Abnormal Becoming Normal; Decolonizing South African Electorates

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Abstract: There is a common electoral sentiment amongst the majority black South Africans that voting for the right [ANC] political party is a vote for total freedom while restraining a return of the proverbial Egyptian experience. The concept of decolonizing the mind is a complex phenomenon. Decolonization is a term used when referring to the undoing of oppression/colonialism, where a nation had established and maintained its domination over dependent territories. Colonialism is therefore a model of imperialism, understood as the domination involving the oppression of one people by another. South Africa had a vibrant liberation organisations championed by the ANC as a means to politically decolonize South African electorates. However, the minds of the people that have hitherto been politically colonized seem to have been moulded by the political elites to accept and propagate the ideas of the liberation organisations. Thus eroding the honour of having a free mind to choose which political idea is the most appropriate. Using public opinion measures to evaluate the relationship between different measures of direct political participation and why the electorates vote for a particular party, this study explains the prevailing existence of politically colonized South Africa society from the stand point of Ngugi wa Thiong'o's work; "Decolonizing the mind; the politics of language in African literature." This study discovered that the ballot from the standpoint of South African electorates does not promote de-colonialism, but rather prevent a return to the old proverbial Egyptian experience by default. Covertly, and by choice; this abnormal situation has made the South African electorates to think that division is more important than their unity. Decolonizing the mind is therefore central to recognizing and striving for unity while aiming for inclusive socio-economic policies that breeds inclusive development.

Keywords: democratic; economic liberation; electorates; ideology; representative

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1. Introduction

Fundamentally, everything that has gone wrong in post-independent Africa has been blamed on the legacies of colonialism. Is that fair? Did any good come out of the African colonial experience? (Khapoya, 2013, p. 99). Perhaps, the question can be redirected to suit the situation at hand thus; did anything good come out of South Africa's colonial experience? Will the black South Africans ever learn how to lead to accommodate "others" for the purpose of wholesome socio-political and economic development? [The ideology of others has been strongly entrenched into the sub-consciousness of South African in that when other races have been fully integrated into the South Africa's political system after the fall of apartheid; they are still considered as agents of colonialism and symbol of oppression and thus not accepted as full South Africans]. Has loosing political control of South Africa to the black majority thought the white minority the lesson that loosing political control can be an avenue to engineer constructive economic interconnection that will facilitate economic liberation of the majority blacks? These are some of the questions that come to mind when considering decolonization processes in South Africa.

Within the South African political context, there were two but lengthy stages of democratic learning process for the white minority who apparently lost and for the majority blacks in South Africa who ostensibly won. The first period according to Handley, Murray and Simeon (2008, p. 338) covers the period from the acceptance by the National Party (NP) and the apartheid regime that change was inevitable, to the subsequent negotiations that eventually led to the agreed constitutional settlement of 1993, to the first democratic elections in 1994, after a long turbulent period of the obnoxious apartheid system which consolidated the passage of the final constitution in 1996.

South Africa was colonized by the English and Dutch in the 17th century with socio-political and economic arrangement of steady partition presented in 1910 (Harris, 2002). This arrangement overtly, made black South Africans feel both powerless and isolated when it comes to political decision making. But with the attainment of a democratic status in 1994 everyone is constitutionally regarded as equal. Although still very young democratically, compare to states with long history of democracy. The US for example has had over 200 years of democratic experience compare to South Africa's close twenty-five years. Notwithstanding, South Africa has come a long way democratically.

But would the new arrangement work or would the colonizing political parties allow the arrangement to work in a racially and economically polarized South African society? This question brings us to the fact that after the transition to democratic system the losing side – apparently the white minority – will form the bulk of the opposition party which is legitimate in every "progressive" democracy.

Characteristically, South Africa is a highly divided and unequal society in terms of race and economic strength. South Africa comprises of whites (7.8%), coloured (8.8%), Indians/Asian (2.5%) and the majority blacks (80.9%), from where it derives the compliment "Rainbow nation". South Africa is also characterised by income (economic) inequality where close to 17 million of it's approximately 57. 73 million STATS SA (2018), people depends on meagre social grants, hence their vulnerability to manipulation by the political class. In essence the South African black majority [low income earners] are likely powerless and sometimes may be completely isolated when it comes to political decision making. Quoted by Jan Gerber of news 24, Mmusi Maimane the leader of the Democratic Alliance (DA) further explains that South Africa's history was one of the division, between white and black, rich and poor, and ownership and dispossession (news 24, 2019), where some are considered to be insiders and some outsiders, with the outsiders laden with continuous struggle, unemployment and poor education system.

According to Teorell & Lindstedt (2010) there are three major electoral systems; the ballot structure which speaks to how electorates vote during election and what or which party/candidate they vote for; the district structure which speaks to the number of districts that are available as well as the number of seats per district and lastly, the electoral formula which explains how votes translates into parliamentary seats. The third system with reference to electoral system in South Africa, the electorates vote for the party of their choice and the party with the highest number of votes is allocated the highest number of seats in the parliament. By interpretation, South Africa employs a proportional representation system, a system that have since 1994 made the political class as well as political organisations cancerous to human development. In other words, the political class who ought to have used their position to decolonize the mind of average South Africans rather use the opportunity of their exalted political position to redefine the minds of South African to suit their political whims.

Although, an electoral system that intensify the ability of the electorates to hold political leaders personally accountable to political decisions somewhat generates an assembly of less representative and disproportional political leaders but free to

pursue unpopular policies, but a party-list system (as in South Africa) breaks the political link between individual representatives and the electorates, thus weakening the electorates' say in which individual represents them, but only generates a representative and proportional assembly (Norris, 1997). This system although widely acceptable in South Africa, has bottled the mind of South African electorates to believing that politics is a game of number and colour.

2. Methods

Using public opinion measures from the South African electorates, this work was able to evaluate the relationship between different measures of direct political participation and reason why the electorates vote for a particular party. Public opinion measure is most often determined through public opinion polls, in order to determine people's thoughts on particular matters. According to Brooker (nd: 1) public opinion methods can be classified into two; informal and formal. The informal include elections, letters from constituents, media coverage, and protest marches while formal methods, involve research designs and formal research methodologies; the formal methods are telephone surveys, focus groups, and content analysis. This work however used formal research methods, especially focus groups and content analysis. To address the research questions this work used questionnaires; a research model that allows for collection of information and analyse the data the information collected in order to ascertain convergence and differences of opinions as well as interpretation of our findings. Put in another way, in the real world of research, scholars find out about people's opinions in a variety of ways. To effectively address the research objectives, this research used 400 participants consisting of the four major groups (Blacks, Whites, Indian and the Coloured) that constitute South African populace.

The [South African] electorates may attempt to figure out why one person vote for a particular political party rather than another. Usually there are so many socio-economic factors that made it impossible to figure out the reason or reasons for such political action. As the case may be in South Africa, a political organisation may have won because the party is in touch with the voters and understands their socio-economic needs better than any other party. On the other hand, a party may have won because of the ethnic representation or the thought the electorates have towards other political party in terms of its historical past. Hence the adoption of this method

to ascertain the reason for supporting a particular political party vis-à-vis the voting pattern of the South African electorates.

3. Theoretical Explanation

In order to explain the prevailing existence of politically colonized South Africa society it is expedient that we explain it from the stand point of Ngugi wa Thiong'o's work; Decolonizing the mind; the politics of language in African literature. He remarks that "each child by birth, family or parent's occupation is brought up in a class. By education children are brought up in the culture, values and world outlook of the dominant class which may or may not be the same as the class of their birth and family. By choice they may opt for one or the other side in the class struggle of their day" (2006, p. 104).

By interpretation and in the light of the prevailing political state in South Africa, debatably; each South African is politically brought up in a [political] class. By virtue of their political education, they are brought up in the values of the dominant political class which obviously after some time may not speak to the way they are politically brought up. By choice, it means South Africans may decide to opt for either of the class struggle of their day.

In his work, *Frontier Society: A Social Analysis of the History of Suriname* Van Lier (1981) explains the importance of social relations in determining the choice of [political] life style which came as a result of the shared struggling of a group of people to attain certain objectives, and in doing so, to a mentality which was connected with certain given situations. Mentally, South African electorates seem to have entered into a social relation whereby the former liberation organisation has used its position to turn things around in their favour to the detriment of the interest of the larger population.

Conceptually, and in relation to South Africa's struggle for political relevance during apartheid era, one can explain shared struggle from the point that South Africans owing to their precarious political environment and loss of trust in the apartheid government opted for a political struggle that placed value on their freedom; what Van Lier (1981) called border-line situation. Hira (2012, p. 54) explains border-line situation as tensions between social groups without recourse to oppression and exploitation, both groups are set on an equal footing and the actions and interactions

between these groups can be explained by their continuous adjustment to the borderline situation.

South Africa is such a country with a peculiar colonial history. The existence of unequal accessibility to political relevance presents scholars a question with very concrete policy implications. What sort of laws and institutional arrangements can help promote a more equal and free society where citizens vote without consideration for the past socio-economic and political experience? The result of which is unequal political influence which exclusively determines the relationship between citizens' stated political preferences and their voting behaviour of elected officials (Bartels, 2008) or the aggregated policy decisions made by [government] the ruling party (Gilens, 2012).

To date, there is a dearth of study that has directly evaluated the relationship between voting and decolonizing the mind of South African black majority. This shortcoming in our understanding is rather unfortunate given that voting with free mind could potentially be an important instrument for ensuring that citizens' opinions are more equally represented in the political arena. It then means that when it comes to the linkage between citizens and their voting pattern, South Africans exhibits signs of an unequal democratic society.

From a theoretical standpoint, it is expected that South African electorates will differ in their political priorities, debatably; this is somewhat based on citizens' level of income which defines different material circumstances and, therefore, different interests in regard to how they respond to the interests of political organisations in the polity. Flavin and Franko (2017, p. 4) explains that whereas in a wealthy household there is likely little concern about day-to-day survival and purchasing basic consumer goods, this can become a persisting and daily anxiety for people further down the nation's [South Africa's] income distribution. Consequently, people with lower incomes are vulnerable to manipulation. In essence different life experiences between the affluent and the poor are likely going to shape how they perceive the political intent of a particular party and by default support such.

There are 29 political parties in South Africa but with African National Congress (ANC), Democratic Alliance (DA) and Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) as the three major political parties with ANC on top and with their policy messages and mobilization efforts targeted at demographic characteristics like races (Black, White, Coloured and Indian). There is probability that traditionally; ANC will receive greater support among blacks that constitute the larger population of citizens with

lower incomes and with the mentality that ANC is a liberation organisation notwithstanding its performance in governance, while more politically educated individuals who want change will rather support other parties.

By implication the parties do what we would expect vote-maximizing agents to do by identifying this pre-existing support and targeting their electoral messages accordingly. These targeted efforts by political parties may therefore serve as pedestal to further reinforce and exacerbate differences in the voting behaviour of people across income groups.

Several liberation organisations no doubt existed in South Africa during the apartheid era with ANC championing the course of the black majority. One socio-economic factor that has always shape South Africa political environment as well as determine the voting pattern of the electorates is inequality. There is probability that political inequality may be associated with economic inequality base on the fact that collective choices somehow reflect the wishes and interests of a particular group of the polity. Theoretically, in South Africa after the demise of the apartheid system, one would expect political inequality to lead to economic inequality (as those with political power will be able to amass and exercise greater economic power).

Lawrence (2015, p. 5) remarks that political inequality exists where, despite a procedurally equal democratic process with universal suffrage and regular elections, certain groups, classes or individuals have greater influence over and participate more in political decision-making processes, with policy outcomes systematically weighted in their favour. Political inequality therefore undermines the ideal of democracy where all citizens regardless of their socio-economic status, is given equal opportunity to influence collective political decision-making.

Within the South Africa context, democratic governance appears unsympathetic to the interests of the majority, where those with fewer political resources are subjected to systematic exclusion from political power, while being highly responsive to the needs of powerful but often half-heartedly accountable individuals, groups or organisations. Political inequality is not unique to South Africa nor is it a new phenomenon. Nevertheless, there are specific features of South Africa's national political system that amplify the scale of political inequality.

Although the traditional electoral system allows all eligible South Africans to vote therefore determining which political organisation forms the national government but this has not taken away the fact that the South African electorates has not since 1994 voted with the mind that there are other, and perhaps; better alternatives in

other political organisations. By implication the South Africa's electoral system is geared towards rewarding race concentration of support over socio-political and economic excellence.

Granting the fact that the black majority after 1994 are those with the political power but ironically the black majority who controls the political power is laden with very high degree of inequality economically, which is why several political organisations has been able to bottled the mind of the black majority.

This brings us to the conception that competitive election, though becoming alive in South Africa with the arrival of EFF and DA's vociferous engagement of the ruling party on the floor of the Parliament, is still not strong where average black South African believes that a vote for the DA in particular is a vote for a return to apartheid system. According to Zhang (2017, p. 2) competitive election can produce a policy connection, usually as reflected in significant agreement between citizens and elected leaders or governing parties on specific issues or general ideological dimension. Unfortunately, this [political] connection has been offered for total destruction on the slaughter slab of hatred for a particular race due to their historical antecedent.

From Zhang (2017) direct election can generate political representation and accountability; this is however based on the premise that the elections are free and competitive. But where elections are institutionally and psychologically controlled, the results will only reflect the collaboration of the ruling party and the unsuspecting innocent electorates; an abnormal situation which has for long became normal without people noticing it. What this translates to mean is that if the South African electorates must move forward in determining the right party/person for political offices; they have to be psychologically decolonized.

Historically, there are varieties of forms of historic and contemporary interaction between different peoples which have been described as colonial or neo-colonial in character, a form of relation featuring inequality of power between different international parties.

4. Colonialism and Decolonization within the Context of South Africa Explained

Colonialism refers to a particular model of political organisation, typified by settler and exploitation of colonies, an instance of imperialism, understood as the

domination involving the oppression of one people by another. According to Horvath (1972, p. 47) generally, if not universal, it is agreed that colonialism is a form of control by individuals or groups over the territory and/or behaviour of other individuals or groups. This domination writes, Butt (2013) has taken varied institutional forms, but in general has involved the denial of self-determination, and the imposition of rule rooted in a separate political jurisdiction.

Although, colonialism attempt to impose the colonial power's culture and customs onto the colonized thus making the colonized to belief in the racial and cultural superiority of the colonizing power as well as exploiting the colonized territories. Nevertheless, the imposition and denial of self-determination of the colonized has in no way bottled their mind and hence their antipathy for the colonizers and their ideologies even after independence. This is the situation in South Africa political setting. The adoption of inclusive democratic governance after the demise of apartheid in 1994 in South Africa has not till date taken away the majority black's resentment for their former "oppressor".

Practically, decolonization is the undoing of colonialism, where a nation establishes and maintains its domination over dependent territories. To Evans and Newnham (1998, pp. 115-116) this process culminated in the movement towards independence with the principal states involved in decolonization located in Europe. The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English (2015, p. 387) defines decolonization as the process of a colony or colonies becoming independent. By interpretation, it means the withdrawal of a colonial power from its colonies and thus sanctioning the acquisition of political or economic independence by such colonies. Conversely, decolonization not only refers to the comprehensive removal of the dominance of foreign powers within the geographical space and different institutions of the colonized states, but it also refers to the decolonizing of the mind from the coloniser's ideas. Within the context of this work, who are the colonisers? South Africa from all standard is an independent state but the majority are seen as been colonized ideologically and inferior in their political thinking.

Debatably, some political organisations appear to be as good as the enemy of human and ideological development. Thus making the colonizing political organisations undoubtedly enemies of freedom of choice and had established a political control mechanism, where the instrument of "liberation and economic freedom" is used to politically brainwashed the unsuspecting electorates who now believes that voting for the opposition is a vote for political slavery.

In most part of Africa, during the colonial era, the fight for Political freedom led to the formation of liberation organisations. South Africa in particular had vibrant liberation organisations championed by the ANC who launched the fight for black South African political relevance as a means to politically and economically decolonize South African electorates. Debatably, the minds of the people that have hitherto been politically colonized have been moulded by the political leaders to accept and propagate the ideas of the liberation organisations. These ideas till date still exist and have eroded the honour of having a free mind to choosing which political idea is the most appropriate.

In his presentation, Hira (2012, p. 63) argues that decolonizing the mind means removing the political mechanisms that have been used to imprint the concept in the mind of people and finding ways to remove it from their consciousness. For example, language; in South Africa's socio-political and economic language, colour (White and Black) is linked to norms and values. The colour white is linked to evil, oppression, segregation, deprivation of economic and political rights and other negative implications. In this way, the ideals of the oppressor white became the aspiration of the oppressed black where the former oppressed black will do everything within their political power to keep them at bay.

Contrariwise, the colour black (Africans) is linked to freedom from the former oppressors and other political goodies. By interpretation, when we talk about oppression and other economic deprivations it is linked to the white minority, therefore the colonize mind would view whites as bad without having to consider what the majority black electorates are going through under black [political] leaders. Decolonizing the mind therefore, connotes alienating the noticeable link between colour and the judgement about good and bad Hira (2012, p. 63). It is a means of moving towards a political level where South African electorates are allowed to make their choice. Hence the word of Verba (2003) that the foundation principles in any democratic governance is the equal respect for the preferences and interests of all citizens.

The impact of colonization [apartheid] on South Africans perhaps is the most important factor in understanding the present psychological condition of South Africans. A close scrutiny of the phenomenon therefore is necessary to appreciate the degree to which it influenced voting and appreciation South Africa's political system.

5. Does the Ballot Promote De-Colonialism?

In a democratic system where decisions on some political issues are taking through the ballot; those who feel stronger about such political issue will probably participate actively in the voting procedure and possibly more forcefully, and those who are apathetic about the issue will not bother to take part in the ballot to express their views. Hence, the argument by Sadurskit (2008, p. 42) that when the electorates vote each vote counts equally, without regard to the motives for voting and thus to the intensity of preferences behind the vote, is correct but only as a shorthand for something much more complex which in fact does recognize unequal passions of preferences.

In South Africa, people [black majority] rarely vote for whites dominated political party, although there was a shift in 2016 local government election where the DA won in many black dominated areas. In such circumstances, for a number of reasons (ignorance as to how others will vote, high political risk involved in collaboration on making strategic alliances, secrecy of the ballot making it impossible to verify the performance of the commitments undertaken previously) people are unable to engage in political processes where unequal political passions can be acknowledged.

One may as well argue that there is no question that few [South] Africans that had the opportunity took to education, with schools often racially designated; the little education they got opened their minds and provided them with intellectual skills they never had before (Khapoya, 2013). However, their political mind remained bottled arguably, due to the fact that colonial education alienated Africans from their own culture as well as undermined the traditional authority. In South Africa, the introduction of apartheid system, where hospitals and bathrooms in public buildings, transportation, were racially designated, as well as residences with Africans confined in African locations with conspicuously crowded and inferior housing (Khapoya 2013, p. 107) has significantly reinforced the development of a national political consciousness in South Africa where Africans were denied the opportunity to have meaningful political participation.

Debatably and from the words of Hira (2012) colonialism were meant to set Africans free from their barbarism; an idea that flooded every sector of the colonized society. It therefore means that decolonizing the mind means rooting out the mechanisms that were used to imprint the concept of colonialism in the mind of Africans. As explained above and for example, colour in African language is often associated with norms and values where colour white is associated with good and black with bad and

negativity. The colonised mind would therefore view black as bad and white as good, a link that must be broken by all means.

From the foregoing the blacks have learnt to see and think of themselves in the light of negativity and the whites believing that they are the best and that every positive idea can always come from them and that there is always something inferior and wrong with blacks. Therefore, to decolonize the mind necessitates rooting out self-humiliation of blacks and self-glorification of whites (Hira, 2012, p. 64)

During the colonial era, the colonialist used the policy of divide and rule to extricate Africans from their traditional political system and subsequently taught Africans to concentrate on those things that divide them rather than what unites them. Till date this policy still exists in almost every Africa political system where people from the same socio-political and economic background are covertly taught that division is more important than their unity. By implication, decolonizing the mind means recognising and striving for unity with other people irrespective of their colour; who live in similar socio-political and economic conditions.

Debatably, during the period of colonialism in Africa and in particular in the era of apartheid in South Africa, Africans played a very important role in establishing the system. Hira (2012) argues that any major [political and economic] system of oppression must rely on the cooperation of segments of the group that is been oppressed and exploited. Therefore, it is not possible to establish an exploitative system without the cooperation of some of the natives. Thus decolonizing the mind means identifying and knowing how to dislodge the political elements encouraging the expansion of systemic colonization of the mind of Africans.

Practically, in South Africa when a particular leader is criticised or voted against, those that critique or voted against the leader becomes the enemy of the state or may not get the desired job or tender. It therefore means that decolonizing the mind means motivating everyone to engage in fundamental and constructive critique of chauvinistic and oppressive leader and if need be vote against such leader without any form of prejudice. Hence the question does the ballot promote de-colonialism?

There is a common electoral sentiment that has long been held by the majority black South Africans that voting for the right [ANC] political party is a vote for total freedom and improvement in the turnaround in service delivery while ensuring that the opposition is kept at bay to prevent a return to the proverbial Egyptian experience.

This study used public opinion measures from 400 South African electorates; ages 20 to 65 of the four major races (100 Blacks, 100 Whites, 100 Indians and 100 Coloured). Each participant responded to five questions that eventually revealed that some South Africans still believe in the return to the *old Egyptian experience* should the perceived common enemy is voted into power.

In response to the questions whether they are member of any political party, 82% of Indians interviewed are members of the ANC while 18% belongs to EFF. In response to the same question, 90% of the Coloured are members of Freedom Front Plus (FFP) and 10% are members of ANC. On the part of the Whites respondents 77% are members of the DA, FFP 12% and 11% ANC. Of the 100 black respondents, 82% are members of the ANC, 12% EFF and the DA 6%.

While answering question on whether they have ever voted for the DA or not; 24% of the Indians answered in affirmative with 76% answering no. Also 80% of the Coloured answered no with 10% of them claiming that they had at one time or the other voted for the ANC and the remaining 10% saying they can never vote for the EFF. On the part of the Whites 68% claimed to have voted for the DA and 24% for the ANC while the remaining 8% stood by the FFP. Responding to this question, 88% of the Blacks claimed that they can never vote for the DA instead they will stand by the ANC because it is a liberation party. Notwithstanding, 3% of the Blacks maintain their stand that they believe in the DA while the remaining 9% goes for the EFF.

On the question of whether South Africa would revert to apartheid system should the DA wins the election; 72% of Indians answered no while the remaining 28% were apathetic to the question. Also 82% of the Coloured remain resolute that such can never happen again while the remaining 18% were indifferent to the question. Contrary to the opinion of the populace, only a handful of 6% of the Whites were very cold in their response to the question, while an overwhelming 94% believe South Africa cannot revert to apartheid again. Shockingly, 91% of the Blacks still believe South Africa would revert to apartheid should the DA wins the election while the remaining 9% answered no.

Answering question on which political party in South Africa would mostly represent the interest of the Black South Africans, 66% of Indians stood by the ANC while 24% preferred the DA and 10% for the EFF. On the same question, 58% of the Coloured favoured the ANC with 36% for the EFF and the remaining 6% went for

the DA. However, there is a twist in that the Whites gave the ANC 50% and the DA 50%. But the Blacks favoured the ANC with 91%, EFF 7% and the DA 2%.

If colonialism were meant to root out barbarism in Africa it means decolonization of the mind is tantamount to rooting out the mechanisms that imprint the concept in the mind of Africans. Democracy for example is one of the legacies of colonialism contrary to the aims and objectives of democracy; it has always been seen as an avenue to keep the old political and economic wolves that are now in sheep clothing at bay. To average black South African this is a normal situation where they are ready to take physical action if need be to prevent them from leading a normal life in the Republic; contrariwise this has deprived Africans of what they would have gained from the Whites minority apart from the fact that they have forgotten that South Africa is still living on the socio-economic foundation laid by the so called "enemies" thus equating abnormality to normality.

By interpretation, the blacks have come to see and think of themselves in the light of positivity and the whites as negative believing that the whites notwithstanding how good their socio-political and economic plans might be, the best and every positive idea can always come from the blacks and that there is always something wrong with whites ideas. Hence, to decolonize the minds of the former colonized and their colonizer, it necessitates rooting out *self-glorification* of the blacks while the whites must also root out the pride of *after all we know better*.

The argument that the colonialist used the policy of divide and rule to disconnect Africans from what unites them but rather concentrate on those things that divide them is evidently present in South Africa's polity. From the result of the survey close to 70% of people interviewed belongs to one political party or the other while 76% of the same people maintained that they can never vote for the DA. Fundamentally, one would expect that it is not possible for South Africa to revert to apartheid system should DA comes to power; unfortunately, people still believe it can happen. Of the 400 people interviewed 338 people (85%) believes it can never happen again; although a larger percentage of black South African interviewed believed South Africa will revert to the old apartheid system should the DA come to power, hence their determination never to vote for the DA and ironically, 94% of the whites South African interviewed said no. This is not to deny the fact that some whites South African are bent on holding on to the erroneous believe that they are better than the blacks in all ramifications.

The argument is that the division of the past still exists in the polity where people from the same socio-political and economic background are covertly taught that minding your own "business" is more important than their unity. This confirms one of the interviewee statements thus; *"let the blacks work for the blacks and let the whites work for their white counterpart, the same goes for the Indians and the Coloured and I have instructed my children never to see the whites as friends rather as impostors who are only after our land and its resources"*. What this interprets to mean is that decolonizing the mind means admitting that unity in South Africa is superficial and that striving for unity with other people not minding their races is an end to having inclusive governance and socio-political and economic progress.

From the answers provided by the interviewee, this study discovered that there is a misconception of the belief that nothing good can ever come from a white dominated political party. While the majority (91%) of the blacks favoured the ANC as the party that mostly represent the socio-economic interest of the blacks holding on to the idea that the ANC is a liberation party and only the ANC can take South Africa to the proverbial promised land. Contrary to this opinion the whites gave the ANC 50% and the DA 50%, which further echoed the words of Mogoeng Mogoeng, Chief Justice of South Africa that despite South Africa's past, "because". South Africa is able to agree on the constitutional dispensation that now exist there is nothing good that South Africa cannot achieve. But it requires unity (News 24.com). It is therefore abnormal to think that only one political party can safely take South Africa to its promised land. Decolonizing the mind consequently is a call to jettison divisions and emotions where all South Africans regardless of colour are regarded as one.

6. What Next?

Driven by a pervasive social media phenomenon, power dynamics and ability to appeal to the mind of the people by the political parties sometimes determine the action or support each party will get from the electorates. That South Africa is a racially divided society is no longer new; a deep sense of which explain the painful past experience by South Africans and most importantly the black majority. A situation that have made the colonized blacks never to see anything good in their former colonizers, a situation that has bottled the mind of average black South African therefore depriving them of the necessity for a united South Africa, a situation that has made the intellects never to think of mind decolonization and move towards a level where the intellectuals from the former colonial master and those

from the colonized are invited to choose whether they believe in decolonizing the mind of the colonized while educating the mind of the colonizer.

Hence, the statement that responsible political leaders [in South Africa] must fully come to the realization that colonizing the mind of the masses such as it is; they will have to allow themselves to be guided by strong feelings of responsibility when making political propaganda, and that too free a manipulation of the anger of the masses in order to gain certain political ends carries with it grave dangers for the whole of society, not least of all for the masses themselves (Van Lier, 1971, p. 376). By implication, Political leaders regardless of colour and creed will have to educate the electorates to channel their political energies to democratically embrace synchronicity, the political value upon which inclusive development rest. Fundamentally, Political leaders in South Africa need to inculcate in people self-confidence and instil in them the culture of mind development thus enabling them to form independent judgments in political matters.

Fundamental to the consolidation of democratic governance in the new South Africa is to acknowledge that some will have to learn to lose, peacefully accepting the transfer of power and agreeing to participate according to the new [democratic] rules of the game. In the same way, it is very significant for the newly empowered forces to learn to win, that the losers would not be politically excluded from inclusive governance, and that the winner accepts the legitimacy of democratic opposition (Handley, Murray & Simeon, 2008).

From the above it can be deduced that decolonizing the mind of South African electorates is subject to the political skill of the leaders. The idea of colonizing the mind for political manipulation; voting for or against a particular party owing to its historical relevance, to some South Africans it's like going out of one's mind. Therefore, it is the responsibility of a responsible political leader to impact in the electorates a sense of political direction and responsibility that see the need for unity that will take South Africa to where colour or political past does not matter. Debatably, a leader that mobilizes one section of South African populace against the other is seen to be manipulating them for the political end of which he does not approve.

Decolonizing the mind of South Africans, debatably; is a means to achieving a free society where everyone sees one another regardless of race as one. Perhaps a change in the voting pattern of South Africans may be the political clue to decolonizing South African electorates. Evidently, in the 2016 local government elections ANC

lost the control of the country's capital and a metro named after late Nelson Mandela (ANC most famous son) to the DA, with the help of the EFF and other smaller parties (Adetiba, 2017, p. 69).

Fundamental to South Africa's political liberation in the 21st century system is the voting pattern that transcends race or historical past. Obviously, racism remains a key challenge to the consolidation of democratic sustainability in the country. Understandably, the South African population is extremely divided regarding the party they intend voting for, what they think the party stands for hence, the contention that black voters will always vote for parties led by their fellow black man/woman and would adequately represent their socio-political and economic interest, the same goes for the white voters (Adetiba, 2017).

By implication, identity politics since 1994 has been a powerful political force in South Africa. From the above survey, 88% of black voters believe that a vote for a black led political party; ANC in particular is a vote for freedom from social-political and economic oppression. The DA though with a black leader, arguably, has its support base from the white's voters, with whites making up 68% of the party's support base with a handful of 24% for the ANC while the remaining 8% stood by the FFP.

Notwithstanding the electoral support enjoyed by the DA in 2014 general election and 2016 local government election, breaking the identity constructs between black South Africans and the ANC would be a herculean task for a political party like the DA and the EFF not minding what they stand for, hence, the need to decolonize the minds of South African electorates. From the above analysis one can deduce that most South Africans consider the DA complicit in the country's racist past. According to Adetiba (2017, p. 71), to most black South African voters, the DA is an emblem of white privilege. They see the DA's platform of non-racialism as suspicious and electioneering gimmicks.

In every democratic society big or small the official opposition political party is democratically, an alternative government in waiting a situation that makes demands on both the ruling and the opposition party. The government representing the majority is therefore expected to accept the legitimacy and the importance of the minority in the system and that the opposition party, particularly the whites led party are not out to undermine and eventually revert the country to the old apartheid system as some people think. Debatably, the losers one would argue must come to the reality that the newly empowered political forces (the majority blacks) have the political

right to democratically use its majority to lead the state. Learning to accept these relationships is what Handley, Murray and Simeon (2008, p. 339) referred to as "learning to win and learning to lose".

In the past 24 years of South Africa's democratic experience, as social partners (Blacks, Whites, Coloured and Indians) South African seems to have cast aspersions on individual races, thus making the provision of social services and amenities challenging while shifting the blame on apartheid that is long dead. If the developmental goals of South Africa must be realized political parties must be willing to decolonize the mind of the people through a selfless search for the political virtue that would decolonize the mind of the populace. The assumption here is that political parties are inevitably vehicles for the pursuit of decolonization in a free and democratic society.

In the aftermath of long-drawn-out struggle and fundamental regime change, with visible legacies of hostility and distrust, to earn mutual trust and respect amongst the South African Whites and their Black counterpart would be difficult which is why the white minority is still struggling to find a constructively critical role to play in the new South Africa after close to 25 years of "inclusive democratic governance"; where both the newly empowered and the supposed loser's support is grounded upon distinctive groups, and each side accusing the other of racially motivated socio-political and economic opinions and actions, hence the need for mind decolonization in South Africa.

One fact that needed to be emphasized in this argument is the issue of poverty and economic marginalization. While the masses are riding on the horse of the ANC that it's the only political organisation that can take them to the promise land, the ANC is at the same time riding on the horse of been a liberation political organisation with a black face, thus benefiting massively from its historic role in the struggle against apartheid but failing to address the lack of service delivery and economic deprivation of the poverty stricken people of South Africa.

This brings us to the conclusion that it is of vital importance to institutionalized fight against political colonization which have already been the precipitating factors in believing that South Africa can never be freed from the obnoxious apartheid system and the reason why people based on the above analysis; believed that South Africa can revert to apartheid should a political party like the DA wins the election in South Africa.

An anti-political colonialism strategy based on civil society's exertion and Non-Governmental Organisation could be created for a proper connection between the people and democratic institutions centred on the electorates as fundamental to the connection. Necessity is therefore laid on every political party big or small as well as none state actors to ensure that peoples mind is decolonized if the aspiration of having a developed and sustainable democratic political institution must be achieved.

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