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**Political Jamming: Challenging hegemonic
power-constellations in South Africa from a
branding perspective.**

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GLOSSARY:

Key Terms:

- I. *Brand*: "...a name, term, sign, symbol, design, or combination of them which is intended to identify the goods and services of one seller or group of sellers and to differentiate them from those of competitors" (Kotler, 1991: 442)
- II. *Brand Equity*: "Brand equity is a set of assets (and liabilities) linked to a brand's name and symbol that adds to (or subtracts from) the value provided by a product or service to a firm and /or that firm's customers" (Aaker, 1996: 7).
- III. *Party Equity*: "...the added value generated by an entity's (e.g., a political candidate or organization) association to a particular party." (Scremin,2007: 3)
- IV. *Culture Jamming*: "significantly altering the message of advertisements and campaigns by parodying and hijacking their means" (Klein, 2002).
- V. *Political jamming*: "...disrupts the transmission of the dominant political brand messages"(Cammaerts, 2007)
- VI. *Hegemony*: "The dominance of one group over another, often supported by legitimating norms and ideas" (Rosamond, 2015).
- VII. *Hegemonic power-constellations*: power in political theory is generally thought of in terms of "relationships" (Newman, 2004).
- VIII. *Macro-political level*: "The interactions between state, markets and society more broadly, the level at which decision-making takes place and the range of stakeholders involved" (Sprg.ac.uk, 2015).
- IX. *Public sphere*: "a network where citizens without a direct stake in the issue could gather collectively to discuss the issues of the day" (Habermas, 1989).

- X. Agency: “the ways in which individuals accept, negotiate, and resist the subject-positions available to them at a given moment in a particular culture” (Campbell, 2008).

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PROPOSED JOURNAL

Place Branding and Public Diplomacy by Palgrave Macmillan:

This journal concentrates on the practice of applying brand strategy and other marketing techniques and disciplines to the economic, social, political and cultural development of cities, regions and countries. Which compliments this paper has it highlights that brand strategy is applied to political parties and political parties can be seen as brands.

ABSTRACT:

Current transformations have seen an explicit shift in the use of cultural jamming techniques which are intended for the capitalistic corporate brand culture, entering into the political territory; therefore bringing about the *political jamming* phenomenon. Politicians and political parties have progressively employed the branding techniques of corporate marketers to 'advertise' their political campaigns, and for that reason hold the same function as a brand. This study investigated the impact political jamming has on a macro-political level. I investigated the role political jamming has in promoting agency and critical interpretation/postures within individuals and explored the extent to which it challenges hegemonic power-constellations in South Africa. Furthermore, this study investigated the effect political jamming has on the equity of a political party. This study is motivated by a primary research question (1) to what extents does the political jamming phenomenon challenge hegemonic power-constellations in South Africa and affect the equity of political parties? To examine this question the study was framed using Scremin's (2008) Voter-Based Equity model and Karlyn Khors Campbell theory of agency. This study aimed to (1) to explore the influence political jamming has on agency and efficacy in the public. (2) To investigate the relationship between political jamming and hegemonic-power constellations in South Africa. (3) To consider the relationship between the promotion of critical postures in the public and hegemonic-power constellations in South Africa from political jamming. (4) To explore the extent to which political jamming has an impact on a macro - political scale in South Africa. (5) To examine the role the internet and social media play in the distribution of political jams in South Africa and the significance thereof. (6) To assess the effect the political jamming phenomena has on the equity of the political brand (party equity) using Scremin's Voter-Based equity model. Drawing on Cammearts (2007) and Lawson's (2008) research, it is argued that political jamming challenges hegemonic power-constellations on a trivial scale in South Africa and promotes critical postures in the public. This study advances our understanding on the effects of political jamming and the consequence thereof on the equity of political parties. The study was a qualitative study using semi-structured interviews to illustrate the effect political jamming has on party equity and promoting critical postures. The findings offered support for the key arguments. I conclude that political jamming has a limited effect on the equity of political parties in South Africa, however has the potential to affect the equity of political parties in the long term. Additionally, political jamming challenges hegemonic power-constellations on an evasive scale.

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

1.1 Background and Orientation:

South Africa leads the branding landscape across Africa- leading with a 72% share of the most valuable brands in Africa (BrandSouthAfrica.com , 2014). The primary role of brands is to aid differentiation among similar products (Kotler, 1991), although a brand also facilitates a promise, built on a set of ideas and attributes that are affluent in concepts such as loyalty, dedication and reliance (White, 2013). The essence or core of a brand is not an ingrained quality of a brand defined by marketers and supported in a 30 second television advertisement; rather people's current concerns, life themes, lifestyles and so forth; which provide the channel through which brands come to have meaning (White, 2013). In Gracieli Scremin's (2007) conducted research: *Political Parties as Brands: Developing and Testing a Conceptual Framework for Understanding Party Equity*, he aimed to draw parallels between political parties and brands. The core idea around which his dissertation was built on is that political parties offer voters, like brands offer consumers, *bundles of meanings*¹ that help shape how voters process, retrieve, and store political information (Scremin, 2007:2). According to the research conducted by Scremin (2007), in a political context, political parties provide the same purpose as brands. This is due to the fact that, "political parties encompass and synthesize meaning for voters who use information they know about political parties to make inferences about political candidates and messages" (Scremin, 2007:2). Political parties possess significance that aids voters in differentiating among the political parties "offerings" (Scremin, 2007:1). In this light, like brands, political parties encompass equity or importance that branches from the associations voters and others grasp in relation to political parties (Scremin , 2007).

With this clarification on brands, how does one come to call these very effective branding techniques into question? In engaging with brands on their dubious nature, the phenomenon of *culture jamming* is proposed. From a branding perspective, "culture jamming can be considered to be the practice of subverting brands – by harnessing the same mediums that brands use to reach consumers" (Spark, 2015). Yet in simpler terms, culture jamming can be seen as significantly altering the message of advertisements and campaigns by parodying and hijacking these means (Klein, 2002). The culture jamming movement creates disruptions in this media saturated world of consumer capitalism, "culture jammers are a loose collection of media

¹ "Brands provide value and meaning to consumers that go beyond the functional benefits of the products brands represent" (Scremin, 2007)

activists who are rebelling against the hegemony of the messages promoting global capitalism” (Warner, 2007). These descriptions of cultural jamming, as mentioned above, are intended for the capitalistic corporate brand culture, yet current transformations have seen an explicit shift in the use of cultural jamming entering into the political territory; therefore bringing about the *political jamming* phenomenon. As it has been highlighted that politicians and political parties have progressively employed the branding techniques of corporate marketers to ‘advertise’ their political campaigns, and for that reason hold the same function as a brand (Scremin, 2007); it therefore follows that culture jamming or rather *political* jamming would interrupt the communication of the dominant political brand messages as culture jamming disrupts those of the corporate realm.

In this research paper, several examples of political jams in South Africa will be examined. The collection of examples demonstrates that cultural jamming methods are being utilized by citizens and social/ political activists to criticize political parties. In addition, the extent to which the internet and social media play a role as a means of distributing political jams will be assessed. In this research paper it is argued that political jamming will have an impact on a macro-political scale in South Africa. Additionally, the concept of cultural and political jamming is often associated with trialling dominant discourses and as a consequence emergent counter-hegemonic discourses develop. Therefore the question arises as to what extent does political jamming challenge these hegemonic power- constellations in South Africa? *Hegemonic power-constellations* can be understood through two separate statements. Hegemony represents the predominance of one social class above others, “This represents not only political and economic control, but also the ability of the dominant class to project its own way of seeing the world so that those who are subordinated by it accept it as 'common sense' and 'natural'” (Chandler, 2000) . Furthermore, power in political theory is generally thought of in terms of “relationships” (Newman, 2004). In addition, this research paper argues that political jamming promotes critical postures and attitudes within citizens. Critical postures can be understood as the creation of critical interpretation within individuals where a critical attitude/posture is then produced (Lawson, 2008).

1.2 Research problem and statement of purpose:

1.2.1 Statement of purpose:

The aim of this study is to explore the extent to which political jamming promotes agency² and critical postures³ in the public. In addition it aims to investigate the extent to which agency in action challenges hegemonic power-constellations⁴ in South Africa and its impact on the equity of the political party (Party equity⁵).

1.2.2 Research question:

To what extent does the political jamming phenomenon challenge hegemonic power-constellations in South Africa and affect the equity of political parties? This question will be analyzed through the notion that political jamming promotes critical postures and attitudes within citizens and challenges dominant discourses.

1.2.3 Secondary research questions:

1. To what extent does this phenomenon promote agency and critical postures within citizens in South Africa?
2. To what extent does political jamming have an effect on a macro-political level?
3. To what extent does the internet and social media play a role in the distribution of political jams in South Africa?

² Agency is “the ways in which individuals accept, negotiate, and resist the subject-positions available to them at a given moment in a particular culture” (Campbell, 2008). Agency can be considered the ‘action’ that is promoted in individuals (Campbell, 2008).

³ Critical postures; that being critical attitudes and interpretation within individuals.

⁴ The concept of cultural and political jamming is associated with developing counter-hegemonic discourses. Hegemony is a product of social processing and includes cultural, social and ideological dimensions (MigrationSystems.org, 2015). Power –constellations can therefore be referred to as the image of public 'sphericules' interacting and challenging with the governing public sphere, therefore creating counter-hegemonic discourses (Giltn ,1998)

⁵ The added value generated by an entity's (e.g., a political candidate or organization) association to a particular party.” (Scremin, 2007: 3)

1.3 Significance of the study:

The significance of this research has aggregated the many insights of political jamming and the extent of the effect of this phenomenon on a macro-political scale. The research emphasized the influence political jamming has upon agency and efficacy in South Africa. In addition to underlining the current and potential effect the phenomenon has on the equity of political parties; which political parties should account for when evaluating the equity of their political brands. The research therefore contributes to literature in political behavior, as it created additional insights into the effects on political brand equity.

1.4 Rationale:

A contagious international trend of extensive ideas which uses rivals own resources against themselves has become a popular social topic in South Africa. The trend or rather phenomenon can be referred to as *culture jamming*, “culture jamming can be considered to be the practice of subverting brands – by harnessing the same mediums that brands use to reach consumers ” (Spark, 2015). These distinctions of cultural jamming are intended for the corporate landscape and its brand culture, yet current transformations have seen an explicit shift in the use of cultural jamming as a method towards the political realm; therefore bringing about the *political jamming* phenomenon. Politicians have progressively employed ‘branding’ techniques used by corporate marketers, in the hope of convincing the citizen or rather consumer⁶ to have confidence in their ‘product’- their political parties ⁷ (Warner, 2007). Warner (2007), in conjunction with Cammearts (2007) and Scremin (2007) as a result all support the argument that political parties can be seen as brands. From this statement the phenomena of political jamming would therefore have an effect to an extent as culture jamming effects those of the corporate sphere.

In this research paper, it is argued that political jamming does have an impact on a macro-political level. Additionally, it is argued that political jamming promotes agency and critical interpretation within individuals which has an effect on hegemonic power-constellations in South Africa. By situating this research within the theoretical arguments espoused by Bart Cammearts’ article *Jamming the Political: beyond counter-hegemonic practices* (2007) in which he states that political jamming does effect hegemonic power constellations, however in an ambiguous

⁶ The citizen is referred to as a consumer as the same branding techniques applied for consumers are applied to citizens, “These branding techniques relying on emotional rather than rational appeals are used in the attempt to achieve automatic, unreflective trust in the branded product, whether that product is a Popsicle, a Palm Pilot, or a political party” (Warner, 2007).

⁷“ Politicians, pop stars, sports and entertainment identities all have a form of brand identity and can provide good examples of branding in their image campaigns “ (Jevons, 2005)

way. The objective is to apply and assess this statement in a South African context. Through qualitative research the aims of this research paper assess the effect that the political jamming phenomena has on the equity of the political brand (party equity) using a revised brand equity model by Scremin (2007); in addition to investigating the relationship between political jamming and hegemonic-power constellations in South Africa.

1.5 Delimitations:

The scope of the study includes the analysis of the political jamming phenomena and the extent of the impact of political jamming on a macro-political level in a South African context. The scope additionally includes the extent to which this phenomenon promotes critical postures and attitudes within citizens and the degree to which it challenges hegemonic power-constellations in South Africa. The scope in addition includes the role of internet and social media's in distributing political jams. However, the scope does not include analysis of the political parties' themselves. Furthermore, the scope does not include the analysis of culture jamming towards the corporate realm although reference is made to the corporate landscape. The research methods considered in this research paper comprise of qualitative research using an interpretive paradigm as the social context, norms and standards of the specific society are fundamental elements in analysing and comprehending human behaviour (Maree, 2012). The research is an exploratory design based on case study research as well as conducted interviews with the research analysis being an inductive approach. The research is delimited to the Gauteng region with use of snowball sampling for interviews. The case study research is delimited to South African political parties and South African associated political jamming case studies. From the literature review it was apparent that political parties can be seen as brands and therefore hosts its own value of equity- *party equity*, "the added value generated by an entity's (e.g., a political candidate or organization) association to a particular party" (Scremin, 2007). Therefore the conceptual framework is delimited to Scremin's (2007) Voter-Based Equity model and by applying Karlyn Khors Cambell's notion of agency to Habermas public sphere model in order to conceptualize political jamming itself.

1.5.1 Assumptions:

- In this research it is assumed that culture and political jamming will continue to be important to brands, political figures and to the public in the future.
- It is assumed that participants will answer truthfully in the interviews. The anonymity and confidentiality of the participants will be preserved and participants may withdraw from the study without any consequences.
- It is assumed that the theoretical framework, that has been submitted, can be an accurate reflection of the phenomena being studied. The framework consists of Scremin's Voter- Based Equity model and Karlyn Khors Cambell's theory of agency.
- It is assumed that the variables under investigation are measurable.
- It is assumed that the methodology is appropriate to the problem being addressed and the purpose of the study. Qualitative methodology was utilized.
- It is assumed that the results are generalizable beyond the sample being studied.
- It is assumed that the results of the study will be relevant to appropriate stakeholders.

1.5.2 Aims of the study:

- To explore the influence political jamming has on agency and efficacy in the public.
- To investigate the relationship between political jamming and hegemonic-power constellations in South Africa.
- To consider the relationship between the promotion of critical postures in the public and hegemonic-power constellations in South Africa from political jamming.
- To explore the extent to which political jamming has an impact on a macro - political scale in South Africa.
- To examine the role the internet and social media play in the distribution of political jams in South Africa and the significance thereof.
- To assess the effect the political jamming phenomena has on the equity of the political brand (party equity) using Scremin's Voter-Based equity model.

CHAPTER 2: Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter situates the study within a theoretical framework for the research. Firstly branding and brand equity models will be discussed. Secondly, the phenomenon of political jamming which will be substantiated through the examination of political jamming in South Africa will be considered. In order to understand power-relationships between the public and the political spheres, agency in the public and hegemonic power-constellations will be discussed. Thirdly, the conceptual framework outlining the research will be examined.

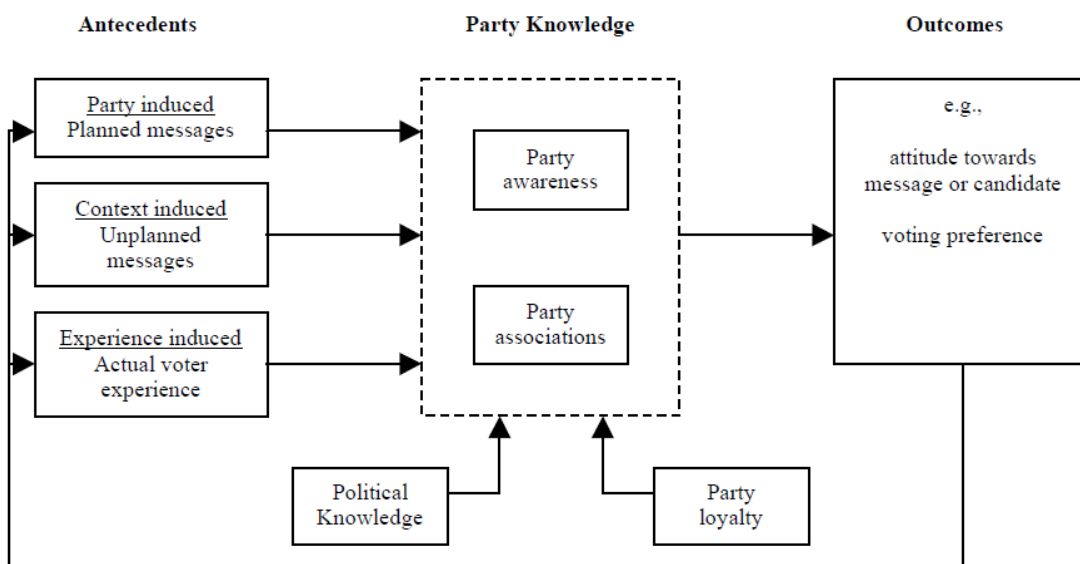
2.1 Branding and Brand Equity Models:

In today's world, brands are a dominant feature in contemporary society. A brand can be defined as "a name, term, sign, symbol, design, or combination of them which is intended to identify the goods and services of one seller or group of sellers, and to differentiate them from those of competitors" (Kotler, 1991: 442) . Brands are not just catchphrases or just a label anymore but rather a "corporate consciousness" (Klein, 2002) which takes agencies away from the individual product and their characteristics toward a psychological exploration of what a brand means to a culture and to the lives of the people (Klein,2002). According to the research conducted by Scremin (2007), in a political context, political parties serve the same purpose as brands. This is due to the fact that, "political parties encompass and synthesize meaning for voters who use information they know about political parties to make inferences about political candidates and messages" (Scremin, 2007:140). Carrigan *et al* (2006) similarly agree, stating in reflection to the statement that brands are elements of the daily consumer behaviour, it can be declared for that reason political parties persuade voters to make flexible choices similar to the way in which consumers decide on commercial brands (Carrigan, De Chernatony & Reeves, 2006). With the conceptualization of these statements, political parties can therefore be seen as brands; as a result it can be argued that the tools applied to realize the role of brands in consumer behaviour can be used to recognize the role of political parties.

Brands are often analysed with respect to their equity (Aaker, 1996). The equity of a brand lies in the orchestrated meaning that brands create for consumers (Scremin, 2007). In real meaning, brand equity can be defined as, "the value that a brand possesses based on the brand's image or the totality of what consumers, distributors, dealers, even competitors, think and feel about the brand" (Scremin, 2007:17). According to Arvidsson (2006), brand equity helps constitute consumption experiences for the consumer and aids in decision-making as the

products with the highest brand equity will tend to be preferred. One of the earliest brand equity models is David Aaker's "Building Strong Brands" model (1996). Aaker defines brand equity as "a set of assets (and liabilities) linked to a brand's name and symbol that adds to (or subtracts from) the value provided by a product or service to a firm and /or that firm's customers" (Aaker, 1996: 7). In Aaker's description, brand equity characterizes the value that brands provide to firms and customers. Brand equity is divided into four brand asset divisions comprising of: brand awareness, brand loyalty, perceived quality, and brand associations. Aaker argues that each of these proposed brand assets can directly generate and shape equity for a brand (Aaker, 1996). However, research was conducted by Scremin (2007) in reflection of Aaker's brand equity model and other proposed theorists where he proposes a model based on concept of *party equity*- "the added value generated by an entity's (e.g., a political candidate or organization) association to a particular party" (Scremin, 2007: VII). In Scremin's research: *Political Parties as Brands: Developing and Testing a Conceptual Framework for Understanding Party Equity*; he draws parallels between political parties and brands. The core idea around which his dissertation was built on is that political parties offer voters, like brands offer consumers, *bundles of meanings* that help shape how voters process, retrieve, and store political information. Therefore Scremin (2007) proposed the conceptual model, the *Voter-based party equity model*, "Voter-based party equity refers to the value that a particular political party contains as reflected in voters' responses to information encountered about the party" (Scremin, 2007).

Figure 1: Voter-based equity model (Scremin, 2007):



According to Scremin (2007), political parties, like brands, can be translated as symbols that exemplify multiple meanings; accordingly in his voter-based party equity model, the meanings are referred to as party knowledge, which is formed by a convergence of party awareness and party associations. Scremin (2007) proceeds to state that, “meaning is at the core of our conceptualization of parties as brands and of party equity; that is, we assume that, like brands, party-related meanings have inherent value given that, for example, voters have been found to use what they know about political parties to make inferences about political candidates.”

Therefore, for the nature of this research Scremin’s Voter-based equity model was applied as the main theoretical framework for this research. This model was deemed effective as the model definition stretches to include, “voters’ responses to any type of message about or related to a political party, be it from the party itself (e.g. marketing/campaign messages), the media (e.g., news), or from direct voter experience” (Scremin, 2007).

2.2 The phenomenon of Political jamming

A contagious international trend of using ones extensive ideas to subvert brands which ultimately uses their rivals own resources against themselves has become a popular social topic in South Africa. The trend or rather phenomenon can be referred to as *culture jamming*, “Culture jamming can be considered to be the practice of subverting brands – by harnessing the same mediums that brands use to reach consumers” (Spark ,2015). Academically, it can be characterized as, “an attempt to reverse and transgress the meaning of cultural codes whose primary aim is to persuade us to buy something or be someone” (Jordan, 2002). The central target of culture jamming has been conglomerate corporations who have directed their practices in globalization, where the objective is to challenge the power of these corporations. These distinctions of cultural jamming, as aforementioned, are intended for the corporate landscape and its brand culture, yet current transformations have seen an explicit shift in the use of cultural jamming as a technique towards the political realm; therefore bringing about the *political jamming* phenomenon. It has been highlighted that politicians and political parties have progressively employed the branding methods of the corporate marketers to “sell” their political schemes, and therefore hold the same function as a brand (Scremin, 2007). It therefore follows that culture jamming or rather *political jamming* would interrupt the communication of the dominant political brand messages as culture jamming disrupts those of the corporate realm.

In essence, political jamming can also be viewed as a means of coming to terms with the complexities of reality, as sabotaging meanings, and in this manner using humour, mocking,

satire and parody (Cammaerts, 2007). According to Hutcheon (1994) 'jamming the political' is not an entirely new phenomenon; the history of political parody or rather jamming can also be traced back to numerous artistic and sub-cultural movements (Cammaerts, 2007). However, internet and social media is a new distribution channel that has a stream of revolutionary interpretations that can be realized differentiating in terms of means (Cammaerts, 2007). South Africa's political realm is saturated with burning discussions amongst the public; therefore the political jamming phenomenon has amusing and engaging relevance in the South African context.

2.3 Jamming the political in South Africa

Political jamming has to some extent become a means of dealing with the messiness of the South African reality of government. The subverting of meanings, and using humour, mocking, satire and parody of political parties has become a political channel for the public to express feelings of intolerance, abhorrence or rather their public opinion towards a common enemy, the political leaders. The political jamming phenomenon has become a rising trend in South Africa. In order to emphasize this trend used against the political realm, various political jam examples will be examined. The following specific political jams were analyzed as they have had an impact to some degree or are representative of the phenomenon.

Most notoriously, is the work of Jonathan Shapiro, or commonly known as *Zapiro*, who is a well known political activist in South Africa. Zapiro is a cartoonist and activist who has been an editorial cartoonist for famous South African newspapers since 1994, and has exhibited in numerous group shows locally and internationally (SAhistory.org, 2015). Zapiro being a prominent figure in the activist domain is known for his hard hitting cartoons about South African President Jacob Zuma; he has been sued twice by Zuma for defamation. Zuma has noticeably felt uneasy about these cartoons as he instituted a claim for R5 million based on Zapiro's 2008 *Lady Justice* cartoon at the end of 2012, Zuma then dropped the lawsuit (SAhistory.org, 2015). In consideration of the many admirable illustrations done by Zapiro, *The Lady Justice* cartoon will be highlighted and further explored. On the 7th of September, 2008, The Lady Justice cartoon by Zapiro was published in the South African Sunday Times. The cartoon illustrates ANC president Jacob Zuma beginning to remove his pants and being cheered on to "Go for it, boss" by ANC secretary-general Gwede Mantashe, who — along with treaty leaders Julius Malema, Zwelinzima Vavi and Blade Nzimande — are illustrated holding the Lady of Justice to the ground (Zapiro.com, 2011). According to Zapiro.com (2011), "it has started more public discussion than ever before on the subject of Jacob Zuma and the South African Justice

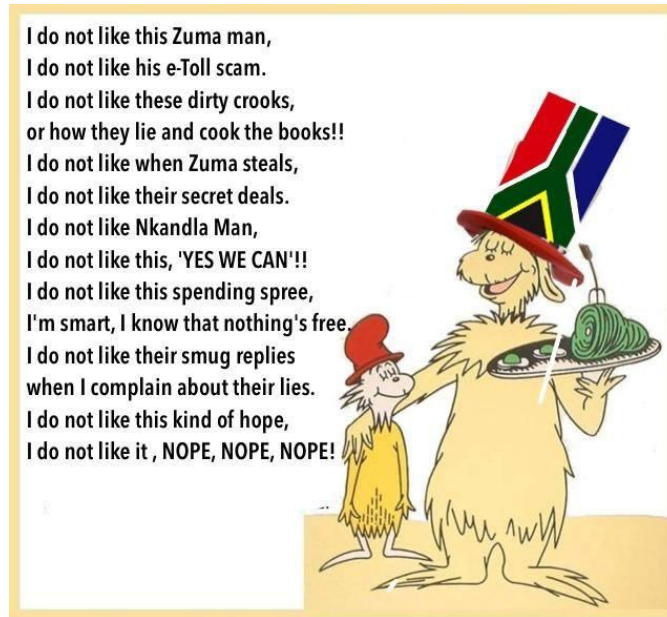
system.” At the time of this published cartoon, Zuma was charged with corruption charges which Zapiro aimed to highlight. The message Zapiro persuasively portrayed is that Zuma and the others depicted in this cartoon had threatened the justice system (Zapiro.com , 2011). Below is the *Lady Justice* illustration by Zapiro:

Figure 2: Lady Justice (Zapiro, 2008):



The internet additionally plays a fundamental role in spreading the jam. Although, classic media still has an essential role in communicating the jam beyond the inferior public spheres, social media has had a vast influence in spreading political jams. A collection of political jams have become apparent in my individual experience through social media and would reputedly become apparent to many others. Found on the social media site, *Facebook*. This example of the illustration below portrays the concerns of the general public, and highlights President Jacob Zuma and the governments' transgressions. In distorting *Dr Seuss* famous rhymes, this illustration aimed to scrutinize and portray Zuma as a president who “lies” and “steals”. This illustration is intended to demonstrate the type ‘hope’ given to South Africans which based on a foundation formed on deceit and corruption. Below is the *Dr Seuss Zuma* illustration:

Figure 3: Dr. Seuss social media jam (Facebook.com, 2015):



This demonstrates that political jamming is not only executed by progressive voices and activists, but also serves to ridicule, humiliate or victimize the familiar enemy (Silverstone, 2006). Besides this illustration, it's reasonable to establish that there are countless similar South African political jams in motion on the internet and social media. According to Borthwick (2009), there has been a hasty transfer in social distribution online, "today there seems to be a new distribution model that is emerging. One that is based on people's ability to publically syndicate and distribute messages — aka content — in an open manner" (Borthwick, 2009). The content is now emerging in a different form, initially from pages and now to streams of information that is social which serves, "...to produce, amplify and filter the stream" (Borthwick, 2009). Borthwick further explains that context in today's world is provided mostly via social interactions and gestures, "people send out a message — with some context in the message itself and then the network picks up from there" (Borthwick, 2009). As social media is constantly evolving and can reach millions of people in the world, it can be fair to state that the internet and social media play an immense and effective role in the distribution of jams.

Another controversial instance of a South African political jam is from a Cape Town-based satirical artist, Brett Murray. The South African political sphere was once again up roared from the controversial painting, *The Spear*. The painting⁸ portrays the South African president, Jacob

⁸ The painting stands 185m tall which mirrors *Vladimir Stalin*-era propaganda posters (Zapiro, 2015).

Zuma, who is an active polygamist with four wives; standing with his feet astraddle with his genitals uncovered (Kona, 2012).

A high-court application was instituted to have the painting removed from the gallery, in addition to removing it from the website of a weekly newspaper, the City Press (Kona, 2012). Jacob Zuma reciprocated stating that, “the portrait depicts me in a manner that suggests I am a philanderer, a womaniser and one with no respect. It is an undignified depiction of my personality and seeks to create doubt about my personality in the eyes of my fellow citizens, family and children” (Kona, 2012). As it can be seen, this political jam undoubtedly created concern for Jacob Zuma. Below is *The Spear* painting by Brett Murray:

Figure 4: The Spear (Brett Murray, 2012):



With regard to this controversial painting, Zapiro once again reciprocated with another notorious illustration. Zapiro's objective for this illustration was to recommend to Zuma to “earn” the respect he desires (Kona, 2012). Zapiro's response to The Spear controversial matter below:

Figure 5: Response to Zuma (Kona, 2012):



Inconsideration of these political jams, the question arises to what extent does these political jams have an effect on a macro-political scale; additionally did it inherently challenge power constellations in South Africa? This brings the suggestion to further research this phenomenon in the public sphere.

2.4 Hegemonic power-constellations

The concept of cultural and political jamming is often linked to testing dominant discourses and creating counter-hegemonic discourses. Hegemony represents the predominance of one social class above others, “this represents not only political and economic control, but also the ability of the dominant class to project its own way of seeing the world so that those who are subordinated by it accept it as 'common sense' and 'natural'” (Chandler, 2000). Furthermore, power in political theory is generally thought of in terms of ‘relationships’ (Newman, 2004). Through these two statements, hegemonic power-constellations can be therefore be defined. In simpler terms, it relates to testing dominant power relationships, and for that reason in this context, the dominant power relationships are the political parties.

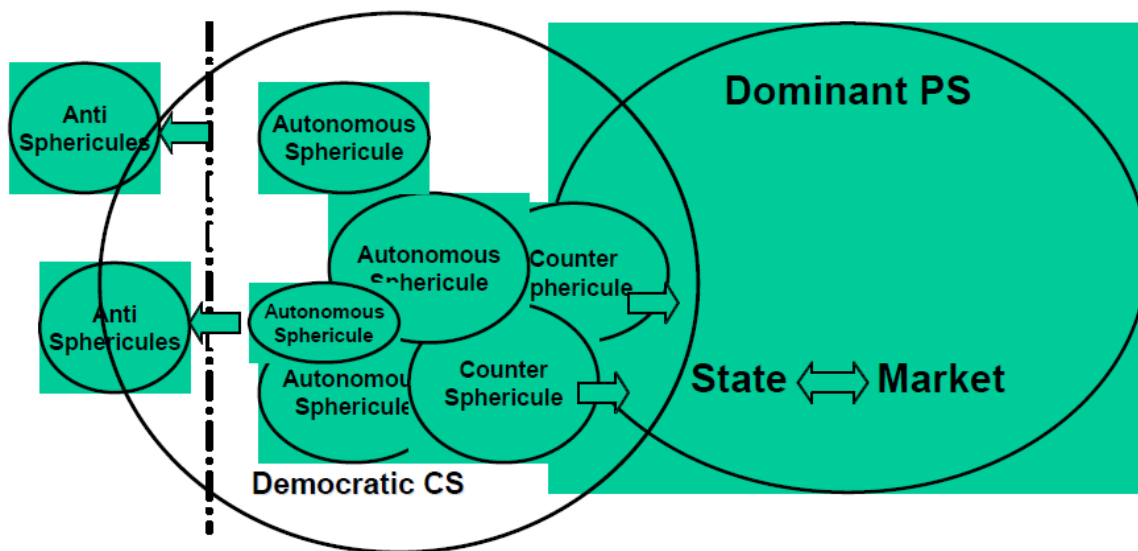
The *public sphere* can be defined, according to the theorist, Jürgen Habermas (1989), as a network where citizens without a direct stake in the issue could gather collectively to discuss the issues of the day (Habermas, 1989). The public sphere consists of a space between the political system, on the one hand, and private life, on the other (Habermas, 1989). In order to grasp how and if political jamming challenges hegemonic power constellations in South Africa, It is preferred and useful to understand and frame cultural/political jamming from a public sphere perspective.

According to Giltin (1998) political jamming will challenge hegemonic power-constellations. Giltin (1998) argues that the image of public 'sphericules' interacting and challenging with the governing public sphere, therefore creates counter-hegemonic discourses. In contrary to Giltin, Mouffe (1999) states that political jamming does not challenge hegemonic power – constellations. Mouffe's (1999) argument is that these discourses cannot be seen as threatening to democracy, but rather a majority of objecting discourses and social organisation is essential to contemporary notions of political mobilisation and involvement, hence “within a democratic culture, that in itself needs to be hegemonic, passions and fierce disagreements should, according to Mouffe, not be eliminated, but actively mobilized” (Cammaerts, 2007).

Cammaerts (2007) further aims to understand power-constellations through a *democratic model*- which attempts to capture this complex interaction of opposing and fragmented public

spheres, a few which are determined to 'hack' into the mainstream public sphere, mainly controlled by market and state (Cammaerts, 2007). Below Figure 6 illustrates the normative (democratic) model.

Figure 6: The normative (democratic) model (Cammaerts, 2007):



Cammaerts (2007) further concludes that cultural jamming techniques used in the political realm from a public sphere perspective does create a wide variety of subverting narratives and alternative discourses. Democracy ultimately needs rivalry and debate, as well as the acknowledgement that there are diverse interests at play that need to be made evident and clear (Cammaerts, 2007). According to the research conducted by Cammaerts (2007), he concludes that political jamming will have an effect on a macro-political scale and challenge-hegemonic power constellations, despite the fact that the effects are not straightforward. A macro-political level can be defined as, “interactions between state, markets and society more broadly, the levels at which decision-making takes place and the range of stakeholders involved” (Sprg.ac.uk, 2015). As analyzed through the democratic model, culture/political jamming interacts between the dominant state or political sphere and the public sphere, therefore political jamming interacts and effects on a macro-political level. According to Cammearts (2007) the extent to which political jamming has an effect on a macro-political level are to a trivial degree.

Through Cammaerts (2007) conducted research and other aforementioned theorists; theoretically, political jamming does challenge hegemonic power- constellations in an evasive and equivocal way. To support this theoretical base, a gap presents itself to research the extent political jamming challenges hegemonic power-constellations in South Africa, from conducting research in the public sphere.

2.5 The promotion of critical postures:

It can be argued that critical and active postures are promoted in the public through the political jamming phenomenon. Critical postures can be understood as the creation of critical interpretation within individuals where a critical attitude/posture is then created (Lawson, 2008). What is essential for citizens that are engaging and partaking within the public sphere is a critical awareness, a type of position which empowers individuals with agency and efficacy (Lawson, 2008). In order to understand what this posture has the ability to look like and how it potentially operates, is it about understanding political jamming as a creative communication process. “This creative communication process empowers both the agent conducting the “jam” and the individuals whom experience the phenomenon by displaying critical agency in action” (Lawson, 2008). For that reason by noting, conducting or interpreting the political jamming phenomenon, critical and active postures are promoted (Lawson, 2008).

Agency can be framed through Karlyn Khors Campbell’s theory of agency which will provide understanding of the public sphere. Additionally, through considering different aspects of Habermas’s model, the consideration of the influence political jamming has upon agency and efficacy and linkage thereof to challenging hegemonic power constellations can be recognized. The relationship between political jamming and agency can be considered a direct and intimate relationship. Campbell (2008) describes agency as “the term ‘agency’ is polysemic and ambiguous,” but that there is an association between persuasion and symbolic action (Campbell, 2008). Campbell (2008) classifies agency in five categories: 1) “is communal and participatory”; 2) “is ‘invented’ by authors who are points of articulation”; 3) “emerges in artistry or craft”; 4) “is effected through form”; 5) “ is perverse...open to reversal.” Rhetorical agency then “refers to the capacity to act, that is, to have the competence to speak or write in a way that will be recognized or heeded by others in one’s community” (Campbell, 2008).

According to Lawson (2008), culture/political jamming takes this theory of agency to another step by actually putting agency into practice and applying it. Culture/ political jamming therefore

becomes not only an act of speech, “but also triggers a sort of critical literacy in action” (Lawson, 2008). The correlation between culture/political jamming and Campbell's criteria can be considered deep-seated and imminent. Campbell (2008) further explains that “agency can be understood as the ways in which individuals accept, negotiate, and resist the subject-positions available to them at a given moment in a particular culture”(Campbell, 2008:3). According to Lawson (2008) culture/political jammers may be restrained to the obtainable forms of media, “but the ability to manipulate the content of these various forms is part of the creative and participatory nature of agency” (Lawson, 2008). Culture/political jammers can be viewed as activists who are “‘points of articulation’ rather than originators” (Campbell, 2008). Lawson (2008) further explains that jammers activate that knowledge to assist in encouraging understanding of the semiological manipulations they transmit. Campbell's (2008) fourth criteria as well acquire significance when framed within the practice of culture/political jamming, “agency is textual or, put differently, texts have agency” (Campbell, 2008:8). Culture and political jammers take to mind the lessons to be learned from understanding how essential form is to the process of communication (Lawson, 2008). Campbell (2008) confirms, “Form is the foundation of all communication, but it is also a type of agency that has a power to separate a text from its nominal author and from its original moment of performance” (Campbell, 2008:5). This creative practice of culture/political jamming relies on this division of the form (Lawson, 2008). Campbell (2008) lastly states her fifth criteria, “that agency can be malign, divisive, and destructive”, which is appropriate for culture/political jamming. Jammers therefore do take this form, however instead of complete destruction, a practice of re-construction takes place (Lawson, 2008). Culture/political jamming replace harmonised interpretations with heterogeneous interpretations; individual interpretation therefore arises forth from a critical stance, an attitude or posture which is engaging rather than inactive. Through this understanding, it is these critical postures that challenge hegemonic power- constellations in an evasive and equivocal way.

Through this critical literature review it can be stated that the political jamming phenomenon is noticeably relevant and evident in South Africa. Political jamming in South Africa has taken many interesting forms and social media and the internet can be considered a sturdy and ever evolving form of distributing the political jams. The political realm has evidently felt the intimidation from the political jams in South Africa and hastily seeks to revoke the political jams used against them. As based on research conducted by Cammaearts (2007) and other theorists it can be acknowledged that political jamming does have an effect on a macro-political scale

and challenge hegemonic- power constellations. Through understanding Campbell's (2008) theory of agency and Lawson's (2008) research it can be supported that political jamming promotes critical postures and attitudes in the public and it is these postures that can be argued that challenge hegemonic power-constellations in South Africa. The gap therefore presents itself through this literature review to research the extent political jamming promotes critical postures and challenges hegemonic power-constellations in South Africa and its effect on the political party's equity; from conducting research in the public sphere based on the theoretical framework of The Voter-Based equity model by Scremin (2007).

2.6 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework Identified for the research paper is based on Scremin's (2007) Voter-based equity model. In reflection of Aaker's brand equity model and other proposed theorists where he proposes a model based on concept of *party equity* .This model was deemed effective as the model definition stretches to include, "voters' responses to any type of message about or related to a political party, be it from the party itself (e.g., marketing/campaign messages), the media (e.g., news), or from direct voter experience" (Scremin, 2007). The secondary framework for this research paper was examining Karlyn Khors Campbell's theory of agency in order to grasp the understanding of how political jamming operates in the public sphere.

CHAPTER 3: Methodology

This chapter details the research methodology for the present study. It explains the research objectives and provides a suitable methodology to achieve those objectives. The objectives of the study are:

- To explore the influence political jamming has on agency and efficacy in the public.
- To investigate the relationship between political jamming and hegemonic-power constellations in South Africa.
- To consider the relationship between the promotion of critical postures in the public and hegemonic-power constellations in South Africa from political jamming.
- To explore the extent to which political jamming has an impact on a macro - political scale in South Africa.
- To examine the role the internet and social media play in the distribution of political jams in South Africa and the significance thereof.
- To assess the effect the political jamming phenomena has on the equity of the political brand (party equity) using Scremin's Voter-Based equity model.

The eight purposes of this chapter are to (1) describe the research approach of this study, (2) explain the research design, (3) describe the procedure used in designing the instrument and collecting the data, (4) describe the instruments used, (5) the sampling, (6) explain reliability and validity of the research, (7) to provide an explanation of the statistical procedures used to analyze the data, (8) explaining the ethical issues involved and (9) to describe the limitations to the study.

3.1 Research Approach:

The research approach consists of a qualitative approach. *Qualitative* research has the purpose to gather an in-depth understanding of human behaviour and the reasons that govern such behaviour (Maree, 2012). This approach focuses on a singular theory or phenomenon (Creswell, 2003) whilst investigating the reasoning of decision making, not just the what, where, when (Maree, 2012). The research is based on an interpretive paradigm as this foregrounds the meaning that individuals or communities assign to their experiences (Maree, 2012). The social context, conventions, norms and standards of the particular community are crucial elements in assessing and understanding human behaviour (Maree, 2012). This approach is considered effective as the research seeks to understand the political jamming phenomena and

using the interpretive paradigm to understand the social context and conventions in political jamming in order to investigate the relationship between political jamming and hegemonic-power constellations in South Africa; in addition it will explore the extent to which political jamming has an impact on a macro - political scale in South Africa.

3.2 Research Design:

A descriptive research design was adopted due to the nature of the research. Descriptive research involves direct exploration, analysis and description of the particular phenomena, as free as possible from unexplained assumptions, aimed at highest intuitive presentation (Streubert & Carpenter 1999:49). This study attempted to explore and explain while providing additional information about political jamming in a South African context. The descriptive research utilized was aimed to describe what was happening in more detail, filling in the missing parts in research of the phenomena and expanding our understanding of political jamming in South Africa. Therefore the research will comprise of a descriptive case study design as the research attempted to portray a phenomenon and conceptualize it (Yin, 2003). According to Yin (2003) the components of a case study design include:

1. Study questions
2. Theoretical framework
3. Identification of the units of analysis
4. The logical linking of the data to the propositions
5. The criteria for interpreting the findings.

These components will further be explained in the data collection method.

3.3 Data Collection Method:

The research adopted case study research and the instrumentation consisted of a field data collection method, with use of conducted interviews. Case study research is descriptive research that involves clarifying and interpreting events or situations that occur in the present (Yin, 2003). Case study research was deemed effective as it yields an understanding of political jamming which can strengthen what is already known through previous research (Yin, 2003).

The steps encountered for conducting a case study research to collect data were as follows:

Identifying research questions:

The research questions identified were as follows:

To what extent does the political jamming phenomenon challenge hegemonic power-constellations in South Africa and affect the equity of political parties?

Secondary research questions:

1. To what extent does this phenomenon promote agency and critical postures within citizens?
2. To what extent does political jamming have an effect on a macro-political level?
3. To what extent does the internet and social media play a role in the distribution of political jams?

Determining the unit of sampling and the number of units; selecting the cases:

To start the study, a critical literature review was conducted to better understand the framework in relation to political hegemonic power-constellations as applied by Cammearts (2007) in his study. To further assess the impact on a South African study an empirical study was taken with primary research in the form of interviews.

Identifying sources, tools and techniques of data collection:

The instruments used to collect data consisted of conducted interviews in Pretoria, Gauteng. Interviews consisted of a semi-structured interview as the tool for data collection. Interviews are regarded as an effective way for exploring and gathering descriptive material, which may serve as a source for developing a richer and deeper understanding of a human phenomenon (Streubert & Carpenter 1999:59). This will further be discussed.

Evaluating and Analysing Data:

The data was analyzed using an inductive approach as an inductive process includes gathering data, looking for patterns and then developing a theory (Blackstone, 2015). This section will be further discussed below.

3.4 Instrument

A semi-structured interview was used as a tool for data collection as this format allowed for exploration into more interesting areas in more detail. This method of data collection was chosen to allow participants to share their own insights into the phenomenon. Interviews are regarded as an effective way for exploring and gathering descriptive material, which may serve as a source for developing a richer and deeper understanding of a human phenomenon (Streubert & Carpenter 1999:59). Furthermore, interview methods were accepted as valid methods for studying experiences and perceptions of the public, as they had been used in various qualitative studies on political jamming as seen by Wettergren (2005). For this study semi-structured interviews yielded rich data, as participants were given guidance yet were allowed for exploration into areas from their own insights.

3.4.1 Interview Process:

Communication skills such as expression, nodding, questioning, clarification, and maintaining eye contact, to facilitate and encourage participants to talk were used during the interview process. Field notes were also used during the interviews. The interviews were tape recorded, and verbatim transcriptions were made. Refer to appendix A for the interview schedule. The political parties discussed in the interview with participants was the African National Congress (ANC), the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) as these are the top three ruling parties in South Africa.

3.4.2 Pilot Interview:

A pilot study is a limited or small scale research project that is conducted in order to get a clearer idea of the research objectives without the expense and effort of a fully completed study (Crossman, 2015). A pilot study is used to highlight issues such as research validity, ethics and representation (Sampson, 2004). The same semi-structured interview that was planned for the study was asked to two external sources that are separate from the study, before the actual interviews took place. This was done to test the validity of the interview and to test the effectiveness of the interview.

3.5 Sampling

Sampling refers to the process used to select a portion of the population for a study (Marie, 2012:79). A non-probability snowball sampling method was used for this research which according to Patton (2001) identifies cases of interest from people of who would be a good interview participant. Thus, this is an approach used for locating information-rich cases. This method is applicable as the study focuses on a sensitive issue, as choice in political party can be seen as a private matter, and thus requires the knowledge of participants to locate people for the study. Participants were personally recruited who met the sampling criteria of being South African, over 18 and vote in the South African elections. From there, nominations were referred to from the participants, of eligible participants who met the criteria. Through this snowball effect, a total of fifteen participants were interviewed. Participants were requested to give written consent for the interviews to be audio taped.

3.5.1 Sampling criteria:

According to Burns and Grove (2001: 366), sampling criteria are the characteristics fundamental to the membership of the target population. These criteria are the characteristics that delimit the population of interest. For this study, the inclusion criteria were:

- South African
- Eligible to vote 18<
- Took part in South African elections
- Have come into contact with political jams
- Have participated in the distribution of political jams via social media

3.6 Reliability and Validity

Reliability and validity refers to the trustworthiness of qualitative research. According to Streubert & Carpenter (1999:333), qualitative research is trustworthy when it truthfully represents the experience of the study applicant. The research was assessed on reliability and validity using Guba and Lincoln's (1989) proposed four criteria for judging the soundness of qualitative research.

3.6.1 Credibility:

The criterion in measuring credibility involves establishing that the findings of the qualitative research are credible or believable from the perspective of the participant in the research (William, 2006). Credibility relates to the trustworthiness of findings in qualitative research studies (Streubert & Carpenter 1999:330). In order to ensure credibility, the following measures were employed.

- All participants of the interview were taken through the same semi-structured interview
- The participants were interviewed to the position at which there was data saturation (prolonged engagement). No new information was raised.
- The interviews were tape-recorded and transcripts were completed after each interview (referral adequacy).
- A portion of the participants were approached again, to establish whether the transcribed data was a truthful version of their experience.

3.6.2 Transferability:

Transferability refers to the extent to which the findings of qualitative research can be generalized or transferred to other contexts or settings (William, 2006). A literature control was done wherein similar findings of other research studies were reported. Furthermore, I cannot generalize to the whole study as it was conducted on a small scale therefore I recommend further research to ensure transferability.

3.6.3 Dependability:

The dependability criterion relates to the uniformity of the results. According to Guba and Lincoln (1985:316), there can be no validity without reliability (and thus no credibility without dependability). For that reason, a demonstration of the former is satisfactory to establish the continuation of the latter. The same principle also applied in this research. An in-depth explanation of the methodology used to conduct the study was completed. Furthermore, the data collected was organised into categories and themes. All interview materials, transcriptions, documents, findings, interpretations, and recommendations, were kept; and for the intention of

conducting an investigation of the findings, any other material significant to the study was made obtainable and accessible to the supervisor and any other researcher.

3.6.4 Confirmability:

Confirmability refers to the extent to which the findings can be confirmed or corroborated by others (William, 2006). In order to ensure confirmability the procedures for checking and rechecking the data throughout the study was documented. Lastly, after the study, the research supervisor conducted a data audit to examine the data collection and analysis procedures and therefore made judgments about the potential for bias or distortion.

3.7 Data Analysis:

Data analysis commences with listening to participants' verbal descriptions, and is followed by reading and re-reading the verbatim transcriptions or written responses (Streubert and Carpenter , 1999:60). The data analysis for the research made use of an inductive approach. An inductive process includes gathering data, looking for patterns then developing a theory (Blackstone, 2015). The following steps were used to analyse the data from the interviews:

1. Managing responses: the data was transcribed and tape recordings and notes were made during the interview were reevaluated. Unique identifiers to the respondents were allocated and their transcripts and notes were added into a spreadsheet. Codes were then developed to categorize respondents by knowledge/attitude or traits.
2. Classifying information: The data was then reviewed in order to identify common, recurrent, or emergent themes. The data was also classified using an analytical framework based on the topics discussed by the respondents during the interviews.
3. Coding of data: The coding consisted of three levels in order to ensure the thoroughness of the analysis. Firstly, primary level coding was conducted in order to name concepts to categories and then to themes. Secondly, secondary level coding was done in order to analyze the relationships between the themes resulting from the primary level coding and lastly triangulation was done to clarify the understanding of the primary and secondary coding, which is compared to the raw data to establish fit and appropriateness.

3.8 Ethical Issues

Research ethics refers to particular fair and appropriate principles, rules, guidelines and norms of research related behaviour (Gallardo, 2012: 100). As this research involves human participants, it was therefore necessary that the following ethical principles be adhered to:

3.8.1 Right to self-determination:

Self-determination is based on the ethical principle of having respect for a person. This involves participants given sufficient information with regard to the research; the participants must be capable of understanding the information; and they must have the authority of free choice, enabling them to consent voluntarily to partake in research or decline participation (Burns & Grove, 2001: 196). Informed consent was acquired from the participants; additionally, the objectives of the study and participant rights to withdraw from the study at any time were explained to them. Participants had discussed and clarified their understanding of the nature of the research. Furthermore, the procedures of the study were explained to participants so that the individuals could reasonably expect what to anticipate in the research.

3.8.2 Right to confidentiality:

Confidentiality refers to the researcher's supervision of private information shared by the participants, which must not be shared with others without the authorisation from participants (Burns & Grove, 2001:201). Data collected from participants are confidential and protected against any unauthorised access to the data. Additionally the research data is only made available to the researcher and the supervisor.

3.8.3 Anonymity:

According Burns and Grove (2001: 201), anonymity occurs when even the researcher cannot associate a participant with the data of that person. Although anonymity cannot be completely guaranteed in qualitative research (Streubert & Carpenter 1999:38), procedures have been taken in an effort to ensure that there is no unauthorised access to the data. Data was kept secured by locking the data collection in a cupboard and the tapes were destroyed on completion of the study. In addition, informative materials, such as names of participants,

were dismissed during the process of data collection, to guarantee that there is no disclosure of the identity of the participant.

3.9 Limitations

- This research was limited to a time constraint which could have affected the findings.
- This research was limited by geographic constraints as I was unable to travel to other provinces in South Africa other than Gauteng due to time and financial constraints.
- This research was limited by the amount of participants involved as a larger participant group would ensure more accuracy in findings.
- The results of the study are limited by the accuracy of the theoretical framework to reflect the phenomena of political jamming.
- The results of the study are limited by the ability of the methodology selected to address the problem and purpose of this research paper.
- The research is limited by the definition of political jamming.

CHAPTER 4: Findings

Introduction

This chapter seeks to define and describe the data collected. Firstly the participants involved in the study will be discussed followed by the data analysis and coding. The major themes identified are Party Equity, Power of Political Parties, Critical Attitudes and Role of the Internet and Social media.

4.1 Participants

The participants were selected using a non-probability snowball sampling. Participants were personally recruited who met the sampling criteria of being South African, over 18 and vote in the South African elections. From there, nominations were referred to from the participants, of eligible participants who met the criteria. Of the 15 interviewee participants the majority of the respondents were in the age gap of 45-70. All respondents resided in the Gauteng region. 20% of the respondents were unemployed or retired; 33% were students and 47% were working professionals

4. 2 Data Analysis and Coding

The coding consisted of three levels in order to ensure the accurateness of the analysis. Firstly, primary level coding was conducted in order to name concepts drawn from the research questions into categories and then to themes. Secondly, secondary level coding was done in order to analyse the relationships between the themes resulting from the primary level coding and lastly triangulation was done to clarify the understanding of the primary and secondary coding, which is compared to the raw data to establish fit and appropriateness.

Primary level coding:

The initial coding phase was accomplished through the process of Structural coding, in which the primary raw data was labelled. Structural coding is, “designed to start organizing data around specific research questions (Saldaña, 2009, p. 51).” The Structural coding of the raw data developed the —memo code 1- in which the following four labels were assigned: Party Equity, Power of Political Parties, Critical Attitudes and Role of Internet and Social media. These themes have significant correlation with the political jamming phenomenon.

Party Equity:

In order to encapsulate the effect political jamming has on a particular political party's equity, Scremin (2007) proposed conceptual model, the *Voter-based party equity model*, was used to analyse three particular South African political parties. "Voter-based party equity refers to the value that a particular political party contains as reflected in voters' responses to information encountered about the party (Scremin, 2007)." The political parties discussed in the interview with participants was the African National Congress (ANC), the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) as these are the top three ruling parties in South Africa. Each political party's equity was evaluated using Scremin's (2007) voter-based equity model from the respondent's answers in pursuance of understanding if political jamming has an effect on party equity. The equity was evaluated before and after a political jam was shown to the respondent to see if there was an effect.

DA Equity:

Before the Jam: Firstly the respondents equally could and could not recognize the DA's political logo yet all respondents were equally aware of the DA. The majority of respondents had positive associations from party induced; context induced and experienced induced messages that were evaluated from the respondents. The current party associations of the DA were predominantly positive which related to being trustworthy, yet a very reactive party. 60% of the participants- 9 out of the 15- had a positive voting preference towards the DA and 40% were not willing to disclose their voting preference.

The illustrated jams were:

Figure 8: Godzilla VS Godzilla (Zapiro, 2011):



Figure 7: Godzilla VS Media (Zapiro, 2015):



After the Jam: The political jam of the DA gave negative associations towards their political party. They were perceived as being 'destructive' and ultimately negative. However, the majority of respondents stated that this political jam did not alter their perceptions of the DA or their voting preference.

The DA has high party awareness and predominately positive party associations towards them which translates to having high brand/party equity amongst the respondents. The political jam shown did however not alter the party equity or voting preference of the DA.

EEF Equity:

Before the Jam: Firstly the majority of respondents could not recognize the EEF political logo yet all respondents were equally aware of the EEF. The majority of respondents had negative associations from party induced; context induced and experienced induced messages that were evaluated from the respondents. The current associations of the EEF were 'uneducated', 'disruptive', 'violent' and a 'fairly new' party. 67% - 10 out of 15-respondents had a negative voting preference towards the EEF and 33% were not willing to disclose their voting preference. The illustrated jams were:

**Figure 9: Malema and Shivambu:
Running for office (Zapiro, 2011):**



**Figure 10: EEF's parliamentary record
(Zapro, 2012):**



After the Jam: The political jam of the EFF gave negative associations towards their political party. They were perceived as being 'corrupt', 'animalistic' and ultimately negative. However, the majority of respondents stated that this political jam did not alter their perceptions of the EFF or their voting preference as the political jam reinforced their judgments.

The EFF has a high party awareness yet low recognition of their political logo. The EFF has primarily negative party associations towards them which translate to having low brand/party equity amongst the respondents. The political jam shown however did not alter the party equity or voting preference of the EFF.

ANC Equity:

Before the Jam: Firstly the majority of respondents could recognize the ANC political logo and all respondents were equally aware of the ANC. The majority of respondents had negative associations from party induced; context induced and experienced induced messages that were evaluated from the respondents. The current associations of the ANC were 'corruption', 'dishonesty' and a 'lack of understanding'. 60% - 9 out of 15-respondents had a negative voting preference towards the ANC and 40% were not willing to disclose their voting preference.

The illustrated jams were:

Figure 11: Zuma has Marikana on his mind (Zapiro, 2015):



Figure 13: The Lady Justice (Zapiro, 2008):



Figure 12: Together we can do more crime (Marxist.com, 2015):



After the Jam: The political jam of the ANC gave negative associations towards their political party. They were perceived as being 'selfish', 'a party that undermines the justice system', 'self-serving' and ultimately negative. However, the majority of respondents stated that this political jam did not alter their perceptions of the ANC or their voting preference as the political jam reinforced their judgments.

The ANC has a high party awareness and a high recognition of their political logo. The ANC has primarily negative party associations towards them which translate to having low-medium brand/party equity amongst the respondents. The political jam shown however did not alter the party equity or voting preference of the ANC.

Power of Political Parties:

The concept of cultural and political jamming is often associated with testing dominant discourses and creating counter-hegemonic discourses. Hegemony represents the predominance of one social class above others, "This represents not only political and economic control, but also the ability of the dominant class to project its own way of seeing the world so that those who are subordinated by it accept it as 'common sense' and 'natural'" (Chandler, 2000). Furthermore, power in political theory is generally thought of in terms of "relationships" (Newman, 2004). The interview inquired into the respondents' opinion of these power relations. 67%- 10 out of the 15- respondents stated that political jamming can affect the power political parties have over the public. In addition, 53% of respondents stated that in their opinion political jamming can challenge the government/political parties.

Critical Attitudes:

Critical attitudes relates to the extent to which political jamming replaces harmonized interpretations with heterogeneous interpretations. Additionally, the extent to which political jamming affects individual interpretation and which forth arises a critical stance, an attitude or posture which is engaging rather than inactive. 67%- 10 out of the 15- respondents stated that political jamming can create critical or significant attitudes in the public. Furthermore, the respondents were asked if political jamming can be seen as a form of resistance towards the government/political parties and 67%- 10 out of the 15- respondents stated that political can jamming be seen a form of resistance.

Role of Internet and Social media:

The role of internet and social media in distributing the political jams was discussed with the respondents by analysing their involvement with political jams. 47% of respondents have only seen or interacted with political jams in traditional media i.e. newspapers. Additionally only 33% of respondents have seen political jams online or on social media. Of the 33%- 5 out of 15 respondents, the majority of respondents have seen them on a weekly basis and only 6% of respondents have distributed political jams via social media themselves.

Secondary level coding:

The second-level coding phase of the data analysis process consisted of pattern coding which resulted in the meta-code: the three categories or themes ascribed to the four initial labels derived from the raw data. The first meta-code theme named Hegemonic power-constellations includes the first-level coding labels of Power of Political parties and Critical Attitudes. These aspects have direct linkage as the consequence of critical attitudes in the public can presumably affect the power political parties have over the public which ultimately can seek to challenge hegemonic power constellations. The second meta-code theme named the Effect of Political Jams comprises of Party Equity and The role of Internet and Social media. As these are interrelated as the significance political jamming has on party equity is limited , yet if social becomes more popular and a considerable channel for distributing political jams it could reach more of the population and in due course affect the equity of the party.

Triangulation:

Substantiation was proven in the data analysis through the process of triangulation. The initial raw data was coded and recorded and examined how new labels might affect the data analysis. In the first-level coding, if additional labels were to arise that do not fit-in with the existing four labels, they can be left as independent labels until the second-level coding. In this second cycle, the new labels should fit within one of the two meta-codes categories derived. In the initial coding phase, a new label became apparent, Demographics, that could be captured in the scope of an existing label, such as Effect of political jams.

Demographics:

Demographics include the variables such as age, gender, occupation education level. These variables could have affected the responses from the respondents. From the data it was apparent that of the 40% of respondents who stated that in their opinion political jamming does not challenge the government, 80% of those respondents were over the age of 50. In addition, of the 33% of respondents who said that political jamming does not affect the power of the political parties, does not create critical attitudes in the public or is not a form of resistance; 80% of those respondents were over the age of 50.

Table 1: The meta-codes: The two aspects of Political Jamming:

HEGEMONIC POWER-CONSTELLATIONS- <i>Power relations and postures between the public sphere and political parties.</i>	EFFECT OF POLITICAL JAMS- <i>The effect from and on these aspects.</i>
Power of Political Parties	Party Equity
Critical Attitudes	Role of Social Media and Internet
	Demographics

Chapter 5: Discussion

Introduction

This chapter covers the significance of the data collected and discusses the value and meaning of the data based on the literature review and the analysed data. This chapter includes (1) Research Questions and (2) Recommendations and Implications for Theory, Research, and Practice.

5.1 Research Questions:

Research Question 1: To what extent does the political jamming phenomenon challenge hegemonic power-constellations in South Africa and affect the equity of political parties? The study revealed that political jamming does challenge hegemonic power-constellations in South Africa although it can be considered on a minor scale. In looking at political jamming from a public sphere perspective, they do generate alternative discourses and subvert narratives. Political jamming empowers the citizen/activist to voice dissent and challenge dominant discourses in society. From the data collected the majority of respondents stated that political jamming does affect the power political parties have over the public and that it seeks to challenge political parties, “People that are looking at it are perceiving it in their way and forming their own ideas based on the political jams; which obviously affects the political parties (Participant 1)”. Similarly participant 3 agreed stating that, “It can raise questions amongst society and stir that something is wrong and make them dive deeper.” In contrast to these statements a few participants felt in their opinion political jamming does not affect the power political parties have over public nor seek to challenge political parties as , “ It doesn’t create the right response in government because you haven’t got a government that is sensitive to these stimuli” (Participant 10). Similarly respondents agreed stating that political jamming is just, “Water off a ducks back” (Participant 9). Furthermore, in analysing the data, it indicated that the contrast in answers was dependent on the particular demographics of the respondents. It can therefore be emphasized that the particular perceptions from the public and the degree of impact political jamming has on the public can be a resultant of their particular demographics.

Further the research revealed that political jamming has a limited effect on the equity of political parties. From the data it became apparent that political jamming is more of a means that, “confirms people in their prejudice” (Participant 10). In analysing the equity of political parties it

became noticeable that political jamming creates action in the public to question the political parties, “This would alter the perceptions I had of the political party as looking at this (political jam), I maybe don’t know much about the political party and I need to do more research on this political party.”, this could essentially effect the equity of political parties in the long term.’

Research question 2: To what extent does this phenomenon promote agency and critical postures within citizens?

The study revealed that political jamming does create critical postures/attitudes in the public and promotes agency in the public. Political jamming replaces harmonized interpretations with heterogeneous interpretations; individual interpretation therefore arises forth from a critical stance, an attitude or posture which is engaging rather than inactive (Lawson, 2009). From the data collected the majority of respondents in their opinion stated that political jamming does create critical attitudes in the public. In analysing the data it became noticeable that political jamming creates action in the public to question the political parties, “This would alter the perceptions I had of the political party as looking at this (political jam), I maybe don’t know much about the political party and I need to do more research on this political party (Participant 2).” This is evident of a critical attitude being established. It is this agency that is created that seeks to challenge hegemonic power-constellations in South Africa- be it on an indefinite scale. It can therefore be recognized that political jamming has a direct influence on upon agency and efficacy in the public.

Research question 3: To what extent does political jamming have an effect on a macro-political level?

In clarifying that political jamming challenges hegemonic power-constellations in South Africa it can be stated that it will have an effect on a macro-political level. Democracy ultimately needs rivalry and debate, as well as the acknowledgement that there are diverse interests at play that need to be made evident and clear (Cammaerts, 2007). In various ways, politics ceases to be politics when all discourses congregate on the supposed 'radical centre', when discords are denied or silenced (Cammaerts, 2007). Through Cammaerts (2007) conducted research and individual data collected, political jamming does challenge hegemonic power- constellations in an evasive and equivocal way; and as political jamming is utilized on a macro scale, it therefore has an effect on a macro-political scale- be it on an inconsequential scale.

Research Question 4: To what extent do the internet and social media play a role in the distribution of jams?

The study revealed that internet and social media play a pivotal role in distributing the political jams. Although, classic media still has an essential role in communicating the jam beyond the subordinate public spheres, social media has had a vast influence in spreading political jams. From the data collected it was affirmed that a great deal of respondents has seen political jams online. However, although only a handful of respondents have distributed political jams themselves, it is becoming a fast prominent channel for distribution of political jams.

CHAPTER 6: Conclusion

The culture / political jamming phenomenon has occupied many forms in South Africa, therefore has an amusing and engaging relevance in the South African context. Culture/ Political jamming empower the citizen/activist to voice dissent and challenge dominant discourses in society. Although the philosophy of culture and political jamming is moderately new in South Africa, they should be seen within a developmental perspective of the relationship between culture and politics or more distinctively between art and social struggles (Cammaert, 2007). The internet and social media play a fundamental role in distribution of political jam, although traditional media still plays a role in communicating the political jam beyond public spheres.

In looking at political jamming from a public sphere perspective, they do generate alternative discourses and subvert narratives. Democracy ultimately needs rivalry and debate, as well as the acknowledgement that there are diverse interests at play that need to be made evident and clear (Cammaerts, 2007). Political jamming additionally promotes agency and critical postures in the public. Political jamming replaces harmonized interpretations with heterogeneous interpretations; individual interpretation therefore arises forth from a critical stance, an attitude or posture which is engaging rather than inactive (Lawson, 2009). Through this understanding, it is these critical postures that challenge hegemonic power- constellations in an evasive and equivocal way.

This delivers the question to what extents does the political jamming phenomenon challenge hegemonic power-constellations in South Africa and affect the equity of political parties? Through the analysis of literature and conducted interviews, the extent is on a trivial scale. Political jamming has a limited effect on the equity of the political party and conjointly does not automatically challenge the status quo or strive to extend rights for citizens at large. The degree of impact political jamming has on creating critical postures in the public or the power it has on challenging hegemonic-power-constellations is dependent on the particular demographics of the receiver. Therefore political jamming can be seen as “water off a ducks back” for some, or an opportunity to constitute the depth of feeling in the country for others. Admittedly, although the effects of political jamming are only on a limited scale, the actuality of this phenomenon is evident. Through more consistent acts of political jamming it has potential in future to materialize into creating the difference that political activists wholeheartedly attempt to do.

But today, in this media-saturated world, political jamming merely represents another 'noise' amongst other noises.

CHAPTER 7: Recommendations and Implications for Theory, Research and Practice

Introduction

In this chapter the (1) summary of key findings; (2) implications of the research findings; (3) the limitations of the research findings; (4) significance of the research have been defined. Regarding these aspects (5) recommendations have been proposed for further research.

Summary of Key Findings:

The study revealed that political jamming does challenge hegemonic power-constellations in South Africa although on a trivial scale in addition to creating critical postures/attitudes in the public and promotes agency in the public. Furthermore the research revealed that political jamming has a limited effect on the equity of political parties in addition internet and social media play a pivotal role in distributing the political jams. Lastly, in clarifying that political jamming challenges hegemonic power-constellations in South Africa, it can be stated that it will have an effect on a macro-political level.

Implications of the Research findings:

The result of this research paper found that political jamming challenges hegemonic power-constellations in South Africa, which will have an implication on the governing political parties. Furthermore the research revealed that political jamming promotes critical postures in the public which can therefore implicate the power-constellations in South Africa and the equity of political brands. Taking into consideration the limited impact political jamming had on the equity of brands in this study, on a larger research scale political jamming can implicate the equity of political brands. In consequence of this phenomenon, political parties should therefore account for the political jamming phenomenon when evaluating the equity of their political brands.

Limitations of the Research Findings

- This research was limited to a time constraint which could have affected the findings.
- This research was limited by geographic constraints as I was unable to travel to other provinces in South Africa other than Gauteng due to time and financial constraints.
- This research was limited by the amount of participants involved as a larger participant group would ensure more accuracy in findings.
- The results of the study are limited by the accuracy of the theoretical framework to reflect the phenomena of political jamming.
- The results of the study are limited by the ability of the methodology selected to address the problem and purpose of this research paper.
- The research is limited by the definition of political jamming.

Significance of research Findings

The significance of this research has aggregated the many insights of political jamming and the extent of the effect of this phenomenon on a macro-political scale. The research emphasized the influence political jamming has upon agency and efficacy in South Africa. In addition to underlining the current and potential effect the phenomenon has on the equity of political parties; which political parties should account for when evaluating the equity of their political brands.

Recommendations for further research:

- In order to create more accurate findings, the primary research should be conducted across South Africa to include all possible participants in order gain a variety of voters from different political parties.
- In future research the research should be conducted over a longer time frame in order to gain a better understanding of the current stance the political jamming phenomenon has in South Africa.
- In future research the researcher should consider gaining a perspective from the political parties themselves in order to gain insights into their perception towards the effect of the phenomenon which can further the understandings of the implications of this phenomenon.

In understanding the key findings of the research and the limitations defined in this research paper, the significance of the research has been outlined. Furthermore, recommendations have been proposed in order to ensure enhanced accuracy of the research and a proposed different standpoint to take on the research.

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APPENDIX A

POLITICAL JAMMING

THE IMPACT OF POLITICAL JAMMING ON A MACRO POLITICAL LEVEL IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Interview length: 45-55 minutes

About the interviewee:

Age:

Profession:

Date:

Time:

Introduction:

Thank you for being willing to take part in an interview in this study. Can I first of all assure you that you, if you wish so, will remain completely anonymous and no records of the interview will be kept in your name. Also I would like to ask you for permission to audio record this interview. The main reason behind this recording is to have the set of accurate data – your responses and opinions. Also it will facilitate the analysis of the data we have to conduct during the course of the study. If you don't have any further question I would like briefly to introduce you to the subject of this interview. Questions will be asked relating to the phenomenon of *political jamming* - disrupting the communication of the dominant political brand messages. Political jamming can be images, art or any form of communication that uses humour, mocking, satire and parody to ridicule (mock) specific political parties. The objective of the study is to test whether political jamming would challenge power relations between the public and the political parties (hegemonic power-constellations in South Africa).

.

Question 1: Have you heard of the political jamming phenomenon?

Probe: Explain the phenomenon with example

Question 2: Would you consider political jamming relevant in South Africa?

Question 3: Have you seen political jams currently? Where?

Probe: In relation to any political party

Question 4: Have you seen political jams online or on social media?

- **How often?**
- **Have you shared or distributed any political jams?**

PARTY EQUITY : Referring to ANC, DA and EFF

Question 5: Are you aware of? (Particular political party)

Question 6: Do you recognize this logo? (Show particular political party logo)

Question 7: What are your current associations with this party?

Question 8: Has any party induced messages – being messages from the parties themselves- given you any particular associations towards them?

Question 9: Has any unplanned messages you have heard of the particular party? E.g. News or word of mouth, created any particular associations towards them ?

Question 10: Has any actual experience with a political party- e.g. when voting or interacting with them –created any particular associations with them?

Question 11: With your current knowledge and associations of this political party- does it give you a positive or negative voting preference towards them?

SHOW EXAMPLE OF RELATED POLITICAL JAM

Question 12: What is your first opinion of this jam?

Question 13: How would you interpret this political jam?

Question 13: What particular association / perception of this political party did it give you?

Question 14: Did it alter any current perception you had of the political party?

Question 15: Would this political jam alter your voting preference in any way? – Be it positive or negative

- Why would/wouldn't it?

END QUESTIONS:

Question 16: Do you think these political jams and others could challenge the government?

Question 17: Do you think these political jams could threaten democracy?

Question 18: In your opinion, could these political jams effect the power of political parties have over the public?

- Currently and in the future?

Question 19: Do you think these political jams can create engaging critical (important, significant, serious) attitudes in the public?

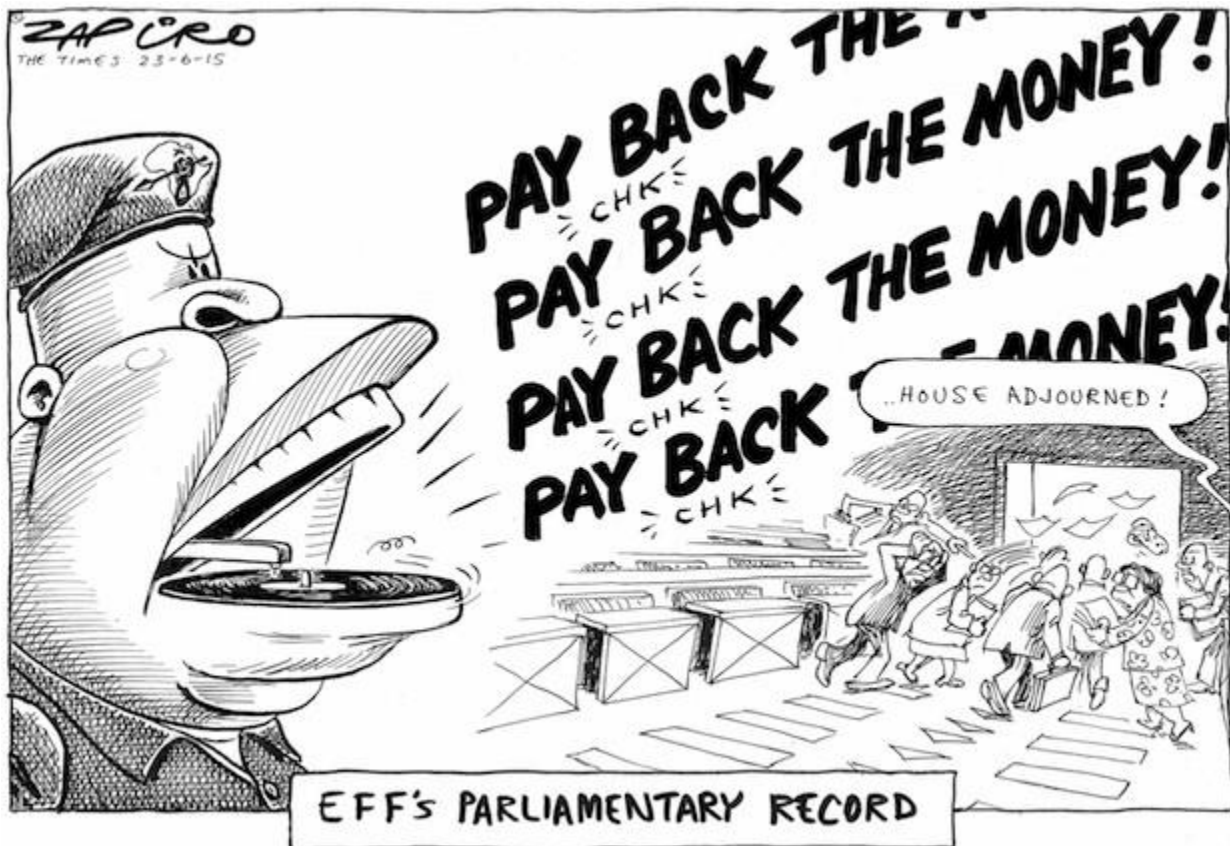
Question 20: In your opinion, do you think political jamming is a form of resistance toward the government/ political parties?

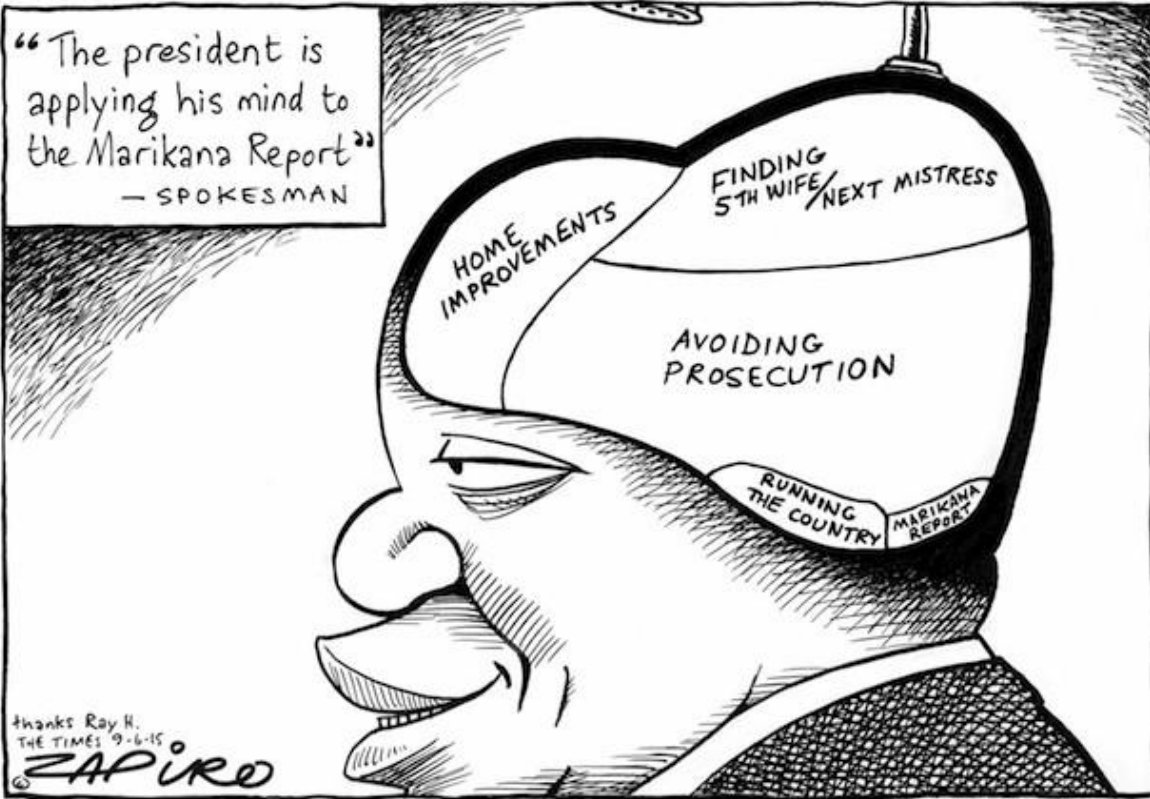
CLOSURE:

We seem to have covered a great deal of ground and you have been very patient. But do you think these' anything we've missed out? Do you have any other comments about what we have discussed, or about the research as a whole? Do you want to see a transcript of the interview? We will send you a summary of the research findings some time toward the end of 2015, and you are welcome to have a full copy of the final report too.

POLITICAL JAMS SHOWN









FREE-DUMB FIGHTER





RESEARCH ACTIVATION:

Research
Paper

2015

*Political Jamming: Challenging
hegemonic power-constellations in South
Africa from a branding perspective.*

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Introduction

Political jamming can be defined as “disruptions in the transmission of the dominant political brand messages” (Cammaerts, 2007). Political jamming has somewhat become a means of dealing with the messiness of the South African reality of government. The subverting of meanings, and using humour, mocking, satire and parody of political parties has become a political channel for the public to express feelings of intolerance, abhorrence or rather their public opinion towards a common enemy, the political leaders. The political jamming phenomenon has become a rising trend in South Africa; although political jamming does not directly challenge the status quo or strives to extend rights for citizens at large; it creates critical postures for the public. In this document, activations based on insights gathered from conducted research are proposed in order to convey a directed purposeful message.

Core Insights:

Through the understanding and awareness of political jamming in South Africa and through the comprehension of a critical literature review and research; the core insights have become evident in order to conceptualize the research activation. The core insights have been crafted and distilled from the insights presented in the research. **The insights are:**

1. Political jamming has an amusing and engaging relevance in South Africa.

South Africa’s political realm never falls shy of burning discussions amongst the public; therefore the political jamming phenomenon has amusing and engaging relevance in the South African context.

2. Promotes critical postures in the public sphere.

The public sphere is a space in which discourses are invented, exchanged, and have authority. “What is crucial for citizens engaged and participating within the public sphere is a critical awareness, a type of posture which empowers individuals with agency and efficacy.” (Lawson, 2008) .

3. *Political Jamming challenges hegemonic power-constellations in South Africa.*

According to the research conducted by Cammaerts (2007), he concludes that political jamming will have an effect on a macro-political scale and challenge-hegemonic power constellations, despite the fact that the effects are not straightforward (Cammaerts, 2007).

4. *There are immeasurable South African political jams in motion on the internet and social media*

According to Borthwick (2009), there has been a hasty transfer in social distribution online, today there seems to be a new distribution model that is emerging. “One that is based on people’s ability to publically syndicate and distribute messages — aka content — in an open manner”(Borthwick,2009)

From the evaluation of these insights, core insights can be derived in order to conceptualize the research activation.

The core insights are defined as:

1. *Political Jamming challenges hegemonic power-constellations in South Africa and promotes critical postures in the public sphere.*

According to the research conducted by Cammaerts (2007), he concludes that political jamming will have an effect on a macro-political scale and challenge-hegemonic power constellations, despite the fact that the effects are not straightforward.

2. *There is an immeasurable amount South African political jams in motion on the internet and social media and social media plays a critical role in the distribution of political jams.*

According to Borthwick (2009), there has been a hasty transfer in social distribution online, “today there seems to be a new distribution model that is emerging. One that is based on people’s ability to publically syndicate and distribute messages — aka content — in an open manner”

Message and Audience

Message:

You have the power to create active postures for the public in a communicative warfare against the political figures. Political jamming provides citizens in a mediated democratic society a posture of agency and efficacy. Political jamming can ensure that citizens, who are unable to directly participate in shaping public opinion, can at the very least have their own voice against the political realm. Political jamming is not only a speech act, but triggers a sort of critical literacy in action. Your political jam can challenge, activate, inspire and shape the public voice against the political realm.

Audience:

Primarily the audience is public citizens that:

- Eligible to vote 18+
- Took part in South African elections
- Have come into contact with political jams
- Or/ have participated in the distribution of political jams via social media

The secondary audience is the general public as all citizens are equally capable of creating, distributing or participating in political jams In South Africa. This audience is suitable as political jamming is accessible and is exposable to the majority of the public.

Concept

“The silenced voice”

This concept is based on the insight that political jamming can challenge hegemonic power-constellations in South Africa. Political jamming does not directly challenge the status quo or strive to extend rights for citizens at large; yet creates critical postures for the public (Cammaerts, 2007). By engaging occurrences in “semiological disobedience” (Lawson, 2008), individual agents are presented with moments of communicative anomie which can create a state of speculation towards the political realm; this is what is key within this semiological guerilla warfare between the public and the political (Lawson, 2008). ‘The silenced voice’ refers to the public voice which is silenced or denied from the political sphere. Political jams can therefore be a means of ‘symbolizing’ the public’s voice in- what can be stated as - the warfare between the public opinion and the political realm.

This concept can be illustrated through numerous platforms. Firstly through social media as through the research conducted it was apparent that there is an immeasurable amount of South African political jams in motion on the internet and social media and is a means of distributing political jams; it can therefore portray the intended message of this campaign. Secondly a documentary will be created which will capture the ‘essence’ and tone of this campaign as this documentary will encourage critical thinking towards the political jamming phenomenon. A visually recorded fact is invincible evidence and therefore has a greater power to move minds more than the written or spoken word.

Execution

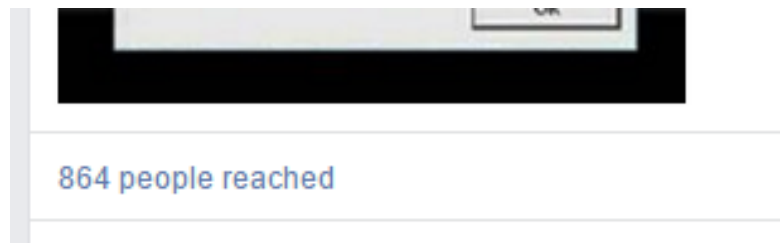
In order to effectively execute the message the execution will take form of two interlinking mediums. Firstly being Social Media- a Facebook page will be created in order to create awareness of political jamming and to circulate political jams. This platform is an effective way of communicating to the audience as it has direct access to the targeted audience. From a conducted critical literature review done it was apparent that there are immeasurable amount of South African political jams in motion on the internet and social media. According to Borthwick (2009), there has been a hasty transfer in social distribution online; people have more ability to

distribute messages aka content — in an open manner; therefore this this medium will allow for the message to effectively be communicated.

The Facebook page consisted of numerous political jams found on the internet which urged the public to post their opinion on each post and create discussions on this Facebook page. The Facebook page was humorous in nature yet can create an objective tone from the public's perspective. Through using humour, mocking, satire and parody of political parties the Facebook page became a political channel for the public to express feelings of intolerance, abhorrence or rather their public opinion towards the common enemy. The interactive nature of this Facebook page made the message active and activated the insights that South African political jams are in motion on the internet and social media and that political jamming can create critical postures in the public. The content on the Facebook page will delivered message that *political jams can challenge, activate, inspire and shape the public voice in opposition to the political realm.*

This is an example of how the Facebook page looked like:

The extent of reach the posts gained showed the significance of the social media in distributing political jams.



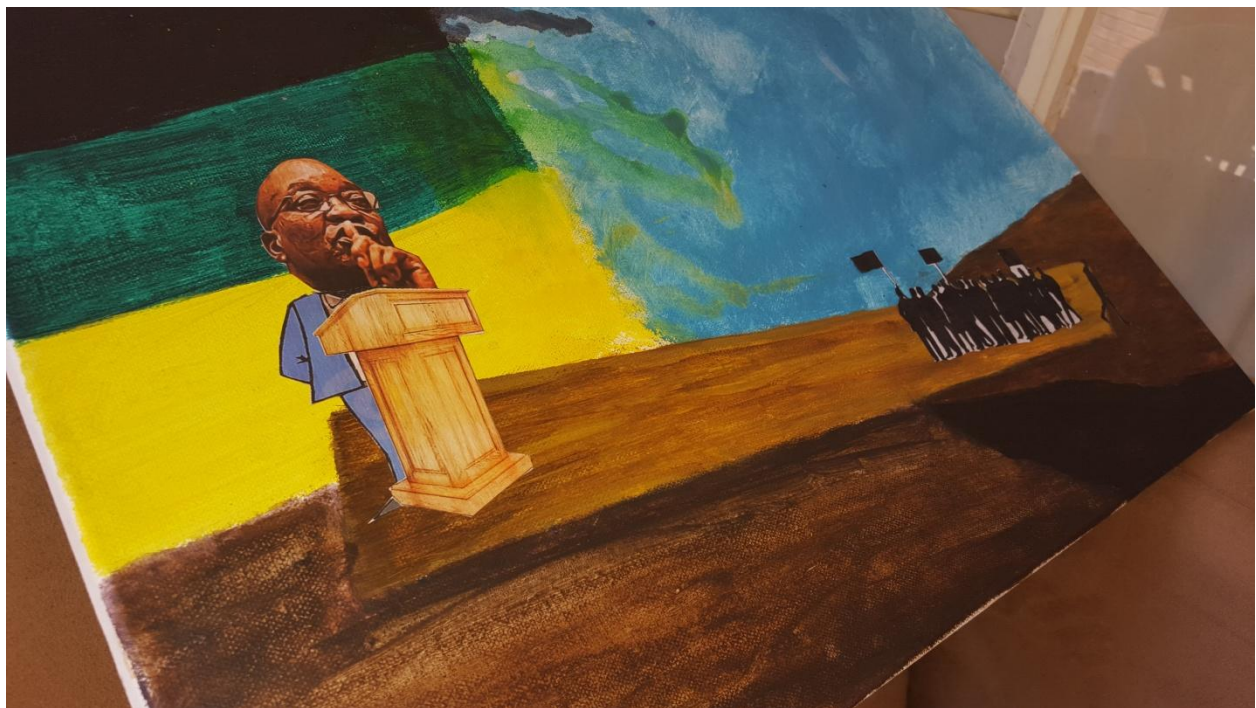
The second medium that was executed was an individual mixed media political jam, which drew parallels between culture and politics or more distinctively between art and social struggles. This individual political jam captured the 'essence' and the contemplative tone of this campaign and aimed to encourage critical thinking towards the political realm.

The political jam is targeted at the general South African public in order to communicate the desired message yet ultimately was a communicative attack at the political realm. Political jams can be seen as a means of 'symbolizing' the public's voice in- what can be stated as - the warfare between the public opinion and the political realm. Throughout this research paper I was positioned as an outside party to this phenomenon which took place from a more of a public perspective. In creating an individual political jam, I was placed in the perspective of political jammers or political activists. The aim of my political jam was not like the norm of political jams which aimed to ridicule and have somewhat of a humorous tone to a serious truth. The aim of my political jam was to activate the insights gained from my research which portrayed that political jams are more of a silent voice as the public voice is silenced or denied from the political sphere.

The individual political jam was then posted on the political jamming Facebook page in order to be circulated and activated and to interlink the insights of the research.

The insights that were activated in the individual political jam were:

1. The ability political jamming has to challenge hegemonic power-constellations in South Africa
2. The promotion of critical postures in the public sphere from political jamming
3. The role of social media in political jamming



Conclusion

Political jamming does not directly challenge the status quo or strive to extend rights for citizens at large; yet creates critical postures for the public (Cammaerts, 2007). Based on the core insights of the research, the concept of the “The silenced voice” was proposed. This concept aimed to portray the message that *political jamming is not only a speech act, but triggers a sort of critical literacy in action. The public’s political jam can challenge, activate, inspire and shape the public voice against the political realm. Therefore to move minds, encourage critical thinking and to create awareness of this phenomenon, a Facebook Page and an individual political jam was proposed as effective mediums to effectively activate the research.*

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