

Combating Xenophobia through Music: An Analysis of Mthandeni's Xenophobia

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ABSTRACT

The paper analyses how Maskandi musician, Mthandeni, uses song to spread the message against xenophobia in the South African society. The paper discusses some of the causes of xenophobia and xenophobic violence and provides possible solutions to these challenges. The paper identifies negative name-calling as one of the roots of xenophobic attitudes and violence. The paper also discusses the South African government's response to xenophobic violence and the impact of xenophobic violence on South Africa's diplomatic efforts on the African continent. The role of traditional leadership in the fight against xenophobia and xenophobic violence in South Africa is also analysed.

KEYWORDS: Xenophobia, South Africa, song, diplomacy, traditional leadership

Introduction

Music plays an important if not a central role in the conduct of political communication in African and other cultures. Music is used as a tool to communicate messages about love, tradition, war, politics, peace, climate change, and human rights. In addition to these topics, "song and drama are known to carry satirical language, direct and indirect speech acts that attack and deride uncomely behaviour such as excessive drunkenness, wife beating, corruption, domineering attitude, greediness, selfishness, bad governance, mistreatment of kin and promiscuity" (Rwafa, 2010: 107). Music is also used as an avenue to air those views which are generally excluded from mainstream media (Benyera, 2015). In the South African context, music has been used to mediate conflicts among different groups or/and individuals.

Song is used by artists and political actors to communicate their ideas or to rally support for their causes. The former President of the Republic of South Africa, Jacob Gedleyihlekisa Zuma is one

of the politicians in South Africa who is famous for his skill of using song to achieve multiple objectives. He is considered in the public arena as a politician who knows how to manipulate song effectively as a tool of political communication. One of the songs he is famous for is '*Umshini wami*' which means 'my machine'. The song has different meanings for different people. It can be understood in the context of the armed struggle of the Umkhonto weSizwe (MK). By demanding that he be given his machine, the song promotes the values of bravery in the armed struggle. During the armed struggle, those who were against the use of arms to liberate South Africa were considered to be cowards. Therefore, by demanding that he be given his machine, he shows that he does not belong in the ranks of the cowards. The song can also be interpreted to refer to the epic battle between former President Jacob Gedleyihlekisa Zuma and former President Thabo Mbeki in the early to late 2000s. President Zuma sang the song during his long battle to clear his name which he and his supporters believed was unfairly tarnished. The 'machine' in this interpretation means the Presidency of the Republic.

Another song that the former President of the Republic of South Africa used is '*Inde Lendlela*' which means 'the road is long'. The song talks about the long way to freedom from colonization. It is a song that is intended to give courage and hope to those who are engaged in the struggle for the liberation of South Africa from all manners of colonialism. It is an appreciation of the fact that the struggle for liberation cannot be won overnight, and that it is a process that has many victories and many disappointments. It is a song that gives liberation fighters and general members of society the courage and strength to carry on no matter what opposition they may face.

In Maskandi music, legends such as Mfaz'Omnyama have also used song to communicate political messages. In his song '*Kukhona ukuzovela*' which means 'something will be revealed', he laments the policies of the administration of former President Thabo Mbeki. He decries the policies that were implemented by the Mbeki administration which he thinks gave women power over men. He believes that the former President Thabo Mbeki, through his policies of gender equality were giving women too much power over the man who is traditionally the head of the household. In the song, he takes the political stance against his being forced to follow the rules of his wife's religion of choice. In this specific case, he contests the fact that he must not drink coffee on the Sabbath because his wife has converted to the Nazareth Baptist Church which forbids the use of fire on the

Sabbath. In his song, he blames Thabo Mbeki's policies for the conditions that he has to live under in his own home.

Another Maskandi legend, Mzikayifani Buthelezi, decries violence in the community in his song "Udlame" which means 'violence'. He laments the people who are the perpetrators of violence in the community. He argues that violence is caused by the stubbornness of those who believe themselves to be philosopher kings who know everything. Through his music, he urges people to be tolerant of different political views in order to achieve lasting peace.

This section has shown that song can be used as a tool to communicate multiple political messages. Song forms part of the long-established oral tradition of sharing knowledge. This section has shown that song can be used by politicians to rally support for their causes and by musicians to lament behaviours and policies which are perceived as destructive to society.

Thus, music is one of the methods of political communication that is employed in South Africa and in the rest of the African continent. Allen (2004) argues that music plays a crucial role in the African context because it is the most widely appreciated art form on the continent. According to Viviri (2015) and Osiebe (2017), music is a widely appreciated art form and has a special place in African political discourse. Mutemererwa, Chamisa and Chambwara (2013) studied the extent to which the national anthem of Zimbabwe reflects the true identity of the Zimbabwean society and found that although the national anthem reflects aspects of nationalism some aspects such as rhythm are inherited from foreign cultures. Musiyiwa (2008) showed how popular music was used in Zimbabwe to forge unity during and after the liberation struggle. This paper discusses how music is used in the South African context to combat xenophobia by analysing 'Xenophobia', a song by Maskandi musician, Mthandeni.

Xenophobia in South Africa

Xenophobia is a worldwide phenomenon that is caused by a myriad of factors (Tshishonga, 2015). Factors that give rise to xenophobia can range from political, economic, religious to cultural factors among others. Xenophobia is not distinctly African nor is it a phenomenon which affects South Africa alone. Thranhardt (1995) found that xenophobia has been used in countries such as England, France and Germany to achieve political goals. The decision by the current president of the United

States of America (USA), Donald J. Trump to sign executive order 13769, also known as the Muslim Ban, was considered by many in the United States and across the world as xenophobic. The same can be said about the signing of executive order 13767 which directed the building of a wall along the USA border with Mexico to keep illegal Mexican migrants out of the USA.

A number of studies have explored the causes of xenophobia in South Africa. They have pointed to a number of causes and presented different solutions to the problem of xenophobia. Ndlovu (2017) argues that one cannot understand xenophobic violence without understanding white supremacy in South Africa. He argues that the European colonisers branded native South Africans as essentially a violent nation while branding themselves as peaceful and civilised. The violence even gave Everatt (2011) the opportunity to use the word ‘savage’ to describe both the acts and the people committing the acts of xenophobic violence. Ndlovu (2017) further argues that a vast majority of native South Africans still continue to live under oppressive conditions, and this encourages a survival-of-the-fittest attitude which gives birth to violence. Essentially, he argues that if the native population was not living under oppressive conditions, there would be no xenophobic violence. This argument by Ndlovu has merit because a closer look at where xenophobic violence is likely to take place shows that it is mainly in low-income areas or poor neighbourhoods. It is very rare to hear of cases of xenophobic violence in the affluent parts of South Africa. However, this does not mean that foreign nationals who reside in affluent areas are not victims of xenophobic attitudes.

Akinola (2014) places the blame for xenophobic violence on the failure of post-1994 governments to deliver on their promises in areas such as health, education, employment and housing. Neocosmos (2008) also blames government discourse as a cause of xenophobic violence. He argues that government officials, parliamentarians and the police subscribe to the doctrine that South Africa is being invaded by illegal immigrants who are a threat to national stability. Matshinhe (2011:308), on the other hand, criticizes the government’s failure to take responsibility for the xenophobic violence. He laments what he sees as the government’s scapegoat the “third force” which seeks to tarnish the image of the country. Steenkamp (2009) argues that xenophobic violence is a symptom of a lack of trust between natives and Africans from other countries on the continent. Dzomonda, Tirivangasi and Masocha (2016) argue that entrepreneurship education can

be a solution to xenophobic violence, especially where xenophobic violence arises as a result of business competition.

South Africa has experienced a few episodes of violent xenophobia directed towards nationals from other African states. The most prominent of these episodes took place in May 2008 where more than 60 people lost their lives (Akinola, 2014). This violence was condemned by many stakeholders in South African society ranging from political leaders, traditional leaders, church leaders to leaders of civil society. While the causes of violent xenophobia are many and varied, it is usually attributed to crime, drugs, prostitution, fear, ignorance, economic competition and hate (Neocosmos, 2008). Some South African citizens accuse foreign nationals of committing heinous crimes in South Africa. They accuse foreign nationals of being some of the main culprits in car hijackings and robberies particularly in the big cities such as Johannesburg, Pretoria and EThekweni (Danso & McDonald, 2001). Others have responded to this charge by saying that ‘crime is crime’ whether it is committed by a South African or a foreigner. Therefore, they argue that violent action against foreign nationals is not justified. Others, particularly those who are concerned parents, have accused foreign nationals of operating brothels in the cities. They accuse foreign nationals of taking advantage of women who are having troubles in their lives by introducing them to drugs and recruiting them for the purposes of prostituting them.

Others have accused foreign nationals of unfair competition in the economic sphere (Gastrow, 2018). They argue that foreign-owned businesses are swallowing the businesses of locals through unfair business practices. They accuse foreign nationals of having unfairly low prices for purposes of wooing customers and killing local competition. To combat this, the government of South Africa has introduced permits for *spaza* shops¹. It is hoped that these permits will allow for better regulation of the industry and led to less animosity between local and foreign *spaza* shop operators. Others have attacked foreigners simply based on hate and criminality. There are those who do not like foreigners just because they are foreigners. They see foreigners as easy targets for crime. We have seen this in some parts of the country including in the capital, Pretoria, and Durban , where foreign-owned shops have been broken into and looted (Makhubu, 2014; Mngadi & Njoli, 2018). The looting of foreign-owned shops has left some shop owners destitute because the shops were

¹ Spaza Shops are shops that are found in the rural areas or townships which sell basic necessities such as bread, milk, groceries, airtime, and electricity.

the source of their livelihood. It has also created a lot of bitterness and mistrust in the communities where such events happened.

It is clear that the situation where the locals and foreign nationals do not get along is not sustainable for the stability and future of South Africa. It is also detrimental to South Africa's relations with other African nations. In the aftermath of the 2015 xenophobic violence which took place in some cities in KwaZulu-Natal and in Johannesburg, Mthandeni, who is one of the leading Maskandi musicians in the country composed a song titled '*Xenophobia*' urging Africans to stop killing each other. This paper analyses this song by Mthandeni as a tool for fighting against xenophobia and for encouraging brotherhood among the peoples of Africa. The song is reproduced below.

The Song

Singahlukana impela ngokwebala (we may be different in terms of colour)

Sihlukane impela ngokobuzwe (we may be different in terms of nationality)

UNkulunkulu uyasithanda sonke (God loves all of us)

Thina kumele sihlale ngokuzwana (We must live in peace)

Singahlukana impela ngokwebala (We may be different in terms of colours)

Sihlukane impela ngokwamazwe (We may be different in terms of countries of origin)

Uhulumeni uyasithanda sonke (The government loves us all)

Thina kumele sihlale ngokuzwana (We must live in peace)

Singahlukana impela ngokobuhlanga (We may be different in terms of ethnicity)

Sihlukane impela ngokobuzwe (We may be different in terms of nationality)

UNkulunkulu wasidala sonke (God created all of us)

Kumele sihlale ngokuzwana (We must live in peace)

Niyeke ukubulalalna nodwa (And stop killing each other)

Xenophobia: ukucwasa ngokobuzwe (Xenophobia: discriminating based on nationality)

Ngicela nikuyekele (Please stop it)

Ngoba kumele sihlale ngokuzwana (x2) (Because we must live in peace)

Njengoba nibulala wonke ama foreigner (Since you are killing these foreigners)

Nibulala konke nezingane zawo (Killing even their children)

Bangabantu nabo banegazi (They also have blood just like you)

Kumele sihlale ngokuzwana (We must live in peace)

Njengoba nibulala wonke ama foreigner (Since you are killing these foreigners)

Nibulala konke nezingane zawo (Killing even their children)

Bangabantu nabo bayakhala (They are also human, they have tears just like you)

Kumele sihlale ngokuzwana (We must live in peace)

Singahlukana impela ngamabala (We may be different in terms of colour)

Sihlukane impela ngokwa mazwe (We may be different in terms of countries of origin)

UNkulunkulu wasidala sonke (God created all of us)

Bekumele sibe moya munye (We have to get along)

Xenophobia: ukucwasa ngokobuzwe (Xenophobia: discriminating based on nationality)

Ngicela nikuyekele (Please stop it)

Ngoba kumele sihlale ngokuzwana (x2) (Because we must live in peace)

Singadabuka emazweni angefani (We may come from different countries)

Kodwa umdali wethu uyedwa (But we have one creator)

Simunye (x2) (We are one)

Ngenela Hlanga Lomhlabathi ² (King of AmaZulu, please intervene)

Ngenela Silo Samabandla (King of AmaZulu, please intervene)

Abantu bakho badidekile (Your people are lost)

Kumele ilungiswe lento (This thing must be fixed)

Ngenela Silo Samabandla (King of AmaZulu, please intervene)

Abantu bakho badidekile (Your people are lost)

Kumele ilungiswe lena (This thing must be fixed)

Singadabuka emazweni angefani (We may come from different countries)

Kodwa umdali wethu uyedwa (But we have one creator)

Simunye (We are one)

² This is an affectionate name for the King of amaZulu

An analysis of ‘*Xenophobia*’ by Mthandeni

In the first part of the song, Mthandeni states that even though we differ in colour and nationality, God loves all of us and therefore we must live in peace with each other. Africans are known to be a very religious group of people in South Africa. Mthandeni uses that knowledge to convince other Africans that God is against acts such as xenophobia. He also highlights the fact that it is in God’s plans that we were created to be diverse. In a sense, he argues that diversity must not be seen as a problem but as something that is ordained by Providence. He also implies that since God loves all of us, it is possible for us to love each other and to live in peace with each other. In a sense, Mthandeni appeals to higher authority in the form of God in order to convince Africans to live in harmony with one another.

In the second part of the song, Mthandeni states that we may differ in terms of colour and nationalities, but the government loves all of us, and therefore we must live in peace. In a speech delivered to the National Council of Provinces (NCOP), the Republic of South Africa’s lower house of parliament, Minister Naledi Pandor confirmed that the South African government cares for all when she said, “One of the areas in which we must build hope is that of recognising that we are one people in Africa, divided by colonialism and apartheid yet ready to be united as one powerful continent” (Pandor, 2013). She continued, “The violence against vulnerable African foreigners is totally unacceptable and must be rejected by all peace-loving South Africans”. She also stated that the South African government responded to the 2008 xenophobic violence which claimed the lives of 62 people including South African citizens by establishing a counter-xenophobia unit within the South African Police Service, in line with the Immigration Act 13 of 2002.

In the wake of the xenophobic violence that erupted in Durban, Pietermaritzburg and Johannesburg in early 2015, the President of the Republic of South African said, “What is happening in our country is not acceptable. We condemn this, that people are attacked and killed. We cannot accept that when there are challenges we then use violence, particularly to our brother and sisters from the continent” (Brands South Africa, 2015). He went on to say, “We have said before that when we were in trouble (during the armed struggle), they helped us to fight for our own liberation. They did not chase us away. Therefore, it is important for us to bear that in mind”. He conceded that the South African government was in part at fault for the xenophobic violence, stating that the South

African government had been slow in responding to the demands or the concerns that were raised by the citizens about a number of issues and, as a result of this neglect, friction had ensued in society. He also apologised to the victims of xenophobic violence and to those who lost family members as a result of the violence.

In the aftermath of the 2015 xenophobic violence in KwaZulu-Natal, the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Government under the leadership of Premier Senzo Mchunu commissioned an inquiry into the causes and the consequences of the xenophobic attacks that spanned from March to May 2015. The committee responsible for the investigation was called the Special Reference Group on Migration and Community Integration in KZN (SRG). The SRG (2015) found that socio-economic conditions had created intensified competition for employment opportunities, social services and business opportunities. Competition for business opportunities was more intense in the informal trading sector where the foreign-owned businesses were thriving at the expense of locally owned businesses (SRG, 2015). The foreign nationals also felt that they had not been successfully integrated into the communities in which they lived despite the fact that they had spent years living in those communities.

The SRG recommended:

- the creation of local forums to promote cohesion and dialogue within communities;
- that all stakeholders in KwaZulu-Natal must be sensitised on the histories, cultures and rights of foreign nationals living in the province;
- the development and implementation of educational programmes targeting the youth which were aimed at promoting diversity and tolerance; and
- the promotion of cooperative trading practices in the informal sector.

During the xenophobic attacks in Durban, the EThekweni Municipality set up temporary shelters for the victims of the violence and for those who were displaced. The shelters accommodated around 5 000 people (Khoza, 2015). The above discussion shows that the South African government does care for foreign nationals and wants to protect everyone who is within the borders of South Africa.

The third part of the song states that we may differ in ethnicity and in nationality, but it is God who created us; therefore, we must live in peace and stop killing each other. In this part of the

song, Mthandeni brings in the ethnic dimension and pleads with the people of South Africa not to engage in inter-ethnic violence. The artist is aware that it is not only xenophobia which has the potential of dividing society but ethnophobia as well. During the time of European minority rule in South Africa, ethnicity was used as a tool for dividing the people and subjugating them. While the Europeans were citizens of South Africa, the Africans were divided according to their ethnic groups in what became known as Homelands or Bantustans (Mamdani, 1996). This was deliberately done by the European minority rule political establishment in order to create artificial majorities and minorities in South Africa. The Homelands system was based on the Eurocentric idea/practice of viewing Africans as essentially tribal people (Mafeje, 1971).

This tribalisation of the Africans in South Africa over time created social distance between the various groups. Although successive governments led by the African National Congress (ANC) have been able to forge unity among the Africans, some people have reported having been discriminated against on the basis of their ethnicity. The ANC-led governments must be applauded for managing to nurture good human relations among the various African groups which were kept apart during European rule in South Africa. Since the introduction of majority rule in 1994, there has been no major ethnic conflict in the country. However, this does not mean that the ANC and South Africans at large must rest on their laurels. They must continue to build strong relationships which are based on love, brotherhood and mutual respect in South Africa.

Mthandeni also urges South Africans to stop killing each other. Perhaps one of the saddest images in post-apartheid South Africa is of a burning African man with a white police officer extinguishing the fire. The fact that the police officer is white makes the image even more dramatic. The local Africans had themselves been victims of white domination and violence during the time of colonialism and apartheid, but they had been transformed into perpetrators of violence against fellow Africans. Violence against Africans from other African states has created tensions in South Africa's diplomatic endeavours on the African continent. For example, in the wake of the 2015 violent attacks on foreign nationals, the government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria recalled its envoy to South Africa. The South African government criticised the decision of the Nigerian government calling it "unfortunate and regrettable" (Department of International Relations and Cooperation, 2015). The South African government also took time to remind the Nigerian government that when 84 South Africans perished on Nigerian soil at T.B. Joshua's Synagogue

Church of All Nations the South African Government did not respond as harshly as the Nigerian government did. Speaking at the 35th anniversary of Zimbabwe's independence in Harare, President Robert Mugabe said of the xenophobic violence in South Africa "I would want now to express our sense of shock and disgust as we abhor the incident that happened in Durban where some five or six Africans were burned to death deliberately by some members of the South African Zulu community. The act of treating other Africans in that horrible way can never be condoned" (Mugabe, 2015). The harsh responses by African governments to the xenophobic violence is an indication that xenophobia is a major issue which can ruin relations between African nations. Therefore, Mthandeni's message calling for an end to the violence is important.

In the fourth part of the song, Mthandeni urges South Africans to stop discriminating against people from other African countries. Here he is not only referring to violent xenophobia but to the xenophobic attitudes and treatment. In the discussion section, I discuss the impact of negative name-calling on foreign nationals. In the fifth part of the song, the artist states the fact that foreign nationals have the same blood as that of the locals. He also condemns the killing of the children of foreigners. By pointing out the fact that foreign nationals and locals have the same blood, the artist is trying to create an affinity between them. He is also pointing to the fact that the worth of a foreign national is the same as that of a local. By highlighting the killing of the children of foreign nationals, Mthandeni might have been aiming to show the senselessness of xenophobic violence and shame those responsible. Children are seen in society as a vulnerable group that must be protected by all. This is particularly true in Africa where it is generally believed that a child is raised by the whole community. So, by pointing out the folly of child killing, the artist might have been aiming to shame those who were involved in the violence and to prevent others from engaging in this kind of violence. In the sixth part of the song, Mthandeni tries to show that foreign nationals are the same as the locals by pointing to the fact they also have tears, meaning that they also feel pain. He might have intended to show that foreign nationals are not made of wood and stone but are made of flesh just like any other human being. It appears that Mthandeni believes that once it has been displayed to the locals that they are no different from the foreign nationals, violence will end.

In the seventh and eighth parts of the song, the artist urges the King of the AmaZulu nation to intervene to end xenophobic violence. He beseeches the King to correct the behaviour of his people

who have gone astray from the ways of righteousness. Here the artist displays his faith in institutions of traditional leadership as an effective means of addressing societal problems. In post-apartheid South Africa, the role of traditional leadership has continuously been called into question (Chauke, 2015; Koenane, 2018.). Some members of the South African society do not see the need for traditional leaders under a democratic system. So, in this instance, the artist is taking a stand in an important political debate in post-apartheid South Africa.

The appeal to the King of AmaZulu nation by the artist is made more interesting by the fact that some sections of South African society blamed the violence which broke out in early 2015 on the speech that was made by the AmaZulu King in a moral regeneration event held in uPhongolo, a town in Northern KwaZulu-Natal. However, an investigation carried out by one of South Africa's Chapter 9 Institutions³, the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC), found that the comments which were made by the King of amaZulu in uPhongolo were hurtful and harmful but did not amount to hate speech (SAHRC, 2016). The Commission also found that the King's comments could not be interpreted as instigating violence against African migrants (SAHRC, 2016).

Discussion

In my experience, I have found that xenophobia is a result of misunderstanding. This misunderstanding is based on othering. The locals consider themselves as one and the foreign nationals as the other. Central to this process of constructing the "us" and the "other" is categorisation through naming. This was made clear in the documentary *'We are Still Warriors'* by Siyabonga Makhathini which follows the life of a stick-fighter called Banda. Stick-fighting is one of the ways of socialising young AmaNguni men into manhood. It forms an integral part of the identity of many AmaNguni men, particularly those who hail from rural areas. Stick-fighting plays an important role in the construction of AmaZulu masculinity in rural KwaZulu-Natal.

³ The 'State Institutions Supporting Constitutional Democracy' are known as the Chapter 9 Institutions, after their place in the Constitution. They consist of the Public Protector (PP), the Auditor- General (AG), the Electoral Commission (IEC), the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC), the Commission for Gender Equality (CGE), and lastly, the Commission for the Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities. These institutions are independent of government, subject only to the Constitution and the law, and report annually to Parliament.

Banda's father was born in Zambia, but he migrated to KwaZulu when he was a young boy. When he arrived in KwaZulu, he was subjected to constant abuse and discrimination from the locals who referred to him as *izilwanyana* which refers to something animal-like (Makhathini, 2014). He was subjected to this abuse and discrimination because the locals had never before heard of the surname Banda. We can see here how othering accompanied by derogatory naming can negatively affect a stranger in a new environment. One can only imagine the ostracisation that Banda Senior felt because of his derogatory categorisation. This negative name-calling not only affected Banda Senior, but also affected a second generation. The documentary relates how Banda was compelled to fight for his family honour and name even though he no longer found fulfilment in stick-fighting. He felt that he was compelled to fight so that his family would gain acceptance into the AmaZulu society in which they lived (Makhathini, 2014).

Perhaps the only positive that can be taken from this case is that the xenophobia practised by the community in question was not a xenophobia of contempt. I say this because an opportunity was always left for outsiders to prove that they belonged in the community by taking up the cultural practices of the community, including stick-fighting. So, through his fighting, Banda was transforming himself and his family from being *izilwanyana* into "AmaZulu". I want to argue further that some might have been using the tag *izilwanyana* jokingly. However, the damage was done to the victims of this negative name-calling. Name-calling, particularly negative name-calling, should be done away with if our society is to rid itself of xenophobic attitudes and violence. No African should be labelled out of belonging in Africa. South Africans must understand that there is no gain to be had from negatively discriminating against people from other African states.

With that being said, names such as *Kwerekwere*, *Zay'zayi* and *Sbali* and many others must be done away with because they create artificial boundaries between Africans (Hughey, Rees, Goss, Rosino & Lesser, 2017). The sooner we do away with negative name-calling, the better the prospects of ending xenophobia and creating peaceful co-existence are. This will also pave the way for the Pan-Africanist ideal of a United States of Africa. However, if we still have negative discrimination based on nationality, then the dream of the founding fathers of the Organisation of African Unity and many other Pan-Africanists who came after them will remain but a dream.

Apartheid and xenophobia

For the burden of xenophobia to be eliminated from the imaginations and actions of South Africans, an honest assessment of its origins and character is necessary. Tella (2016) uses the isolation thesis to explain the causes and nature of xenophobia in South Africa. The isolation thesis places the roots of xenophobia in apartheid South Africa's isolationist posture. The apartheid government isolated itself from the rest of the African continent. As a result of this isolationist posture, a social distance developed between Africans in South Africa and the Africans in the rest of the continent. The isolationist theory also holds that the end of apartheid in the early 1990s opened up opportunities for Africans from other African states to enter South Africa. This, the theory holds, created conflict between the local Africans and Africans from other African states. The theory also holds that the isolation of the apartheid government from the rest of the African continent meant that the Africans in South Africa enjoyed technological and other forms of development which were not enjoyed by Africans from other African states in the continent. This resulted in a feeling of superiority on the part of the Africans in South Africa (Tella, 2016).

Tella (2016) argues that the isolation theory is limited in a number of ways. One limitation of the theory is that it does not explain the socio-economic realities of the majority of South Africans which predispose them to intolerance of foreigners. Another limitation of the theory is that it does not take into account the divide-and-rule tactics that have been the hallmark of European colonisation of Africa. The Europeans knew that if Africans were united, it would not be easy to exploit and oppress them. So, they made sure that they created artificial divisions among the Africans and exaggerated these divisions to their advantage (Ndlovu, 2017). This strategy was successfully implemented in the mining sector during apartheid where in some instances miners from other African states were placed in supervisory roles to the exclusion of local Africans. This strategy was intended to cause division among the Africans and to arouse envy and resentment.

Another reason why mine owners preferred to place Africans from other countries in positions of authority in the mines was that they knew that Africans from other African countries were unlikely to challenge their employers and demand better working conditions and better pay. The logic was that the Africans from other African states were being done a huge favour by the mine bosses by being allowed to work. Some South Africans still believe that the private sector in South Africa which is still largely controlled by the whites still uses these tactics in order to maximise profits

(Anwar, 2017). The industries which are accused of continuing with this apartheid practice include, but are not limited to, restaurants, supermarkets, the construction industry and service stations.

Conclusion

Xenophobia and the accompanying violence it brings with it should be eliminated from South African society. South African citizens must trust the institutions that are available to deal with issues that arise in society. Xenophobic violence is not the correct way of going about solving societal problems. It creates an atmosphere of fear and distrust in society, feelings which do not benefit the Pan-Africanist ideal of uniting Africans. This paper has shown that that music is one of the strategies which can be used in the fight against xenophobia in South African society. The paper has also shown that the government of South Africa has taken steps to protect African migrants from xenophobic violence. The South African government was able to contain the 2015 episode of xenophobic violence better than it did in 2008. As a result of swift government action and the condemnation of the violence, the number of people who died was significantly reduced in 2015 compared to 2008. However, it must be noted that not a single life should be lost on South African soil as a result of xenophobia.

The paper has also shown that institutions of traditional leadership play a role in fostering friendly relations between locals and foreign nationals. The King of AmaZulu called an anti-xenophobia *imbizo*⁴, where he urged his people to treat foreign nationals with respect and to refrain from xenophobic violence (eNCA, 2015). This was an important intervention on the part of the King of AmaZulu since he had been blamed in the South African media for being the cause of the 2015 xenophobic violence. At the *imbizo*, the King's Prime Minister Inkosi Mangosuthu Buthelezi spoke and reminded South Africans that African nations played an important role in supporting the struggle for liberation in South Africa (eNCA, 2015).

The paper has also shown that foreign nationals are sometimes preferred for employment over South African citizens because they are unlikely to demand higher wages. This practice is not new but has its roots in the apartheid era. In order to protect Africans from other African states from exploitation, the government of South African must continue to enforce its labour laws in every

⁴ A gathering, usually called by a traditional leader.

sector. The recently passed National Minimum Wage Act must be implemented in every sector so that South Africans will not be denied employment opportunities to the advantage of Africans from other African states who are prepared to take low-paying jobs because of their situation. The paper also recommends that negative name-calling must end in the South African society because it ostracises foreign nationals. The paper recommends that those who are found guilty of xenophobic violence should be given a minimum sentence of life imprisonment so that others will be deterred from committing xenophobic violence.

The paper has also shown that even the Zulu monarch is not above the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. The King of AmaZulu had to answer to the SAHRC for his utterances at the moral regeneration event that was held in the town of uPhongolo in the northern part of KwaZulu-Natal. This episode also showed that institutions of traditional leadership can and do in fact play an important role within the democratic system. Furthermore, the fact that even a king is obliged to account for his words and deeds when they are perceived to be against the values of the South African constitution is an indication that the South African Constitution is the supreme law of the land.

The South African government must continue to work towards mending relations with the governments of African states in order to clear the name of the country which has been tainted by outbursts of xenophobic violence. The South African government must also make sure that its Pan-Africanist ideal of uniting Africans is communicated to the people at the grassroots and is owned by the people. If the ideals of Pan-African unity are not embraced by the public, then it is unlikely that xenophobic attitudes and violence will end. This can be done by including and emphasising the history of the people of South Africa in both primary and secondary school. If the learners can be made aware of the interconnectedness of Africans, particularly those from Southern Africa, I believe that xenophobic attitudes and xenophobic violence would be significantly reduced.

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