

**ZOUGLOU AND REGGAETON IN THE IVORIAN AND PUERTO-RICAN
SOCIAL UNIVERSE**

**EL ZUGLU Y EL REGGAETÓN EN EL UNIVERSO SOCIAL MARFILEÑO Y
PORTORRIQUEÑO**

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Abstrat : Zouglou and reggaeton are two musical genres born in the early 1990s. Initiated as a systematic response to the difficult life of students in university halls of residence, Zouglou became a music for the struggle against discomfort at all levels. Regularly scorned for its sexual and violent contents, Reggaeton is a musical genre that changed direction and put itself at the service of its community, denouncing social unrest and political problems. Today, the two musical genres have become symbols of the voiceless.

Keywords : Ivory Coast, Puerto Rico, Reggaeton, socio-political problems struggle, Zouglou.

Abstrat : El zuglu y el reggaeton son dos géneros musicales nacidos a principios de los años 90. Iniciado como respuesta sistemática a la difícil vida de los estudiantes en las residencias universitarias, el Zuglu se convirtió en una música de lucha contra el malestar a todos los niveles. Regularmente despreciado por su contenido sexual y violento, el Reggaeton es un género musical que cambió de rumbo y se puso al servicio de su comunidad, denunciando el malestar social y los problemas políticos. Hoy, los dos géneros musicales se han convertido en símbolos de los sin voz.

Palabras clave : Costa de Marfil, Puerto Rico, Reggaeton, lucha por los problemas sociopolíticos, Zouglou.

Introduction

To bring together Zouglou and Reggaeton in the scientific field amounts to bringing together two musical genres and two countries from different cultures: Ivory Coast in Africa and Puerto Rico in Latin America. Our intention here is not to compare two musical styles because they belong to the same genre. Rather, the aim of this study is to compare two genres whose aims are to address political, social and economic problems. Such musical styles also seek to defend cultures they are closely linked and whose origins, characteristics and themes are similar. Moreover, they were born in a decade when the international context began to emphasise freedom of expression.

Through the literature on the subject of music in general and more specifically on Zouglou and Reggaeton, we will use the dialectical method of knowing the concepts. This same method will allow us to discover the relationships that exist between the two musical genres. Furthermore, it will allow us to explain their dynamics, in the context of their evolution, each in its own sphere.

Comparative study is the approach selected highlight the origins, characteristics, themes and influence on society. These aspects are important to understand in that they help perceive the contribution of Zouglou and Reggaeton artists in their respective societies. The thrust of this article is to demonstrate the social impacts of Zouglou and Reggaeton, respectively in Ivory Coast and Puerto Rico.

The hypothesis is that Zouglou and Reggaeton are both committed genres that work for the integration and rapprochement of peoples. In order to better grasp this standpoint, it is advisable to suggest a three section-outline to this work. First, this article focuses on the origins of the two genres and their characteristics. Second, we shall examine the themes developed. Third, the onus will be on the social influences of such musical genres.

This research hypothesizes that Zouglou and Reggaeton contribute both to the promotion of the Ivorian and Puerto Rican cultures and to the vitality of the two nations. The questions underlying the work could be phrased as follows: What are the origins and characteristics of Zouglou and Reggaeton? What are the themes developed? What are the impacts of these themes on the populations of Ivory Coast and Puerto Rico?

1. Origins and Characteristics of Zouglou and Reggaeton

The origin of the Zouglou dates back to the school year 1984-1985, even 1986, at the modern lycée of Gagnoa, where Christian Gogoua, alias Joe Christy, initiated unusual dance steps. It is therefore this choreographic expression that his cousin Serge Bruno Porquet, alias Opokou N'Ti, improved and named Zouglou.

The magnitude of the socio-political crisis at the end of the 1980s, which marked the death of the "Ivorian economic miracle" of the previous decade, served as a catalyst for the flight of an anguished youth towards the countries of the North due to the obvious fascination of the Western model (Kadi, 2011). In fact, the numerous series broadcast by television channels show dreamlike scenarios, happy families, in short, an Edenic environment that contrasts with the austere living conditions of a society ravaged by the crisis (Kadi, 2011).

This period coincides with the 1990s, at the height of political and social demands in Côte d'Ivoire. This era marks the return of multipartism in the political ecosystem of many African countries, channeling into the new wind of freedom blowing across Africa. Yacouba Konaté observes in illustration: "Les naissances successives du polihet et du Zouglou à Yopougon indiquent en fait que la "real culture"

de la Côte-d'Ivoire qui s'inaugure au détour des années 1990 n'a pas son moteur dans le centre-ville d'Abidjan, mais dans la périphérie" (Konaté, 168).

In Côte d'Ivoire, voices were raised in the university residence of Yopougon, the largest neighbourhood in the Abidjan district, to denounce the difficult living and working conditions of students on university campuses. This is the movement that accompanied the previous period and gave impetus to Zouglou. It was born with its strong and instructive lyrics, directly linked to the social and economic difficulties of students and civil society in general. Musical bands emerged progressively and in successive waves; each with an energetic scarf visible in the following denominations: Poussins chocs, Petit Denis, Espoir 2000, Mèlèkè, Magic System, Oxygène, Les garagistes, Les patrons, Yodé & Siro (best Zouglou album in 2009 with Signe Zo), among others.

In 1990, Zouglou emerged as an innovative Ivorian musical genre created by and for youngsters. Several factors contributed to widening the audience for Zouglou, giving Côte d'Ivoire the first national music to embrace all the country's cultures: the progressive development of a repertoire based on fun and humorous songs, the social resonance of the themes addressed, the rise of audio cassettes to replace vinyl records. Such endeavors were backed up by national and international FM radio stations.

This concept has evolved to inspire new musical genres and dances such as Gnakpa, Mapouka, Youssoumba and, more recently, the coupé-décalé promoted by young people from the Ivorian diaspora. Over time, the Zouglou has created and proposed successive dance steps without really changing the musical form: Gnakpa, Kpaklo. In 1999, the Zouglou gained international notoriety, thanks to the Magic System group, with the title "premier gaou".

More broadly, it can be said that Zouglou has left the student sphere to become embedded in the Ivorian social sphere. From this, it has joined the musical genres that relate to the various social realities experienced by the Ivorian population. However, the themes are varied: in addition to its committed message, it sometimes carries humorous messages, much more often, it explains life, giving wise advice.

Zouglou is one of the cultural references in Côte d'Ivoire and Africa, enriching the national music. Fundraising activities among young people ensure the recording and distribution of Zougloutic works. The letters are written in national languages and in French street slang, the nuchi, a specific language whose secrets are held by the Ivorians. The meaning of this word comes from the baoule. Indeed, it means something dense, speaking of the forest, which is difficult to penetrate because of the vines and brambles. Zouglou, the term baoule, means: touffu quand l'on parle de terrain, végétation, cheveux¹. (Kouadio, Loucou, Tymian, 2003).

¹ bushy when referring to land, vegetation, hair.

According to the explanations, two sources confirm that the terminology wôyô comes from Bambara (Malinké) and Bété (Okomba, 2009). In both cases, it means atmosphere, noise. In Côte d'Ivoire, this term is used to refer to the combined animation of a drum, one or many bottles and the singer's voice. The Zouglou carries within itself the traces of pure Ivorian culture in all its socio-cultural, political and economic dimensions.

The fact of putting social problems at the centre of its themes as a way of defending the weakest, the forgotten, all those rejected by the system, and trying to unite all the people around an ideal, knowing how to entertain the gallery, are elements which are at the heart of the main characteristics of this genre.

One of its characteristics is that it is a committed music that praises and encourages young people to become aware of everything that is happening in their immediate environment in order to start fighting for their well-being. To this can be added a spiritual orientation. Christian artists are increasingly using it to spread the gospel message. Three artists stand out in this respect. The one who led the way is none other than Richard Krémé who defends Zouglou, originally a worldly music, as a useful musical style to praise God. He evidences his choice through this: "il n'y a pas un style musical typique dans lequel il faut louer Dieu" (AP/Is/APA, 2021). He confirms this by saying: "J'ai choisi le Zouglou (pour porter le message de l'évangile) parce que c'est dans le Zouglou que le Seigneur m'a trouvé" (AP/Is/APA, 2021).

Another artist who is also making a name for himself in Zouglou-Gospel and is appreciated by Christians with his musical style is Osée Agnu Niamké, whose nickname is Osée Singer. Not to be forgotten is Souleymane Kevin Kader Junior Koné, aka KS Bloom. He is the pride of Ivorian gospel music today and has a catchy phrasing in music that glorifies the King of kings. His credo is to win souls for Jesus Christ. "L'important pour moi, ce n'est pas le genre musical. L'essentiel est de faire passer mon message et gagner des âmes à Dieu. C'est pour cela que j'emploie des termes et des mots de mon époque" (Kader, 2021). Thus, with this style full of emotions and words

With "reggaeton", there is a multitude of theories about its invention. According to some sources, the disc jockey Nelson is the one who invented it in 1995. For his album, he linked ~~linking~~ the words "reggae" and "marathon" to form one. He did this because he needed a title that was finally named Reggaeton Live Vol.1 (Escuyer, 2019). According to Petra R. Rivera-Rideau (2017) Reggaetón (also spelled reggaeton, reguetón, and regeton) is a popular music characterized by rapid vocals and a steady "dembow" beat.

Others reveal that it was probably the young artist Daddy Yankee. During a jam session in 1990, he would have spontaneously pronounced the term "reggaetón". However, it was in 1991 that the term officially appeared for the first time on a mixtape, an audio cassette that compiles songs. Unlike an album, the mixtape is more

spontaneous because it was created especially to promote other artists and not necessarily in a logical order (Marquez, 2018).

So to speak, "reggaeton" was born in 1991, in the same decade as Zouglou. Yet, it was not formalised until four years later (Romero, 2019). The term only went global in 2004 with Daddy Yankee's *Gasolina*, which was a worldwide hit. However, it is interesting to see that despite all these theories, it was the Panamanian producer Michael Ellis who appropriated the name of this musical genre. Il avait couplé le terme "reggae" au suffixe augmentatif "-ón" pour montrer que le reggae qu'il faisait était un "grand reggae", le "reggaetón"². (Eduardo, 2018).

In fact, in the definition of "reggaeton" by the Royal Spanish Academy, it can be seen that it fixed its name to this term. However, this musical genre was called underground in its beginnings due to its marginal character that was little presented and belittled by society; this proves that it took a long time before the term was imposed. Indeed, reggaeton suffered repression in a Puerto Rico that struggles to impose its own identity, denying that it is an essential element to understand Puerto Rican identity today.

As Nando Boom is to Spanish reggae, Puerto Rican Vico C is the pioneer who managed to adapt hip-hop by rapping in Spanish to mark a break with the English language that dominated everywhere. Island DJs, including the three featured above, began mixing reggae and hip-hop, which became reggaeton.

At that time, recordings were made in small amateur studios for long sessions that could sometimes last up to thirty minutes. Young local talents like Daddy Yankee came to demonstrate their freestyle qualities and fortunately, the most influential DJs in the field identified and produced them during these "reggae marathons".

To conclude this genesis, we can say that it was in Panama where the basis of the sound and musicality was created, and in Puerto Rico where the name that made it popular was conceived. This motif is the main reason for the paternity of the genre claimed by Puerto Rico. Thus, during its development, reggaeton received different influences from various geographical areas.

Speaking of characteristics, it should be noted that reggaeton is a fusion of genres. On the one hand, there is reggae and dancehall, and on the other, elements of hip hop and rap. The themes of Reggaeton are very varied. Like rap and reggae, this musical genre is a means of expression for marginalized groups (disadvantaged sectors of society and ghettos).

As with most popular working class music, the lyrics are often linked to the reality and daily life of the street: La femme est alors considérée comme un vulgaire objet de plaisir sexuel ("pégate y motívame", "baila morena", "castigala", "tu cuerpo en

² He had coupled the term "reggae" with the augmentative suffix "-ón" to show that the reggae he was making was "great reggae", "reggaetón".

la cama", "muévete y perrea", "cara de bellaca"...). La femme est alors considérée comme un vulgaire objet de plaisir sexuel ("pégate y motívame", "baila morena", "castigala", "tu cuerpo en la cama", "muévete y perrea", "cara de bellaca"...)³ (Ramond, Proust, 2012). As in the case of Zouglou, the lyrics of these songs, which come from poor urban communities considered marginal, explicitly speak of drugs, violence, poverty, homophobia, friendship, love and above all sex. This is why they are in a position to understand the language of this music because they identify with it.

Also, the woman, who is one of the themes of Reggaeton, is presented from a macho point of view. Although fundamental, the messages of reggaeton songs initially dealt with social issues as a complaint. However, as time went on, sexual and women's issues became more prominent, sometimes discreetly, but for the most part, quite explicitly. Much criticism of this has led many singers to return to their origins and to deal with other types of themes or to soften them.

In terms of rhythms and melodies, reggaeton has a catchy style, although some songs consist of very repetitive phrases. The dances are also generally easy so that the choreography can be done without being too studied. Son style est généralement associé à des mouvements très sensuels porte le nom de «perreo».(Escuyer, 2019)⁴

Lyricaly, the language is often street level, colloquial or even vulgar, abusive and aggressive. It conveys a message, asserted by repetition, whose content is most often explicitly sexual and macho. La femme est alors considérée comme un vulgaire objet de plaisir sexuel ("pégate y motívame", "baila morena", "castigala", "tu cuerpo en la cama", "muévete y perrea", "cara de bellaca"...)⁵. (SALSA, 2021). However, in order to avoid these titles being banned on the mass media, the lyrics regularly contain double language that allows this vulgarity to be blurred (for example, the word gasolina in Daddy Yankee's title of the same name does not mean "petrol" but "sperm").

Unlike Zouglou, Reggaeton is, for many Latin American rappers, "a stupidifying rhythm aimed at moving the hips and not the brain". It is above all a danceable musical genre. This explains the predominance of the rhythm section, which is syncopated, choppy, repetitive and throbbing. It is derived from the Jamaican rhythm called dem bow.

2. Urban Music and its Topicality: Themes Developed by Zouglou and Reggaetón

Financial and social problems are Ivorian students are Faced with are the main topics that Zouglou musicians deal with in their lyrics. As such, the philosophy of the Zouglou is a satire of society, the gestures explaining first of all the difficulties

³poverty, misunderstandings, unfair situations, love, passion, sex, infidelity, partying, dancing, political corruption, drugs, hatred or racism

⁴ Its style is usually associated with very sensual movements and is called "perreo".

⁵ The woman is then considered as a vulgar object of sexual pleasure ("pégate y motívame", "baila morena", "castigala", "tu cuerpo en la cama", "muévete y perrea", "cara de bellaca"...).

experienced by students in university residences as confirmed by N'daridling Lopy (2021):

Ainsi, dans la chanson baptisée "Gboclo Koffi", Les parents du campus reprennent les revendications estudiantines. Il s'agit d'une apostrophe au président Houphouët-Boigny. The demands mainly concern accommodation, food, the lack of buses... In 1991, Zouglou is therefore a music of social revendication. Musical formations are presented as the eyes and ears of the people. (Lopy, 2021)⁶

This commitment can be explained by the socio-political events that gave birth to the concept: the social problems experienced by the students and the advent of democracy in 1990, which represents freedom of expression. Thus, politics is another theme that it addresses, to denounce bad governance, the tyranny that governments sometimes exercise over the people, the mismanagement of public affairs, etc.

The concern that permeates the themes of the first songs is nothing more than the immersed face of the despair that, in neighbourhoods, cities and villages, obstructs the horizon of the future of young people. The use of Zouglou by young people outside of school reproduces in some way the conjunction between the uncertainty of the future elites and the disillusionment of those excluded from the system. This orientation is due to the mismanagement of political power bosses.

This genre is considered by Ivorians as "the voice of the voiceless". It has taken root and positioned itself as an advocate for citizens. For almost two decades, Zouglou has crossed the borders of university residences to become a music of the people, by the people. This is why it has become a unifying factor for the oppressed and the excluded in Ivorian society as a whole. In this respect, one can cite Soum Bill's album *Zambakro* in which one can listen to the following lyrics:

On voit des images partout à la télé eh
Partout dans les journaux des bandits tués eh
On veut nettoyer ce qu'on a versé oh ces bandits
C'est tout ce que le système a fait de meilleurs oh
On veut les éliminer eh
Mais souvent on élimine des innocents
Faut pas que PC crise devienne pc crime oh
Voilà ce qui nous inquiète oh⁷ (Soum Bill, *Zambakro*, 2012)

⁶ In the song called "Gboclo Koffi", the parents of the campus take up the students' demands. It is an apostrophe to President Houphouët-Boigny. The demands mainly concerned housing, food, the lack of buses... In 1991, Zouglou was therefore a music of social demands. The musical groups are presented as the eyes and ears of the people.

⁷ We see pictures everywhere on TV eh
Everywhere in the newspapers bandits killed eh
We want to clean up what we've poured out oh these bandits
That's the best the system has done oh
We want to eliminate them eh
But often we eliminate the innocent
We don't want PC crisis to become pc crime oh
That's what worries us oh

We will not deny that this movement has had and continues to have a major influence on Ivorian society. The proof is that many young people are joining this philosophy. In doing so, they want to express their mea culpa by denouncing bad practices at the political and social level and in all sectors of life. In this regard, we can cite Les Garagistes, *Espoir 2000*, and many others. We are visiting the current musical universe with the Zouglou group Yodé and Siro whose last and last album respectively entitled "*Signe Zo*, 2012) in its title "le peuple te regarde (the people look at you)", and "*Héritage* (2020), (inheritance)":

Le peuple t'a choisi
 Si tu as choisi voleur, nous on va t'appeler voleur
 Tu seras responsable de ton choix
 On a souffert dans la guerre
 Sur la route de la paix on vient nous tuer
 Nous empoisonner avec des déchets toxiques
 Si on trouve pas les coupables on dira que c'est toi ow eh Presi ow⁸ (Yode and Siro, 2012)
 Mon président, on dit quoi
 Les gens sont emprisonnés
 Et tu dis y a personne en prison oh
 Ce que tu n'as pas voulu hier, tu ne le fais pas aujourd'hui
 Parce que les mêmes causes produisent les mêmes effets
 On dit y a pas l'argent au pays oh
 Et tu dis l'argent travaille ohh
 Mais l'argent là, ça travaille pour qui oh
 Là là, président, c'est comment
 Plus de soixante ethnies, dans notre pays
 Aujourd'hui, du rez-de-chaussée jusqu'au dernier étage
 Du gardien, jusqu'au directeur, si c'est pas les Bakayoko ou bien les Coulibaly
 seulement qui mangent"⁹ (Yode y Siro, 2020)

It seeks the well-being of society by participating in the policy of integration of all Ivorians from the north to the south, from the centre to the centre, from the east to

⁸ The people have chosen you
 If you chose thief, we'll call you thief
 You will be responsible for your choice
 We suffered in the war
 On the road to peace they come to kill us
 Poison us with toxic waste
 If we don't find the culprits we'll say you did it ow eh Presi ow

⁹ My president, what do we say
 People are imprisoned
 And you say there's no one in prison oh
 What you didn't want yesterday, you don't do today
 Because the same causes produce the same effects
 They say there's no money in the country oh
 And you say money works ohh
 But the money, who does it work for oh
 And you say there's no money in the country oh And you say money works oh But who does the money work for oh
 More than sixty ethnic groups in our country
 Today, from the ground floor to the top floor
 From the guard to the director, if it's not only the Bakayoko or the Coulibaly who eat".

the west. It participates in the formation of a family and cultivates love between different Ivorian communities.

Zouglou is also a music of Ivorian national identity that brings together Baúle, Añi, Senoufo, Bete, Dioula, Guéré, Dida, Mauka, Ebrié, Abure, Abbey, etc., in short, all Ivorian ethnic groups around its melody, its languages and its themes. All Ivorians are proud of this music, which carries the national flag beyond the Ivorian borders and has become the standard-bearer of Ivorian music. This genre has the merit of bringing together students, the acculturated, the desperate, shoeshine boys and other caretakers, the street children, the peasant, the famous footballer, the politician, as well as the ruling elite.

In the same line of thought, there are other themes such as the culture of true love, friendship, fraternity, with an insistence on the union between all the ethnic groups that make up the Ivorian people to safeguard cultural richness, peace and national integration. Zouglou also relies on the language of humour, mockery and jokes to convey its message in its preferred language: Nouchi (Nouchi). It is typical of Côte d'Ivoire and accessible to all social strata and all national communities.

Despite all these difficulties, Zouglou will always remain Zouglou and no one can speak of Côte d'Ivoire without mentioning it. It should be understood that this is an undeniable cultural feature of the country. Many children from poor families have earned their living through the Zouglou. They started small in the streets and have now made an indescribable reputation not only in Côte d'Ivoire but also in the world. In this respect, the case of the group Magic System, which has become world famous, is edifying.

Thus, Zouglou has the merit of depicting the problems of society through humour; what could be called the Ivorian-style humour. Today, more than ever, we are reminded of the famous track *Asec-Kotoko* (Poussins chocs, 1994). This song is one of the most concrete examples that helped prevent a conflict between Ivorians and Ghanaians after a problematic match between the Ivorian and Ghanaian football clubs Asec Mimosas and Kotoko de Koumassi.

Other songs such as *Ziopin* (Les potes de la rue, 1992), *Tu sais qui je suis ?* (Yodé and Siro, 1998) play with the ethnic fibre with an amusing, pleasurable and ultimately forgetting that the Ivory Coast is a mosaic of ethnicities. The nation is strengthened and the people adopt a civic attitude of solidarity and mutual help when they listen to the songs that make Zouglou so successful.

In addition to getting closer to the different ethnic groups, Zouglou helps to discover the country's tourist attractions. Some songs, because of the density of their lyrics, are taught in public schools in civic and moral education classes. This is the case of the songs *Zomanman zo* (Zougloumania, 1990) and *Guéré* (Yodé & Siro, 2001), which present the cities, villages and ethnic groups of Côte d'Ivoire. Zouglou also talks

about politics. For the elections to be peaceful and the behaviour of the citizens during the elections to be good, the letters of a Zouglou collective ask everyone to register on the electoral list to avoid disturbances:

Si tu n'es pas inscrit tu ne peux pas voter
 Ne te plains pas si ton candidat n'est pas élu!
 ...Tu n'as pas lavé la main tu n'peux pas manger!
 Tu n'as pas pas pas passeport, tu n'peux pas voyager!
 Tu n'as de licence, tu n'peux pas jouer!
 Tu n'es pas inscrit, tu n'peux pas voter!¹⁰
 (Collectif Zouglou, Fais-toi enrôler, 2008)

Zouglou also raises awareness and challenges the theme of love. Magic Sytem, the genre's most famous ambassador, became internationally known thanks to the song *1er Gaou* (1999), which ironises the sudden rediscovery of a girl's love for her now famous ex-boyfriend. Indeed, the song "1er gaou" tells the story of a jilted boyfriend who now, thanks to his success, sees this woman coming back. A woman who is now interested and tries to take advantage of the situation.

Thus, the group Magic System calls for caution with this refrain that has become the motto of a whole generation: *On dit premier gaou n'est pas gaou oh! C'est deuxième gaou qui est gnata oh!*¹¹ (Magic System, 1999). In 1999, the huge success of the album "1er gaou" brought this festive spirit to the Zouglou. The album takes up stories of everyday life in Côte d'Ivoire.

Since its creation in 1990, Zouglou music has gone through three stages in its evolution: the stage of the pioneers who introduced it to the national scene, the stage of the builders who brought it to the international scene, and the stage of the heirs who keep it alive despite the vicissitudes that never cease to shake it. After almost 30 years of existence, this music has really taken root on Ivorian territory, as it is sung in the main languages and promotes several local rhythms. Although most of the Zouglou groups are based in Abidjan, the influence of the different regions can be felt in their work, whether in terms of rhythm, orchestration, instrumentation or the language used for the songs.

Thus, the following regions and ethnic groups are visited in Zouglou's repertoires: in the West (Bété, Guéré, Yacuba, ...): examples of rhythms: gnakpa, aloucou, zagrobi; examples of groups or singers: Nawa Dance, Magic Diezel, Poignon, Tout Mignon, Vieux Gazeur, Molière. In the east and centre (Añi, Baulé): examples of rhythms: ahoussi, agbass; example of a group: System Akobo. In the south (avikam, kroumen, añi): examples of rhythms: mapouka, youssoumba, bolo; examples of

¹⁰ If you are not registered you cannot vote
 Don't complain if your candidate is not elected!
 ...You haven't washed your hand you can't eat!
 You don't have a passport, you can't travel!
 You don't have a license, you can't play!
 You're not registered, you can't vote!

¹¹ It is said that first gaou is not gaou oh! It is second gaou that is gnata oh!

groups: Niggi Staff Cadence, Aboutou Roots, Les Youlé, les Pros du Zouglou. And in the north (Mahou, Malinké, Senufo): examples of rhythms: simpa, gouméle, yagba; examples of groups or singers: Les Galliets, Soum Bill. As we have just mentioned, Zouglou is typically Ivorian music.

As for reggaeton, the lyrics of the songs are similar to those of hip-hop. Thus, like hip-hop, most reggaeton singers recite their songs in rap style rather than singing them melodically. Reggaeton lyrics usually discuss topics that remain focused on the urban sphere and thus largely on issues such as crime, social problems and sex. Dembow continues to this day and retains this name. Over time, it has evolved musically and semiotically. The sexual connotation itself is still present and will remain the essence of reggaeton. However, there is a constant thematic evolution.

The themes also speak of the working class, of the realities of the street, of love, corruption, drugs and sex, let's say, like Zouglou, reggaeton, which is a music of Puerto Rican identity, carries within itself the roots of social satire, positioning itself as the defender of the voiceless. This is the reason why, like Zouglou, reggaeton tries to criticise all the phenomena taking place in Puerto Rico, inciting the population to become aware.

Admittedly, in its early days, reggaeton was plagued by sexist rhetoric, drug and prostitution advocacy, lyrics with little aesthetic content and simple, drum-based music (Ana Rosa Thillet, 2006). However, as this music took shape, globalised at the dizzying speed of cultural consumption in today's digital age, which has so influenced the dynamics of the global cultural music industry in recent decades, reggaeton has evolved in the opposite direction, both musically and discursively. Within a few years of its emergence, songs that still allude to these contents represent only a small proportion of reggaeton's global output, so that the genre has positioned itself as a music that both educates and raises awareness.

In a short time, reggaeton has contributed to making visible and revaluing, beyond political borders, various elements of Latin American cultural heritage, both local and common to the region: language, rhythms, dances, festivals, traditional cultures, etc., as well as promoting values such as solidarity, love, collaboration, multiculturalism, and addressing themes such as social criticism, politics and history. From the beginning, its founders planned it as a phenomenon of cultural twinning through music.

Reggaeton is a source of joy. It has opened doors for many young people, earning them a living as well as gaining popularity outside Puerto Rico. This music allows them to express their feelings in their texts. It highlights their vision of life through their words. It is as if music were is a remedy to sustain the vicissitudes of the mediocre life that Puerto Ricans live on a daily basis.

As reggaeton unleashes creativity and expression, be it physical or verbal, the artists talk about what they know best, i.e. committed music: criticising hardship, street life, corruption and racism in a dance rhythm to better convey their message. Like Zouglou, reggaeton is listened to more than many people identify with the lyrics.

Reggaeton is thus the voice of a repressed society which, like Zouglou, is now spreading all over the world. So to speak, the committed artist aims to reveal reality, to bear witness, to convey a message of hope, to convince people to join a cause, to defend values, to make the spectator act, to warn against forgetting and to pay homage. To achieve its objectives, committed music must touch the spectator's sensibility, move him, outrage him, touch the minds of populations. Committed music, like Zouglou or reggaeton, is often a reflection of the evolution of society and even precedes this evolution because the ultimate goal is to defend a world full of injustices.

3- Social Influences of Zouglou and Reggaetón

The relationship between human beings and music has evolved in the 21st century. As music is a social fact, Bergson was right to stress that art must always be at the service of freedom. He also argues that music must above all allow us to have access to the uninterrupted melody of our inner life. We can read: "La musique peut avoir un rôle fondamental dans la transformation de la société". (Kisukidi 245). From this point of view, music should be able to foster human development, integrating knowledge, observation, creativity and pleasure.

Zouglou and reggaeton play their role to the full by offering themes as varied as they are descriptive. As can be mentioned, Zouglou artists are at the service of Ivorians by participating in concerts and campaigns for the promotion of peace. However, this role is most effectively played through musical actions designed in tune with contemporary social problems. To put it this way, Zouglou and Reggaeton play their role to the full by offering themes as varied as they are descriptive. In Puerto Rico, too, reggaeton has played this role as a catalyst for peace, as José Fajardo states:

La popularité planétaire de genres musicaux comme le Reggaetón et d'artistes comme le Portoricain Bad Bunny est parée d'une dimension sociale: la condamnation des insultes proférées par le président Donald Trump à l'encontre des immigrants latinos et l'auto-affirmation d'une communauté dans le titre "Que Pretendes" aux MTV Awards 2019. (Fajardo, 2020)¹².

Music offers all this potentially, as well as the possibility of a creative practice for individuals to come into effective and enjoyable contact with knowledge in the broadest sense, meaning knowledge on an external level, i.e. culture, and also on an internal level, i.e. knowledge of the self. We know that Zouglou and Reggaeton have

¹² The global popularity of musical genres such as Reggaetón and artists such as Puerto Rican Bad Bunny is adorned with a social dimension: the condemnation of President Donald Trump's insults to Latino immigrants and the self-affirmation of a community in the title

positioned themselves as advocates of national culture in Côte d'Ivoire and Puerto Rico respectively.

It must also be said that the bridges responsible for the integration of these two universes, inner-outer, I the other, music is capable of stimulating them. The silence that nature knows how to interpret so well alternates with thousands of sounds that only she can provide. In creating music, man also wanted to domesticate this silence; it is the same when man tried to imitate nature. This feat has brought to our ears that subjective, sensory, profound language that allows us to appreciate our environment.

He has found the most intimate way of expressing himself. Richard Wagner says nothing else: "La musique n'exprime pas la passion, ni l'amour ni la nostalgie d'un individu dans une certaine situation, elle est au contraire la passion, l'amour, la nostalgie même..." (Villard, 2018)

The consumption of music today is completely different because we can indeed speak of a real consumption that can be observed in the Zouglou of Ivorians in Côte d'Ivoire and in their diaspora, as well as in reggaeton in Puerto Rico and beyond.

Music is undeniably present in our society, in our daily lives, and one could even speak of its omnipresence, as there are numerous examples to back up this statement. The number of concerts organised by zouglou and reggaeton promoters is attracting people. As a result, the number of digital media promoting these two musical genres is astonishing the world over. What would all the big parties of the year in Ivory Coast and Puerto Rico, from New Year's Eve to holidays, from a birthday party to a friend's wedding, from a music festival to the fabulous night when the national football team of a certain country wins an international competition, be without Zouglou and Reggaeton?

Zouglou and Reggaeton are real sources of shared pleasure and well-being. They are often an extraordinary means of escape from the worries of life, from the rhythm imposed by our society and from the often stressful school years. Zouglou has helped Ivorians to withstand the various socio-political crises of recent years, just as reggaeton has given the poor in the slums of Puerto Rico, the blacks and those excluded from the system, the inner peace they needed for their equilibrium. This is where Guillaume de Machaut, a 13th century composer, said: *La musique est une science qui veut qu'on rit, et chante et danse, Partout où elle est, joie y porte, les déconfortez réconforte, Et n'est n'est seulement de l'ouïr, fait-elle les gens réjouir* (Villard, 2018)

Zouglou and Reggaeton weave relations between members of the different communities in each country. Musical tastes, which evolve with age, are often at the origin of belonging to a social category. In Côte d'Ivoire, before it became a national music, Zouglou was the music of students and youth. A style of music such as reggaeton, accused of transmitting violence and hatred, has been able to adapt to the

social context to become a source of reflection on the delicate problems of the Puerto Rican suburbs. Music drives out hatred from those who are without love, it gives peace to those who are without rest, it comforts those who weep. Those who are torn find new ways, and those who refuse everything regain confidence and hope.

In all cultures, music is a channel of expression of the cultural identity of a community. It is now integrated into a multi-ethnic society such as that of Côte d'Ivoire. This country has 60 ethnic groups. The Puerto Rican community is cultural melting-pot. It is made of a mixture of the native, British and African ethnicities. In both cases, belonging to one community matters. It is therefore easy to understand why these two musical genres, Zouglou and Reggaeton, have been able to take root, express themselves and project themselves internationally. Music with an identity function is present in most of the collective and official events of the Ivorian and Puerto Rican community.

In addition to this cultural identity, there is also a social identity. In this sense, Zouglou and Reggaeton play an important social role, as they contribute to raising public awareness through the texts and messages they convey. As social events, these two musical genres play a fundamental role in the transformation of Ivorian and Puerto Rican society. However, this role is most effectively played through musical actions that take into account the social problems of these two geographical areas. Both musical genres promote human development, integrating knowledge, observation, creativity and fun. In a word, music is a marker of collective identity.

Conclusion

At the end of our analysis, it must be said that Zouglou and Reggaeton are two musical genres that engage in their totality. This commitment is proof that Ivorian and Puerto Rican society are dynamic on a socio-economic, political and cultural level. To reach this point, these two musical genres have gone through periods that have forged artists, authors of texts that take into account the aspirations of their society as a whole.

At first, Zouglou was a music of expression of the difficulties experienced by students in university halls of residence to make their voices heard. Later, this music took on the social ills to defend the weakest and the socially excluded. It therefore tackled all the issues affecting the life of the Ivorian nation. In doing so, it has entered into the hearts of the people, children, young people and adults.

The same goes for Reggaeton. It initially developed themes of sexual and violent content, which clashed with morality and therefore did not meet with the approval of a section of the population. It quickly evolved and became embedded in all social strata, becoming a committed and culturally grounded music. This new direction brought reggaeton to the heart of the people and ensured its full acceptance by the masses.

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