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Mini-thesis submitted for Master of Arts (structured) - Political Studies

Title: Twitter, political personalities, and race consciousness: The Democratic Alliance and the Economic Freedom Fighters.

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Abstract

The thesis will discuss the racialisation process in contemporary South Africa, it builds on the argument that we are in constant exposure to ideology. Therefore, this exposure to ideology further perpetuates the racialisation process. I will outline this process by highlighting how Twitter becomes an enhancer of the racialisation process. I will apply Althusser's concepts of ideology and draw on the theory of hailing and interpellation to draft out how ideology is disseminated on Twitter. The thesis will discuss how tweets posted on social media can influence how people view and understand racial consciousness. To be able to successfully undertake this route I will draw on Malema and Zille to highlight how these political personalities use the hailing and interpellation powers of Twitter to further the racialisation process in contemporary South Africa. Additionally, the research draws on Althusser to outline certain key features (Likes, Retweets) within Twitter that can be utilized to recruit individuals into a particular ideology. This demonstrates how these features can be applied by political personalities to interpellate/recruit individuals into their racial ideological views.

The research sets out to investigate how Helen Zille and Julius Malema's Twitter usage involves the dissemination of their race consciousness. The propagation of their views is the encapsulation of ideology and their ideologies are mass communicated to a fast and efficient platform. Twitter is a mass disseminator of information thus allowing for people to receive information quickly and there are no invisible walls that disable people from accessing the tweets. Julius Malema and Helen Zille have been under scrutiny for some of their controversial tweets about race, essentially they help draw a picture of how race is perpetuated in society. Additionally, both individuals have different experiences of race thus their communication of race is also centred on their experiences. This also allows the research to identify how race is constant in our daily experiences and we exist as racializing subjects based on our race ideology that we are born into.

The thesis has concluded that we are bound to the racialisation process, we exist and communicate within a racial lens. We are racialised beings and Twitter adds to the racialisation process by enabling a space that efficiently and instantaneously hails individuals. Through the application of digital ethnography as a research approach; I have been able to explore my theoretical framework and its key features of the process of hailing and interpellation and the platform. Twitter works as a recruiting instrument that is characterised by its features that allow individuals to share their ideological views and the subjects can

accept these ideologies by performing rituals and practices. In addition, political personalities as recognised and consented to by the ruling class communicate about race, their views about race influence individuals and Twitter users have the ability to indicate that they have been interpellated into their ideologies by performing rituals and practices. These rituals and practices come in the form of Likes, Retweets, and commenting on the tweets. Essentially this thesis critically explains these processes using a critical thread that is Louis Althusser that allows all the elements to be discussed in their full embodiment.

Keywords: Racial consciousness; Political personalities; Ideology, Hailing, and Interpellation; Influence; Twitter; Racial awareness, Racial thinking.



Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the dissertation entitled “Twitter, Political Personalities, and Race Consciousness: The Democratic Alliance and the Economic Freedom Fighters.” is my own work, and that it has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university, and that all sources I have utilized or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Enathi Daki

October 2023



Dedication

In honour of my late grandparents, MaZulu Alpha Daki and Wena Sales Daki. In addition to my late uncles, Sithembiso Daki and Dumsani Daki. My late best friend, Ncedisa Ubulelwe Jiba.

The support and encouragement that you provided me when you were still in this world, is what carried me through this process. You allowed me to dream and encouraged me to become anything I wanted to be. In spirit, you are still with me and will remain my greatest cheerleaders.



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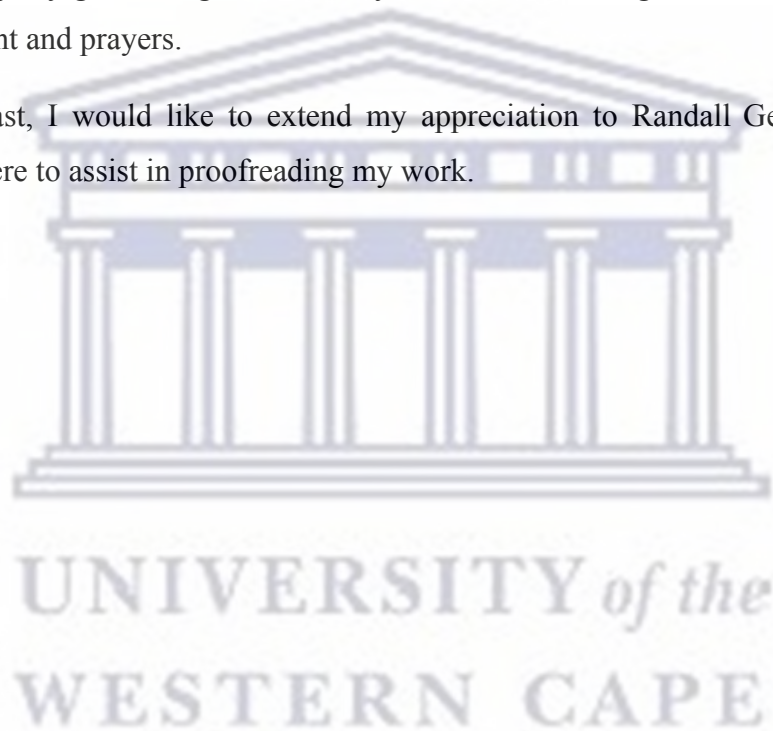


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Chapter One:

Introduction

This thesis will investigate racial discourse on Twitter more in particular the perpetuation of racial consciousness by political personalities. To lay down the foundations of race in South Africa, I will draw from the historical lens of race by specifically looking at the normalisation of the racialisation process in everyday life. The setting of this particular view can provide an understanding of the continuation of the racialization process in democratic South Africa. Moreover, I extend this by also looking at a different lens of race which is from the ideological perspective. This lens extends the view of how the ideology of race communicated by political personalities has the potential to influence people's racial awareness. This stems from the explanation that race began as an ideology and this ideology was formalised and perpetuated through various policies. The research views political personalities as individuals who have power and influence based on their social standing. Which enables them to have power of influence. An extension of this is the application of Gramsci and his view of hegemony, consent, and coercion to situate the political personalities' influence in society.

The research will specifically be using Helen Zille and Julius Malema because they are active Twitter users and they are constantly under criticism for some of their racially controversial tweets. Twitter on the other hand provides efficiency and extends itself to a larger audience. To expand on this, the research applies an Althusserian lens of Hailing and Interpellation. This process will help outline how Twitter is a mechanism that allows the racialization process to take place in addition to recruiting subjects for the political personalities. The political personalities hail and interpellate subjects through their tweets. This process is associated with their use of language and framing, this is situated in how language is used to communicate a particular message that provides a particular racial awareness.

The research also looks at the racial background of each political personality, by deploying the argument by Althusser stating that we are born in ideology. This becomes central to understanding the racial institutions that influenced the personalities' racial awareness. This is crucial for the analysis as it situates the foundations of the political personalities' racial consciousness which is then communicated through their tweets. This process also provides an understanding of how the tweets can influence Twitter users' racial awareness.

Research rationale

The importance of this thesis is that it aims to explore race in the context of democratic South Africa. Contemporary South Africa is situated in the understanding that it is free from race and all legislation associated with this period with the racial context have been demolished. Despite this, contemporary South Africa is still plagued with race. Thus, my research sets out to investigate the enabling mechanism of racialization in South Africa. I will look at Twitter to identify how the racialization process is employed by political personalities. This will look at how their engagement facilitates an interaction of racial thinking. Furthermore, by looking at Twitter, the research can look at how Twitter is a tool that facilitates the racial process through its ability to deliver instant messages in real-time.

This research identifies the ideology of racial consciousness embedded in the communication by political personalities who have been identified within the ruling class. The identified political party personalities are the EFF and the DA on the basis that these parties are most active on Twitter and have faced a lot of backlash for some of their controversial tweets. From the DA I have identified the federal chairperson, Helen Zille; from the EFF I have identified political party leader Julius Malema. The research identifies Twitter as an Althusserian instrument in the hands of political personalities such as Helen Zille and Julius Malema especially as far as the process of racialisation is concerned. The research extends Althusser's view on the process of hailing and interpellation and applies it within the space of Twitter to show how political personalities recruit individuals on Twitter. In addition, to viewing how Twitter recruits individuals for political personalities.

Research Question:

How does political personalities' use of Twitter facilitate and perpetuate the racialisation process?

Title

Twitter, political personalities, and race consciousness: The Democratic Alliance and the Economic Freedom Fighters.

Aims and objectives

The aims and objectives of the study are to understand how political personalities can disseminate their racial thinking on Twitter. This takes on the view that South Africa is no longer plagued by race in reference to the apartheid period. However, our experiences in contemporary South Africa still take on a racial lens. Race still becomes an important structure of democratic South Africa because it is still reproduced. The research looks at how

Twitter acts as a mechanism that works towards reproducing ideology through its efficiency and fast information dissemination.

Theoretical Preliminaries

The theoretical framework will outline the different theorists that this thesis will draw from and how these theories will be applied in the setting of my investigation. The research draws from Posel, Gramsci, Althusser, and Hall. This section will outline why the research will specifically apply these theorists to the research and what insight they provide for the thesis.

Deborah Posel

Race in South Africa is situated within the Apartheid experience as it formulated how citizens navigate in society using race. Deborah Posel lays the foundations of how the research investigates race in contemporary South Africa. This is integral to the research because the context in which the research is situated also touches on this historical period. Moreover, it sets out to unpack how this period influenced contemporary South Africa in terms of how individuals express race through the racialisation process.

Antonio Gramsci

Power dynamics is central to situating how political personalities have an influence over how people understand race. The research draws from Antonio Gramsci to set out the relationship between political personalities and South African Twitter users. Hegemony sets out to put into perspective the hierarchy that exists and also the status that is attributed to the personalities. In this sense, we can understand why their views and ideology of race that is communicated on the platform is consented to.

Althusser

The research will apply Louis Althusser as he provides an important discussion on the reproduction of ideology. More in particular the thesis will draw on the ideological state apparatus to delve into the reproduction of ideology. The main elements that the research will draw from in the ideological state apparatus is the process of hailing and interpellation. Althusser's theories are extensively discussed and applied to my investigation as they provide clarity to so many themes and relationships that I have identified whilst conducting the research. Specifically, the process of hailing and interpellation allows the research to explore how Twitter can become a recruiting instrument for the political personality. It further extends to how individuals can be influenced by the tweets posted by political personalities. Since influence is such an elusive concept/theme the research reaches into Althusser's

supplementary theories and draws on rituals and practices to discuss influence and consent in association with the communicated ideology. Essentially, the thesis extensively relies upon and applies some of Althusser's theories to further understand major mechanisms and their functionality in the overall thesis.

Hall

The research further draws on linguistic theories because undoubtedly language is integral to ideology. The research will specifically draw on Stuart Hall as his analysis of language provides an in-depth understanding of how language is used to create meaning. I will also be applying one of the most fundamental subjects that has been highlighted by Hall, which unpacks how language is rooted within a historical context. Essentially, language helps interpret the tweets within their ideological and historical context, by this I mean that language does not simply exist. There is a foundation in which language is supposed to be and from this foundation, it enables us to communicate and interpret the world based on these foundations. Therefore, when political personalities communicate, they do so within linguistic frames. Some of the words used exist within historical contexts. For the research to understand the message the historical context has to be brought forward to help situate the message. Furthermore, the research applies framing to discuss how it allows individuals to communicate along certain spaces. This thesis has carefully chosen frameworks that extenuate the key proposals made by the research and in so doing provide ways to understand how political personalities can manipulate how we view and experience race.

Research Methodology

Digital Ethnography

Digital ethnography is an approach that aims to give voice to people and tell people's stories in a way that uncovers different narratives. Varis (2015, p.1) defines "digital ethnography as an approach to studying digital communication." For this particular research paper, digital ethnography is the best approach because the context that I am investigating is in a digital space. Murthy (2008) indicates that digital ethnography does not divert from the central characteristics of ethnography because digital ethnography also allows researchers to have a broader platform to retell people's stories. Digital ethnography in this sense wants to immerse itself in the digital environment and tell these stories. The application of digital ethnography in this sense allows me to understand how Twitter operates and can be used by political personalities. The application of digital ethnography will allow me to fully explore the

features of Twitter and how they operate in recruiting and or assisting in reproducing ideology by the identified political personalities. Furthermore, digital ethnography will allow me to collect my primary and secondary data.

Data Collection

The research collection process follows the Digital ethnography approach of immersing myself into the media platform of my research and exploring how Twitter operates. I created a Twitter account and reviewed how the features work and mean, in addition to what these features mean to the people who use them. I also followed the political personalities in question and looked at tweets that they posted relating to race. I took screenshots of tweets that were posted by both Helen Zille and Julius Malema. The data collection process also included identifying how Twitter was used by the Personalities and also the individuals who engaged in the tweets. This process required me to learn the mechanisms that make up Twitter, to understand why it was such an effective tool.

I did not have to engage anyone's private and or personal life that was not already shared by the participants with the public. Fortunately, both individuals had either published books or there were books published about them that shared their private and personal information. I only used the information that was made available to outline how we are ideological persons and how we are shaped by the ideology we are born into. The thesis does not make conclusions about them as individuals but merely on what they have communicated through their books and tweets.

Structure of the Thesis

This section will provide an outline of the different chapters and their main focus in the research.

Chapter 1 – Introduction

The introduction will present the focus of the research and its main themes. It will further outline the importance and relevance of the research. The aims and objectives will discuss

what the research intends to achieve. I will also present some of the main theoretical frameworks that will guide the investigation and their overall importance to my thesis. In addition, I will outline the research methodology that will be applied in this investigation. This will extend to the data collection process, as it will situate the relevance of my methodological approach.

Chapter 2 - Theoretical framework

The research will draw from various theorists that enable the research to unpack certain themes. I will draw from Louis Althusser's theory of the Ideological state apparatus as it embodies various tools that the research needs. More in particular the process of hailing and interpellation is fundamental in the understanding of how Twitter and Political personalities work together in reproducing racial thinking. The research also draws from Stuart Hall to outline how language can be used to disseminate ideology.

Chapter 3- Julius Malema and Helen Zille as racializing subjects.

This chapter will provide a background outline of both Helen Zille and Julius Malema. The background looks at their childhood in reference to Althusser's argument of being born into ideology. This looks at the ideologies that they were exposed to in their early childhood and early political work to identify how these ideologies shaped their view of race thus enabling them to become racializing subjects. Moreover, this centers on the research argument that we exist as racializing subjects and this is based on the ideology that we are exposed to.

Chapter 4 - Discussion, Analysis, and presentation of findings

The discussion of findings lays out tweets from both Helen Zille and Julius Malema to identify how they communicate about race in relation to Ideological institutions deployed by Althusser. Furthermore, the research also looks at how Twitter acts as a recruiting instrument for political personalities. This looks at the features on Twitter that provide a framework for the hailing and interpellation process that the research has identified. This chapter also outlines other theoretical frameworks and analytical frameworks that outline language usage in conjunction with ideology and influence.

Chapter 5 – Conclusion and reflection of findings

Chapter 5 provides a concluding piece and reflection on findings that have been discussed in chapter 4. This section discusses some of the key arguments/themes that have been discussed throughout the thesis. The sections provide an overall overview in relation to the thesis findings and discuss how the findings can be situated within these findings.

Chapter Two: Twitter, Ideology, Language and Framing

Introduction

This section will provide a brief outline of Twitter and an understanding of how the social media platform works. Most importantly Twitter will be looked at in terms of how it efficiently disseminates information in a matter of seconds. The chapter also explores the political personalities' Twitter activity and engagement about how South Africans use Twitter. The research will be able to analyse how Twitter can be understood as a recruiting instrument that can be utilised by political personalities. This chapter will firstly situate race and how the research will apply the term. It will also set out the historical view of race in South Africa and how this contributes to the current understanding of democratic South Africa. I will also provide a discussion of Ideology about the general view moreover, I will situate my research in the overall discussion of ideology. I will also extend the discussion of ideology by applying Antonio Gramsci to discuss how political personalities' are viewed in society. I will make use of the theory of hegemony and consent to fully unpack how Malema and Zille will be situated in the overall thesis.

The research intends to look at Louis Althusser and draw from various theories that he has developed, that explore the reproduction of ideology. I will draw from the theory that we are 'born into ideology' and this follows various institutions that were established to reproduce ideology. Therefore, this theory will help in my investigation to understand how race still is a part of democratic South Africa. In addition to outlining how the apartheid period influenced how Malema and Zille relate to race. Moreover, the research will also draw from the process of hailing and interpellation to discuss how Twitter and political personalities all work together in distributing racial awareness in society. To identify whether South Africans have either been influenced or have accepted this ideology the thesis draws on rituals and practices. This looks at how Twitter users react and interact with the tweets which provides evidence that they are subjects.

Language also plays a central role in my thesis because the tweets take on a linguistic format. Therefore, I will draw from Stuart Hall to outline the discussion of language and how it enables political personalities to provide through which race is understood. I will also apply the theory of framing which extends the discussion by Hall. The theory of framing allows the tweets to be investigated in terms of the message and intention that was communicated. As theory suggests we communicate with linguistic frames to communicate our thoughts and beliefs therefore we use the frames to communicate those particular ideas. Essentially, all the

theories that will be discussed in this section will assist in understanding how political personalities can utilize Twitter to influence how people view and understand race.

Racial consciousness explained

The term 'racial' will be used within the research to unpack how race is experienced and perpetuated in society. This thesis therefore aims to investigate the continuation of the racialization process in contemporary South Africa. Moreover, I will situate the term race in terms of how it is applied to the research. I will draw from Robert Miles to explain the application of race. Miles (2000) race is the identification of phenotypes as the characterising feature of a 'race', these features make up a racial group. This extends to social formation, whereby the identified 'races' are situated within social groupings that are associated with that particular race. This process can be identified in how the Population Registration Act was employed in South Africa. This also related to how they associated with society in terms of their social and private life. Moreover, this was used to create social enclaves that were created according to racial lines. In essence, the physical features were used to develop societies, and from these societies stereotypes and characteristics identifying these racial social groups were erected, the characteristics then act as signifiers.

This leads to the racialization process which is derived from race. The racialization process becomes the deployment of these stereotypes and characteristics that supposedly encapsulate that particular race. As identified by Miles (2000, p.138) the '*social process ...of 'race' is better denoted by the concept of racialisation.*' When the thesis makes mention of the racialization process it also draws from historical formulations of race that were institutionalised in South Africa. Most importantly, the research investigates how race is deployed and used in daily experiences. The racialization process in this case is the act of employing race to view and interpret the world. The experience and understanding of race is subjective, the way that people interpret race is based on where they are and the historical foundation that they were exposed to. However, the process will still encapsulate the racialization process. The racial experience in South Africa is situated within the historical racialised period of the Apartheid era.

Apartheid: South African racial history

This investigation is looking at a particular era and that is the apartheid period. This era conceptualised the South African understanding of race. I will discuss how race was facilitated and understood within this period. I will particularly draw on racial classification

and how it informed everyday life through racialised experiences. Essentially, for this chapter, I will sketch out the South African racial history to compare how race has developed throughout South African history. I will particularly look at how race became normalised and understood in South Africa by outlining everyday racial experiences in apartheid South Africa. During the apartheid period, race was central in everyday life and people were exposed to racial discourse. The discussion will not be a reflection of my own personal interpretation of race.

Nonetheless, race is understood in different forms based on the experiences and or subjection that an individual is exposed to. As cited in Posel (2001, p.59) 'Race in their view, was a judgment about 'social standing', made on the strength of prevailing social conventions and difference..... 'Race' had both cultural and biological markers, each providing tautological evidence for the other.' The South African context of race included the identification of physical markers such as the colour of your skin and the texture of your hair. In essence, your physical features were the embodiment of your race and also allowed society to racially classify you to a particular race. The physical markers were also situated based on 'difference'. This takes into consideration that all races have different physical features that allow them to be distinguishable from other races. Moreover, race was also centred on cultural and social experiences. The way you express yourself in the world also expresses your race, essentially, your race becomes not only your identity but is encompassed in your day-to-day life. As argued by Posel (2001) everyday life became racialised because of the implementation of racial classification. Your entire existence was tied down to your race, you could not escape it because it was engraved and woven into everyday experiences. Posel (2001, p.62) further highlights that 'A racial classification was a judgment about a person's 'social status', as much as physical appearance and social habits, not birth certificates, must be a deciding factor.'" In essence, it did not matter what race you were but it mattered what racial classification you were provided/labelled. This period enabled you to actively racialize yourself and also be racialized by individuals, your entire day is spent actively racializing and being racialized.

Racial classification: The Population Registration Act of 1950

In the above discussion, I have provided a brief outline of race within the apartheid context. In this section, I will discuss the different policies implemented to further facilitate a racial society. The Population of Registration was implemented in 1950 by the apartheid government. The implementation of the population registration act would begin the

formalisation and normalise the racialisation process for South African citizens. Posel (2001) argues that the administration of the Population Registration Act to eliminate racial ambiguities and also for racial purity in the white community. Therefore, by assigning individuals with racial classifications it would guide the individual's life experience. In essence, you could not be separated from your race nor could your race be separated from you. Posel (2001, p.60) further describes that the population register portfolio 'the racial identity of all citizens could be cross-checked against a battery of information about their access to work,.....every citizen would be subject to one authorised act of racial classification, the result which would be preserved in the form of an official identity document.' The identity document enabled South Africans to constantly become racializing subjects that view their life from a racial perspective. Furthermore, this highlights how race materialised in the South African context. It provides an additional understanding that informs the research that race is central to South Africa and it narrates how we navigate everyday life.

To further elaborate on this concept, I will outline the racialisation process and how it was implemented to create a continuous racialisation process. Posel (2001) argues that the reason why racial classification was so successful was because of its vague nature in addition to the view that being able to differentiate between races was common sense. Being able to identify the next person's racial identity could be associated with second nature. Because race was based on physical appearance so being able to look at someone and know their race was what the Population Registration Act intended to do. People existed in a country that constantly reproduced racializing subjects. For instance, the institution of the school was established on the foundation of race in addition it created children who would be racializing subjects towards themselves. Nonetheless, Posel (2001) argues that the Department of Native Affairs has the power to bestow upon you a racial identity that is based on your general physical appearance in addition to being provided an Identity document detailing your race. This process propels a continuous racializing process that becomes inescapable. It is also important to note that the apartheid system was not just a system that founded our understanding of race rather it was a process that established a continuous racialization process.

It was a process that also affected the view of self. The apartheid system established policies aside from the Population Registration Act that standardized apartheid. (Posel, 2001, p. 74) 'forced residential segregation (through the Group Areas Act of 1950), the imposition of

racial barriers on marriage and sex (Immorality Act of 1949), racially segregated access to public facilities (Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, 1953), through differentiated schooling (Bantu Education Act, 1953), access to urban space (Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment Act, 1952),”. All of these policies allow people to racialize themselves and place themselves within spaces that are accessible and acceptable to them. In essence, one would apply these policies to themselves to see if they could attend a particular school or use certain public facilities. This is the most crucial aspect of apartheid racism, which is the ability of subjects to employ the provided racializing tools towards themselves. However, the racial context of apartheid is not the only context that is relevant in the research, there is also the ideological context.

Racial classification was a fundamental institution that enabled race to be part of everyday life. Race became a guiding tool that was used to indicate the different life experiences that you had access to. Moreover, it created individuals who could actively be racializing subjects towards themselves. Furthermore, this established a continuous process of race. Race was an essential part of how people navigated hence the racialization of self can be identified as an institution through which the continuous race process took place. More central are the policies that were associated with all social structures such as marriage, school, access to public facilities, and the home. The other conceptualisation of race is through ideology. Now in the above section, I did not focus on Apartheid but on the ideological aspect of racism and the power that rests within the ruling class that provides us with different views of race. The importance of outlining the background in this manner is because it provides an understanding of ideology and how it was able to shape and organise South Africa's view of racial consciousness. Additionally, understanding this history will further enable us to understand our current lived society and how new views on racial consciousness can manifest themselves in society. The research extends this by viewing it through the contemporary lens whereby I use Twitter as an element that can recruit individuals and further perpetuate different beliefs. The research can be seen as applying a more contemporary view of how racial awareness can easily be disseminated in society through political personalities and Twitter.

Twitter

This section will highlight how Twitter operates. Twitter is an online space that fosters democratic discussions and the sharing of information with a large number of users. Twitter is

an effective instrument in terms of producing speedy information to all participants and users efficiently. Florini (2014, p.225), defines Twitter as a microblogging site that allows users to send messages ...("tweets") to people who have chosen to "follow" them. However, the tweets are not restricted to just a person's followers but it extends to people who do not follow you. Twitter users all around the world can have access to the information that you post even though they do not know you or have had any interaction with you. Sharma (2013) identifies the possibility of any registered Twitter user to be able to follow or make contact with you without any permission or reciprocity. Essentially, Twitter has become a mass media platform that facilitates public interaction without boundaries. Murthy (2018) argues that Twitter is categorised as a social media platform that is easily accessible to people all around the world to everyone who has access to a smartphone.

Additionally, Twitter allows political personalities to actively engage with South African citizens. Murthy (2018) further relates Twitter to other social media platforms that have the same characteristics but Twitter provides a different space that is not limiting, it provides a space for information dissemination. Twitter seems to have adopted and implemented all the strong qualities of all the social media platforms and combined them but also made them public and easily accessible. Instead of just communicating with people on your friend list you can reach a larger audience. Hence, Murthy (2018) argues Twitter has democratised media consumption. It is not restricted to a particular set of people, it is rather open to the world. Twitter is changing the online space and providing a different service that easily fits in our modern-day society.

Twitters range in South Africa

Twitter allows people to communicate freely and express their views on recent political issues. Murthy (2018) identifies Twitter as a democratic space that allows individuals to express themselves within a character limit. According to Park (2013), Twitter is one of the largest microblogging sites that has been identified as a political engagement site. Baragwanath (2016) further highlights that 20% of South Africans are active social media users within that space; it is largely populated by people between the ages of 25-44. The age categorisation is important to note as it relates to the transition that media has made from traditional media to social media platforms. Moreover, Zamora-Medina and Zurutuza-Muñoz (2014) indicate that traditional political engagements are slowly being replaced by new public spheres such as social media.

Findlay and Janse van Rensburg (2018) argue that 6.6 million South Africans have been identified as active Twitter users. This has also been highlighted by Clark (2014) who argues that access to Twitter has been categorised by easy accessibility to data/internet, it is also associated with education and status. Therefore, this suggests that information within the research can be correlated within a specific domain of people who have access to Twitter. The engagement from political personalities suggests that it is geared towards accessing a specific market that consists of educated individuals with access to data. Findlay and Janse van Rensburg (2018) suggest that even though Twitter consists of fewer participants it is however the most active platform and there is a lot of engagement from other influential people. Findlay and Janse van Rensburg (2018) also identified the top influential people on Twitter being Julius Malema leader of the EFF and Helen Zille the DA's deputy federal chairperson. The participation and the statistical data can provide a glimpse of the potential impact of the influence of political personalities in altering how people understand race.

Ideology

Ideology will be discussed in relation to, how our understanding is not based on our own volition but it is rooted in how society shapes and influences how we experience and interact. Our thinking is influenced by different spheres of our life. This particular section will particularly provide an understanding of ideology based on different authors such as Christian Fuchs. This will lay down a general understanding of ideology to ease into how Louis Althusser deconstructs the meaning of ideology and rather applies it to institutions that reproduce ideology. For this research, the traditional narrative of the ruling class as the ones that carry the ruling ideas is essential as it correlates to the hierarchical relationship between political personalities and South African citizens.

Nonetheless, Fuchs (2018) describes ideology as a legitimization of ideas of the ruling class these ideas have been distorted to fit their beliefs. The ruling class provides a manipulated perspective of information to provide a form of false consciousness in society. Sadati (2013) argues that Althusser views ideology as a combination of beliefs that are within our mental state, however, these beliefs have been reproduced and created by the ruling class. Essentially, the ruling class becomes the main constructor and developer of our lived reality, this reality supports the ruling class and provides a false perspective of society. Certain ideas are not necessarily new but they have been existing in society and now they are reproduced or maintained in favour of the ruling class or ideology. Fuchs (2018) argues that the ruling class

needs to ensure that their ideas and consciousness remain pervasive in society, thus becoming central in the maintenance of their power and identity. This, therefore, allows for the ruling class to infuse their consciousness throughout society. However, Fuchs (2018) also argues that false consciousness is not necessarily central to ideology, but consciousness does not always have to be associated with ideology. At the same time, it does not always relate to the ruling class's state of consciousness. Moreover, ideology does not have to be tightly held to that particular narrative of false consciousness about the ruling class.

Ideology does not only consist of the narrative of the ruling class but we constantly interact with ideology. It becomes part of our existence and shapes how we engage with each other and the world around us based on the representations that act as a guide to how we are supposed to exist. Sadati (2013) further indicates that ideology can be identified as the representation that interrelates individuals to this imaginary relationship that shapes their existence. Ideology, therefore, becomes woven within the fabric of our society as it reflects our existence within society. Additionally, Sadati (2013) suggests that Althusser argues that individuals are predestined subjects of ideology. This further supports Althusser's (1970) arguments that we are all born into ideology and there are institutions that are in place that further perpetuate and foster these ideas that support the capitalist system. Moreover, Fuchs (2018) identifies how ideology can manifest itself in society through different elements such as belief systems, concepts, ideas, institutions, and meanings. The identification of ideology in conjunction with Althusser (1970) and Fuchs (2018) relates to knowledge and the creation of meaning, ideology in this sense may not be viewed as a tangible thing but the transference of intrinsic knowledge that influences the way that people view certain things. Sadati (2013) argues that Althusser pleasantly explains ideology as something inescapable in the sense that we cannot separate ourselves from ideology because it mirrors back to us. Furthermore, this suggests that sometimes you cannot pinpoint to an actual distribution of ideology into society nor can you separate this transference of ideology because it has become an inescapable reality. Fuchs (2018) has also identified the abstractive nature of ideology that exists within society. This is because ideology is a part of us and we become ideological beings that also act as reproducers of the very same ideology that we are exposed to. This section merely provided a glimpse of ideology therefore the next section will deal with the concept of hegemony and consent as a theory that will provide a layer to the understanding of ideology.

Hegemony and consent

This section will unpack consent and hegemony in relation to Gramsci to further elaborate on how power can be utilised by the ruling class. Gramsci provides an elaborated and in-depth version of ideology that unpacks power relations and consent that can allow ideologies to be transmitted into society. Political personalities are not average South Africans and therefore their interactions on social media platforms cannot be merely ignored as they somehow represent our democracy; they are viewed as the ruling class and their beliefs shape how race is confronted in South Africa.

Hegemony and consent allow for their views to be legitimised in society and institutionalised in the administrative constitution in South Africa just as the apartheid regime institutionalised racism in South Africa. The ruling class is closely related to the creation of ideology because they have the means of production, they reproduce ideas that feed into their narrative. When looking at political personalities and their role in society they are held with high prestige they are also closely related to power and the government. Moreover, the contributions and ideologies that they disseminate can easily penetrate society. In this research paper, political party leaders will be regarded as the dominant group/ruling class or the bourgeois in the context of Marx and Althusser to distinguish how these leaders can use their status and power to communicate certain messages. Femia (1987) argues that Gramsci views hegemony as an essential element in the representation of power. Consent allows us to understand how a particular class can be viewed as the ruling class and the ones responsible for reproducing ideology in society. In this sense, it will lead the research into unpacking why political personalities can be identified as the ruling class and can also be responsible for producing and reproducing a particular thinking about racial consciousness.

Political personalities hold this particular supremacy because of their intellectual and moral leadership and because citizens look to them to provide a habitable South Africa. Additionally, Femia indicates (1987) that Gramsci characterised supremacy in association with a social group or class as evident through the application of either domination/coercion in addition to intellectual or moral leadership. They vote for political parties based on what their leaders say and promise them, their promise to provide a better South Africa allows them to be given a status of 'supremacy'. Moreover, Femia (1987, p. 24) indicates that "hegemony is the predominance obtained by consent rather than force of one class or group over the other classes." Political party leaders obtain consent through their identified hegemonic power that allows them to have power over citizens. Gramsci in Femia (1987)

highlights the social control that emanates from the ruling class in this particular case the political party leaders to the citizens. According to Femia (1987, p.31), Gramsci argued that “The proletariat.... wear the chains willingly condemned to perceive reality through the conceptual spectacle of the ruling class...” The public is ruled and guided by political personalities, they govern at the same time their rule is consented to and accepted by society. This power that is endowed upon the political party leaders is consented to. The consent can also take place through citizens voting for these political parties thus enabling them to hold power in certain communities which enables political party leaders to dictate and control certain things that take place within these communities.

The voters and people who associate themselves with these political parties consent to the ideology of the political parties and personalities. Femia (1987) indicates that “consent in a hegemonic situation takes the form of active commitment, based on deeply held views that the superior position of the ruling group is legitimate” They give their consent to the views associated with the party and consent to being governed by the political figures, this consent allows for the citizens to view the world and interpret the world based on the political personality narrative and view. The lens through which racial consciousness is unpacked is based on the representation or interpretation that is provided by political personalities. Hence, they became such important figures in the conversation of race and racism in South Africa because race also began through the conceptualisation of the ruling class. As argued by Magubane (1986) race in South Africa began because of the bourgeois Afrikaner that wanted to create a homogenous Afrikaner identity that would benefit from capitalism. Therefore, the ruling class developed an ideology about race that would instrumentalise and benefit their ideas that would support their supremacy in society. As argued by Femia (1987) the reigning ideology can shape the values and representations that are in the interest of the ruling class. The representation and the ideology around race and racism during the apartheid period favoured the Afrikaner identity. This was reflected in the way the administrative system during the apartheid period was orchestrated in a manner that identified black people as labour power as identified by Magubane (1986) and Variava (2020). Femia (1987) argues that the ruling class can formalise and institutionalise these ideologies into the governing system thus legitimising their objectives. Moreover, this enables society to view these objectives as the truth but this is a false consciousness. Femia (1987) further argues that the proletariat does not have the necessary means to create or find ways that can enable them to view outside these provided lenses because all the institutions such as the school, media, and

church produce material that is in favour of the ideology of the ruling class. Hence, Gramsci as highlighted by Femia (1987) argues that the public becomes tied to this ideology by the ruling class. Therefore, the communication by political personalities around racial thinking is such an important discussion because it allows us to understand that racial thinking is continuously reproduced. Hence, we become tied to the ideology because it is reproduced and we also become subjects who reproduce ideology.

Althusser: Born into the ideology of race and racism in South Africa.

Althusser provides another interesting discussion of ideology because he proposes that we are born into ideology. This argument extends what Gramsci was proposing essentially as social beings there are institutions that guide our way of life in so doing they also provide ideology or a way of thinking. Our ideology is influenced by where we are born and different life experiences that inform how we view and experience the world. Althusser (1970) has highlighted how individuals are born into ideology from the day that they are born, they are given names and a gender that categorises their identity and who they are in society. Althusser (1970) further argues that programming begins from the moment we are born because the world prepares our arrival; gender and our names are the first things that categories our existence. Being born a female or male the world has already prepared the type of clothes and toys you can use, the type of schools and work environments that are suitable for your gender. The world has structured your existence and that is merely based on your gender, there are other aspects such as the family that you are born into. According to Althusser (1970), the family also shapes your identity in the world, being born into a family means that you adopt their beliefs because that is what you are exposed to. They tell you the things that you should and should not do, they take you to church and this whole process is being welcomed into their ideology that grows with you until you are old enough to make your decisions. Hence, Althusser (1970) argues that ideology is constantly reproduced in society.

As a South African you are born to an ideology about race that stems from the apartheid period that is constantly reproduced through capitalism and political personalities. Magubane (1986) argues that apartheid was additionally utilized to emphasise these structures in society and ensure that they maintained the structures of capitalism that ensured that Afrikaner nationalism constantly benefited from capitalism. Essentially, these are the first few developments of racial consciousness within the South African context that have established

how we view race and racism in contemporary South Africa. This is the ideology about race that all South African individuals are born into that is tainted by the apartheid period. Essentially, being born in South Africa and identifying as a black person I am born within this categorisation of blackness whereby my identity as a black individual holds history during the apartheid period as cheap labour. Therefore, when race is unpacked in South Africa it is identified in retrospect of the apartheid period. This view of race can be also reproduced in contemporary South Africa and political personalities can reproduce this perception in society. Political leaders have the power to influence the way that citizens understand race or racism because their manifestos and political messages constantly reproduce or produce certain views about race, their influence is shaped by their status in society, citizens vote for political parties because they believe and identify with the overall message communicated by this specific party. Essentially, whatever message is being communicated has the potential to influence individuals.

There are different ways in which we are exposed to ideology and these institutions can reproduce ideology to a larger audience. Althusser (1970) also views education, church, and the school as the main reproducers of ideology in society. This takes on the view that we are required to attend school and a very small child is required to attend a form of schooling. But this particular information guides our being in society. Therefore, it provides this knowledge, the child is also expected to reproduce this ideology. Furthermore, as more children are born into the school that shapes their existence and the child lives according to these guidelines. In essence, a process of constantly reproducing ideology is established through the school and becomes an institution that every child goes through and every adult has experienced. Moreover, political personalities' are the adults that were influenced by some form of institution that enabled them to subjects that reproduce ideology. Hence, Althusser (1970) also characterises political parties and communications such as the media as the reproducers of ideologies. Ideology also goes in hand with influence or rather 'reach' as highlighted by Gramsci and Fuchs the ruling class has the power to reproduce ideology. This is not a benign view but is based on the idea that they have the power to reach a larger group of people. They also have the power to legitimise their views. In addition, Gross and Laamanen (2021) argue that Althusser has also considered the influence that exists within political ideologies that permeate society. Political personalities as reproducers of ideologies are based on their status and influence, if we look at the way that Althusser views ideology reinforces it is constantly associated with some form of authority, hierarchy, or status in society. It can also be viewed

through the lens of influence, the more social reach and power you have in society the more likely you can influence people. Political personalities hold a position in society that awards them with the potential to govern citizens and they are given this position based on the influence that they were able to have as it translates to their voter turnout. Twitter also allows their influence to extend to people in different areas; this means that they have a larger audience that they can reach.

Another important aspect also relates to the communicative aspect which consists of the reach and framing of texts. The media can frame texts in a particular context, this narrative when published on different media platforms allows it to reach a larger group of people. Therefore, political personalities' use of Twitter allows their messages to reach a larger group of people, and the way that they frame their tweets regarding race or racism reaches a larger audience. The way that these tweets are framed also plays a role, because framing a text in such a way that it provides a lens through which Twitter users view race and racism.

Born into ideology

This subsection aims to provide an in-depth discussion of Althusser and also situate his views within the overall research. Sadati (2013) argues that Althusser's main argument is that we are all born into ideology, and we cannot separate ourselves from ideology. This is a central theme that has been highlighted by Althusser and this has also been identified by Gramsci however, he did not fully explore it as much as Althusser did. Femia (1987) argues that Gramsci identified how ideology exists within certain institutions such as the school and church that are the fundamental institutions in which ideology is developed. However, Althusser further explores how these institutions help permeate ideology throughout society. Althusser (1970) outlined the ideological state apparatus, as an institution that exerted their ideologies into society which supports the idea of the ruling class. These institutions as identified by Althusser (1970) are the education, church, and communicative platforms. The ideological state apparatus allows for the ruling class to disseminate their ideologies and these institutions are formalised aspects of the country, therefore, the information that society receives from these institutions is thus legitimised and becomes the 'truth'.

Twitter plays an important role in it but as identified above their hegemonic power provides them with the power to disseminate their ideologies and representation of racial consciousness in society. In this case, the research identifies the ideological state apparatus as a way in which it ties Twitter and political personalities by identifying the intensity of their communication. As identified by Althusser (1970) the ideological state apparatus does not

use violence instead, it uses ideology thus existing in the private domains in areas of the newspaper and other forms of media. Society has developed since the writing by Althusser because the newspaper is not the only form of communication or platform to access information. In contemporary South Africa, there is Twitter, Facebook, and News24 that enable people easy access to information.

Moreover, Twitter in this research will be identified as one of the institutions identified by Althusser as part of the ISA. However, the Repressive State Apparatus is as instrumental to the research as the ISA because it can be closely associated with Gramsci's outlined hegemony that exists within the ruling class, as mentioned political personalities will be viewed as the ruling class based on their social status. Nonetheless, the political personalities are also identified as part of the state because they represent democracy more importantly, they represent citizens again they will be associated with the RSA. In this narrative, we see the political personalities as the state in the sense that they make decisions for the citizens and at the same time they represent the state in the face of the citizens. Althusser's (1970, p.145) distinction will be the catalyst for this section as he argues that "no class can hold state power over a long time without at the same time exercising its hegemony over and, in the state, ideological apparatuses" Additionally, I would like to bring in the Apartheid period to further demonstrate this precise point.

The research suggests that the ideology of the ruling class has the potential to become part of the state because the state itself formalises its ideologies. Moreover, political personalities act in conjunction with the state. Althusser (1970, p.162) argues that "ideology is a 'representation' of the imaginary relationship of the individual relationship of the individual to their real conditions of existence". Moreover, when people hold a particular belief, they may create a representation such that it would create a reality or imaginary reality that does not reflect the truth. Althusser (1970, p.171) argues that "He who is writing these lines and the reader who reads them are themselves subjects, and therefore ideological subjects". This is an important aspect as it outlines how political personalities can influence people through ideology because Gramsci outlines the hegemonic power that is at play, but Althusser identifies the act of acknowledging and reading as part of an ideology. The activity of political personalities to tweet tweets and the Twitter users that react to these tweets are active subjects to ideology. Althusser (1970) further elaborates beautifully and suggests that recognition plays an important role in recruiting subjects because by recognising something and seeing it or looking at it you instantly become a subject. Now Twitter does not wait for

the participant to recognise in the formal sense of liking a tweet but by the mere act of logging in on Twitter you are opening yourself to receiving ideologies because Twitter will load a feed that contains tweets by people you know or may not know. Moreover, Althusser (1970, p.175) further argues that “ideology hails or interpellates individuals into ideology.” The research suggests that Twitter is a platform that secretly hails subjects to different ideas and beliefs. By signing up on Twitter you consent to being a subject of ideology and political personalities use this consent to disseminate their ideologies. Twitter makes it easier to do so because it is not restricted to a limited demographic but to all active Twitter users.

Hailing and interpellation.

The process of interpellation has been reviewed and greatly analysed by many other authors, many providing different ways of understanding Althusser’s work and the meaning behind his work on “interpellation” and “hailing”. Montag (2017) has provided an in-depth analysis and critique of Althusser’s work; moreover, it also provides an in-depth understanding of the process of interpellation. Obtaining an in-depth understanding of these concepts will help unpack how Althusser relates to the overall research. Furthermore, Davis (2012) argues that Althusser’s work has previously outlined the importance of language use therefore when reading the work of Althusser, it is important to take note of the specific words used because they play an important role in the overall argument. Montag (2017) further outlined that Althusser’s work has been translated by Brewster, and the original text was written in French however Brewster has been successful in capturing Althusser’s writing style and message therefore this has not altered anything about his arguments. This is also crucial to note because we do not lose the essence of Althusser and his specific word choices in his writing as he has emphasised the importance of word choice. Hence, unpacking these themes is important because it allows us to get a glimpse of his thoughts whilst writing this academic piece.

Firstly, Althusser (1970) provides us with a scenario that can help us understand the terms hailing and interpellation. Whilst discussing this area the research will also relate it to the overall research and how this provided a lens that can also be applied to the research. Nonetheless, Althusser (1970) makes an example of an individual hailing an individual in the street. Montag (2017) breaks down this interaction that has been orchestrated by Althusser furthermore, he argues that the term “hail” has been identified as a form of calling out to a person or attracting someone’s attention. The hailing process can be identified as the “hey” or the identification that I make to the other individual that allows them to know that I may want

to communicate with them. Furthermore, in relation to the research Twitter can be identified as the hailing tool used by political personalities in order to get the attention of the users. To break this down the research holds the view that Twitter use by political personalities does not consist of actively scouting and hailing individuals as it would take place in the offline space. Essentially, Twitter has already hailed individuals on the platform as they sign into the platform. Moreover, by becoming an active user of the platform you are responding to the hailing call from different Twitter users, however, this is also a generalised narrative that the research has applied.

The research will also concentrate on the hailing done by Twitter and political personalities because this narrative does not instantly turn individuals into subjects as it merely recruits and waits for the response. Therefore, the hailing has to be done in such a way that the hailed individual recognises that this message or hail is intended for them. Twitter only plays a small part in the process of hailing and the rest of the hailing process is taken up by the political personalities. In this sense the research argues that the message itself has to be constructed in such a way that it reaches the intended individual, it is the difference between ‘hey’ to just anyone in the street and ‘hey Enathi’. The “hey” will reach an audience and a certain audience will recognise this hail as it is meant for them, this is the type of hail Twitter provides users. Moreover, Althusser (1970) has also argued that the hail most often reaches the intended subject.

The more extensive form of hailing that also takes place is the construction of the Twitter messages to reach the target audience which has been identified as the “hey Enathi”. For example, a political personality may construct a Tweet along the lines of ‘Black women in South Africa are facing high unemployment rates due to gender inequalities’. This tweet is very specific in the sense that it communicates to black South African women and identifies their struggle to find employment. However, a few things have to take place in order for me to do a “one-hundred-and-eighty-degree physical conversion” as identified by Montag (2017, p.65). The next step is I have to recognise this message, recognition is an important aspect that has been highlighted in Althusser’s work regarding hailing. Althusser (1970), Davis (2012), and Montag (2017) argue that the hail has to be recognised in order to be successful, essentially recognition allows the person to be interpellated arguably without the recognition of the process of interpellation, and hailing cannot be successfully carried out. Moreover, to carry on with the example, the person reading the tweet has to recognise it for themselves for example as a black South African woman who is currently facing unemployment, I will

recognise this because it represents my current identity as I am everything described in the tweet. The hailing process done by the political leader has made me answer to this hail and further interpellated me into a subject. This further allows me to listen to this message because I have recognised it and I identified with it. The tweet however carries its own message and tone that provides me a lens to view my current situation thus influencing the way I understand race and racism.

Interpellation by Althusser

Moreover, the research will identify the process of interpellation that will be closely linked to the process of influence by political personalities that can take place on Twitter. Montag (2017, p. 65) provides a general description of interpellation or the process of being interpellated that relates to being addressed in a “brisque manner” that often includes insulation. Montag (2017) additionally addresses the term interpellation with Althusser’s use of the term which relates to the legal term that is associated with being arrested or detained this process also relinquishes the individual's ability to deny or reject this summon as it conjures consequences. Gross and Laamanen (2021) argue that interpellation provides an outline of how people are recruited into ideology through the process of hailing subjects and responding based on their free will. However, Montag (2017) unpacks this meaning based on the examples and scenarios that were developed by Althusser, through his work he has identified the hierarchy that exists in interpellation. The police officer is the one that is hailing the individual addressing his status in society as an individual of law and order, therefore his hail will be recognised by the individual not only because the hail is directed to him but also because of who he represents in society. Montag (2017, p.66)

“Thus, the individual free to obey or disobey such a call will nevertheless inescapably be held accountable and subject to judgement..... The call or the interpellation is thus an imputation of freedom that is itself an effect of subjection... a subject who is freely subjected himself”

Montag’s (2017) observation of interpellation identifies the power dynamics at play as they also assist the subject in responding to the hail. When the president requires all South African Citizens to tune in on SABC because he has important information to share with citizens, it is more likely that a large number of South African Citizens will respond to this because they recognise the hail and the person behind the hail moreover the status attached to such an individual. In comparison to an average South African who also suggests that all South African Citizens tune in as he has important information to share, most South Africans will

not tune in because they do not recognise him nor does he hold a specific status in society. In relation to the overall research question the status and identity of political party leaders already allow them to be recognised or their hail to be recognised therefore it becomes easier to interpellate individuals into subjects. As mentioned, recognition is a very crucial step that allows interpellation to take place because hailing can take place however if the intended subject does not recognise the hailing, it halts the process of interpellation.

Rituals and practices

Another aspect that has been identified by Althusser (1970) is the practices and rituals that exist in ideology. Althusser (1970, p.158) “the ‘ideas’ of a human subject exists in his or [or her] actions.... inserted into practices governed by the rituals in which those practices are inscribed within the material existence of an ideological apparatus” Hall (1985) argues that Althusser situates these rituals and practices as a way in which ideology is imprinted and formalised in society. Hall (1985, p.99) “These rituals and practices always occur in social sites, linked with social apparatus.” These rituals and practices are how ideology imprints itself into society and the way these ideologies are represented. Hall (1985) further argues that Althusser has been successful in unpacking how ideas have a material existence. The rituals and practices that the research has identified concerning the research consist of accepting the ideology about race that has been communicated by the personality on Twitter. The ideology is posted on Twitter whereby the application allows individuals to perform certain interactive gestures, such as liking, retweeting, and commenting. The research has identified them as the rituals and practices that allow individuals to react to the ideology that has been communicated. If Twitter users agree with the tweet, they can like the tweet to show they agree, and they can also retweet and share this knowledge with their followers. Moreover, they can also share their views by commenting on the tweet to engage with the tweet. These are rituals and practices that enable Twitter users to conform and accept these beliefs or either show rejection of these tweets.

Extension of Althusser’s argument of the reproduction of Ideology into the new-age social media space of Twitter

According to Garimella, Weber, and De Choudhury (2016, p.01) “Due to the large-scale reach of social media, these interactional features help enable the various types of political discourse.”. Twitter in particular has opened a space that fosters a healthy environment that fosters healthy interactions and a more personalised interaction from political personalities and citizens. Garimella et al (2016) argue that political figures and other celebrities have

direct access and contact with their followers furthermore this allows an authentic engagement that allows for critique, debates, and support. Twitter removes the boundaries of communication that once existed between citizens and political figures, this offers a huge contrast from traditional media and other social media platforms such as Facebook and Instagram that have boundaries. Boyd, Golder, and Lotan (2010) identify the interaction that often takes place in a broader audience essentially allowing for a shared social context. Additionally, Boyd et al (2010) argue that Twitter disseminates tweets throughout the platform that allows these interconnected spaces whereby people can still be aware of the different discussions that are taking place without the need to be part of them. Furthermore, Garimella et al (2016) argue that the features on the platform have been identified as the reproducers of ideology. Essentially, this is what this section aims to unpack by outlining these features that can be identified as ideology reproducers. Ideology has to constantly be reproduced to maintain its existence in society and Twitter provides a platform that allows for mass dissemination of ideology.

Althusser (1970) argues that individuals always and already exist as subjects, our birth allowed us to be subjects and be born into ideology. Twitter therefore allows us to become recognised subjects that when we sign up on the platform, we also provide our consent to becoming a subject on Twitter. When you log in on the application you allow yourself to be hailed and interpellated to different views. This is rather different when looking at how Althusser (1970) outlined the process of hailing and interpellation as an occurrence of recruiting subjects. However, with Twitter, the hail can be intended for multiple people who will all turn around and that is the beauty of Twitter. Another process that Twitter fulfils is hailing, as a subject you need ideology and Twitter provides you with a huge selection of beliefs that it loads on your timeline when you log in. Twitter provides a space that allows the user to constantly become a subject, different people tweet their own beliefs and share them with you and Twitter delivers them to you. Twitter itself hails you by recognising you as a subject and placing you in the right place to receive ideology. By taking Althusser's view (1970) the research suggests that if the individual that the hail was intended for was not there or maybe was a few minutes late. The entire process was not going to take place. After all, both individuals are not in the same place because these two individuals do not meet in the story. The research argues that Twitter places you in the exact place where you will be interpellated and also provides a conducive environment that allows the hailer to hail you. Furthermore, Twitter will load the tweets on your platform allowing you to recognise them,

the hail is still directed to those specific individuals it is intended for. Moreover, if Twitter did not load the Tweet on your timeline or you were not active on that particular day your subscription on Twitter would not be activated. So, the platform exists to disseminate ideology from different people all over the world, it constantly acts as a vehicle that transports ideology. It does not create any form of ideology but it allows for a conducive space where ideological content can circulate and be constantly reproduced.

According to Althusser (1970, p.174) “ideology ‘acts’ or ‘functions’ in such a way that it ‘recruits’ subjects among the individuals” The main argument that is highlighted by Althusser (1970) is how ideology recruits people so they can become subjects. From this argument, the research further extends that Twitter recruits subjects as it advertises different beliefs on your Twitter feed that you might recognise. Once again, the research has identified the importance of the word ‘recognise’ as a form of responding to the hail. Nonetheless, Althusser (1970) highlights how the individuals turn around which relates to them recognising the hail. Now, the research relates this view on Twitter; as the Twitter user pauses and reads the tweet as part of the process of recognition. Additionally, Twitter has a feature that allows the person who posted the tweet to view how many times people saw the Tweet on Twitter and also show how many people interacted with the Tweet. Essentially, Twitter provides you with information on how many people were hailed and recognised. Additionally, Twitter provides you with information on how many people it was able to disseminate your tweets to. This also relates to how many people it was able to recruit in the process and how many people were able to recognise the hail thus interpellated.

Moreover, Althusser (1970, p.174) highlights “that the practical communication of hailing is such that they hardly ever miss their man”. The word that is highlighted is communication which looks at the importance of verbal communication that takes place. The most important aspect that holds significance is communication in the sense that without proper execution the hail will not be recognised but with proper communication, it will reach the intended person. Additionally, in as much as the research views Twitter as a recruiter of subjects, it also puts emphasis on the Twitter user's responsibility in framing the Tweet. In order to formulate a well-framed Tweet that is communicated in such a way that Twitter delivers the tweet and is also recognised by the subject. In addition, Twitter may not specifically target that person but it will make it accessible to the people it is intended for because the tweet might not be for everyone but a specific group of people will recognise the hail. Twitter situates you in the right space in such a way that the target hears the hail. However, Twitter ensures that the

message is delivered but whether the individual's turn is dependent on how you framed the hail.

Twitter Likes, Retweets, and Quote Retweets in relation to recognition in the process of interpellation.

'Recognition' has been an important aspect in the application of Althusser in relation to Twitter as it allows the interpellation process to be successfully carried out. In addition, certain Twitter features such as Likes, Quoted Retweets, and Hashtags will all be viewed from the lens of the individual confirming them as subjects. These features will also be viewed from the lens of rituals and practices that further continue and confirm the subjects being successfully interpellated.

Like

The 'Like' feature on Twitter allows another Twitter user to agree or show support for that particular tweet. This particular process would possibly take place after the individual has recognised and read the Tweet thus suggesting that they have been hailed in addition to this the subject likes the tweet to further confirm that they have been interpellated. By identifying the like as the subject and confirming that they have been interpellated it will also provide the research with information that can provide a vague measure of the influence that the political personality has on Twitter. As this will outline how many individuals have been interpellated and influenced in their view of race. The Likes might not be a true reflection of how many people have been interpellated because some people may not choose to Like the Tweet even though they might have already been interpellated. When Twitter users post a reply to the Tweet posted by the political personalities it also provides an indication of the individuals being interpellated even though the response might show disagreement it still follows the process of being able to recognise the tweet. The recognition and response whether positive or negative indicates the process of interpellation.

Quote Retweet/Retweet

Another key feature that has also been identified for its importance in information dissemination is the Quote Retweet. According to Garimella et al (2016, p.1), "Quote Retweets are a new feature introduced in April 2015... However, this new feature allows users to quote a tweet while adding their own comment thereby opening up a number of new use cases." This feature thereby provides other Twitter users the ability to engage with the Tweets by replying and further sharing the tweets with other Twitter users and followers.

Furthermore, these further hail and interpellate other individuals to become potential subjects. Althusser (1970) provides another view of the process of interpellation that includes the church in particular and uses Christianity as an example. This example provides an important understanding in understanding how subjects interpellate more subjects thus formalising and perpetuating the ideology into society.

Althusser (1970, p.180) "*the subject into subjects and of the subjects itself into a subject-Subject.*" This view indicates that everyone is a subject even those that hail us are themselves subjects of another individual essentially the subject recruits more subjects. Althusser (1970) argues that God recognises himself as a subject that interpellates subjects furthermore the individuals that have been interpellated are identified as subjects. Essentially, subjects hail and interpellate individuals for the subject that they have been hailed by. The view of Quote RTs as a form of interpellating more subjects for the subject follows the same process that Althusser (1970) identifies between God and its subjects who further interpellate subjects for God who is again a subject. Quote RTs work in the same process or hierarchy whereby the political personality would post a tweet which would be referenced in a reply and disseminated to the individual's Twitter profile. Essentially, the Twitter user would hail and interpellate more subjects that also become subjects of the political personality. The outline that the research has provided follows the conception that the individual agreed with the tweet. Moreover, this highlights how subjects constantly recruit more subjects and how Twitter features enable individuals to recruit additional subjects.

Breideband (2014) outlines how Hashtags can be used to interpellate more subjects as it creates a shared community thus allowing subjects to interpellate themselves. The research associates Breideband's (2014) analysis with how Althusser's (1970) framework provides a structure of how subjects become subjects. According to Breideband (2014), hashtags allow for subjects to be interpellated through the shared community that is offered by hashtags additionally Twitter can further recruit subjects. Althusser (1970) drew how the preacher who is a subject interpellated by a subject in turn the preacher interpellates for a subject identified as God. Essentially, the church becomes a shared community that consists of subjects in the same space whereas hashtags consist of a shared space of subjects that interpellate subjects. The generation of hashtags allows for the reproduction of ideologies and for Twitter to interpellate subjects. The research has identified that when you log in on Twitter you become a subject however, now you become a subject of whatever the hashtag contains. By linking Althusser's analysis (1970) and Breideband (2014) evaluation of hashtags it is to highlight

how we become constant subjects and to further argue that hashtags keep Twitter users in a loop of being subjects by using hashtags to recruit more subjects. Not only that, but also how individuals are subjects of another subject in turn continuing the process of individuals being subjects. Essentially, Hashtags hold individuals in a time loop of subjects of a hashtag that is developed as a hailing tool to further interpellate more subjects.

Hall: Language

How language provides meaning

In the text below I will outline Hall's interpretation of language and how meaning is exchanged. Hall (1985) identifies his own experience of race in relation to Althusser's view of ideology which he argues provides us with a view of ideological formation. Hall (1985) argues that race and identity are not universal. The way that we understand racism is not universal because of how we experience it thus affecting how it is interpreted. Hall (1985, p. 108) "...in England, I have been "hailed" or interpellated as "coloured," "West-Indian," "Negro," "black," "immigrant." These are the different identities he has been identified as based on where he was; moreover, Hall (1985) argues that these racial identities carry a different history and meaning based on where he was. Hall (1985) highlights when he was in the Caribbean his race and identity were centralised to that particular space and the meaning of blackness and coloured carried different meanings because it was categorised by class but were also rooted in colonial discourses of race.

Language and meaning plus experience are very central in understanding race, this can relate to Althusser's concept of being born into ideology. Hall (1985) has already provided me with a great outline as he has used his own experiences to explain how meaning is developed through language. This will provide a basic analysis before fully exploring the concept of language based on Hall's interpretation. Nonetheless, being born in America racism is categorised by the enslavement of black people. In contrast to South Africa's experience of racism that revolved around the Apartheid system and the black identity is not identified in conjunction with the American context. By making these two distinctions it provides different experiences of race and identity, the specific place that you are born into will shape the way that you relate yourself with the rest of the world. Therefore, the research argues that our interpretation of blackness or racism is understood within the South African experience essentially, we cannot apply the American perspective when we speak of race and racism. Whilst the United States of America has two distinct racial groups, South Africa consists of various racial identities, essentially the way we interpret and understand language is based on

the ideology we were born into and the history embedded within the language that we use. Hall (1985) argues that ideological structures such as a country's history can shape how we create meaning and use language to communicate certain aspects. The History of apartheid categorises how South Africans use language thus formulating our social consciousness in terms of race.

Representation and Language

This segment will provide an in-depth discussion of Hall's (2020) work outlining how representation, meaning, and language relate to each other. Hall (2020) argues that representation is produced through meaning that takes its root from language. Language provides a foundation for individuals to provide meaning that in turn allows them to provide representation. When we unpack inequality and the oppression of a specific race by another race in the context of South Africa, we refer to it as racism and when we speak about an institution implemented to formalise this it was referred to as Apartheid. Language was used to provide meaning to a historical event, when we speak about racism in South Africa, we often revert back to Apartheid as that is the anchor of racism in our society. Hall (2020, p.4) "Language is therefore the second system of representation involved in the overall process of constructing meaning."

The application of Language as a theoretical framework allows the researcher to analyse the tweets in terms of their historical context and meaning. When political personalities communicate through their tweets it is important that we unpack the way that they use language to identify whether their tweets encourage certain narratives about racial consciousness. The reference to a particular racial group within a certain historical context provides a certain narrative. This is the same way that maybe a certain political individual might refer to black people using the K-word, which is highly offensive in South Africa. The history and meaning of the word is rooted in the historical context of apartheid racism. Essentially the tweet by the political leader can be identified through the lens of perpetuating racist ideologies rooted in apartheid racism. Hall (2020) identified how language was used to describe people who had different identities and were placed within a certain class. This does not only relate to the way that political leaders refer to certain races but more importantly it is also about how they communicate certain messages relating to racial consciousness. Because racism does not only occur blatantly it can also take other views of being more subtle and discreet in the way that it is expressed. Language overall becomes the space in which we deduce the meaning that is being communicated by the political personality. Hall (1985,

2020) highlights that there has been a lot of significance placed upon meaning and historical context, which is central to research, in the sense that the view on racial consciousness is based on the historical meaning that South Africa holds and this is how we have been able to create meaning. Now using this historical lens, we are able to translate it to current communicative events that take place on Twitter by political personalities. This can also be linked to Althusser's concept of being born into ideology because in the ideology that we are born into we are given the tools to create meaning and representations through language.

Another important aspect that the research would like to highlight from both Althusser (1970) and Hall (1985) is the word 'recognise' this has been a key feature in Althusser's work as identified in the above section. Hall (2020) on the other hand uses recognition to describe how meaning and representation take place through language, the process is that a society has to recognise that the language used means a particular object, and this object is represented by this, and the name associated is thus given. Recognition also becomes central for the research because I have to go through various stages of recognition points to collect my data or engage with the tweets by the political individuals. Hall (2020) has also argued that meaning is not necessarily fixed the way that language is used does not always remain the same through time. Hence, the research argues that recognition is important because it allows the researcher to identify societies' agreed meaning. For instance, Black Americans have been using the word Nigga in a totally different way than how it was used during the period of enslavement, however, they have also agreed to use it amongst themselves and when used by White people it carries a different meaning that is more rooted in historical events. The other aspect is Althusser's use of the word recognition in relation to recognising the hail from the individual.

Applying language: Tweets

The research would like to attempt to link the two aspects of recognition from these two theories. To be interpellated you have to recognise the hail; in this case, the hail is not simply a 'hey'. The Hail comes in the form of a tweet brought to you by Twitter, the tweet carries different words that formulate language and meaning. The Twitter user has to recognise the language and meaning being provided within the text. Since the research cannot provide concrete evidence within the research that there is some form of influence taking place between Twitter users and their political identities. The research, however, can argue that there is some form of recognition that takes place that consists of rituals and practices that have to be performed by the Twitter user including liking, retweeting, and commenting.

These rituals and practices as identified can now allow the research to say that individuals have been interpellated into this ideology because they have provided some form of consent or acceptance of the hail. Now the language used can provide Twitter users with a lens with which they can make meaning or understand race and racism. The way that the language is used in terms of framing a text within a particular context and linguistic spaces lends itself to interpretation according to that particular context and frame provided by the writer.

Framing theory

Framing is a theory that extends the use of language because it proposes that our use of language is based on the meaning/message we want to communicate, and, the message is also built on frames that allow you to express this message. The research applies framing to the tweets to understand how they invoke racial thinking. But it is also viewed from the stance of how the language is used and that involves looking at the frames that make up the messages. In essence, framing theory allows the research to look at how we communicate within a racial context. Firstly, Chong and Druckman (2007) define framing theory as how people conceptualise certain issues that relate to the attitudes that people develop based on their evaluation and beliefs about particular issues. De Vreese (2005) argues that framing is how media or other communicative platforms present information in a particular manner that feeds a certain idea or way of thinking. Framing allows for people to view a situation in the presented format and this is inclusive of images and texts. De Vreese (2005) suggests that framing is a communicative process involving elements of frame building that dictate the texts and the audience. Frames can distort our perception of the information provided due to how it is presented. Wasike (2013) argues that framing refers to how messages are constructed in a way that allows for a specific interpretation. The interpretation of the messages feeds into a desired narrative. Cassell (2020) argues that political party actors can use frames to communicate messages on social media platforms. Johnson, Jin, and Goldwasser (2017) have also identified the influx of political leaders using Twitter to communicate with the public and share their views. The active use of Twitter by political personalities also relates to how they effectively frame their messages to deliver a message. Johnson et al (2017) argue that political personalities use Twitter to share the bias that enables them to influence the interpretation.

The above section outlines the process of language that allows people to communicate certain messages, however, both these sections co-exist. Language is used to communicate but it has to be effectively used and structured to communicate certain messages, the framing of texts

or language allows the intended messages to be disseminated. This also plays in with ideology and influence, because in order to communicate a particular ideology one has to frame their language in such a way that allows the subject to be influenced or become a subject of the particular ideology. For the research to identify the message that was communicated by the political personalities I have to unpack the frame and the language used which will assist in deducing the ideological message.

Framing production

Borah (2011) argues that people develop their interpretations of frames based on the information at their disposal or provided by the media. The production of these messages is limited to 280 characters therefore the political personalities need to produce their messages within these limits. Wasike (2013) indicates that frames are produced and interpreted within the limit of metaphors, images, and catchphrases. By making use of catchphrases or words that already have a context it enables the interpretation to be interpreted within that specific context. Wasike (2013) outlines the different frames that are utilised by journalists to communicate different messages such as conflict frames to indicate adversarial dynamics in groups, institutions, etc. There are different frames used to communicate certain messages therefore political personalities can utilise these tools to communicate effectively. The use of effectively also relates to the engagement and attention that can result through the application of frames to communicate specific messages.

Framing is an important theory for the research as it allows for the tweets to be analysed through the messages that they embody based on the frames that were used to construct the messages. Political engagement from political personalities has been viewed through influence, they can construct messages to feed into a particular narrative. Twitter has been viewed as a platform whereby people can disseminate false information, however, with framing we can also look at how these pieces of information were formulated and what was the intention of conceptualising these pieces of information. De Vreese (2005) provides a narrative of how News frames information in this article, the main theme is how information is framed and how society receives and interprets the messages in comparison to Chong and Druckman (2007) who identify the inner workings of the framing theory. Therefore, Chong and Druckman (2007) assist in the understanding of the theory whilst De Vreese (2005) provides us with the lens of the effects of the theory when applied. The application of framing in the research will allow for the tweets to be understood within the context of their ideological content. This theory relates to the linguistic framework by Hall as it extends and

highlights how language is used to communicate a particular message. Essentially, by applying framing the research can identify the intended message taking into consideration that people communicate within ideology. Moreover, this allows them to use language to communicate a particular message. As the tweets are formulated through frames, the use of specific words that exist within a specific historical context provides a frame that Twitter users can use to interpret the tweets.

Conclusion

The theoretical framework has discussed various theories and the conclusion will provide an overview of the theories discussed. Most importantly I will highlight some of the main arguments that were discussed in the chapter. Race is the centre of the research therefore the understanding of South Africa's racial history allows the research to unpack the current atmosphere around the topic of race. I have discussed how Twitter operates by looking at its range and efficiency. This is the main reason why I made use of Twitter because it is a social media platform that delivers messages instantly and it has built a culture of democracy and interaction from public figures as well as other Twitter users. The chapter also provides a brief discussion of ideology and mostly situates how it will apply ideology. The research applies the interpretation that the ruling has the power to influence and disseminate their beliefs in society because of the power that they hold. To further expand on this argument I apply Antonio Gramsci to fully explore this argument. I draw from one of Gramsci's iconic theories which is hegemony and consent. This theory assists the research because it enables it to investigate political personalities as consented power. I argue that political personalities' have the power to influence people because of their position in society thus making the views and beliefs relevant and acceptable. It also looks at their ability to be able to reach a larger audience.

Moreover, the research also draws from Louis Althusser and his main theory of ideology that stems from the Ideological State Apparatus. The main theories I draw from is 'Born into ideology' this is a foundation of the research because it allows the research to build on the South Africa understanding of race that is rooted in the apartheid period. It also enables the research to look at how contemporary South Africa is still heavily influenced by this period. Moreover, the research applies one of the most important theory, and that is the process of hailing and interpellation. This is because Althusser ties all of the main themes of the research like Twitter, the political personalities and race consciousness. It follows the steps

outlined by Althusser and views Twitter as an instrument that invites subjects to be interpellated to a particular ideology of racial awareness. I also look at another important theme that involves potential subjects becoming recognised subjects, and this is the rituals and practices. The application of this theory to my research suggest that people use the features (Likes, Retweets) to further confirm that they are subjects thus consenting to the ideology communicated.

I expose the research to other theorist such as Stuart Hall who provides a captivating discussion of language. Language leads the research to an exploration of representation and meaning. In this sense, the tweets are viewed in from an understanding that they act as a representation and they also create meaning. They allow us to understand a particular phenomenon because we are able to communicate it through language. This leads to the argument that language is situated in historical context, therefore the way that we speak about certain phenomenon, we do so by drawing on the meaning that was provided. In addition, the research further extends this by applying a framing theory. The research argues that we communicate within the context of language and we use language in certain frames in order to create meaning and deliver messages. This view is applied to how Malema and Zille use language in order to communicate within a racial lens.

Chapter Three: Julius Malema and Helen Zille from racialised subjects to racializing subjects

Introduction

This chapter will apply Althusser's theory of being born into ideology in order to discuss how Malema and Zille were influenced by different institutions such as the family and school. Both Julius Malema and Helen Zille were born into different families therefore their racial processing will vary based on the institutions that informed their racial consciousness. The institutions that framed their racial consciousness will be discussed in order to identify how each individual became a racialized subjects, towards, a racializing subject.

The family: Julius Malema's early childhood.

Being born into ideology is a very important theory because it allows us to understand how these political personalities become racializing subjects. The argument by Althusser (1970) indicates that we are in constant existence in circulation within ideology. This provides an outline through which we can identify how the family that they are born into shaped their thinking towards becoming racializing subjects. According to Cupido (2015) Julius Malema was born into a family of mostly women. His mother worked as a domestic worker and the

family lived in poverty. The area wherein the family lived, Mpumalanga, shaped Malema's racial consciousness related to his mother working as a domestic worker. Althusser (1970) indicates that the family is the first point of ideological encounter. While they wait for your arrival they theorise your name and the kind of individual you will become. Moreover, the family in the case of Malema also categorises his first encounter with ideology that shapes and influences his view of the world.

The family in this particular case greatly reflects the current political climate within the country. As argued by Althusser (1970, p.176) "appointed as a subject in and by the specific familial ideological configuration in which it is 'expected' once it has been conceived." He was born during the apartheid period whereby people were racially classified and their lives were dictated by their racial identities. As a black person living in South Africa there was a specific placement that you were subjected to, there was certain demographics that you were supposed to live in and specific schools and designated jobs that you could work in based on your race. This reflects in the type of area that Julius Malema was born into and the type of work that his mother did.

Julius Malema's Mother and her role in shaping his racial consciousness

Since, Malema's mother was very active in her childhood she also represented the institution of the family, through her she was able to see the social hierarchy that was enacted by race. Additionally, Althusser (1970, p.143) argues that 'The family obviously has other "functions" than that of an ISA. It intervenes in the reproduction of labour power.' In this sense the family reproduces current racial consciousness trends and becomes representative of the racial awareness in society. Malema's family reproduces race based on the job that his mother did, as she worked as a domestic worker. His mother reflects the current job opportunities or jobs that were accessible to the black communities. As a black woman during the apartheid period, she is subjected to being a domestic worker just like most of the average black South African women during this period who were unable to work in specific sectors as they were reserved for white people. Essentially, his mother became the first point of reference regarding racial consciousness during this period as it enabled him to view the class inequalities and discrimination associated with race. According to Forde (2012) his mother Sarah worked as a domestic worker for an Indian family and that is where she experienced a severe epileptic attack that left her unable to work. The hierarchies within certain

communities such as the Indian communities allowed them to have better living conditions and employment opportunities in comparison to black people.

This is another point that could have categorised Malema as a racializing subject as his mother working for an Indian family further emphasises the inferiority of black people in society. Indian people also formed part of the marginalized community however within this community there were also class divisions. Indian and white people received better opportunities and this is evident in Forde's (2012) outline of how white and Indian people were placed in affluent or better communities. The placement of each racial group employs a racial lens that guides the individual on the areas and spaces that are accessible to them.

Demographic placements in relation to understanding racial hierarchies in society

This paragraph will provide a discussion of Malema in relation to demographic placements and how demographic placement as a tool of the apartheid system made him aware of race. In addition, Cupido (2015) indicated that Malema was born into poverty in the area of Seshego in Limpopo. Furthermore, the apartheid period implemented the process of segregation that places certain individuals of a particular race in a specific demographic. Christie and Collins (1982) argue that segregation was the keystone of apartheid that implemented the segregation of marginalised communities and white people into different areas across South Africa. Moreover, Variava (2020) argues that black people were placed in certain areas that mostly consisted of rural areas in contrast to white people who were situated within suburban areas. Forde (2012) highlights the displacement of Malema's family that subjected them to segregation, thus placing them in an area with high poverty and the rest of the white and Indian community was settled in better communities. Moreover, this reflected and reproduced apartheid ideologies regarding race that provided him with a lens of how certain marginalised communities were perceived in society and the class that were associated with them. The demographic placement of him and his family informed him of the inequalities and inferiority that was associated with him as a black person. The demographic and poverty he was exposed to reproduced and informed his racial consciousness that informed his identity and how society viewed black people as inferior in comparison to white people and this was reflected in the predisposed societal norms and experiences that were categorised based on race.

Forde (2012) indicates that the town that he grew up in contained a British concentration camp, in addition to being born in a very racist area. The British concentration camp also

serves as an institution that was established in order to reproduce racial beliefs into society. Althusser (1970) argues that certain institutions in society are erected to reproduce and maintain the current ruling ideology. The British concentration camp stands as a representation of the ruling ideology of apartheid and racism. His exposure to such institutions inform him of the brutality of the apartheid period towards black people, and the racial encounters in his town further perpetuate racism towards him as a black individual. Taking into account Althusser's (1970) argument that relates to how society can influence and shape our ideologies and how we view the world. Malema was shaped by the ideology of the ruling ideology to become a racializing subject. He saw and experienced the many struggles that many black communities experienced during this period, as he too was living under the apartheid period that oppressed and categorised him in a life of poverty. Essentially, all these elements of where he was born, the current political atmosphere created a Julius Malema who is a racializing subject, this takes into consideration that the racial processes he was exposed to informed his racial consciousness.

Apartheid: School

The school informs children about the world and provides them the tools to be able to be active citizens in society therefore the school reproduces and instils ideologies that benefit the ruling class. In addition to the family, Althusser (1970) outlines that school as another ideological instrument that categorises our ideological formation and perception. Cupido (2015) states that Malema attended his local school that taught in Sepedi which was his first language. The main aspect to note from this is that during the apartheid period it was segregated based on race which meant students who belonged to a particular racial category attended a specific school and were provided a different curriculum as well. Moreover Althusser (1970, p.155) outlines the school as a process whereby "It takes children from every class at infant-school age, and then for years, the years in which the child is most 'vulnerable'... it drums into them, whether it uses new or old methods, a certain amount of 'know-how' wrapped in the ideology in its pure state." This process prepares children to be active members of society that has been developed by the ruling class. Moreover, Christie and Collins (1982) outline the education system was utilised as a tool to reproduce labour power. Furthermore, this relates to Althusser (1970) categorisation of the school as an institution that reproduces exiting ideas. In this case, the Bantu education curriculum is an instrument that reproduces race consciousness to students racial consciousness. According to Christie and Collins (1982, p.59) the implementation of Bantu education was aimed at

‘Natives as an independent race, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitudes, and their needs under ever changing social conditions are taken into consideration.’ Essentially, the education system in the apartheid period was categorised along racial lines which meant that black children were provided with Bantu education curriculum that prepared black children to live according to the ruling ideology of racism and apartheid system in South Africa. Moreover, this was another process that categorised Malema as a racializing subject.

His racial consciousness was based on Bantu education informed his view of how black communities are viewed is within the lens of labour power. Althusser (1970, p. 155) highlights that “Each mass ejected *en route* is practically provided with the ideology which suits the role it has to fulfil in class society: the role of the exploited”. The Bantu curriculum that was implemented by the apartheid government was preparing young marginalised South Africans to be the labour power in a capitalist society that was largely controlled by white ruling class. Cited in Christie and Collins (1982, p.63) ‘segregated schools affirmed the division between colour castes, with different systems preparing blacks and whites for their respective sub- and super-ordinate positions.’ Essentially the Bantu curriculum was preparing Malema to become a racializing subject by segregating the education system as well as providing education that was central to marginalised identity in terms of their role in society. The educational system was geared towards formalising the apartheid laws and ideologies in addition to preparing and place them within their roles in society. In essence Malema comes from a period that blatantly racialised and segregated him in addition to creating a racialised subjects. By saying creating a racializing subject this relates to how the education system informs them of their placement in society. As identified by Christie and Collins (1982) who indicate that black students were prepared to be part of the working class that would benefit the capitalism. Therefore, when they venture into society, they are able to racialize themselves according to areas that they belong to and areas in which they do not belong to.

Apartheid: Julius Malema's early childhood political association with Ramaphakela.

One of the many people that are very active in shaping Malema’s view of race is Ramaphakela. He is the guiding force behind how Malema perceives himself as a racialized subject and how he displays race. According to Forde (2012) Julius Malema became an official member of the ANC at the tender age of 9 years old. He became politically involved at such a young age because of the political climate of the apartheid period and this era is central to his understanding of race and politics. Forde (2012) outlines his political encounter

with Ramaphakela, a member of the ANC, who informed him about the racial tensions. This encounter forms part of how his racial consciousness was influenced thus making him a racializing subject. Cited in Forde (2012, p. 43) 'That is how unfair and how wrong the system is'.... 'It is set up to work against us. Whites don't give blacks a chance in our own country. And we are trying to change that.' This highlights the first explanation that young Malema receives that explains the inequalities that he is experiencing, Ramaphakela becomes a central element in informing his racial consciousness. Ramaphakela's explanation focuses on white people as the ruling class that established a system that marginalises against black people by providing an us and them perspective.

This view allows Malema to actively identify the 'us' and 'them' which establishes a ground to becoming a racializing subject, as he is able to use race in order to differentiate between white and black people. Ramaphakela can be identified in terms of Althusser's political institution that formed the foundations of becoming a racializing subject in addition to influencing his racial consciousness. Althusser (1970) argues that political institutions inform children of who they are and how they should relate and identify themselves in society. Therefore, the encounter and explanation that was provided by Ramaphakela as a figure of a political institution of the ANC informed Julius Malema of who he is as a black person and how he should identify into society.

Furthermore, Forde (2012) outlines an occurrence that Malema witnessed between Ramaphakela and a white police officer who attacks Ramaphakela simply because he responded to the officer. This is a very central element that informs Malema of racial inequalities and the oppression experienced by many other black individuals in society. The explanation provided by Ramaphakela is clearly in full view thus this further influences his racial consciousness. Moreover, this is evident in how he actively targets white people in his political communication in democratic South Africa. Forde (2012) highlights that Malema's arguments are centred within the apartheid period and in his political communication he reminds people of who the enemy is. This relates to the 'them' and 'us' narrative provided by Ramaphakela and his view of the violence imposed towards black people in the hands of white people. This experience informed his political communication as a racializing subject that communicates within the lens of 'them' and 'us' mentality. This is very significant in terms of how ideology is able to inform our view of society.

Madikizela-Mandela

In addition to acknowledging the success in Althusser's outline of the reproduction of the ruling ideology. In this sense, the ruling ideology became an integral element of Malema's character in post-apartheid South Africa that relies on the political ideology that he was subjected to. According to Forde (2012, p.62) "Malema was close to Madikizela-Mandela who taught him about violent politics in South Africa." In this regard, the ideological guidance which can be associated with the reproduction of ruling political ideologies obscure his view and he also becomes a subject that reproduces these political ideologies. This is evident in how Malema approaches politics in a militant and radical manner and this particular approach to politics comes from Madikizela-Mandela. This section provides a clear outline of how Malema is a subject of apartheid ANC political figures and is greatly influenced by the political ideological apparatus. Therefore, to identify Malema as a racializing subject, it is crucial to outline that his race consciousness is influenced by ANC political figures and the apartheid period. Thus, outlining him as a subject of these entities he therefore reproduces these racial ideologies he was subjected to through the political ideological apparatus.

The power dynamics also play a central role in how Malema becomes a subject for the ANC and for Ramaphakela. The power dynamics are closely associated with hegemony and consent and takes into consideration the argument made by the research, as the research identifies political figures as consented power. Political figures shape our racial consciousness in the same case as how Malema's racial consciousness was shaped by Ramaphakela and the other ANC political figures. This highlights how political personalities can influence how people view and understand race and racism based on the tweets posted by the political personalities. Malema therefore becomes an example of how political personalities' communication can shape the individual's view of the world. The discussion of Malema's early childhood and association with Ramaphakela and the ANC has had a profound impact on his political view and how he views the world as a racialized subject. He was a subject of all these entities which further propelled him to becoming a recruiting subject for the ideology he was informed by. This analysis provides an understanding of how Malema became a racialized subject than in turn became a racializing subject.

Political apparatus: From racialized to racializing subject.

The ANC has been an integral element in his development of becoming a racializing subject as he is exposed and guided by many ANC political members furthermore, he also takes

reference to the ANC's contribution to current democracy. As indicated by Forde (2012) Malema was constantly following ANC members additionally his understanding has been influenced by this particular period. This is the political apparatus that shaped Julius Malema's racial awareness towards race and racism thus establishing a racializing subject. Althusser (1970, p.153) highlights that "the dominant ideological apparatus is the political ideological state apparatus". The political ideological state apparatus established laws that formalise their ideologies. This is evident in how the apartheid regime was established and thus formalised using the political ideological apparatus that propelled these views to be formalised and accepted throughout society. Additionally, it influenced how people existed in society as the apartheid political ideology indicated how individuals should exist in society. Essentially, Julius Malema's political views that are influenced by both the ANC as well as the apartheid informed his current political views. Additionally, the dominant ideology in his early childhood was both the apartheid regime as well as the ANC, thus these ruling political ideologies are central in his development as a racializing subject.

Political apparatus: Economic Freedom Fighter

After his political exposure Julius Malema started his own political party called the Economic Freedom Fighters. According to Mbete (2015) the Economic Freedom party is a political party that was established before the 2014 elections by Julius Malema the political party leader and Floyd Shivambu the political party general. Mbete (2015) further argues that the political party was established to be representative for the people and has been categorised as a radical populist party. This is based on the political party's beliefs and approach when it comes to politics and governance. The EFF is focused on representing those not in power and fighting for issues that affect the average South Africans. As highlighted by Mbete (2015) the EFF has focused its attention on struggles that have inflicted black people and black communities by providing black empowerment. Forde (2012) argues that Malema exploits and uses the issues of race and racism in South Africa, as he highlights that black people should take back their wealth from white people. This is evident in his political message that indicates to assist black people and identifies himself as a representative for the poor. Moreover, his political communication as leader of the EFF consists of reproducing racial ideologies he has learned. Moreover, the political party is established within the lens of liberating black people and fighting against white supremacy. Furthermore, Mbete (2015) outlines that even though the EFF has been categorised as a racist party it is not the case.

However, the party has focused on the class issues that have marginalised black people, hence their focus is on providing black empowerment.

State: Parliament

The EFF has not only highlighted the issues however they have implemented radical methods in order to address social issues pertinent to the party. According to Bohler-Muller (2015) during the State of the Nation Address (SONA) in 2015, the EFF disrupted former president Jacob Zuma. According to Yende (2021) the EFF disrupts SONA in order to coerce the former president to take accountability and be transparent about Nkandla. The disruption that was caused by the EFF contains the use of violence which is another form of enforcing one's ideology. According to Althusser (1970) certain institutions use ideology and violence as a form of acquiring submissive subjects and influence people's views. The EFF uses the parliament as a space to interpellate individuals into their political ideology as well as influence how people view certain events. This is evident in how the EFF used the parliament proceedings to persuade the former president to take accountability, in addition Malema influenced how people viewed former president Jacob Zuma. As highlighted by Yende (2021, p. 62) "Thus, the DA approach to excuse themselves in the parliament further illustrates the impact of the EFF ideological position of other political parties in parliament." Essentially, the EFF was able to influence other political parties to take action; this does not reflect only the individuals within parliament. Some South Africans who had been viewing the parliament proceedings on various media platforms could have also been influenced by the political ideology of the EFF. The EFF was able to influence the DA and other South Africans through its communication of its political ideology that suggested that Former President should take accountability. Furthermore, the disruption of the parliament proceedings was another way that they enforced their ideology. According to Yende (2021) the influence of the EFF in parliament has resulted in certain political parties adopting certain approaches that have been utilised by the EFF. Moreover, this reflects how the EFF has utilised parliament as a platform where they can share their ideologies as well as shaping how people interpret certain political events through their proposed political ideology.

Helen Zille's early childhood

The family

The outline of Helen Zille's background, most specifically the family, will provide an understanding of her process of becoming a racializing subject. This will follow the understanding that she was born into a racializing society which informed her racial. Thus, allowing her to view race in this particular context. Nonetheless, according to Zille (2016) she was born March 1951 and was named Otta Helene, however she later changed her name and is now formerly known as Helen Zille. According to Zille (2016) her family history begins with her grandparents who were from Germany that later emigrated to South Africa in order to escape the Nazi Germany. Zille (2016, p.11) provides an overview of how race was understood in the standard of Nazi German whereby race was classified according to scientific hierarchy in relation to the Aryans and Nordic 'Race'. The classification of race was rather different to the classification that was implemented during apartheid, as the Germans were not necessarily using skin colour as a classifier. Moreover Zille (2016) indicates that her Father is Jewish and her mother is a protestant. Her parents would therefore be considered as different races even though they can be both identified as Caucasian, essentially their relationship could be loosely classified as an interracial relationship.

The different racial classification associated to both her parents subjected them to racism. Moreover, Zille (2016, p.12) her mother was often referred to as 'Mischling' or "half-breed"- 'like a mule' for marrying Zilles's father. Zille (2016) indicates that her mother was often shunned by former friends and often barred from all clubs and societies. Even though the experience of racism is quite different and unique from the South African experience, it still proves to be an early experience of racism and discrimination that Zille was exposed to from early childhood. The application of Althusser's notion of the family, the family became the first point of reference for understanding race even though her experience is layered and consists of the Nazi German and also the apartheid experience. The family in this particular case informed her understanding of race from varied perspectives. According to Zille (2016) her mother was a liberalist who actively promoted individual human rights therefore she actively spoke up against the apartheid government. Althusser (1970) suggested that the family reproduces their own ideologies into the child which inform the child of how they should be and identify in the world. Therefore, Helen Zille's mother was also part of the Black Sash that Helen later joined in her adult life. However, her mother played an influential role in her understanding of race and injustice. Moreover, Helen is a subject of the family that

informs her understanding of race thus enabling her to become a racializing subject in a racialized society.

Apartheid: School

Nonetheless, Zille (2016) attended St Mary's School which was an all-white school that taught in English and Afrikaans. Schools during this period were divided according racial lines. According to Zille (2016, p.26) "white only schools knew no class distinctions but race was a given". The school made Zille aware of race distinctions; it informed her about racial classification and this is through the school being 'whites only' as it allows her to differentiate race and identify herself amongst other racial classification. Moreover, it allows her to situate herself in the overall landscape of society as it informs her societal experience and racial understanding. As highlighted by Christie and Collins (1982) the education system reproduced the ruling ideology about race, thus preparing children for their roles in the apartheid capitalist society. However, even though the racial ideology was heavily situated in South Africa, Zille was an activist against the apartheid regime.

Apartheid: University, Black Sash, DA

Her activism continued towards her young-adult life where she featured spoke against the apartheid regime. Zille (2016) continued her higher education at Wits university whereby she obtained her arts degree. Zille (2016) maintained her political activism through work with the Rand Daily mail which was an anti-apartheid newspaper, she was still actively involved in the Black Sash. According to Zille (2016) through these avenues she was able to expose the injustice of the apartheid system, additionally she was able to uncover the real cause of death for Steve Biko. Her role in the Rand Daily Mail as a political activist allowed her to use the media to communicate the injustice experienced by the marginalised communities. As identified in the research, political personalities can use the media in order to influence people's race consciousness. Essentially, Zille has been making use of the media to highlight the injustice faced by the marginalised communities. Zille (2016) argues that ANC members identified her as a safe haven as she provided aid and protection for ANC activists. Zille has contributed greatly towards anti-apartheid movements, and her involvement can be closely associated with the family, more specifically her mother. She informed her, prepared her for the real world and the injustice certain communities are exposed to and how to respond to these injustices by fighting against it. This relates to Althusser's (1970) analysis that outlines how the family prepares the child for the real world and provides them tools that will enable them to exist in society in addition to how they can view society in relation to their identity.

The school informed Helen Zille of the hierarchies associated to white identity in South Africa by assigning distinguishers such as 'Whites-only'. However, since Helen Zille is a subject of the family that provides her with a different lens of viewing society, she did not ascribe to the ideologies disseminated by the school. Moreover, Zille's view and understanding of race is associated with the Family, she further applies it within the school and political association whereby she actively speaks up against inequalities experienced by the marginalised communities. Even though society enforces discrimination against these communities it further encourages her to be an advocate.

As a subject of the family that is centred around liberal views and advocates against discrimination against marginalised communities. According to Zille (2016, p.153) during the "mid-2000 the New National party and the Democratic Party collaborated and formed the DA". Zille (2016) further indicates that the establishment of the DA she emphasised against the implementation of racial nationalism and political cronyism instead enforced the ideology of non-racialism. Essentially, Zille integrated her views of racial consciousness into the establishment of the DA. Therefore, as a racializing subject she enforced her ideologies into the political party thus allowing her to recruit more subjects. Zille (2016, p.163) "chance to turn the DA into a party espousing a non-racial open-opportunity." Essentially, Zille's ideology that is evident in her political communication as part of the DA as well as a journalist, through this platform she has utilised them in order to recruit more subjects for a non-racial society. This communication is central to her identity as a racializing subject in a racialized society as she communicates through the perspective of both a racialised and racializing subject. The media has played an integral role in how Zille disseminates her views regarding race. As part of the Daily Rand Mail, she used the media in order to communicate the injustice faced by the marginalised communicates additionally this allowed her to recruit more subjects that would also advocate against the apartheid government. It is important to note that Helen Zille has a mixed experience as far as race is concerned.

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted that the identified politicians were influenced by different institutions that they were exposed to. These institutions informed their narratives about how they view and understand racial consciousness. Furthermore, the ideologies that they were influenced by and became subjects of propelled them into becoming racializing subjects. The application of Althusser's theory of being born into ideology allowed for the research to

identify the institutions that might have informed their present view of race and racism. Race is thus an ideology that is constantly perpetuated and reproduced in society therefore by outlining the institutions that influenced them; the research can outline whether they are reproducing these ideologies in democratic South Africa.

Chapter Four: Discussion & Analysis

Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to present and also provide a discussion of the presented findings. The findings of the thesis will apply theoretical frameworks with the intention to provide an understanding of how political personalities' use of Twitter can facilitate and perpetuate the racialisation process. Furthermore, the research will discuss how Helen Zille and Julius Malema interact on Twitter in addition to identifying tweets that relate to their views of race. Their racial consciousness will be viewed in conjunction to the outline provided in Chapter 3 which relates to the institutions that informed their racial consciousness. Furthermore, the research will also analyse Twitter's role in the process of hailing and interpellation by identifying the likes and retweets from the identified tweet.

Julius Malema Analysis

The analysis of Julius Malema will critically outline the origins of Malema's racial consciousness. Chapter 3 has provided an analysis of how Malema is a racialized subject than in turn became a racializing subject. This analysis below will apply the above observations of Malema as a racialized and racializing subject. The Tweets will be discussed within the context of the ideology and institutions that influenced his racial thinking. Therefore, the Tweets will also apply these ideas while analysing the Tweets. Moreover, I will also apply the various theoretical frameworks discussed in chapter Two. The application of the theories will be in conjunction with the Tweets and the overall themes that will be elaborated on in this section.

Dubula Ibhunu

The application of Language by Hall is to situate the historical context of the song and what the song represents. The song sang by Malema 'Dubula ibhunu' will be explored in a linguistic format. Since Malema did not write the song but more so sang it. It will be viewed from the lens of what it represents and the historical meaning associated to the song. Hall (2020) argues that representation is the use of language to extend a view/representation of the

world to another individual. The song is viewed as a tool that allows people to view race and also draws a picture of the apartheid period.

The lyrics of *Dubula Ibunu* from a linguistic view, explores representation and meaning in terms of how they are communicated. This song means 'Kill the Boer'. The song itself communicates a particular message about race. It informs individuals to become racializing subjects that identifies white people as individuals who should be shot/killed. This is communicated in the song that instructs listeners to 'shoot the Boer'. The context, however, is in the apartheid liberation struggle whereby many black people were oppressed by the white/Boer community. Therefore, this song is a rebellion and protest against the dominant white rule in this period. Moreover, when Malema sings this song in contemporary South Africa it represents a historical period of oppression.

This is an important characterising moment that signifies the extent to which the ANC as well as the apartheid political ideology have greatly impacted his political views. This particular song has roots within the apartheid period and also is significant in the ANC's liberation movements. According to Forde (2012) *Dubula Ibunu* was a song sung by Peter Mokaba who Julius Malema views as his mentor, and the song was sung before and after white rule. In addition, Forde (2012, p.164) argues that Malema "presents himself as the product of the ANC." This is an important area that reflects his influencers in the political sphere as well as his understanding of race. The song was sung by his political mentor and his predecessor, a former ANCYL leader. The significance of this song is based on how the ANC reproduced a racializing subject through Julius Malema, as he reproduces a particular way in which to think about race that was taught to him by other ANC members. The song represents the political struggle during the apartheid period and further identifies Anti-white race consciousness as the key problem in South Africa. Therefore, his choice of song indicates that the political struggle for freedom is not yet over. This makes reference to the liberation struggle within the apartheid period. This propels the ideology that Ramaphakela communicated to Malema regarding white people as the main problem in society. Additionally, Forde (2012) argues that Ramaphakela taught Malema how to use a gun in the case that they had to fight against the apartheid government. This particular message is communicated through the song as it reinforces the need to fight against white people. Moreover, this provides a representation of race which allows South Africans to use in order to understand race.

Application of Rituals and practices: 'Kill the Boer'

The song represents him as a racializing subject within a democratic space who is influenced by the apartheid period as well as the ANC. Althusser (1970, p.133) 'The political apparatus by subjecting individuals to the political state ideology, the 'indirect' (parliamentary) or direct (plebiscitary or fascist) democratic ideology'. Essentially, by applying Althusser's analysis the indirect political ideology can closely be associated with the apartheid government. As the song choice represents the retaliation of many oppressed South Africans towards the dominant white rule within the political and governing sphere. The direct political ideology relating to his exposure within the ANC that fought against white oppression. Fundamentally, as a product of this era he thus becomes a racializing subject that reproduces the ruling ideology that he was exposed to from both the ANC and the apartheid regime. It can be argued that Malema not only takes reference to the ANC and the apartheid regime but his political outlook is situated in an era whereby he is still in apartheid and is a radical political activist within the ANC. Cited in Forde (2012, p.184) "Arm yourself now, like you did in the past giving us AK-47s to go and fight the regime" this particular communication by Malema takes place in Zimbabwe as he encourages ZNPF members to continue the struggle. Malema further sings the Dubula ibhunu Song, this further reinforces the argument that Malema is not only a product of the ANC but also the apartheid regime that reproduces their political ideology in its racial form. Malema is a subject who in turn reproduces ideology he received in order to interpellate more subjects. A product of a successful interpellation is one who can recruit more subjects for the subject.

ANC- Anti-white form of race as a response to anti-black-apartheid

The way that meaning is created is through our use of language and framing it by using certain words that create meaning and representation. Hall (2020) argues that representation takes a form of describing something or a form of portrayal that conjures thoughts or ideas associated to it. In this sense, Dubula Ibhunu is a song that provides representation, and this is created through its historical context which relates to the apartheid period. But it does not only provide this representation it extends to the societal experience. It conjures up images of oppression that the black community experienced during apartheid South Africa. It also reflects the liberation struggle movements that were targeted towards fighting against oppression. Therefore, the meaning of Dubula Ibhunu has connotations to a historical period of racial inequality and oppression. The words in the song directly translate to "Shoot the Boer" which is a song that incites violence towards white people. By singing this particular song it invokes a particular racial thinking and imposes on people's views of race. The racial

thinking being invoked is one that racializes white people. It also enables people to view society within a racial lens that identifies white people in contemporary South Africa within a historical context. It also extends a view of how white people existed in society in apartheid South Africa in terms of their role during this period. However, since the song is sang in democratic South Africa it basically perpetuates an ideology of race that is rooted in this historical period. In essence, the meaning created in this song has to be first understood within its historical context. As the song is meant to evoke particular emotions that relate to this historical context.

Jonah Fisher

I will provide an extension of the analysis above, that situates Malema as a racial subject of the apartheid period. This analysis will apply Language and framing in order to look at how Malema responds to Jonah Fisher. His interaction with Jonah Fisher categorises him as a racializing subject because he communicates within a racial consciousness. This will also explore how he communicates within the institutions that influenced his racial awareness. Forde (2012) describes Jonah Fisher is a white journalist from the BBC who was present in a press conference held by Julius Malema. Where he was informed about the hierarchies that exist between race and the identification of white people as the problem in society within the South Africa context. Cited in Forde (2012, p.188) “Don’t come here with that white tendency”. This highlights his prejudice against white people that he learnt, therefore racializing Fisher exists in the context of how white people were identified in society during the apartheid. To expand on this I will situate the words/language in the above quote in their frames. By looking at the response in terms of the framing theory it will elaborate on the intended meaning. The overall message as suggested above is based on how Malema views white people within the context of apartheid. This analysis also draws from Althusser’s theory of being born into ideology. This was discussed in chapter three and highlights the different institutions that influenced Julius Malema. The main institution that this analysis will draw from is Ramaphakela, the apartheid era in relation to his political exposure.

White tendency

This interaction is very significant. Especially, his response to Jonah Fisher, because it is heavily situated in his lessons from Ramaphakela. As highlighted Ramaphakela informed him that white people are the problem in society. Althusser (1987) argues that a successful subject is one that can recruit more subjects for the subject. Essentially, this interaction or response is evident that Malema is a successful subject and communicates within the frames provided by

Ramaphakela. To expand on this, I will closely relate this specific response to the communicative event between Malema and Ramaphakela in apartheid South Africa. Cited in Forde (2012, P.43) “Whites don’t give blacks a chance in our country”. Ramaphakela immediately uses race as a classifier that represents the distinction of race. The description of “white” refers to white people. A racial classification that is based on skin colour and appearance.

This racial classification is applied by Malema when interacting with Jonah Fisher. He is an identifiable white individual and that is using the physical features to identify him. Malema refers to Jonah Fisher as ‘white’. But this classification does not only embody his physical/racial identity. To Malema his racial identity is in context to the apartheid period. To Malema, Jonah Fisher becomes a representation of an oppressor. This is identified by the word ‘Tendency’ that Malema uses to describe Fisher’s actions. The word itself can be associated to habits or a sort of inclination to practice certain behaviours or characteristics. So, the ‘tendency’ that Fisher has, as per Malema’s observation influenced by Ramaphakela. Is that ‘white’ people do as they please. This is also closely associated to how Ramaphakela indicated that even though black people were from the country they were displaced and had no control or power over their own country. Therefore, Malema views Fisher as someone who imposed in to his space. But not only does he impose into Malema space he ‘habitually’ dictates what takes place.

Malema cited in Forde (2012, p.192) argues “you don’t know what it’s like to have a white man tell me what to do in my house.” The significance of this response in the research is that it highlights how Malema has been influenced by ANC members and thus is a racializing subject that reproduces an ideology from the ANC. Ramaphakela informed him that white people were doing as they please in a land that’s not their own. Essentially, his response to Fisher represents the idea of white people as oppressors and colonisers that oppress black people. This is evident in how Malema makes reference to Fisher as a ‘white man tell me what to do in my house’ which relates to the argument that white people came into South African and did as they pleased as explained by Ramaphakela. Furthermore, to Malema this becomes a clear demonstration of what white people ‘normally do’ this is identified by the use of ‘white tendency’. In addition, Forde (2012, p.197) “I saw some young boy who is white, who is demonstrating some white supremacy on me.” Furthermore, his view of race that he learnt from Ramaphakela influenced his interaction with Fisher which further allowed him to become a racializing subject.

Analysis: Julius Malema

Julius Malema and many other political leaders have utilised Twitter as a platform to share information and engage with their political supporters. This interaction can influence Twitter users' views of certain topics. This section will provide an analysis of Julius Malema's interaction on twitter regarding topics that can potentially influence people's understanding of race. Moreover, the section will apply the above theoretical frameworks in order to understand how political personalities' use of Twitter can facilitate and perpetuate the racialisation process. Julius Malema's view of race has been influenced by the institutions of the school, home and political institutions. These institutions established Malema as a racializing subject who communicates about race through the lens of the institutions he was exposed to. Therefore, to provide an analysis of Malema as a racializing subject it is important to understand the institutions that he was subjected to.

Julius Malema Tweets

Julius Malema has been under criticism for his Tweets on Twitter and his Twitter account has been suspended by Twitter on numerous occasions due to tweets that went against Twitter's policies. The tweets collected from Twitter and the whole space will be discussed from the point of digital ethnography. Digital ethnography as described by Murthy (2008) is a process of submerging yourself into the digital space to tell stories. This process of data collection and understanding how Twitter operates is crucial to this investigation. This enables the tweets posted by Malema to be understood within their overall context. More so looking at why did he choose this particular platform? How does the platform facilitate a space for people to share their racial thinking.

I will investigate how the features on Twitter are utilised by applying an Althusserian theory of Rituals and Practices. However, the application of rituals and practices, will be in the context of the research. The rituals and practices will be the Likes, retweets, quote retweets as well as the comments. These rituals and practices will indicate whether the Malema has influenced how people view and understand race.

On the 24th of November 2018 in response to @SAEditorsForum *"I'm prepared to meet you on condition you don't bring racist things like this white young boy called @AdriaanBasson"*. Julius Malema's tweets communicate a message that views white people as racist and also views white people as immature. This particular view is informed by the different institutions that informed his view of race. His political participation informed the view that white people are racist and through this tweet he reproduces this ideology on Twitter. Moreover, this Tweet

provides a representation of how white people should be viewed in society through the framing of his texts. The use of words such as “racist” and “white” encourage the view of white people as racist, therefore this is based on how the text is framed through the use of the word “racist” to describe a white person. Essentially, this communication allows Twitter users to view white people within the narrative of being racist.

To extend this analysis, I will draw from the identified institutions that characterise Malema as a racializing subject. Malema, often refers to white males within a racial context that is situated within the South African historically racialized period. This is evident in how he spoke to Johan Fisher and the song *Dubula Ibhunu*. In this particular Tweet Malema refers to Adriaan Basson as a ‘white boy’. This term is not far from how he addressed Johan Fisher as a white boy. In a linguistic context a ‘boy’ is often a term used to refer to an adolescent male. By using this term to describe an adult male, he is associating him to characteristics often attributed to children. Subsequently, he is addressing him as an immature individual that lacks judgement. Moreover, he uses the word ‘thing’ to address Adriaan. The word itself is associated to an object and often used to describe non-living objects. His description of White individuals is often in a context that dehumanises them. This is in the same context of the song that encourages violence against white people. The next section unpack the rituals and practices in the form of Likes, Quote retweets and comments.

Rituals and practices

Twitter plays an important role in disseminating this tweet to a larger audience that allows for the interpellation of more subjects to the communicated ideology that represents white people as racists. Therefore, Twitter thus disseminates the tweet to numerous twitter users which enables more people to be recruited to this ideology and thus influenced. To identify whether individuals have been interpellated to this particular ideology it is important to identify the likes and retweets which are an indicator of how many people are subjects of this ideology. Moreover, the tweet indicates that 135 people liked the tweet and 86 people retweeted. Essentially, 135 Twitter users have been interpellated by the tweet and thus become subjects to this ideology and have been influenced by Malema. Moreover, 86 Twitter users are also subjects to this ideology however they have also recruited more subjects for the racializing subject which is Julius Malema. The retweets thus enable more individuals to be subjects of this ideology thus reaching a larger audience.

Hegemony and consent

Hegemony and consent will create an understanding of power and influence. This follows the outline provided in chapter Two, political personalities are viewed as consented power therefore their communication is consented. Essentially, to understand the tweet above, it is important to understand that Julius Malema is a public figure. Therefore, Julius Malema has the ability to reach and influence a larger number of audiences based on his social status. This is evident in the political parties' votes and community membership, the votes and communities that support the party are an indicator to his social influence. Therefore, viewing Julius Malema within this lens, indicates that he is highly regarded in society therefore can be viewed as an influential individual. Essentially, when Malema communicates it is viewed within the context of a political figure. Power dynamics in communicative events ground the analysis of the meaning being communicated. To further move into the ideological content of the tweets, the research has provided an outline of the different institutions that informed Malema's view of race. Essentially, by referring to Adriaan as a racist white person it feeds into his views about race. The research has highlighted the importance of Ramaphakela's role in establishing Malema as a racializing subject as he informed him of the racial inequalities experienced by marginalised communities. Therefore, when Malema posts a tweet indicating that Adriaan is a white racist, he is reproducing the ideology that he has been informed which indicates that white people are a problem in society and had been oppressing marginalised communities during apartheid.

Tweet: Men Against Boys

This ideology is further communicated in a tweet that was posted on the 3rd of September 2019 *“Our anger is directed at wrong people. Like all of us, our African brothers & sisters are selling their cheap labour for survival. The owners of our wealth is white monopoly capital; they are refusing to share it with us & the ruling party #ANC protects them. #OneAfricaIsPossible”*. This tweet further reinforces his ideology that white people are oppressing marginalised communities by not providing them with equal opportunities. According to Forde (2012, p.43) Ramaphakela informed Malema of the inequalities that black communities experienced during apartheid period and thus explained that “Whites don't give blacks a chance in our own country”. This iteration by Ramaphakela is similar to Malema's tweet in the sense that he argues that “African brothers & sisters are selling their cheap labour for survival. The owners of wealth is white monopoly capital”. This tweet acts

as a reproduction of Ramaphakela's view of the apartheid system and how it was oppressing the black communities. In this tweet Malema highlights once again that wealth is owned by white monopoly capital which is still in existence in democratic South Africa in addition to marginalised communities still being oppressed. The ideological content of the tweet informs Twitter users' view of race and social hierarchies of the previously black communities in relation to white people.

Language and framing: Racial devaluation process

Julius Malema communicates within racial undertones, but to fully expand on these undertones. I will employ linguistic tools and draw from language theory in addition to the framing theory. There is a varied distinction in how Malema speaks about black people or African people. He refers to them as 'brothers' or 'us', which has a familial connotation. His view of black people is founded on the view of community. At the same time this sense of community is based on the harsh treatment that his 'brothers' and himself experienced during a racialized historical period. Therefore, white people do not belong in his 'brotherhood'. This is evident in how he demasculinizes white man into 'white young boys', who in eyes are not part of this community. Because, they represent a period where they oppressed people like him. I often make reference to us and them or refer to black and white individuals in separate terms when analysing the tweets. But this is how Malema, views race, within a lens of us and them. A distinction between brotherhood that he shares with black brothers. In contrast to how he views 'racist' 'young' 'white' 'boys' who do not share that same brotherhood because they are still 'boys'. Malema also refers to white people with the context owners of wealth. But this tweet as discussed above reiterates the message communicated by Ramaphakela. Therefore the distinction between white people as 'owners of wealth' in contrast to his 'brothers' who have been cast aside or used by the capitalist system to accumulate wealth. This reinforces the message that there is a divide between white and black people. This divide exist as an 'us' an 'them' lens that is a borrowed view from Ramaphakela. In this particular Tweet, his racial thinking is heavily rested upon the institution of the apartheid system that according to Ramaphakela was not in favour of black people. Once more, when communicating about white people, he dehumanises them and views them as racist in addition to problematising their existence in contemporary South Africa.

Rituals and practices

Hailing and interpellation can be applied in order to outline the influence that this tweet has on how race is understood. By posting this tweet, Twitter disseminated the tweet to other Twitter users which relates to its recruiting abilities. The tweet was able to interpellate 19 300 +- Twitter users this is indicated by the Likes which indicate that 19.3K Twitter users agree with the tweet. Thus, indicating that this tweet has influenced these Twitter users and they indicated that they consent to this ideology. In addition to being subject to this ideology by Liking the tweet. Moreover, other Twitter users who have consented to becoming subjects of the Tweets went further to recruiting more subjects for the ideology shared by Malema. This is indicated by the 7 765 Retweets which enable the Tweet to be shared with other followers thus recruiting and interpellating more subjects.

Analysis of Helen Zille's Tweets

This section will provide an analysis of Helen Zille's Tweets in relation to the provided theoretical frameworks and analytical methods. The analysis of the tweets will highlight how political personalities can perpetuate the racialisation process. Through the application of Althusser institutions of ideology, the research was able to identify how Helen Zille became a racializing subject. Furthermore, it enables the research to outline how the institutions that influenced Zille's views of race in relation to becoming a racializing subject. Zille's view of race has been heavily influenced by the institution of the family, in particular her mother. Cited in Zille (2016, p.84) 'I had grown up imbibing the values of freedom, fairness and opportunity with my mother's milk.' This is evident that Zille's racial awareness is extensively influenced by the institutions of the family.

Essentially, her family dynamics exposed her to racial hierarchies in society that can be associated with different racial groups. Her racial awareness towards racial hierarchies is rooted within the German view of racial discrimination that is associated with her family dynamics, in contrast to the apartheid regime that exposed her to different forms of racial discrimination that was experienced by the marginalised communities. Furthermore, Helen Zille was very active during the apartheid period in terms of exposing the detrimental effects of the apartheid regime towards the marginalised communities. However, in democratic South Africa provided a reformed space for racial equality. Therefore, Helen Zille became member of the DA that encouraged non-racialism and liberal views that encouraged fair treatment of all racial groups. Zille is quite different from Malema, as much as they both

existed in the same apartheid period and were influenced by this period. They also had varied experiences of race based on their racial classification. In this analysis, I will provide context to her racial awareness in contemporary South Africa. This will form a basis for the analysis of the tweets.

New South Africa: 'Racist'

The #FEESMUSTFALL movement was a very significant even in the academic and in racial discourse. There are various racial significant moments which establish a new racial awareness that Zille communicates. This racial thinking is influenced by the changing climate from apartheid and democratic South Africa. In this section I will discuss some key components that provide context to Helen Zille's view of race in the new South African. Zille (2016) discusses different experiences that she observed centring around race and she provides her views on these encounters. Zille (2016) argues that South Africans have adopted an American view of race which is situated within critical race theory. Critical race theory is a theory that argues that race is a social construct therefore allowing race to be used in order to implement racial hierarchies in society. Moreover, Zille (2016) argues that the application of CRT in South Africa does not create inclusivity instead it reinforces the racial divide and race is used as a social marker whereby there are victims and villains. Zille has noted that democratic South Africa has developed a social divide and these borrowed terms further perpetuate a villainization of certain races in particular white people. Cited in Zille (2016, p.481) 'If a white policeman shoots a black youth, all whites share culpability, but not vice versa.' This scenario outlined by Zille suggest that the new South Africa has adopted views that specifically target white people. The new South Africa not only targets white people but establishes them as 'racists'. Moreover, she has actively outlined how her first experience of being called as racist was in democratic South Africa. Her political party has been viewed by the media as racist. Therefore, her views of race suggest that the new South Africa has been developed in such a way that it actively attacks white people and identifies them as racist. Cited in Zille (2016, p.129, p.130) 'It was during this period that I was called a racist... Their counter argument was to call me a racist.' To provide context to the above quotes, Zille recounts the first experience that she was racialized or was ever called racist. According to Zille (2016), SADTU members were protesting against the new policy that would change the recruitment process for teachers. However, Zille (2016) was against this process as it would result in job loss, she tried to communicate her point across but was identified as racist. Which Zille (2016, p.130) views as 'The perfect counter debate blocker'.

This interaction in its essence encapsulates the origins of Helen Zille's view and experience of race in democratic South Africa. Chapter 3 provided a context that applied Althusser within the context of being born into ideology. This chapter discussed the institutions that were characterising to Zille's developmental process of her racial awareness. Her racial awareness has however shifted in the new South Africa and different experiences expose her to a varied racial process. This process reaffirms that the racial process is a continuous process. The context and experience can change but the racial process will continue. She no longer views black people as victims of the racial process but rather as "Our opponent: the new ANC organisation." (Zille, 2016, p.129) . The same communities that she had been allied with her were now the ones racializing her and labelling her as a racist.

The above quotes will be unpacked within linguistic frameworks to situate Zille in her new racial thinking. The characterising moment would be her first experience of being labelled as racist but the same community (SADTU) she had been working with. By situating these texts it will provide context to the tweets. Unlike Malema who was heavily influenced by the institutions that he was born in, Zille is influenced by her experience in democratic South Africa. Zille recalls being called a 'racist' as a 'debate blocker'. The SADTU members did not engage with her while she was trying to communicate with them. Instead they referred to her as 'racist'. The reference to white people as racist stems from the racializing institutions that they had established in apartheid South Africa. These racial institutions were orchestrated against black communities and were oppressive to these communities. These institutions were not just oppressive but they did not provide equal opportunities or benefits between black and white communities. Nonetheless, Zille had been working against these institutions of oppression in apartheid South Africa and provided aid to black people during this particular period. Therefore, being identified within the same context that was had been actively working against. Announces to her, that race and the experience of it has changed. This is evident in how she refers to this interaction in manor of significance. From the text she specifically uses the words 'during this period'. The word 'period' and how it was been used alongside the word 'this' and 'during'. The words themselves, point to a significant encounter or experience and also the introduce a change and an end to a 'period'. 'This' new period that South Africa was welcoming, for her it signified a change and an 'end'. It was an end to her being identified an ally it was the beginning to her being labelled as the 'villain'. This is evident in how she views the ANC within a new context of it being an 'opponent' and

‘the new ANC government’. The new South Africa provided with it a new experience of race on in which she is ‘racist’.

This experience does not only categorise her but she further identifies how this period does not allow healthy communication. Where she can freely communicate because in response the SADTU protestors labelled her as ‘racist’ in order to disarm her. Instead of the members communicating to her they use a ‘debate blocker’. Essentially, the term itself she views as a term used to ensure that her views are invalid. Moreover, she associates the term to it being a disarmer, it does not mean she is racist. Rather, the term itself is used within a context that involves white individuals and it is used to ‘block’ their debates. In essence, it invalidates their communication. Additionally, Zille (2016, p.130) in her reflection of the incident and argues that in all her association in different organisations, she had always been allowed to voice different views and these were assessed on their ‘merit’. She further argues that “Now, in a democracy, this is impossible.” (Zille, 2016, p.130). Her fundamental views are still prevalent in the above text as she communicates within the institution of her family. Her family often spoke about judging a person on their character instead of their race. This text also provides her fundamental institutions of her family that are being opposed in democratic South Africa. In this sense, I mean that in apartheid South Africa she was defined by her contribution. She was judged by the arguments provided which would be evaluated by their ‘merits’ and not her racial classification. However, in democratic South Africa, she announces another change. That a supposedly democratic space was using race in order to identify the merit of her argument. This is evident in how she frames the text ‘Now’. The word is used to indicate to the reader that this period has long passed and ‘Now’ a space supposedly characterised by these values, does not implement them. It also communicates that this ‘New South Africa’ is one that evaluates a person’s contribution to a debate in terms of their race.

To expand on this, I will draw from another text provided above. Helen Zille views the new South Africa as a place that villainizes white people by labelling them as ‘racist’. She argues that white communities are being villainized for the same acts done by black communities. It is important to note that Zille identifies and speaks about white people in the context of the minority in contrast to black people that is identified as the majority. Nonetheless, this text extends on the above analysis that situates Zille’s racial awareness in the New South Africa. . . Cited in Zille (2016, p.481) ‘If a white policeman shoots a black youth, all whites share culpability, but not vice versa.’ In the text above, there is also a racial hierarchy that she has identified. This can be identified as consequent racial hierarchy placed upon certain racial

groups, in particular the black community. In this sense, black people have the privilege to commit racial injustice without consequence in terms of the whole black community being villainised. From the above text, where she is labelled as racist, it is based on the actions of the apartheid government. Even though she has helped many members of the black community, she is now being painted with the same brush. It does not matter the merit of her actions and contributions in the apartheid era. In contemporary South Africa, all that matters is her race, her race determines whether her contribution is valid or not. Cited in Zille (2016, p.481) 'in South Africa, a tool to justify the unbridled hegemony of a racial minority, to classify and pathologize minorities on the basis of racial generalisations, and so discount and delegitimize any contribution they try to make.' This is in reference to the introduction of critical race theory in the South African experience. The view of CRT in South Africa becomes a tool used to target the white communities by labelling them as racist. This experience is closely associated to her first encounter of being labelled as racist in the New South Africa. Once the promised democracy and equality, a country that would evaluate people based on their merit instead of their race. However, this proves to be wrong because the black community is targeting the white communities by labelling them as 'racist'. This particular observation draws from the texts and analysis provided above.

Critical race theory: as a beacon to racialize against white minorities.

The above analysis provides a foundation of Helen Zille's racial awareness in contemporary South Africa. This racial awareness is contrasted by her early activism as this is influenced by the New South Africa that is targeting minority communities. Essentially, this section will unpack her views on race. I will draw on some of the text from her book to fully unpack her views on race. This will be integral to the analysis of the tweets, as Zille can no longer be observed from the institutions that she was born into. From this observation, I argue that Zille unlike Malema was influenced by the institutions she was born into. She abided by these institutions during the apartheid period. However, the political change and shift into democracy established different institutions that informed a new racial consciousness.

This racial awareness is heavily situated in adult experiences and the development of new institutions. The ideology that you are born into will provide you with an manual of how to exist in society from childhood. Hence, Althusser identified institutions that are primarily integral to the development of a child. As these institutions inform a child how to be an adult in the world. However, what happens when new institutions are erected in society? As the manual provided is no longer valid, because they have changed hands. Fundamentally, yes

you are still a product of the institutions that you were born into and they will still be prevalent in your existence. But it becomes evident that the institutions that will shape your new ideology is *experience*. The experience is founded by the new institutions. In the above analysis, Zille made several reference to the New South Africa. Now, I propose that these are the new institutions that become fundamental to the change in Zille's racial thinking. This is evident in how she makes reference or makes clear distinctions to the two different eras. She marks an end and a beginning in terms of how she is treated. She also marks an end to a certain institution of 'merit' founded by the family. One would argue that as a protagonist in the book, this change becomes a sort of peripetia that incites a new racial awareness.

Black people cannot be racist?

The new Helen Zille has identified an establishment of inequality and injustice that allows black people to be racist without consequence. Cited in Zille (2016, p.481) 'only whites can be racist and only blacks can experience the suffering of racism. This is why 'whiteness' is the problem that must be eradicated.' The view is heavily situated on her first encounter with being called racist. As this was a racial experience where she was identified as racist, and marks her first racialised experience in contemporary South Africa. The text reflects her observation and also experience of race in contemporary South Africa, whereby she was racialised by black people. But they were not subjected to any form of consequence as '*only* blacks can experience the suffering of racism.' From her view she has experienced racism however, her experience is invalidated because she is white. From the text she indicates 'only whites can be racist', even though she has expressed her experience of racism she still takes on the image of being 'racist' because whites are viewed as racist in contemporary South Africa. "whiteness' is the problem that must be eradicated' this observation made by Zille can also be influenced by how she has seen certain political figures communicate about the white community. Julius Malema has vocalised his view of white people by problematising them in society. This can also be related to Julius Malema and Ramaphakela's conversation that regarded white people as the problem in society as they oppressed black communities. Julius Malema has also sang songs such as Dubula Ibhunu and constantly referred to white people as racist. Therefore, Helen Zille's communication regarding the problematisation of white communities is rooted in how other political personalities' communicate about whiteness.

Nonetheless, to further extend this analysis and apply framing which will identify how the words have been used in order to convey a particular message. The use of words such as

'whiteness' 'eradicate' 'problem' are trigger words that communicate that white people are a problem in society. Furthermore, it may trigger emotions such as fear amongst white communities as this interpretation suggests that white people are targeted by the black communities and are therefore viewed as a problem that needs to be removed. The word 'eradicate' further reinforces this fear as it could possibly suggest the use of violence within the context of the apartheid period. Cited in Zille (2016, p.487) 'Blaming 'whiteness' is no longer peripheral to South Africa's discourse. It has become mainstream, and is even considered 'progressive.'" The framing of the text and the language that has been used further reinforces a narrative of white people being targeted in society. Therefore, her communication in her book relates to identifying white people as being the victim of racism and targeted for being racist. However, this argument is also influenced by her experiences in democratic South Africa. According to Zille (2016) the DA has been targeted and viewed as a racist white party furthermore she has also been targeted as a racist. Essentially, the view that white people are targeted relates to her own experience within the DA as well as individual experiences as the leader of the party. According to Zille (2016) the ANC and the Media have branded her party and herself as racist based on the supporters of the party and members within the party. Zille as a racializing subject is situated within the understanding that white people are being targeted.

Helen Zille's Tweets.

Helen Zille's tweets will be analysed in order to identify how her communication as a racializing subject has the potential to influence Twitter users' race consciousness. Helen Zille's tweets will be analysed to unpack the racial view being communicated. Additionally, the tweets will be analysed through the application of Althusser's process of hailing and interpellation. The analysis for the tweets will heavily draw on the above analysis of Zille's racial thinking in contemporary South Africa.

'Proof' that black people are 'racist'

Helen Zille posted a tweet on the 03rd of July 22 which states "*She is a South African and so am I. We are told black people can't be racist. This tweet is proof that all people are deeply racist, except that the racism of some is excused because of their own race. And it is the most racist thing of all*" This tweet received 318 Likes, 40 Retweets.

The tweet posted by Helen Zille provides an understanding of Zille as a racializing subject furthermore it highlights her views of race and racism. To identify the tweet and its

ideological content I will therefore deploy linguistic frameworks. The application of Language will be viewing the tweet and the words used within a historical context. The framing theory will be applied to unpack the intended meaning of the text.

Helen Zille starts the tweet by identifying herself as a South African. ‘She is a South Africa and so am I.’ This tweet carries with it a lot of historical context. As a white person, Zille views herself and many other white people as a minority in South Africa that is constantly targeted for being racist. Moreover, Helen Zille similar to many white people, moved to South Africa. Her origins are from German, as both her parents moved to South Africa during the devastating period of the Nazi rule in Germany. Therefore, by her stating that she is South African she ‘speaks’ out against the views that white people are not South Africans. Cited in Zille (2016) whiteness as a problem that needs to be eradicated.

“We are told black people can’t be racist.” This phrase in her tweet identifies that black people can be racializing however, to understand her argument it is important to first outline the linguistic and historical context of this phrase. Black communities during the apartheid period were subject to racism through the administrative government of that period. Therefore, Helen Zille is suggesting that black people can no longer be viewed as the only victims of racism as the minority groups are also exposed to racialisation. The above analysis further explores her views on the racialisation experience that the minority has experienced. She argues that the minority's experience of racialisation is not recognised as they are often labelled as ‘racist’. Moreover, to further discuss the ideological message being communicated; it feeds into her previous view of the racialisation process that identifies minority groups as the target. However, this tweet provides a view that black people are the individuals who target minority groups. Moreover, this ideology is hailing a particular racial group as it specially announces that it is communicating towards black people and is making them aware of how they have become racializing subjects that target the minority. Moreover, it hails white individuals as it communicates about race within the white experience. The tweet is therefore, targeted towards the black and white community who is expected to hear the hail. The hail calls out to the perpetrators of the racialization process as well as the victims of the racialization process that is identified within these communities. This tweet is making white people aware that they can also be subjects of racism. This tweet interpellated 316 Twitter users. Furthermore, 40 Twitter users retweeted the tweet to their users thus hailing and interpellating more subjects for Helen Zille, allowing for more individuals to become subjects of this racial thinking.

Zille argues that this is ‘proof’ that black people can be racist. But based on experience, black people will not receive punishment for their racism. The ‘proof’ proves that black people can be racist. But drawing from the scenario in the above analysis, she has argued that black people will not receive the same punishment for the same racist acts that a white person would commit. Therefore, this interaction is ‘proof’ that *‘the racism of some is excused because of their own race’*.

Helen Zille posted another tweet on the 3rd of July 2022 *“Twitter won’t deal with her racism because of her race. That is how racist Twitter can be. I was hoping that @elonmask would put an end to this. I am sure he will in due course. According to Twitter, you cannot be racist if you are black.”* This Tweet received 4 likes and 2 Retweets; this tweet takes place within the same discourse as the above tweet. Furthermore, this tweet shares Helen Zille’s view regarding the racialisation process which in her view does not only consist of black people being victims but also being the perpetrator of racial discourse. This holds her ideological view in democratic South Africa, as she is no longer fighting against the apartheid system but also looking at how race is experienced in democratic South Africa. Zille’s analysis of the racialisation process follows the argument that racism is not linear therefore in democratic South Africa White people can experience racism. She argues that Twitter is a space that allows for the racialization to take place and black people are excused as being the perpetrators.

Furthermore, Helen Zille further reiterates this argument in a tweet posted on the 3rd of July *“It is both. The racist system in SA discriminates against the minorities. There are over 100 laws in SA that actively discriminate against white South Africans and (to a lesser extent) other minorities. So, the system is geared to discriminate against the minorities. Racism, straight!”*

Hailing and interpellation

This tweet hails the white minority, it explicitly identifies white people as the minority that is largely impacted by the discriminatory laws. However, she makes mention of other minorities in South Africa but evidently she is hailing the white minority. However, other racial groups that are regarded as minority groups can still be interpellated if they view themselves as a minority. This tweet reiterates her fundamental views of racial hierarchies and her racial awareness in democratic South Africa. This is particularly informed by her own observation and experiences.

This tweet received 47 likes and 11 retweets. The tweet by Zille indicates how democratic South Africa is repressive and racializes white South Africans. When Helen Zille was actively exposing the discrimination in apartheid South Africa, she did so to assist the majority of the marginalised South Africans. However, in democratic South Africa she speaks against the discrimination that the minority is experiencing in the hands of the members of the previously marginalised communities in particular the black community. Furthermore, the framing of these tweets relate to the marginalisation of white people in South Africa, furthermore it highlights that black people can be perpetrators of racialisation.

The same policies and laws she was a part of and was trying to change also contributed to the racialisation process. Therefore, the system itself is made up of people that perpetuate the racialization process. In addition, the laws themselves are developed in such a way that certain racial groups are the main benefactors. Therefore, the racialisation has not stopped but has been implemented in different formats. *'So, the system is geared to discriminate against the minorities'*. This reflects a change in how the discriminatory administrative institutions of the apartheid South Africa moved from pro-white benefactor to a pro-black benefactor. Therefore, this reinforces the view that White people are marginalised in democratic South Africa this is evident in the laws that have been deployed. Essentially, Zille views this institutions and laws as discriminatory as they employ a racial lens.

Conclusion

The tweets above provide a view of how these political personalities view race and also reflect how they communicate about race, some of these communications are a reproduction of existing racial views. Essentially, an outline of various tweets that either individuals' race consciousness. Importantly, it also used discussed how the institutions that they were exposed to still impacted their racial awareness. In addition, to identifying how they communicate within ideology of these institutions. This is situated from the argument that subjects will recruit subjects for the subjects. That we are in constant circulation of ideology. Both Helen Zille and Julius Malema unconsciously and or consciously communicated within a context of their racial awareness. This reflects the continues existence of race in democratic South Africa. The research employed linguistic frameworks that situated the individuals racial tones in contemporary. The linguistic frameworks provided a picture of how race is communicated and understood within a historical lens.

The instrument utilised to communicate about race, provides a space that propels information dissemination to a larger audience. However, this was also effective because of the status

associated to these particular individuals. They are recognised public figures and also host a larger following therefore their tweets reach a larger audience. This process creates a continuous process of race that allows contemporary South Africa to exist in a racialised society.



Chapter Five: Conclusion and reflection on findings

Introduction

The chapter will provide a detailed conclusion of the themes that were discussed in the research furthermore it will also provide an answer to the research question. The research viewed various themes such as twitter as a recruiting instrument used by political personalities. This will be discussed by making use of the data and the analysis which will further indicate whether Twitter acted as a recruiting instrument. Additionally, the research will provide an answer to the research that is based on the findings and analysis of the two political personalities in the research.

Research Findings

To answer the proposed research question which is “How does political personalities’ use of Twitter facilitate and perpetuate the racialisation process?” The research has made use of theories that look at the platform on which race discourse takes place. In addition, the research also outlines the communication and interaction between political personalities that consist of their ideological influences on race consciousness. Tweets from both Helen Zille

and Julius Malema have been analysed in order to identify the ideological message that they are communicating to their followers and other Twitter users. The data consisted of tweets that consisted of themes relating to race or the racialisation process. The research has identified that political personalities had varied views of the race that they communicated with their Twitter users.

The rituals and practices indicated the influence and the reach of the ideology and tweets. Most importantly the data highlights how Twitter can be space for racial discourse in the sense that people can openly discuss issues of race. This is evident in the tweets posted by both political personalities as they openly discuss race. However, their views evidently hail and interpellate more individuals, as they communicate on Twitter whereby their views are disseminated to a larger audience. Twitter has acted as a recruitment instrument whereby it allows Twitter users to be active subjects who receive ideologies. Furthermore, the recruitment process has been further extended to the subjects as they can recruit more subjects for the political personality through retweets. The retweets further disseminate the ideology to more Twitter users, the likes on the tweets indicate the number of individuals who are subjects of this ideology.

Furthermore, their use of language in relation to the framing of the tweets exists within a racial space. The language that has been utilised through the tweets exist within a historical context, furthermore certain themes in their ideologies relate to the institutions that influenced their views on race. They further communicate these ideologies to their twitter users; in this sense they are subjects who interpellated more subjects for the institutions that they were influenced by. Furthermore, provides evidence of how certain ideologies are consistently reproduced in society. The individuals who have been influenced by the ideology recruit more subjects in turn resulting in the reproduction of ideologies. However, another important aspect is power dynamics, hegemony and consent allows for their individual ideology to be received in society.

Helen Zille and Julius Malema are political personalities therefore, their communication is accepted and consented in society. Moreover, their communication reaches a larger audience because they are recognised as public figures. In addition, to further outline their influence it is important to also outline the rituals and practices as it provides an understanding of how many people individuals are subject to these ideologies. Essentially, by outlining the number of likes and retweets the research has identified that these tweets from political personalities

have influenced how certain individuals understand race and racism. Furthermore, the subjects have confirmed that they are subjects and are influenced by the tweets by liking the tweet this consenting as subjects. Moreover, certain subjects further interpellate and hail more subjects for the political personality. Furthermore, Twitter becomes a recruiting instrument utilised by the political personality to share their ideologies thus gaining more subjects in addition to subjects recruiting more subjects for the personality.

The research has outlined how Twitter can be identified as a recruiting instrument based on the application of rituals and practices. The rituals and practices are also identified as a way in which subjects confirm that they consent to the tweeted ideology. The Tweets from the political personalities demonstrate how Twitter is a recruiting instrument and this can be identified through the Retweets and Quoted Retweets. Whereby, Twitter users disseminate the tweets posted by the political personality to their Feeds. By retweeting they are confirming that they are subjects to the political personality and they have been influenced by the ideology additionally they are also recruiting more subjects for the political personalities using the features provided by Twitter. The ideologies are thus further disseminated and perpetuated throughout the platform to reach more subjects. By identifying Twitter as a recruiting instrument, the research looks at the features that it provides to users to perpetuate or disseminate ideologies. However, even though the platform provides a space for the dissemination of ideologies it also provides a space for recruiting more subjects.

This can also be associated with influence; the rituals and practices allow the research to have a vague interpretation of how many individuals have been influenced by these ideologies. From the posted tweets by political personalities Twitter users have engaged with the tweets and this is demonstrated by the number of likes, retweets, quoted retweets and comments they provide an indication of how many individuals were influenced by the tweets. The act of Liking a tweet indicates that you agree with the statement therefore you indicate by Liking the tweet. Essentially, the tweets posted by the political personalities on the platform have influenced certain individuals' view of race and this is demonstrated in the number of Likes that the tweet receives. However, language and framing played an important role in the process of hailing and interpellation as the tweet has to be framed in such a manner that it reaches the target.

Both Julius Malema and Helen Zille framed their tweets in nuanced ways that communicate their racial ideology, furthermore, they also made use of certain words that might trigger certain emotions in their readers. How they referred to race was not vague and they distinctively would use current racial classifications to speak about a certain race. When they communicated about black people they would specifically speak about black people and this did not include the coloured and Indian communities. Therefore, this can indicate that when they spoke about race it was intentional. Furthermore, they would also make use of words rooted within a particular historical context to communicate about race. Julius Malema sang a song that has historical roots within the apartheid period and this song demonstrated his narrative of race that he was a subject of.

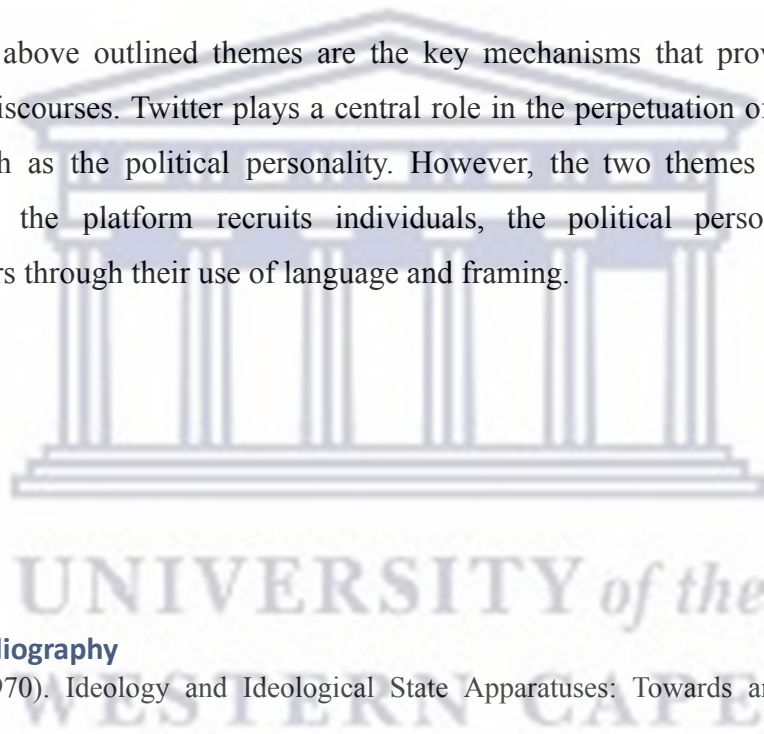
The research has highlighted key institutions that influenced their view of race thus enabling them to view race within these narratives. Helen Zille's view of race has been shaped by her experiences during apartheid she spoke against the harsh treatment imposed upon the black communities. However, in democratic South Africa, she views the black community as the perpetrators of racial injustice. She identifies white people as the victims of racism but they are not identified as victims because society invalidates their experience by identifying them as 'racist'. Moreover, her perception of race and racism has changed based on her experience in democratic South Africa. This also reflects the changed perceptions and experiences of race and racism in contemporary South Africa. The same institutions that established our understanding of race may still influence how we understand race. Democracy provided new ways of understanding race but it does not mean that the racialisation has stopped. It still takes place in varied forms that are unique to the new South Africa. Additionally, her views of race are not tightly held to the institutions that she was exposed to in her early childhood or during apartheid, her views of race and racism have transitioned based on the institutions she is exposed to in contemporary South Africa. Essentially, the tweets by Helen Zille communicate how black people can also be racist in addition to how white people can also be victims of racism. Therefore, this indicates that those who have been previously marginalised cannot be excused from being racist.

This is contrasted by Julius Malema's perception of race and racism, as he still carries the same views of race that he was influenced by in his early childhood. The way he communicates in his tweets is rooted in his experiences of race during the apartheid period. This is evident in the song he chose to make reference to 'Dubula Ibhunu' which has a

historical context within the apartheid period. Moreover, his view of race is still influenced by the institutions that he was exposed to and he communicates within this narrative.

Their race consciousness reflects how they communicate about race based on the institutions that they have been influenced by. Therefore, the tweets provided by the research provides an outline of how they are also subjects of certain institutions and they also communicate within these ideological experiences. Their views are subjected to change, based on the intuitions that they have been exposed to and also on their immediate experiences. This also reflects that ideology can change in order to reflect the current atmosphere. Additionally, ideology can also be rooted in historical contexts which is thus reproduced in society.

Essentially, the above outlined themes are the key mechanisms that provide a conducive space for race discourses. Twitter plays a central role in the perpetuation of the racialisation process as much as the political personality. However, the two themes have to work in conjunction, as the platform recruits individuals, the political personality hails and interpellates users through their use of language and framing.



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← Tweet

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SANEF @SAEditorsForum · 24 Nov 18
SANEF agreed at its meeting to urgently seek a meeting with the leadership of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF). This follows threats made mainly to female journalists, by EFF leader Julius Malema and other EFF leaders on social media and at various political rallies.

82 68 45



Julius Sello Malema ✓
@Julius_S_Malema

Replying to @SAEditorsForum

I'm prepared to meet you on condition you don't bring racist things like this white young boy called @AdriaanBasson
20:56 · 24 Nov 18 · Twitter for iPhone

56 Retweets 8 Quote Tweets 135 Likes

UNIVERSITY of the
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← Tweet



Helen Zille ✓
@helenzille

This is the most disgusting Tweet, below. If anyone else (let alone a white person) had posted anything as outrageously racist, they would be banned from Twitter for life. I wait patiently to see what will happen to Dudu Zuma-Sambudla.

Dudu Zuma-Sambudla @DZumaSambudla · 03 Jul
Indeed...



11:46 · 03 Jul 22 · TweetDeck

Tweet your reply



Zues @Zuesworldwide · 03 Jul
Replying to @helenzille and @VuyiFebruarie
Helen you know very well rasicim is a system not insults you still think Africans are stupid and that's rasict

2 2 13



Helen Zille ✓ @helenzille · 03 Jul
It is both. The racist system in SA discriminates against minorities. There are over 100 laws in SA that actively discriminate against white South Africans and (to a lesser extent) other minorities. So the system is geared to discriminate against minorities. Racism, straight!

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