

The Influence of Tiken Jah Fakoly's Reggae Music in Post-independence Côte d'Ivoire

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Abstract: Tiken Jah Fakoly, a prominent Ivoirian reggae artist, has played an important role in the social and political development of post-independence Côte d'Ivoire. This paper explores the impact and influence of Tiken Jah Fakoly's music on the socio-political dynamics of the country, especially as these relate to national unity, political awareness, and social movements. To assess Fakoly's influence on the social fabric of Côte d'Ivoire, we administered a questionnaire-based survey to a diverse sample of participants. The questions included information on demographics, music consumption habits, familiarity with Fakoly's music, perceptions of his recordings, his influence on their sense of identity, and their impressions of the impact his music has on social and political issues. The results show that Tiken Jah Fakoly's music has had a significant effect on the attitudes of Ivoirians and has helped shape the unique character of Ivorian reggae. His music has fostered a sense of unity and solidarity among Ivoirians, and it has inspired numerous individuals to take part in advocacy and activism-related activities. The outcomes of this research have broad implications for the role African music plays in nation-building processes, in the creation of a sense of cultural identity, and in the capacity to motivate political and social movements.

Keywords: Tiken Jah Fakoly, reggae, African reggae music, Côte d'Ivoire, Ivory Coast, post-independence

Introduction

In Africa as well as other parts of the world, reggae music is seen as the quintessential form of protest music.¹ Ivoirian reggae incorporates many of the themes found in traditional reggae, such as frequent references to the corrupt system known as Babylon; anti-capitalist, anti-colonialist, and anti-racist messages; support for black emancipation/black nationalism; and fervent calls for social justice and equal rights.² While reggae uses its lyrics as an agent for social change and a means of political criticism, reggae can also include more light-hearted allusions such as references to fraternization, to affection, to children's songs, and to religious appreciation or thanks to God (Jah, Allah).³

In the 1980's, the remarkable career of Ivoirian reggae artist Alpha Blondy and the global reach of his popularity positioned Abidjan as the world's third reggae capital after Kingston

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and London.⁴ Reggae became the most significant musical form in Côte d'Ivoire. Although Alpha Blondy is acknowledged as the father of reggae music in Côte d'Ivoire, Tiken Jah Fakoly has proven to be a worthy successor.⁵ While Blondy often valorized African identity in his music, Fakoly's lyrics were more aggressive, more radical, and more politically engaged.⁶ Moreover, Tiken Jah Fakoly has emerged as a significant political force in the context of post-independence in Côte d'Ivoire. His focus on the country's political and social evolution has captured the minds and hearts of young and old.

In his quest to "wake up the consciences" of Ivoirians, he "arms" himself with reggae rhythms to condemn domestic and international injustice and oppression. His political activism has made him a favorite among African listeners who respond favorably to his lyrics. Many of his listeners are convinced these lyrics have the potential to effect change not only in Côte d'Ivoire but on the African continent as a whole.⁷ However, despite Fakoly's fervent advocacy for human rights, social justice, African solidarity, and his condemnation of political corruption and assorted other vices that persist in the post-independent Côte d'Ivoire, there have been no formal studies on the impact of his music across Ivorian society. This study seeks to explore the effect Tiken Jah Fakoly's music has had on the post-independence landscape of Côte d'Ivoire, specifically as it relates to Ivoirian politics, identity, and culture.

Côte d'Ivoire and its Post-independence Conundrums

From the appropriation and exploitation of resources by former colonial powers to political corruption and tyranny, tribalism, and neo-colonialist governmental policies, the story of Côte d'Ivoire is no stranger to Black predicaments on the continent. France forcibly seized the territory and made it a colony in 1893.⁸ Sixty-five years later, it became an autonomous republic but it took another two years before it achieved full independence in 1960. However, this independence was short-lived. Félix Houphouët-Boigny—a loyal ally to France's General de Gaulle—became Côte d'Ivoire's first president.⁹ His administration was riddled with ethnic favoritism and his "partnership" with France promoted foreign exploitation, helping him amass a fortune at the expense of Ivoirians.¹⁰ His 33-year rule laid the foundation for political tyranny and was instrumental in the nation's instability and socio-political crises.

Only death removed Houphouët-Boigny from office. His handpicked successor, Henri Konan Bédié, became president in 1994. Bédié's administration introduced the doctrine of *Ivoirité* which further polarized the nation. He was overthrown in a 1999 military coup led by General Robert Guéï, and the 2000 presidential election voted in socialist Laurent Gbagbo as the nation's president. Unfortunately, Gbagbo continued the exclusionary policies which further deepened the crises. Barely two years into power, the nation was plunged into ethnic and religious divisiveness.¹¹ The exacerbation of these palpable tensions, coupled with economic collapse and uneven development, spawned two civil wars that lasted from 2002-07 and re-ignited in 2011.¹² The post-independent Côte d'Ivoire has inarguably been beset with socio-political challenges, the result of which is the emergence of reggae personalities like Tiken Jah Fakoly, who had the courage to speak out against the social and political ills of the nation.

The Phenomenon of African Reggae

African reggae emerged from the genre first popularized in Jamaica. It is known for its peculiar style and sound that is a blend of contemporary Jamaican Mento and Ska, rhythm and blues, and American jazz. The style takes its name from the word “rege-rege,” which refers to “a quarrel,” “ragged clothes,” or “rags.”¹³ In 1968, Toots and the Maytals released the single “Do the Reggay,” a song that first introduced the word reggae to the world and a new musical genre emerged on the global stage. Although Ska and Rocksteady are considered the foundational roots of an ever-evolving musical style, the genre retains certain features of its origins, including the use of the bass guitar.

By the 1980s, Jamaican reggae icons such as Jimmy Cliff, Peter Tosh, and Bob Marley were fueling widespread appreciation for reggae music in Africa. Jimmy Cliff’s trip to Senegal, Burning Spear’s journey to Senegal, and Bob Marley’s visit to Zimbabwe provided a significant boost to the development of African reggae music.¹⁴ As more Jamaican reggae artists exported their music to Africa, the themes of the music began to diversify to include subjects touching on romance, spirituality, revolution, and other socio-political global concerns. This continues as African reggae music often focuses its attention on political commentaries, social gossip, and contemporary news items.

With its offbeat rhythm section and contrapuntal drum downbeat melody and bass, African reggae carves out a unique niche in the genre, making it easily recognizable.¹⁵ By incorporating specific musical components of indigenous African music, mento, jazz, and other genres, African reggae distinguishes itself from its counterparts.¹⁶ Unlike original Jamaican reggae, African reggae has a slower tempo—similar to Ska but not as slow as Rocksteady. More interestingly, African reggae often incorporates a “call and response” component, a prominent attribute of African oral traditions. This fusion of African oral and musical traditions makes African reggae quite distinguishable from other existing forms.¹⁷

Since the 2000’s, the popularity of reggae in Africa has grown tremendously as has the number of bands and musicians. Additionally, African artists such as Alpha Blondy and Tiken Jah Fakoly, Nigerian singer Majek Fashek, and South African Lucky Dube popularized the genre by using their music to advocate for peace and social justice, to valorize and promote African culture, and to address relevant social and political issues. Ngom writes convincingly that the popularity of African reggae music is omnipresent and the focus on political and social issues serves to unify Africans with their “brothers outside the continent.”¹⁸ Several African reggae artistes have attained global recognition and their innovations have created an influential, inspiring, and vibrant genre that has not only fostered the fusion of African sounds and musical traditions but incorporated Afrobeat, dancehall, and hip-hop rhythms to create contemporary and unique songs that communicate purposeful and powerful political, cultural, and social messages.

Reggae in Côte d'Ivoire

To understand the impact of Tiken Jah Fakoly’s reggae music in Côte d’Ivoire, it is pertinent to identify where, when, and how reggae became such an integral component of Ivorian society. No other African country comes close to the Côte d’Ivoire in the widespread appreciation of

reggae. It is one of the country's most popular forms of music.¹⁹ On a visit to the country, Jamaican and ex-Wailer Tyrone Downie was fascinated by the widespread embrace of reggae, from taxicab radios to music emanating from bars, houses, and every other nook and cranny of the nation. The proliferation of reggae is also reflected in Ivorian's society's "Rastafarization." This has resulted in an increase in the smoking of ganja, in the fashion trend of sporting Ethiopian colors, and in the wearing deadlocks.²⁰ Scholars such as Reed, Salm, and Schumann each argue that the popularity of the Ivorian form of this musical genre has contributed to its transnational reputation as an instrument of resistance and a plea for justice for all peoples of African descent.²¹

In the late 1970's, Jamaican reggae icons like Bob Marley, Bunny Livingston Wailer, Peter Tosh, I Roy, and U Roy introduced reggae in Côte d'Ivoire's economic capital and largest city, Abidjan. It was not long before reggae records were broadcast on Ivorian national radio. This in turn fostered the spread of the genre to dance clubs in Treichville, a low-income neighborhood in Abidjan that drew large crowds of people from all socio-economic levels, including residents from wealthier neighborhoods such as Résidentiel and Cocody. The music thus served to lessen socio-economic segregation and differentiation as the genre was appreciated across all classes—poor, bourgeois, and wealthy.²² As the popularity of Jamaican reggae grew, the Ivorian community infused it with its own homegrown style and produced legendary musicians of their own.

In the 1980s, Seydou Koné, popularly known as Alpha Blondy, launched his reggae career in Côte d'Ivoire and quickly evolved from an unknown to a superstar. His career began with a live performance in the Treichville neighborhood after which he released his first album which enjoyed instant success. This trajectory made him the Côte d'Ivoire's first major reggae star and established him as a prominent musical icon on the African continent.²³ His first album, 1982's *Jah Glory*, established the components that distinguished Ivorian reggae. These elements include textual lyricism; the incorporation of spiritual, political and social issues; a "roots reggae" sound; and lyrics written in French, English, and Jula.²⁴ The roots reggae sound—originally popularized by Peter Tosh, Bob Marley, and a other Jamaican artists in the 1970's—then became the preferred style of many Ivorian reggae musicians. Ivorian groups also typically included a female backup chorus, extra percussion instruments, and unusual uses of the horn section as well as African instruments such as the *ngoni* or *kora*.

The Mande languages of Jula and Maninka are common in Côte d'Ivoire's northern savanna region. This region is home to almost all the major reggae artists in the country, including Alpha Blondy and Tiken Jah Fakoly. As a result, Jula is one of the main languages used for lyrics, though a few musicians also sing in Nouchi (a form of Ivorian street French) and in standard French. It bears remembering that the political tension between the north and south led to a civil war in the 1990's that polarized the country until 2011.²⁵ During this politically divisive period, there was a swell in northerners' utilization of reggae to condemn their political disenfranchisement and the prejudice directed against them. As Ivorian reggae albums proliferated, so did the strategic use of English in their songs. Because the global reggae was English-dominated, artists believed this would accelerate commercial success.²⁶

For many Ivorian reggae artists, the term "roots reggae" not only relates to the sound of the music but also connects the genre to the Rastafarian belief system. Ivorian musicians found

this extramusical association desirable and pleasing. Consumers also liked the resistance to injustice and the sense of Pan-African identity that permeated the reggae sound, making it a compelling medium by which to spread vital messages. During the divisive times in Côte d'Ivoire in the 1990's, no other musical genre was more used to communicate ideas of rebellion and political protest than reggae. The genre protested the policy of *Ivoirité* promoted by then-president, Henri Konan Bédié, a policy that disenfranchised northerners (and included immigrants from West African countries) who constituted 25% of the nation's population.²⁷

Promotion of this radically conservative view of Ivorian citizenship prompted heavy use of confrontational lyrics by Blondy.²⁸ Likewise, Fadal Dey and Tiken Jah Fakoly released hit songs critical of the government and of *Ivoirité*.²⁹ Not surprisingly, this political criticism was not well received by the government which banned songs by Blondy and Dey in retaliation. After the overthrow of the Bédié administration in 1999, Tiken Jah Fakoly released another song, "Promesses de caméléon" ("Promises of the Chameleon"), that sternly criticized the subsequent régime headed by Robert Gueï. Fakoly's lyrical attack put him at such risk that he and his family went into exile in a neighboring country.³⁰

Tiken Jah Fakoly's Musical Activism

Undoubtedly, audiences across the globe see reggae as a dynamic force for political and social expression. Ivorian reggae also capitalizes on elements of resistance that are characteristic of this genre. However, Tiken Jah Fakoly's music is unique from that of all other Ivorian reggae artists. His music is more closely aligned with the struggles of a Black nation and the place of the continent in the modern world. Doumbia Moussa Fakoly, popularly known as Tiken Jah Fakoly, is a descendant of the Jeli family whose members were known for being oral historians and traditional bards. As such, they were charged with the societal responsibility of speaking out against immoral behavior and injustice. Tiken stepped into this ancestral role by using reggae as his medium of choice. It bears noting that he is the only prominent Ivorian reggae artiste who has consistently lent his voice to his nation's political and social concerns.³¹ With Tiken taking up the role of a griot and embracing a musical genre with a Pan-African commitment, he enjoys wide popularity with songs that are both creatively alluring and politically serious. For Tiken, reggae is the most appropriate genre for transmitting his politically charged messages: "Reggae is a militant music. It's the music of those without means. It's the music of opinions...it is a music that is the soul of the poor."³² From 1993 to the present, Tiken has churned out songs that criticize both local and international affairs and that advocate for a better African community. Despite backlash and death threats that left him no option but to live in exile, he has remained committed to exposing the social vices and maladministration of government officials. He also urges the younger generation to become more revolutionary.

In 1996, Tiken released his first smash hit "Mangercratie" (roughly translated as "eatocracy"), popularly known as "On a tout compris" ("we have understood it all"). In the song, he criticizes and calls out politicians who have only made lives more unbearable for citizens. According to Reed, his voice was needed at that particular moment since although Alpha Blondy and Serges Kassy also spoke out against injustice in their music, they lacked the "ingredient" that was needed for the "sauce."³³ That ingredient was to hold corrupt politicians to account, a message that resonates in the song's opening line: "Allez dire aux homme

politiques (Go tell the politicians).” Four years later, during Robert Guéï’s military regime, Tiken released another hit track, “Promesse de Caméléon” (“Promises of the Chameleon”). The song was described as a strategic and forceful political communiqué using recontextualization and familiar references:

Fakoly’s Choice of reggae positioned his message in relation to the larger international movement for economic and political justice and equal rights; his choice of French and Jula indexed some of the issues associated with language politics in Côte d’Ivoire, including the north/south conflict; his choice to open his song with the military musical motif positioned him as a leader calling troops to action and indexed Guéï’s military identity.³⁴

After receiving death threats due to the song, Tiken had to flee the country, but this did not stop him from unleashing more lyrical attacks. In 2002, he released “Le balayeur” (“The sweeper”), that mocked the propensity of African politicians to gain power based on a message of hope and reform which they were quick to abandon once in office. The song also contained a warning that power is fragile and temporary.

Table 1

Arrivé comme un sauveur	<i>He came like a savior</i>
Il est parti comme un voleur	<i>He left like a thief</i>
Je l'avais pourtant prévenu	<i>I had warned him</i>
De la déception de mon peuple	<i>Of the disappointments of my people</i>
Arrivé comme un héro	<i>He came as a hero</i>
Il est reparti à zéro	<i>He left at zero</i>
Je l'avais pourtant prévenu	<i>I had already warned him</i>
De la présence des vautours autour	<i>Of the vultures around</i>
Bye bye	<i>Bye bye</i>

The 2000’s were indeed challenging times for Ivoirians. Political tension and instability seemed to be an unending national tragedy. Two years after releasing “Le balayeur,” Tiken would again be decrying those African politicians who impoverished the populace. “Quitte le pouvoir” (“Leave power”) opens with a command in the singular: “quitte le pouvoir, quitte le pouvoir, je te dis quitte le pouvoir” (“Give up power, give up power, I am telling you, give up power”) and ends on the same imperative note, this time pluralized: “quittez le pouvoir Messieurs les Présidents, si vous aimez votre Peuple, quittez le Pouvoir” (“Give up power Mr. presidents, if you love your people, give up power”). Alternating between the singular and the plural gives the song more force, and metaphorizes musicians as African citizens who have a duty to check and contain excesses from elected government officials, even those outside their own country. The listeners are thus called upon to hold failed administrations accountable. It is

then not surprising to find that this song was censored not only in Côte d'Ivoire but also in France and that it was used by protesters in neighboring Togo.³⁵ In 2007, Fakoly released "Promesses bla bla" ("blah blah promises") critical of the perpetual false promises made by African politicians.

Table 2

Trop de bla bla	<i>Too much blah blah</i>
J'entends trop de bla bla	<i>I hear a lot of blah blah</i>
Et tout ce que j'entends	<i>And all that I hear</i>
Tout ce qu'ils racontent	<i>All that they say</i>
Moi je n'y crois pas	<i>I do not believe any of it</i>

Faakoly has also been vocal about the nation's social crises. His 2000 song "Le pays va mal" ("The country is ill") laments the woes and disunity that afflicts his nation and the chagrin over the policy of Ivoirité that continued to tear the country apart.

Table 3

Avant, on ne parlait pas	<i>Before, we did not talk</i>
De nordistes ni de sudistes	<i>About Northerners nor Southerners</i>
Mais aujourd'hui, tout est gâté	<i>But today, everything is spoilt</i>
L'armée est divisée	<i>The army is divided</i>
La société est divisée	<i>Society is divided</i>
Les étudiants sont divisés	<i>Students are divided</i>
Même nos mères au marché	<i>Even our mothers at the market</i>
Sont divisées	<i>Are divided</i>

Longing for unity of the nation and the continent at large, Fakoly depicts a utopic African community where everyone is united in his 2004 song "Ça va faire mal" ("This is going to hurt).

Table 4

On pourra contrôler	<i>We will be able to control</i>
On sera respecté	<i>We will be respected</i>
On pourra dialoguer	<i>We will be able to have a conversation</i>
On pourra s'imposer	<i>We will be able to persuade ourselves</i>
Ça va les étonner	<i>It will surprise them</i>
De nous voir évoluer	<i>To see us evolve</i>
C'est quand nous serons unis	<i>It is when we will be united</i>
Ça va faire mal	<i>It will hurt</i>

He also strikes a chord among his Ivoirian listeners with the social preoccupations found in songs like 2007's "Non à l'excision" ("No to excision"), 2019's "Ecologie" ("Ecology"), and the 2022's "Religion." These songs speak out against cogent social and environmental ills. Pan-Africanism is also a prominent feature in Tiken's songs. By putting Africa at the forefront of his activism, he registers his protest against current international relations, current practices, and contemporary attitudes that are biased, unjust, and hinder the progress of the African motherland.

Table 5

<i>Songs & year of release</i>	Criticism
<i>Y'en a marre (2000 (I am fed up)</i>	Criticizes corruption and political instability in Africa
<i>Francafrique (2002) (FrenchAfrica)</i>	Criticizes the French-Africa and the America-Africa political relationships, calls it a "killer joke" facilitating destruction and exploitation
<i>Plus rien ne m'étonne (2004 (Nothing surprises me anymore)</i>	Criticizes the exploitation of Africa and its resources by powerful foreign figures
<i>L'Afrique doit du fric (2004 (Africa owes money)</i>	Criticizes the impoverishment of African nations by foreign/western establishments
<i>Ouvrez les frontières (2007) (Open the borders)</i>	Criticizes unjust and biased treatment of African travelers and immigrants
<i>Viens voir (2007) (Come and see)</i>	Criticizes constant negative stereotyping of Africa
<i>Is It Because I'm Black? (2015)</i>	Criticizes racism
<i>Pourquoi nous fuyons (Why are we running away) (2019)</i>	Criticizes brain drain in Africa

It is also pertinent to note that while Tiken Jah Fakoly has always been outspoken in his songs that are charged with social and political messages, he is not without controversy. Fakoly has faced accusations of associating with rebels opposed to the Gbagbo government, and his poses in photos alongside members of the New Forces Rebels have raised eyebrows and stirred public debate:

Tiken Jah Fakoly was the principal reggae artist who had to bear the brunt of accusations of siding with the rebellion. After threats on his life, he fled the country and went into exile again in Burkina Faso and Mali. He has been known to be very critical of the Gbagbo government...Additionally the album cover of the 2007 album *l'Africain* (The African) pictures Tiken Jah Fakoly in the company of traditional hunters...The symbolism of this picture on the album cover was not lost on those aware of the roles hunters have played in the rebellion...Tiken Jah Fakoly has also posed for photos in the company of New Forces rebels on numerous occasions.³⁶

Methodology, Sampling, and Limitations

In investigating the impact of Tiken Jah Fakoly's reggae music on the population of Côte d'Ivoire, this study adopted a questionnaire-based survey. The carefully designed questions contained in the survey sought to obtain data on several aspects that related to the respondents' music consumption habits, their familiarity with Fakoly's music, and their perception of his art, and its impact on their sense of identity and social and political issues.

We administered the questionnaire to 324 individuals of different socio-economic status, educational background, gender, and age group. Data was collected in the neighborhoods of Abobo, Port Bouet, Treichville, and Yopougon in Abidjan. However, it is important to note that these neighborhoods are reputed to have a significant Jula-speaking population, which may influence the survey results. To ensure objectivity and avoid any subjective selections that might skew the data, participants were chosen through a randomized number generator process. This randomization aimed to reduce bias and provide a more balanced representation of the population within the chosen neighborhoods. More so, the responses provided by the respondents were anonymized to ensure confidentiality and data privacy. For better representation, the gender parameter was adjusted to reduce the gap between genders.

Gender Representation (A total of 324 sample members)		
Males	52.5%	170
Females	47.2%	153
Others (Please specify)	0.3%	1

Table 6: A representation of genders involved in the study.

Results

Respondents were asked if they knew at least one of these two Fakoly hit songs: "Mon pays va mal" and "Quitte le pouvoir." An overwhelming 99.1% said that they did. In describing these songs, more than 75% of the respondents described them as being realistic, committed, and emotional.

Table 7

Realistic, committed, and emotional	78.7%	255
Prophetic and political	18.2%	59
Just fun	3.1%	10

We also asked respondents to estimate the effect Fakoly's music had on social issues in Côte d'Ivoire: significantly, moderately, slightly, not at all, or uncertain. 38.6% of respondents believed his music had moderately impacted social issues in Côte d'Ivoire while only 1.2% answered uncertain.

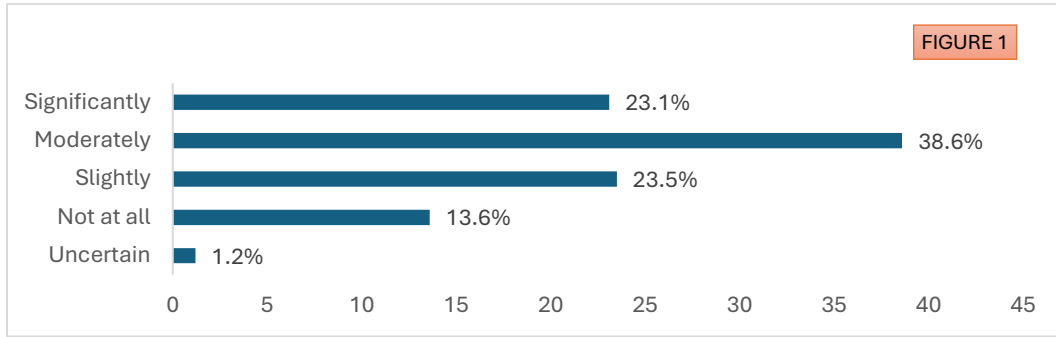


Figure 1: A distribution of the responses on the impact of Tiken's music on social problems in Cote d'Ivoire.

Issues of unity and solidarity have always been a concern in the African community and the Ivorian community is no exception. Responding to the question as to whether Tiken Jah Fakoly's music promoted unity and solidarity among Ivorians and African youths, 57.4% of respondents affirmed that it strongly promoted unity and solidarity.

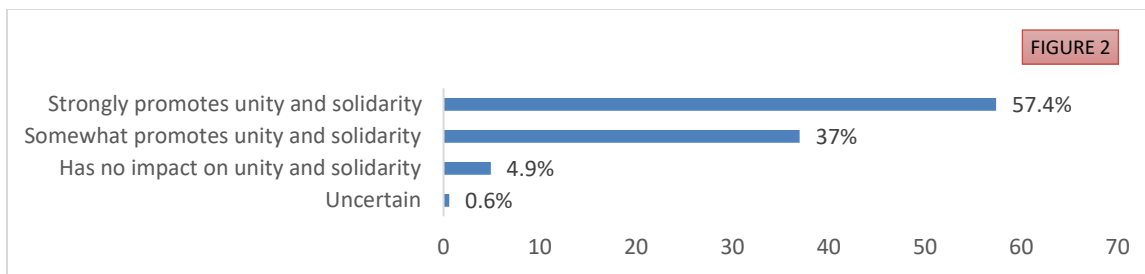


Figure 2: A distribution of the response to the influence of Tiken's music on unity and solidarity.

On the issue of pride and identity, more than 70% of respondents affirmed that Fakoly's music has strengthened their Ivorian sense of pride and identity.

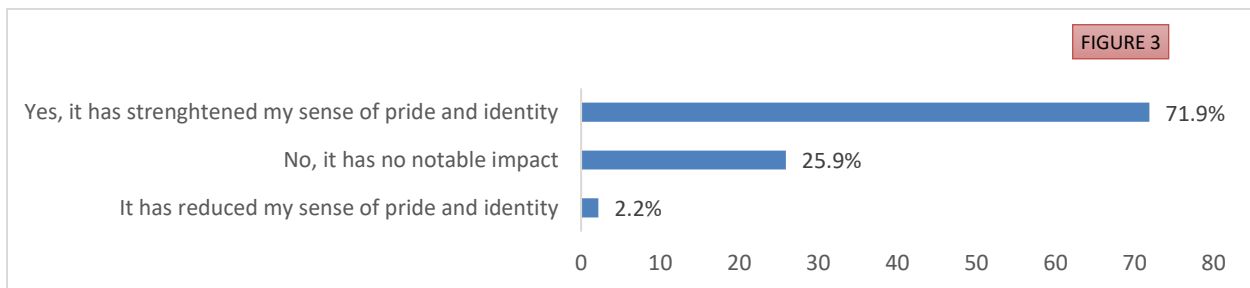


Figure 3: A distribution of the response to the influence of Tiken's music on the sense of pride and identity.

Fakoly's aggressive lyrics often promote action and change, and it is thus interesting to note that 72.8% of the respondents reported that they were inspired to participate in social or political movements because of his music. We noted that there was no significant gender discrepancy in this figure as the percentage includes 38.2% males and 34.6% females. Reggae

music is at the core of Fakoly's musical activism. Thus, when respondents were asked, "How would you compare Tiken Jah Fakoly's reggae music to other popular musical genres in terms of its ability to address social and political issues?" More than half of the respondents stated that reggae is more effective in addressing social and political issues than other musical genres.

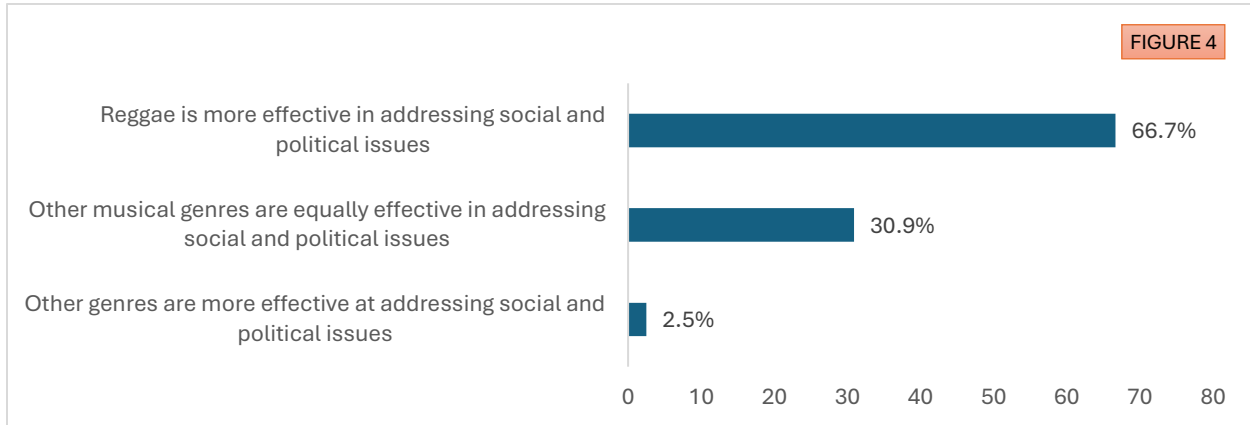


Figure 4: A distribution of the response on how Tiken's reggae music compares to other popular musical genres regarding its ability to address social and political issues.

On their willingness to recommend his music to others, 86.1% of respondents responded that they would, while 13.9% said they would not. Moreover, 78.4% of respondents believed that the Ivorian authorities responded positively to this music while 21.6% stated that the state responded negatively. However, there can be no doubt that songs critical of the government can have serious consequences for the artist. Fakoly currently lives in exile, fearing possible assassination or unlawful imprisonment for his powerful lyrics.

Conclusion

This study has sought to illuminate the momentous role Tiken Jah Fakoly and his reggae music have played in shaping attitudes in Côte d'Ivoire's post-independence society. We have sought to offer valuable insights into the prestige of Tiken Jah Fakoly's reggae music and its impact on national unity, political awareness, and social movements. These findings reveal that Fakoly's reggae has had a significant impact on the population and has transcended boundaries by appealing to all sectors of society, regardless of social status, educational background, gender, or age. Not only are his lyrics infused with powerful messages and calls for political change, equality, national unity, and African solidarity, but they have also raised awareness and served as a source of inspiration to young and old Africans who engaged in meaningful conversations and participated in protest movements as a result of his songs. Several of his songs, including "Quitte le pouvoir," "Plus rien ne m'étonne," "Le pays va mal," and "Francafrrique" have emerged as anthems of social critique that call for positive transformation in all African societies. His songs have also nurtured and encouraged a shared cultural experience for Ivoirians and offer a platform for expressing collective aspirations for a better society and fostering a sense of solidarity and unity.

This research underscores the transformative power of music in the realm of social activism, and thus demonstrates the need for cultural leaders, policymakers, and society in general to recognize how musicians like Tiken Jah Fakoly contribute to shaping and mobilizing the collective consciousness. The results demonstrate that music has the potential to foster positive change and advance national development, and we hope that further research will continue to underscore the intersection and interplay between social change, activism, and music in the contexts of African post-independence and the complex forces that shape the views and attitudes of nations. Future research could aim to build on these findings by conducting more extensive surveys that include a broader range of neighborhoods to capture a more diverse cross-section of the population. Employing a stratified sampling method would ensure that different ethnic groups are adequately represented, which will provide a more comprehensive understanding of how various ethnic communities perceive and are influenced by Tiken Jah Fakoly's music.

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Notes

- ¹ Schumann 2015, p. 342.
- ² Awuzie 2018, pp. 11-12.
- ³ Potash 1997, p. 14.
- ⁴ Akindès, 2002, p. 88.
- ⁵ Schumann 2015, p. 342.
- ⁶ Dagnini 2019, p. 446.
- ⁷ Bensignor 2003, p. 114.
- ⁸ Dagnini 2010, p. 10.
- ⁹ Kieh 2016, p. 216.
- ¹⁰ Dagnini 2010, p. 11.
- ¹¹ Kieh 2016, pp. 216-219.
- ¹² Akindès 2003, p. 11.
- ¹³ Cassidy & Le Page 1997, p. 380.
- ¹⁴ Awuzie 2018, p. 13.
- ¹⁵ Waters 1994, p. 3.
- ¹⁶ Awuzie 2018, p. 13.
- ¹⁷ Awuzie 2018, p. 13.
- ¹⁸ Ngom 2012, p. 100.
- ¹⁹ Dagnini 2019, p. 444.
- ²⁰ Dagnini 2010, p. 12.
- ²¹ Reed 2012, p. 92.
- ²² Aster 2004.
- ²³ Aster 2004.
- ²⁴ Dagnini 2019, p. 444.
- ²⁵ Ogunmola & Badmus 2009, pp. 113-123.
- ²⁶ Dagnini 2019, p. 445.
- ²⁷ Akindès 2003, pp. 11-15.
- ²⁸ Schumann 2009, p. 113.
- ²⁹ Akindès 2002, p. 86.
- ³⁰ Dagnini 2019, p. 445.
- ³¹ Dieng 2012, p. 213.
- ³² Reed 2012, p. 96.
- ³³ Reed 2012, p. 91.
- ³⁴ Reed 2012, p. 103.
- ³⁵ Bourderionnet 2008, p. 12.
- ³⁶ Schumann 2015, p. 350.