ESLA
ENGLISH STUDIES IN LATIN AMERICA
A JOURNAL OF CULTURAL AND LITERARY CRITICISM

THE IN-BETWEEN AND THE POSTCOLONIAL AESTHETIC OF REGGAE

Author: Matías Palacios

Source: *English Studies in Latin America*, No. 22 (January 2022)

ISSN: 0719-9139

Published by: Facultad de Letras, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile

---

English Studies in Latin America
ISSN: 0719-9139
Issue 22 (January 2022)

The In-Between and the Postcolonial Aesthetic of Reggae

Matías Palacios[1]

ABSTRACT

This article focuses on reggae music's postcolonial Caribbean aesthetic, following the ideas of Ghanaian-born Jamaican author Kwame Dawes. It is proposed that this aesthetic is closely related to two of Homi Bhabha's concepts in the framework of postcolonial criticism: the in-between and hybridity. With the aim of proving this point, we analyze the lyrics and music of three reggae songs in chronological order. The works analyzed are Desmond Dekker & The Aces' "Israelites", Gregory Isaacs' "Word of the Farmer", and Burning Spear's "Columbus"; musical productions spanning from 1968 to 1980. Constant references to Bhabha's *The Location of Culture* and Dawes' *Natural Mysticism* are used in order to support their arguments. The conclusion seeks to acknowledge how reggae artists have incorporated ideas from both Africa and Europe in order to create new thoughts while maintaining certain unifying characteristics. This is especially evident through specific themes in the compositions, such as establishing Africa as a homeland and re-evaluating history, as well as in the musicalization. Finally, Bhabha's ideas allow for the discursive complexity of this Caribbean musical genre to be shown more clearly, as explored through the selected works.

KEYWORDS: Reggae, Afro-Caribbean culture, postcolonialism, in-between

RESUMEN

Este artículo se enfoca en la estética poscolonial caribeña de la música reggae, siguiendo las ideas del autor jamaicano nacido ghanés Kwame Dawes. Se propone que esta estética está cercanamente relacionada con dos conceptos de Homi Bhabha en el marco teórico de la crítica poscolonial: el entre-medio y la hibridez. Con el fin de probar este punto, analizamos las letras y la música de tres canciones de reggae en orden cronológico. Las obras analizadas son "Israelites" de Desmond Dekker & The Aces, "Word of The Farmer" de Gregory Isaacs, y "Columbus" de Burning Spear; producciones musicales que van desde 1968 hasta 1980. Referencias constantes a *The Location of Culture* de Bhabha y a *Natural Mysticism* de Dawes son usadas para apoyar los argumentos. La conclusión busca dar cuenta de como los artistas de reggae han incorporado ideas tanto de África como de Europa con el fin de crear nuevos pensamientos mientras mantienen ciertas características unificadoras. Esto es especialmente evidente a través de temáticas específicas en las composiciones, como establecer a África como patria y revaluar la historia, además de la musicalización. Finalmente, las ideas de Bhabha permiten que la complejidad discursiva de este género musical caribeño se muestre de manera clara, como se explora en las obras seleccionadas.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Reggae, cultura afrocaribeña, poscolonialismo, entre-medio

1 Matías Palacios is an undergraduate student at the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile. Currently in his second year, he is interested in studying lyrical music through a cultural studies and stylistics perspective.

Nowadays, reggae music tends to be associated with feelings of easiness and love. Reggae artists such as Bob Marley have had a big presence in people's lives, as their music is played everywhere, from radios to movies. One of Marley's most popular songs says, "I wanna love ya and treat you right" (0:17-0:22) and those types of messages have been the ones that have generally stuck with people. People have adopted symbols that come from Rastafari thanks to reggae music, such as the colors red, green and yellow, dreadlocks, and marihuana; adopted both in iconography and its usage. However interesting, and problematic, the adoption of certain cultural elements from Jamaica used in reggae has been, it is important to realize that the conception of this music style has very particular roots, and that from it a "body of work from which a distinctive postcolonial Caribbean aesthetic can be drawn" (Dawes 65). This paper will deal with this statement, showing how this Caribbean aesthetic of reggae can be linked to Homi Bhabha's postcolonial ideas of the in-between and hybridity, through several elements mentioned in Kwame Dawes' book, *Natural Mysticism*.

In order to prove this hypothesis, an analysis of three reggae songs by three different artists has been done. The works analyzed correspond to: Desmond Dekker & The Aces' "Israelites", Gregory Isaacs' "Word of the Farmer" and Burning Spear's "Columbus". The focus has been placed on both the lyrics and music, describing how these two elements work together to evoke the in-between and hybridity, by means of instrumentation and speech.

A BRIEF LOOK AT REGGAE'S HISTORY

Modern Jamaica is a nation that is built on its past of slavery and its condition as a colony. Efforts, from the British colonizers, were constantly made to force their culture onto the people native to Jamaica and the enslaved ones carried from Africa during the Middle Passage–process spanning from 1533 to 1807. For example, the colonial school system in Jamaica was focused on teaching Standard English and the culture linked to Britain and the rest of Europe. This forced adaptation into British culture split the black Jamaican population, which comprised 90% of Jamaica's total population, into "two predominant orientations: an Afro-orientation and a mulatto orientation" (Brodber 147). The mulatto orientation was the one that gave into the English

educational system, seeing the textbooks provided to them as "the ultimate truth" (147). These people followed the European ways, displacing part of their African roots in the process. On the other hand, people on the Afro-orientation were those who kept in touch with their African traditions, such as oral knowledge; books were not as emphasized as speech. Thus, by not adhering to the European traditions and teachings, people who were Afro-oriented were cast aside by both European colonizers and those belonging to the mulatto orientation, displacing also their culture and knowledge.

The opposition presented towards the Afro-oriented population allowed for the insurgence of opposing voices which ultimately shaped much of the art which came from this sector, including reggae. The search for a national identity, which was greatly helped by Jamaica's independence from the British in 1962, was accompanied by revolutionary expressions, that of which reggae is said to voice "the militancy of the oppressed against hegemonic postcolonial systems" (Egharevba and Egharevba 163).

In more general terms, the acknowledgment of the Afro-orientation in Jamaica began after the changes in attitude that the metropoles in Europe and America began to have towards black people and the African continent (Brodber 149). This opening to other cultures and lifestyles allowed for certain elements to be brought into the mainstream. Hence, the popular Jamaican singers went from being imitators of North American artists to achieving their own personalities in the 1950s-60s, managing to incorporate elements from their own culture, as it is the case with reggae and the inclusion of elements from Rastafari.

REGGAE AND HOMI BHABHA

Reggae was born in Jamaica during a time when the middle class was trying to write about the working class, from authors to musical artists. The fact that people who were trying to represent this vulnerable group were outsiders and belonged to a class that held much more privilege was problematic. Because of this, conditions were set up for the emergence of working-class people who were willing to write about themselves. This is how in the discussion of approaching the working class from a place of power, "Reggae completely usurps the power dynamic expressed in this

discourse for it did not emerge as a discovery of the middle-class but simply established its own terms of value and meaning" (Dawes 102-103). This writing from within was much more articulate and was able to speak to the community from where it came from in a better way, always worrying about speaking to the working class first. Here, we can begin to see the creation of new spaces by the people who had always been marginalized, spaces where their sense of identity could start to grow. This is what Homi Bhabha refers to as "the in-between", meaning, "spaces (that) provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood–singular or communal–that initiate new signs of identity...in the act of defining the idea of society itself" (Bhabha 2). And the idea of society was being (re)defined through an uprise of reggae following the acceptance of the Afro-orientation in Jamaica and metropolitan centres, putting the ideas of the working class up-front, reaching beyond the community that it was trying to talk to. However, to talk about Afro-orientation or any other expression of culture as pure, especially when people have been subjected to colonization, is naïve. This is why Bhabha talks about hybridity, which occurs in the in-between or "third spaces", where there is a fusion/interaction of ideas and cultures that are different. The recognition of hybridity allows for the relief of tensions which may occur when there is a clash of cultures, and doing so also helps to dissipate phenomena such as exoticism (37-38)–a notion that was prevalent in Caribbean literature during the 1940s and 50s, where, in order to appeal to international readers, stereotypes and caricatures were made at the expense of Caribbean people.

This idea of the "third spaces" is put forward also by the notion of the repatriation to Africa, more specifically Ethiopia, that is preached by Rastafari. Due to the influence Rastafari has on reggae, be it through artists belonging to this religion or them being influenced by it, it is understood that "Rastafari have long used music to imagine and evoke senses of Africa/Ethiopia and reify this place as a homeland" (Aarons 40). This deep spiritual connection expressed through music helps towards constructing an African identity within the African diaspora in Jamaica, while allowing for a parallelism between this African identity and the general situation in Jamaica, especially for marginalized groups.

SONGS ANALYSIS: HOW BHABHA'S IDEAS ARE EXPRESSED IN REGGAE

The first song to be analyzed is Desmond Dekker & The Aces' "Israelites", issued originally as "(Poor Me) Israelites". This song was the first reggae song to reach number one in the UK music charts, also peaking at number nine in the US. It broke through the mainstream in a way that no other Jamaican musician who was not just copying European or North American genres had done before. The song marked the beginning of a successful time for reggae in the UK and the US; since the year of its release in 1968 until the end of 1972, there was practically not a week where the Top 40 did not feature at least one reggae track (Du Noyer 359).

What may catch the attention of the listener at first about the song is how it immediately starts with the vocals, accompanied by playing a single note on a guitar. It also starts with a slower tempo compared to the rest of the song, emphasizing the content of the lyrics: "Get up in the morning slaving for bread, sir/ So that every mouth can be fed/ Poor me Israelites" (Dekker 0:00-0:15). It is saying this in order to describe their struggle; the artist uses the word "slaving". While being a "slave to wage labor" is a common sentence nowadays, the use of that word by Dekker bears much more meaning, as black people in Jamaica still felt oppressed during those times, as inequality, which mostly affected the people of color, was (and still is) a commonality. Here, the word "slaving" evokes certain imagery from the plantations. This is not a stretch, as Dawes even says, "the lyrics of many reggae artists explore the relationship between history and the contemporary, an exploration that frequently redefines both past and present in a radical act of reinterpretation" (106). While the connection may not be too apparent, due to reggae being an emerging music genre at the time, as it originated in the late 1960s, it is still interesting to see the characteristic of bringing the past into the present in an early form.

Another element worth analyzing is the word "Israelites", which possibly links to the Rastafari religious group, or mansion as they are referred to by members of the Rastafari, the Twelve Tribes of Israel. This Rastafari mansion is the one that is closest to Christianity, having the Bible as their sacred book. It is relevant to highlight the importance Rastafari has on reggae, both as a spiritual and political movement, and the relationship between it and reggae can be seen in a

clearer way in the following songs. However, while Dekker limits himself to make reference to Rastafari with only one word, that is repeated at the end of each verse, he still makes a connection between the movement and the struggle from which it is born[2]. Hence, by repeating the phrase, "Poor Me Israelites", Dekker is accentuating how the struggle is very much real, making the previous word, slaving, much more relevant. Basically, the Israelites still suffer.

Resuming to the rest of the song, another interesting line appears, "Shirt dem a tear-up trousers a go/ I don't want to end up like Bonnie and Clyde/ Poor me Israelites" (Dekker 0:45-0:52). Here, a vocabulary that deviates from Standard English can be seen, which is in fact another way to create a unique space, following Bhabha's in-between, showing us a type of communication that does not align completely with what English speakers are used to, especially those in the metropoles, where this song was successful. As an anecdotal side note, risking hindering the formality of the research paper, the research process for this song was rather amusing, as in the Wikipedia page of the track, one can read the following: "Although few could understand all the lyrics, the single was the first UK reggae number one" ("Israelites (song)"). Despite the fact that Wikipedia did not cite any actual source for this claim, the comment section of the YouTube page for "Israelites" supports this statement (Dekker). This might be talking about how the song was stripped of meaning by many people, showing not only the dangers of breaking into the mainstream, but also of the ones in power taking over art that can be critical for those it came from. Additionally, the line "I don't want to end up like Bonnie and Clyde" evidently demonstrates the phenomenon of hybridity. Bonnie and Clyde were an outlaw couple from 1930s' United States, who became icons in pop culture, with a movie releasing in 1967. The inclusion of these figures by Dekker shows the influence that English-speaking countries, like the U.S., had on Jamaica, as it was not a "rude boy" or any other image coming from Jamaica that they decided on but rather icons from the U.S.

2 For a thorough look on Rastafari please refer to Velma Pollard's book Dread Talk: The Language of the Rastafari. Pollard mentions Rastafari originating from a similar place as reggae, representing an opposition to "all that the establishment has repressed historically for the sons of slaves growing up in what a research labels a 'pigmentocracy'" (Pollard 22).

It is important to note that "Israelites" is a song coming from a very early age of reggae, so, many elements that are established by Dawes may be missing or are not as prominent, like the use of dread talk, the direct critique of colonialist/neo-colonialist ideas, more explicit Rastafarian imagery/symbols and repatriation to Ethiopia (102-121). In spite of this, the song is worth mentioning because of the impact it had on the market of reggae.

Continuing, the second song corresponds to Gregory Isaacs' "Word of the Farmer," released in 1978, approximately 10 years after "Israelites". The song starts with a short drum fill followed by a relatively loud keyboard, which function as attention grabbers in order to listen to the singer's first words: "I won't/ No I won't" (Gregory Isaacs 0:04-0:10). Those lines are then followed by the subsequent lyrics:

> I, I won't let you take
> All the fruits of my soil, oh
> While you work ah play, yeah
> I'm the one who sweats and toil, yeah (Gregory Isaacs 0:16-0:39)

These verses present us with a decision made by the singer to not let anyone take what they have worked for. Later in the song, it is revealed who the artist is speaking to: "I won't let you take away my vineyard/ No backra, no master/ Stay low" (1:40-1:52). He uses the word "backra," meaning, "Expression used to refer to any white person, particularly one in a position of authority. It is also used to refer to a slave master or slave driver" ("Backra"). The word comes from Efik and Igbo, both languages from the respective Efik and Igbo people (Allsopp 112). This reflects the way some lexicon from people who came to the Caribbean due to slavery is still untouched in some ways. This phenomenon is fairly common, due to the mixture of people who came into America, specifically the Caribbean, from Africa, as it is said that "from a slave basin of some three and a half million square miles of West and Central Africa, involving over 2000 different languages and sub-languages, people were indiscriminately gathered" (Allsopp 96). There was a regrouping of languages, were many African culture elements maintained themselves across time. The use of the word "backra" helps to display what the song portrays: the anxiety that black population has regarding white

people taking the fruit of their labor, in this case literally. In addition, the use of negative statements gives a much stronger sense of conviction, the singer is opposing oppression through direct confrontation. The fact that the words backra and master are used really give a sense of what the narrative voice is feeling. For one, the use of master, making reference to slave masters, is significant, because although proper slave masters no longer existed in Jamaica since the abolishment of slavery, which occurred in 1834–following revolts beginning during December 1831, revolts that managed to gather almost a fifth of the entire enslaved population (Holt 13-14)– addressing someone through that word which carries a lot of meaning in that society, demonstrates how the past is still weighing on part of the population. Again, we are faced with the folding of time, bringing the past into the present, this time in a less discreet fashion. Secondly, the fact that bracka refers to slave master and any white person, communicated the same message. There is a relative fear towards authority, authority which, in many cases, still happens to be white. Nevertheless, the fear does not reduce the character of the story, due to the help of the present and his knowledge, he can face figures which bear a resemblance to his past.

The anxiety-riddled yet brave man is a product of the colonial past. Due to this shared past, a big part of the population has been able to create an in-between space, as we have already mentioned. But the in-between is a place with only relative stability. As it is a construction built from overlapping differences, between the colonizer and the colonial subjects, it can take both the good and the bad of each part. For example, the irruption of the colonizer into almost every aspect of the colonial subject's life can have lasting consequences (Bhabha 9-10). There is a limiting of the latter's private space, which is most certainly a traumatic experience, and this forceful displacing can lead to hostility. Thus, as it is a trauma inflicted on a large population, it is not abnormal then to see that the next generations, which now live in postcolonial times, use the same language to refer to the people that are oppressing them, albeit differently.

Around the middle of the song, a keyboard interlude occurs. Long notes are interspersed with short notes, with the former ones giving a triumphant tone to the song, while the latter are uneasy, reminding us that there is fear, a historical one, behind the situation being portrayed.

After the end of the interlude, this is sung: "Just as an upful man, yeah/ Now my fruit has come to perfection/ You're heading in, in I direction, yeah" (Gregory Isaacs 2:39-3:00). Here, Rastafari language, or dread talk, is employed. "Upful" is a term for positive feeling, this goes in accordance with the Rastafari tendency of utilizing words that "bear the weight of their phonological implications" (Pollard 46). But it is also a new term, which is a common practice among Rastafari, the creation of lexis. Furthermore, the use of "I" instead of "my" is commonplace too. This change in language is considered "central to the process of decolonization and the liberation of an oppressed society" (Dawes 105). Again, the in-between presents itself, now through specific changes in language. Not only does it serve the purpose of communicating to and from the community that is facing the struggle described in the song, but it actively recognizes the remains of the colonial legacy, carrying a message of opposition through both content and form.

It is only fitting that the song ends with these words: "No I won't, no/ No I won't, let you take all" (Gregory Isaacs 3:58-4:09). The same defiance that started the track is now cementing itself at the end of it, accompanied by the ambivalent keyboard.

Finally, the last song that exemplifies the postcolonial aesthetics through Bhabha's ideas of the in-between and hybridity is Burning Spear's "Columbus". This song is the most upbeat of the three, starting with cheerful sounds coming from a keyboard and then a horn section that is really playful. Burning Spear then proceeds to begin his singing like this:

> I and I old I know
> I and I old I say
> I and I reconsider
> I and I upfully that
> Christopher Columbus is a damn blasted liar
> Christopher Columbus is a damn blasted liar
> Yes, Jah (Burning Spear 0:16-0:42)

The first thing that is worth emphasizing is the prominent use of dread talk. The first four lines of the song make use of the way the Rastafari say the pronouns I and we, "I and I". It indicates the

connection between body and mind, in reference to how "I" sounds just like "eye", and also it bears the meaning of the Rasta man having the "eye" to see beyond what others can see (Pollard 55). Therefore, by saying "I and I", not only is the singer referring to the fact that they are doing what they say they are doing, but also that they are able to do it because they have a better insight of the world. Additionally, we can see the use of another word from dead talk, "upfully", which was commented on Gregory Isaacs' song. The use of it, which denotes a positive feeling, along with the music that accompanies the lyrics, contrasts with the message that is delivered next, "Christopher Columbus is a damn blasted liar." The artist is denouncing the figure of Christopher Columbus, while being positive in spirits about it.

Moving along, the second verse shows the habit of reggae of re-evaluating history, a component that was also seen in "Word of the Farmer":

> He's saying that he is the first one
>
> Who discover Jamaica
>
> I and I say that, what about the Arawak Indians
>
> And the few black man who were around here, before him
> (Burning Spear 0:54-1:14)

Nonetheless, here, as opposed to Isaac's work, there is a direct questioning of the knowledge that people have regarding history, specifically about Christopher Columbus. The past is brought into the present not in order to make a fusion of temporalities that can lead to critical thinking, but rather Burning Spear is putting the topic of colonial and imperialistic teaching up-front. Here the idea of the in-between as a space for "defining the idea of society itself" (Bhabha 2) is seen directly. The artist is trying to make listeners question the knowledge imposed on them too, not only about one man and his supposed "discovery" of America, but also of what it really means to discover a place that was already inhabited.

The third and last verse brings forth another idea that is consistently present in reggae and Rastafari, the focus on Africa as a homeland for the people of the Caribbean:

What a long way from home

I and I longing to go home

Within a red, green, and gold robe

Come on Twelve Tribe of Israel
Come on Twelve Tribe of Israel (Burning Spear 2:10-2:26)

Reggae often puts Africa as a "spiritual homeland", "What a long way from home" says the artist, defying the Western paradigm while presenting a new mythological framework, trying to strengthen the relationship Caribbean people have with this continent and to diverge from the European standards (Dawes 106). Nonetheless, one problematic aspect of this decolonization process through the vision of Africa and, in the Rastafari tradition more specifically, Ethiopia as home, is the homogenization of this "homeland". This image has "remained mostly confined to the realm of utopia, diasporic narratives, visions, and symbols" (Mattavelli 16). Home is not elaborated but put into significant imagery, "Within a red, green, and gold robe". Symbolism is strong and meaningful, but it helps with cementing a newer type of exoticism towards the African continent – which goes along with some reggae repertoire of creating a "sense" of the homeland (Aarons 39-43, 79-82). Furthermore, the listener is introduced to religious messages as "Come on Twelve Tribe of Israel" is sung. While the Twelve Tribes of Israel has already been explained, this notwithstanding, a comment can be made on Rastafari's spirituality and Bhabha's ideas. Rastafari "represents a fundamental break with traditional and conventional Judeo-Christianity. It redefines the meaning of deity and recasts the figure of God in terms that are antithetical to colonial representations of the Christian godhead" (Dawes 105). So, despite the fact the Twelve Tribes of Israel uses traditional Judeo-Christian texts, they create new interpretations of them, with messages of that being visible in "Columbus", like pointing to Africa as home. Plus, there is use of the word "Jah", utilized by the Rastafari to refer to God or Haile Selassie, who is seen as the incarnation of God. The reinterpretation of such religious texts makes the hybridity that is in Rastafari clear. They read works like the Bible, which were imposed on them by the colonizers, yet they mix what is written with their connections to Africa, effectively creating, again, ideas that defy the establishment.

As a short final thought on the song, there is, overall, a more extensive use of dread talk in this work compared to the other songs. Along with that, the pronunciation of the English itself is pretty non-standard, so it could be said that the song makes a stronger case for the decolonization through language that is intended by Rastafari.

Before concluding, the musical aspects of reggae merit discussion. Sonically, reggae tends to not put one sound over another; usually there is a balance between instruments,although bass and drums are the foundations of all songs, with every song working around them (Dawes 112). Additionally, songs maintain a rhythm that is steady and not too changing. For example, all three of the songs analyzed kept the same instrumentation throughout their whole run, except for certain times where particular sounds were scarcely added in order to introduce a motif that complimented the lyrics or to set a mood. The lack of musical climaxes and solos "suggests an ethos that is rooted in the notion of continuity" (Dawes 112), that should not be confused with lack of musical prowess or texture. These notions of continuity and balance differ from much of what is popular in Western music, with genres such as rock and its derivatives, where sonic progress and build-ups within songs and albums are predominant and solos are abundant. Moreover, the instruments used are those typical in Western culture: drum, bass, guitar, keyboards, etc. The notion of hybridity appears once more because, "while reggae's instrumentation uses the tools of western culture, they have been adapted to speak the language of the people making the music" (114). Lastly, reggae encourages dancing, considering the listeners as participants of the performance though their dance (118). However, this genre holds the thought that mind and body are connected, so the dancing that should be done must be conscious, as the body "contains in it the history of a society and its connections to a past of hybrid influences" (119). So, reggae generates a space where people can enjoy and also reflect, letting the history that is in their bodies and in the music and lyrics affect them. Every part of a human exists because of history, their body, their thoughts, their language, their art. Reggae acknowledges that in the creation of a third space that allows for consciousness and recreation to converge.

In conclusion, the "distinctive postcolonial Caribbean aesthetic" that, according to Dawes, can be drawn from reggae, can be justified through Bhabha's own postcolonial concepts of the in-between and hybridity. Reggae manages to do quite a lot with words, as the themes brought up by the artists very much relate to ideas from both Africa and Europe in order to create unique thoughts and compositions that talk from and to communities that have been marginalized historically. Among these themes we can find: the reggae singer as a unifying character, the establishing of Africa as homeland, the re-evaluation of history through critique and molding of the past against the present, the mixture of beliefs that form new types of religion that reinterpret Judeo-Cristian texts, etc. Along with the themes themselves, the way these are delivered is also relevant, as the use of non-Standard English becomes a way of decolonization, a process that is seen clearly when contrasting the language used in 1969s' "Israelites" and 1980s' "Columbus". However important lyrics prove to be in order to make a connection between reggae and Bhabha's theory, the sound also plays its part. This is primarily shown in the way reggae musicians use instruments that are dominant in western tradition and create new sounds which are representative of the Caribbean people. Notions of continuity and sonic balance that defy the way Europe and North America tend to look at music are applied. Furthermore, the particular philosophy of reggae as a generator of a place for both reflection and enjoyment reflects the communal and singular strategies of selfhood that are elaborated in in-between spaces. So, next time you find yourself listening to reggae, try to think about the complex nature of it. Enjoy and reflect because the music is inviting you to do both.

Works Cited

Aarons, David. *Chanting up Zion: Reggae as Productive Mechanism for Repatriated Rastafari in Ethiopia*. 2017. University of Washington, PhD dissertation.

Allsopp, Richard. "Review: A Critical Commentary on the Dictionary of Jamaican English." *Caribbean Studies*, vol. 10, no. 2, 1970, pp. 90-117. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25612213. Accessed 5 Jan. 2022.

"Backra." *Jamaican Patwah, Patois and Slang Dictionary*. https://jamaicanpatwah.com/term/backra/1576#.X9RXsDHPzIU. Accessed 12 Dec. 2020.

Bhabha, Homi. *The Location of Culture*. London, Routledge, 1997.

Bob Marley & The Wailers. "Is This Love." *Youtube*. Tuff Gong, 1978. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=69RdQFDuYPI

Brodber, Erna. "Black Consciousness and Popular Music in Jamaica in the 1960s and 1970s." *New West Indian Guide*, vol. 61, no. 3/4, 1 Jan. 1987, pp. 145-160. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/41849293. Accessed 29 Nov. 2020.

Burning Spear. "Columbus." *Youtube*. Rondor Music, 1980. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7qXHU6wla8A.

Dawes, Kwame. *Natural Mysticism. Towards a New Reggae Aesthetic*. Leeds, Peepal Tree Press, 2004.

Desmond Dekker & The Aces. "Israelites." *Youtube*, Pyramid Records, 1968. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=owSXTN2EfRo.

Du Noyer, Paul. *The Billboard Illustrated Encyclopedia of Music: From Rock, Pop, Jazz, Blues and Hip Hop to Classical, Country, Folk, World and More*. London, Flame Tree, 2003.

Egharevba, Chris, and Kufre Egharevba. "Postcolonial Minscapes and Contemporary Caribbean Reggae." *European Journal of Literature, Language and Linguistics Studies*, vol. 4, no. 4, May 2021, pp. 156-166. Available at: https://oapub.org/lit/index.php/EJLLL/article/view/251. Accessed: 9 Jan. 2022.

Gregory Isaacs. "The Word of the Farmer." *Youtube*. African Museum, 1978. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fDjFObad1n8.

Holt, Thomas C. *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor, and Politics in Jamaica and Britain*, 1832-1938. Baltimore, The John Hopkins University Press, 1992.

"Israelites (song)" Wikipedia.com. *Wikipedia*. 12 Dec. 2015. Web.

Mattavelli, Enrica. *Got to Keep on Moving: Roots and Routes of the Musical Construction of the Promised Land*. 2014. Leiden University, MA Thesis.

Pollard, Velma. *Dread Talk: The Language of the Rastafari*. Kingston, Canoe Press, 2000.