 2019. The issue of GBV has dominated the media space for decades, with some prominent politicians, church and school leaders being accused and are awaiting judgement. In this audio visual it is also mentioned and addressed that a church leader in cape town shot a lady in the church and the congregation	The audio visual is 1 hour, 34 minutes and 9 seconds long. The audio visual focused on three issues be it corruption, unemployment and land expropriation, but only capitalised and emphasised on Land expropriation. . This audio visual had three segments which are background music from 0:01- 6:40; the issue of land expropriation form 07:00-09:30; and the issues of land expropriation, unemployment and corruption from 11:10-15:00. The EFF is known for claiming and addressing the issue saliency of land expropriation. From the first day the EFF prioritised this issue in the parliament, it	The entire segment of the video was focused on six issues. The segments of the video are as follows: from 0:02- 0:10 the audio visual facilitated the issue saliency of free education; from 0:11-0:15 the audio visual facilitated the issue saliency of decent wages for workers; from 0:16-0:20 facilitated the issue saliency of seeking justice in gender based violence against women and children; from 0:21-0:23 the audio visual facilitated the issue saliency of racism against black people; from the 0:24-0:30 the audio visual facilitated the issue saliency of corruption; from 0:31-0:36 the audio visual facilitated the issue saliency of land	The audio visual focused on three issues be it corruption, unemployment and land expropriation, but only capitalised and emphasised on Land expropriation. The audio visual is 16:44 long. This audio visual had three segments which are background music from 0:01- 6:25; the issue of land expropriation form 6:45-6:50; and the issues of land expropriation, unemployment and corruption from 8:31-8:41. The EFF is known for claiming and addressing the issue saliency of land expropriation. From the	The audio visual is 50 minutes and 45 seconds long. 4:55-5:40 segment claimed and addressed issue of health care services in Seshego. Malema assured the people of Seshego that the abundant clinics will be renovated and reopened. 5:41-7:10 segment claimed and addressed the issue saliency of drug abuse and crime in the community of Seshego. 7:11-8:20 segment addressed and claimed issue saliency of land expropriation, stating that there is vacant land that is meant for people of Seshego, Zone 1 section,

fear getting him arrested. Everyday there is case of teachers sexually assaulting learners. From the 12 of October 2018 to 8 May 2019, 41 audio visuals were authored and produced on YouTube by the EFF.	never stopped making headlines on different media platforms. 10:25 – 10:45 segment claimed and addressed social grant delays that affect the people in the country; 10:45 – 13:14 segment claimed and addressed the on-going corruption that is occurring in the country. 14:50 – 16:05 segment claimed and addressed poor health care facilities, and 19:06 – 19:53 segments addressed the issue of gender equality within the country. 20:02 – 20:15 segment claimed and addressed the issues of youth and women; 20:16 - 24:13 claimed and addressed the issues of crime and corruption. 24:14 -27:46 segment claimed and addressed the issue of free education, while segment 30:04 – 33:40 claimed and addressed the issue of health care. 35:58 – 41:46 segment claimed and addressed the issue of job creation in the country while 41:50 – 42:58 segment again emphasised	expropriation; and from 0:37-0:50 the audio visual facilitated the highlights of the EFF achievements from its beginning days. The issues saliency of free education and corruption dominate media coverage almost every day. The issue of racism has always been a factor in south Africa since the days of apartheid, and it shall forever be prominent till the end of time for as long as south Africa remains a diverse nation. From the 12 of October 2018 to 8 May 2019, 41 audio visuals were authored and produced on YouTube by the EFF.	first day the EFF prioritised this issue in the parliament, it never stopped making headlines on different media platforms. From the 12 of October 2018 to 8 May 2019, 41 audio visuals were authored and produced on YouTube by the EFF.	to occupy and build houses. 8:22-9:09 segment emphasised on the issue saliency of unemployment rate for graduated youth being high and claimed that Municipalities in Polokwane appoint workers based on nepotism and corruption. 9:10-10:40 claimed and addressed issue of road infrastructure. 10:41-11:41 segment claimed and address the issue of water and electricity. 11:42-12:55 segment addressed the need for social recreation and parks. 12:56-15:27 the EFF emphasised again on the issue saliency of land how important and beneficial it is for the people of Seshego. 15:28-16:10 segment claimed and addressed the issue saliency of free basic education especially for the youth in Seshego. 16:11-25:48 the EFF continued to

		on the issue of free education while 43:07 – 44:23 segment claimed and addressed the issue of racism. Issues of free education and job creation become prominent because they were spoken about in more than one segment.			emphasise on the issue of land and how it can also benefit the community for agricultural purposes. The issue of land expropriation became prominent as it dominated most of the segments in the audio visual. The audio visual had good amount of views and likes.

VARIABLES & VIDEOS	VIDEO 6: EFF	VIDEO 7: EFF	VIDEO 8: EFF
	Title: CiC Julius Malema at Brooklyn Police station **Date of the release: 27 November 2018** **Views: 22326** **Likes: 374 Dislikes:**	**Title: Joint sitting: Deputy President Floyd Shivambu debates on President's SONA address.** **Date of the release: 13 February 2019** **Views: 16155** **Likes: 214 Dislikes:**	**Title: CiC Julius Malema at the EFF manifesto launch** **Date of release: 3 February 2019** **Views: 15117** **Likes:173 dislikes: 1**
FRAMING STRATEGIES	This audio visual is thematic framed, because it claimed and addressed the issue saliency of corruption in a broader manner. This audio visual was authored by the EFF addressing corruption within the ANC's Finance Minister, Pravin Gordan. Malema was addressing the	The audio visual is thematic as it addresses the issue saliency on Health care (which is the cancer campaign); Job creation; Education (all incomplete infrastructure projects to be completed in 3 months); Free higher education and training (to be available to households with a combined annual income of R300000) and Government formulating a small businesses	This audio visual is thematic framed as it addresses salient issues such as land; jobs; corruption; gender, women and LGBTQ; youth development; crime; education; health; human settlements; water and sanitation and people with disabilities. The EFF focused on this issues when

	public at the Brooklyn Police station, where a corruption case against Gordan was opened.	funds start up. The other issues are to assemble a team to speed up new projects (Water, Health Care and Road maintenance), speed up of industrialisation and corruption. These were also issues that were raised in the 2018 SONA debate that the president has committed to but did not deliver.	launching their manifesto as this are the issues that affect South Africans on a daily.
AGENDA-SETTING FUNCTIONS	The recurring theme and prioritised is corruption. Many people are distrustful about whether the media including YouTube are playing their basic roles in revealing corruption and suggesting rational and practical solutions, since the media usually provides a certain interpretation of corruption influencing the way they are discussed and evaluated in public debate. In this audio visual YouTube is utilised as a facilitator to address and claim salient issues. Corruption is also on the agenda of the EFF's manifesto.	The recurring theme and prioritised issues are Health care, Job creation, Educational infrastructure, Free higher Education and training for the youth and Innovation of small business funding. The other issues are to assemble a team to speed up new projects (Water, Health Care and Road maintenance), speed up of industrialisation and corruption. . This issue were also capitalised on the EFF manifesto and other document. This issues are on the top list of the party's agenda, hence, the entire audio visual was used to facilitate the saliency issues, carried and authored by YouTube. According to the Deputy President of the EFF Floyd Shivambu, President Cyril Ramaposa has made commitments to improve the salient issues but nothing has been done.	The recurring theme and prioritised issues are health care and corruption. This issue was also claimed and addressed on the EFF manifesto. This issues are on the top list of the party's agenda, hence, the entire audio visual was used to facilitate the saliency issues, carried and authored by YouTube. Health care and corruption became very prominent issues as they are the issues that stood out in the launching of the manifesto. The EEF president CiC Julius Malema kept emphasising on the two issues and stating how they affect the daily lives of the South African citizens.
FRAMING SALIENCE OF VALENCE	The tone of the audio visual is positive, because it brings hope and trust to the people of South Africa. Corruption has negatively impacted and affected lives of many South Africans, and people appreciate political parties that are willing to fight corruption on their behalf. This	The tone of the audio visual is negative, because the message is aimed at the President of the ANC, Cyril Ramaposa. EFF deputy president Floyd Shivambu emphasised how the ANC president of the ANC Cyril Ramaposa has failed	The tone of the audio visual is positive, because it brings hope and trust to the people of South Africa. Corruption has negatively impacted and affected the lives of many South Africans, and people appreciate political parties that are willing to fight corruption and health care on behalf of

	also shed the EFF in a positive light, especially prioritising the needs of the people. The language that is used is formal and clear to understand. The audience seem to be impressed by the EFF's speech address. The audience is heard expressing themselves by clapping hands and whistling which signify that they agree with the EFF and their issue are indeed prioritised.	to deliver on all the commitments he made during the previous SONA debate in 2018.	the poor. This also shed the EFF in a positive light, especially prioritising the needs of the people. The language that is used is formal and clear to understand. The audience seem to be impressed by the EFF's speech address. The audience is heard expressing themselves by clapping hands and whistling which signify that they agree with the EFF and their issues are indeed prioritised.
VISUAL FRAMING AND VERBAL CUES	The members of the EFF are dressed in their red overalls and dresses, which symbolises mine workers and domestic helpers. The EFF supporters reacted positively to the address by singing chant songs and clapping hands. Furthermore, the supporters were whistling after every new salient issue was claimed and addressed. In the space of politics, whistling means the audience support what you are saying, and also believe that it is fact that no one can challenge. The audio visual had a logo and also it was the visuals were taken in an EFF mobile broadcasting truck.	The audio visual has an EFF and parliament of RSA logo. The member of the EFF addressing the parliament was dressed in the party's uniform with colour, full red attire. The most interesting factor about this audio visual is that deputy president of the EFF Floyd Shivambu emphasises on that fact that the President, Cyril Ramaposa has not delivered to his commitments and what he has been doing all this time is to make empty promises and lie to the people of the country.	The audio visual has an EFF logo and the president of the EFF CiC Julius Malema is the on addressing the manifesto, dressed in the EFF colours with a red shirt and red beret of the party. The most interesting factor about this audio visual is that EFF president CiC Julius Malema emphasised on all the issues that affect the citizens of the country, all the issues that the ruling party has promised but only gave bare minimum to its people. This manifesto launch came in a serious manner where by prominent issues were being addressed with a purpose of bringing change in the country. The issues that were prioritised in the manifesto launch were health care and corruption.
SALIENCY AND FAME RESONANCE	The target audience of this audio visual is all South African who pay taxes, because they are the most affected. This also includes all races, even though the EFF only prioritise black people. Issue of corruption should never see colour, because anyone can be impacted directly or indirectly. This also includes the	The target audience in this audio is every person, from all races, men, women and children in South Africa. The Deputy President of the EFF Floyd Shivambu mentioned that South Africa will remain a colonial economy because South Africa exports raw materials and semi-processed material to established economies and import the finished goods and products. He then mentioned	The target audience of this audio visual is is every person, from all races, men, women and children in South Africa. as land; jobs; corruption; gender, women and LGBTQ; youth development; crime; education; health; human settlements; water and sanitation and people with disabilities.

	demographics of rural and urban areas. The speech is addressed mostly in English.	that the President said in the State of the Nation Address that before the end of 2018, he is going to finalise the Minerals and Petroleum Development Act which he withdrew. The Deputy President of the EFF further mentioned that the conference of president Cyril Ramaposa gave him a mandate about the South African Reserve Bank: about the creation of the state bank which the premier of KZN says must be established; about the creation of the pharmaceutical company and about land expropriation without compensation. Shivambu also addressed the issue of corruption since he is claiming that the president is involved with Total Petroleum company being appointed to have a BEE of 10%. He believes that these are this that are not happening and never going to happen. These issues also affect all races in South Africa.	
STAKEHOLDER PERCEPTIONS	The stakeholder in this audio visual are the audience and the South Africa Police services. The SAPS received a complaint by the EFF against ANC's Pravin Gordan, and a case of corruption was therefore, opened. If found guilty, Gordan can be charged.	The opposition parties were not pleased with how the EFF keep throwing them in the mud. The EFF claimed that the ANC president has made commitments and not delivered to anything he said he would. Therefore, this makes the ANC President Cyril Reamaposa to look like a liar by making commitments but at the end doing nothing to implementing them. The ANC members of parliament objected the claims, stating that the EFF member should not address issues that they know nothing about (this was when deputy president of EFF Floyd Shivambu mentioned that "we cannot have the office of the	The stakeholder in this audio visual are the EFF president, CiC Julius Malema as he was addressing the manifesto of the party, and also all the citizens of South Africa that are affected by issues being addressed.

		President of the country that has questionable relationships with the apartheid special branch."	
VIEWERS REACTIONS AND ENGAGEMENT	The comment section in this audio visual has been disabled by the political party. This element makes challenging, because one can never really know how the viewers feel. The amount of likes to a certain extent do give an idea of how people felt, but on the other hand is not convincing enough that the people received the message positively. In most cases the likes are also complemented by the comment section. How people express themselves in writing, supports the number of likes and dislikes. However, this audio visual received huge amount of engagement and reaction with 22326 views, 374 likes and 1 dislike. This concludes that viewers and the audience welcomed and received this audio visual in a positive light. Even in the audience, one could hear praises and whistling which signify that the reaction is of the one that the EFF could benefit and capitalise from.	The audio visual has 16188 views, 214 likes and 6 dislikes. This audio visual does not have comments, as the political party has disabled the comment section. This could also show that EFF does not really care for the viewers and public opinion. EFF is a one-way leadership style. The audio visual did well and was received positively by many judging on the number of views and number of likes. One can only assume that the number of dislikes was impacted by the language manner used to address the facilitated salient issues in this audio visual. Floyd Shivambu was talking in a serious manner, not being sympathetic because he was representing the all citizens in the country that are affected by the issues that the President has committed to but did not deliver.	The audio visual has 15117 views, 173 likes and 1 dislike. This audio visual does not have comments, as the political party has disabled the comment section. The audio visual did well and was received positively by many judging on the number of views and number of likes. One can only assume that the one dislike was impacted by the language manner used to address the facilitated salient issues in this audio visual.
PARTIES' SELF-PRESENTATION	This audio visual was addressed and facilitated by the EFF President and founder, Julius Malema. Malema is known for being amongst those played a huge role of kingmaker for former President Jacob Zuma after effectively dethroning former President Thabo Mbeki from presidency. Julius Malema has a combination of both autocratic and transformational leadership style. Malema is also known having the ability	This audio visual was addressed and facilitated by the EFF deputy President, Floyd Shivambu during the joint sitting debate on the President's SONA address. Shivambu as one of the members of the ANC's opposition party EFF is known as one of the leaders with a leadership style of a combination of autocratic and transformational. This is one person that will pin point all the weakness of their opposition parties let them be	This audio visual was addressed and facilitated by the EFF president CiC Julius Malema during the manifesto launch of the political party. The issues that were addressed are land; jobs; corruption; gender, women and LGBTQ; youth development; crime; education; health; human settlements; water and sanitation and people with disabilities. The EFF focused on this issues when launching their manifesto as this are the issues

	to zoom in on the essence of what the majority of South Africans need and connect with them. The party has managed to be in the top three considering that in 2019, it was only six years old. The EFF only prioritise the needs of black people. This party is anti-white. The EFF is a black conscious movement and it focuses on only on the Black population.	known to the public by addressing them and at some instances claiming them as their own to make sure they win the votes of the people. During the debate the EEF deputy president mentioned the President having questionable relations with the apartheid special branch and one member of the parliament (a white male) objected and asked if Shivambu is prepared to take a question about the misleading that he has done. To show that the EFF only prioritises the needs of black people and it is an anti-white party, Shivambu responded by saying that he does not take questions from people that have ideologically misled the communist party for a long time.	that affect South Africans on a daily. Furthermore within the presentation of the manifesto, the recurring issues that became prominent were health care and corruption. This were the issues that the EFF emphasised on and wanted to see immediate transformation to better the lives of the citizens of the country. Issues such as health care and corruption are broad and can negatively affect more issues that people are facing in the country.
FRAMING PARTY COMPETITION	The EFF dominate political agenda, often manoeuvring their issues on to the agenda of the opposition parties (ANC). DA. The EFF capitalise on claimed salient issue of corruption facilitated on audio visuals carried by YouTube to promote its party, by displaying tenacity and less passivity when debating the opposition parties. This audio visual was the most watched with 22326 views, followed by 374 likes and 1 dislikes.	The EFF dominate political agenda, often manoeuvring their issues on to the agenda of the opposition parties (ANC and DA). The EFF capitalise on claimed salient issues facilitated on audio visuals carried by YouTube to promote its party, by displaying tenacity and less passivity when debating the opposition parties. This audio visual was watched by more than 10000 views showing it reached many people with 16188 views, followed by 214 likes and 6 dislikes. During this segment of the "President having questionable relations with the apartheid special branch, members of the opposition parties kept on objecting the claims addressed by the EFF in the parliament. The speaker and chair of the parliament, allowed the objection where two opposition party members took the stand, one mention that Shivambu must not address things	The EFF dominate political agenda, often manoeuvring their issues on to the agenda of the opposition parties (ANC). DA. The EFF capitalise on claimed salient issue of corruption facilitated on audio visuals carried by YouTube to promote its party, by displaying tenacity and less passivity when debating the opposition parties. This audio visual was the most watched with 15117 views, followed by 173 likes and 1 dislikes.

		he has no knowledge of and the other member asked Shivambu not to make misleading remarks disclaiming what he said. It was emphasised by Shivambu that people cannot vote for a party with a President that makes commitments to the people and later not deliver on the commitments. The behaviour of the audience therefore, shift to valuing the EFF for being brave enough to speak out on the empty promises President Cyril Ramaphosa made.	
FRAMING PARTY POSITIONS AND ISSUE SALIENCE	The EFF avoided to include the issue of VBS under corruption. Few of EFF members were implicated in the scandal of VBS, where money was stolen and illegally transferred into their personal bank accounts. The people of Venda, suffered the consequences of this illegal act caused by their trusted politician and bank, which resulted in loss of financial policies and investment. Malema rather shifted attention of the campaign to the opposition party (ANC) by using audio visual media carried by YouTube to facilitate salient issues, particularly corruption.	The EFF capitalised on every issue and addressed it very clear and well. Also in as much as it criticised the opponents, it not say negative things, it was just giving fact based criticism and also comparing work ethic of their opponents. Furthermore, the deputy president of the EFF, Floyd Shivambu also emphasised on the undelivered commitments by the President which were: Health care, Job Creation, Free basic education, land expropriation, Government formulating small business funds, Maintenance of (water, infrastructure and road), the speeding up of industrialisation and lastly corruption. The EFF made sure that it capitalise on this issue to make the opposition parties look bad, so that it can be beneficial for the EFF on the day of election. This was a strategy by the EFF to show the incompetence of the opponents, specifically the ANC, since it is the governing party.	The EFF capitalised on every issue and addressed it very clear and well. Also in as much as it criticised the opponents, it not say negative things, it was just giving fact based criticism and also comparing work ethic of their opponents. The EFF president CiC Julius Malema addressed salient issues such as land; jobs; corruption; gender, women and LGBTQ; youth development; crime; education; health; human settlements; water and sanitation and people with disabilities.

FRAMING AUDIENCE ATTENTION	This audio visual caught the attention of 22326 viewers which is enough to help the EFF to get more support and votes. Furthermore, this audio visual sparked a huge conversation with 0 comments, 374 likes and 1 dislike. This audio visual received a positive feedback and it did capitalise on the issue saliency of corruption. The length of the video is 37 minutes and 02 seconds, and every second of it was utilised well and proper.	The length of this audio visual 10 minutes and 52 seconds, which is long enough to prioritise and capitalise on the issue health care, job creation, free higher education and training, land expropriation, government formulating small business funds, maintenance of (water, infrastructure and road), the speeding up of industrialisation and corruption. The comments in the video are disabled and the audio visual had 16188 views, 214 likes and 6 dislikes. The comments section on this audio visual were disabled, therefore, it can never be known how the viewers and supporters honestly feel. The number of likes are paying attention to the audio visual as a view is only counted when a video has been watched until the end.	This audio visual caught the attention of 15117 viewers which is enough to help the EFF to get more support and votes. Furthermore, this audio visual sparked a huge conversation with 0 comments, 173 likes and 1 dislike. This audio visual received a positive feedback and it did capitalise on the issue saliency of health care and corruption. The length of the video is 1 hour 23 minutes and 53 seconds, and every second of it was utilised well and proper.
FRAMING ISSUE PROMINENCE	The entire video which is 37 minutes and 02 seconds, claimed and addressed the issue saliency of corruption. The issue of corruption was well prioritised. The DA capitalised on the media coverage especially on the issue of corruption. Corruption was the first issue that was claimed and addressed from the beginning of the audio visual. It is a good thing that the segment of corruption as an outstanding issue was long enough and well dissected. From the 12 of October 2018 to 8 May 2019, 27 audio visuals were authored and produced on YouTube by the EFF, 12 audio visuals claimed and addressed the issue of corruption.	The issues of health care, job creation, free higher education and training, land expropriation, government formulating small business funds, maintenance of (water, infrastructure and road), the speeding up of industrialisation and corruption are prominent, because they are addressed and capitalised in the segments of the audio visual. The segments of the audio visual go up for 10:56. This showed the importance and saliency of the issues. Segment 0:01 – 2:50 addresses the issue of the President's questionable relations with the apartheid special branch. Segment 2:51 – 5:19 is seen to be the objections made during the speaking time of Floyd Shivambu (a lady objected that Shivambu should not talk about things he has no knowledge of; a man objected that Shivambu should not	The issues of land; jobs; corruption; gender, women and LGBTQ; youth development; crime; education; health; human settlements; water and sanitation and people with disabilities were the issues that were being addressed during the manifesto launch. In the first segment, 0:01 – 30:23 the salient issues that were being addressed were broken down in depth by the EFF president, CiC Julius Malema and specifying how the ruling party has not been taking its people serious by just making promising with no service delivery. Segment 40:56 – 1:05:56, we witness the repetition of the salient issue health care which becomes prominent because it is a crucial issue affecting the lives of citizens. CiC Julius Malema further emphasised on why the clinics are not operating 24/7 as all the people in the

		mislead house parliament with is statements and then Julius Malema objected that Shivambu must not be disturbed by the unnecessary objections made by the opposition parties. 5:20 – 8:05 addressed the issues that the president made a commitment on but did not deliver from his previous State of the Nation Address in 2018 (health care; infrastructure of schools; free higher education and training; government formulating small business funding start up; assign task team to speed up (water, infrastructure and road maintenance) and lastly speed up industrialisation. 8:06 – 9:36 segment addressed more of the issues that the President claimed in the SONA 2018 which were finalisation of the Mineral and Petroleum Development Act (which the legislation was withdrawn) and also the NPRDA amendment bill which was withdrawn, stated that South Africa should own a portion of all the minerals in the country. This addresses the issue of corruption since Floyd Shivambu is claiming that the president is involved with Total Petroleum company being appointed to have a BEE of 10%. 9:37 – 10:52 segment addressed the mandate given to President Cyril Ramaphosa by his conference on the South African Reserve Bank about the creation of the State Bank which the premier of KZN must be established, about the creation of pharmaceutical company and the expropriation of land. He emphasised on the fact that these issues not being will not be accomplished.	country are in need of such services at any time of day and night. In the final segment, 1:08:20 – 1:17:23 the EFF president, CiC Julius Malema emphasises on another salient issue corruption as it became prominent. The corruption in the country affects every individual because resources available in the country and that should uplift the country are misused and poor people become heavily affected as service delivery is not implemented by the ruling party.

Table 3: YouTube audio-visuals analysis

Table 3 represents 24 sampled and analysed audio-visuals carried by YouTube to facilitate claimed and addressed salient issues by political parties (ANC, DA & EFF). Each party had eight audio-visuals sampled and analysed. The information presented on table 3 was used in chapters four and five, to answer and conclude the findings gathered from the three research questions.

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ANNEXTURE A: UNISA ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

UNISA | university of south africa

COLLEGE OF HUMAN SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE

19 January 2024

Dear Ms Mahlatse Ngwaseladi Margaret Mamabolo

NHREC Registration # :
Rec-240816-052
CREC Reference # :
60828161_CREC_CHS_2024

Decision:
Ethics Approval from 19 January 2024 to 19 January 2025

Researcher(s): Name: Ms. M. N. M. Mamabolo
Contact details: 60828161@mylife.unisa.ac.za
Supervisor(s): Name: Prof. D. F. Du Plessis
Contact details: dplesdf@unisa.ac.za

Title: QUALITATIVE EXPLORATION BY POLITICAL PARTIES ADDRESSING SALIENT ISSUES UTILIZING YOUTUBE DURING 2019 SA GENERAL ELECTIONS.
Degree Purpose: Masters

Thank you for the application for research ethics clearance by the Unisa College of Human Science Ethics Committee. Ethics approval is granted for one year.

The *negligible-risk application* was reviewed by College of Human Sciences Research Ethics Committee, in compliance with the Unisa Policy on Research Ethics and the Standard Operating Procedure on Research Ethics Risk Assessment.

The proposed research may now commence with the provisions that:

1. The researcher(s) will ensure that the research project adheres to the values and principles expressed in the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics.
2. Any adverse circumstance arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study should be communicated in writing to the College Ethics Review Committee.
3. The researcher(s) will conduct the study according to the methods and procedures set out in the approved application.

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4. Any changes that can affect the study-related risks for the research participants, particularly in terms of assurances made with regards to the protection of participants' privacy and the confidentiality of the data, should be reported to the Committee in writing, accompanied by a progress report.

5. The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to any applicable national legislation, professional codes of conduct, institutional guidelines and scientific standards relevant to the specific field of study. Adherence to the following South African legislation is important, if applicable: Protection of Personal Information Act, no 4 of 2013; Children's act no 38 of 2005 and the National Health Act, no 61 of 2003.

6. Only de-identified research data may be used for secondary research purposes in future on condition that the research objectives are similar to those of the original research. Secondary use of identifiable human research data require additional ethics clearance.

7. No fieldwork activities may continue after the expiry date **(19 January 2025)**. Submission of a completed research ethics progress report will constitute an application for renewal of Ethics Research Committee approval.

Note:

*The reference number **60828161_CREC_CHS_2024** should be clearly indicated on all forms of communication with the intended research participants, as well as with the Committee.*

Yours sincerely,

Signature:

Prof. KB Khan
CHS Research Ethics Committee Chairperson
Email: khankb@unisa.ac.za
Tel: (012) 429 8210

Signature: PP

Prof ZZ Nkosi
Exécutive Dean: CHS
E-mail: nkosizz@unisa.ac.za
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ANNEXTURE B: LETTER FROM THE EDITOR (CERTIFICATE)

J.R Moletsane

Ramonewa6@gmail.com

0721841503

09 February 2024

CERTIFICATE OF EDITING A DISSERTATION

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This serves to confirm that I have read and edited Mahlatse Ngwaseladi Margaret Mamabolo's dissertation titled: **QUALITATIVE EXPLORATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES ADDRESSING SALIENT ISSUES UTILISING YOUTUBE DURING 2019 SA GENERAL ELECTIONS.**

The candidate corrected the language errors identified. The document is of an acceptable linguistic standard.

Thank you

Yours Faithfully

....

Dr J.R. Moletsane

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