

THE LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL REPRESENTATION OF GENDER
IN FRENCH RAP

By

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To Violet, Kelly, my Mother and my wonderful friends and family

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Abstract of Thesis Presented to the Graduate School
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Sexism is a global problem that affects all women, from medicinal and institutional sexism in the United States, to past foot-binding and window burning in India. This thesis will focus on sexism and the representation of women in French rap. The research and data for this thesis was done by analyzing gendered and sexist language in an 804 page corpus of rap texts. The topics covered in this thesis are; the language of misogyny, the representation of women's bodies and sexuality, violence against women, linguistic differences between male and female rappers, homosexuality and the representation of mothers and fathers in French rap. This thesis gives evidence that there is sexism in French rap, by showing the linguistic and gender differences between men and women.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Sexism is a global problem that exists everywhere, not limited to any specific culture or group of people. It exists on every continent and affects all types of people. Take for example in India, in some Hindu beliefs, there is what is called a 'Sati'. A Sati is an Indian woman, who is a widow (Daly 1978: 113-115). After her husband dies, his death is usually blamed on her, because of sins that she committed in a past life. Since she has caused this death, she is seen as impure, and she is prohibited from remarriage, so she is either willingly burned to death or she is forced into being burned to death. This is the ultimate sign of devotion to her husband. If a widow is an extremely young bride, which is not uncommon, she is not always killed, but may have the option of going into prostitution. In this case, the young girl is at risk of dying of venereal diseases (Daly 1978: 113-115). Another case of extreme sexism on a global scale is the act of foot-binding in China.

Foot-binding is something that used to be very common in China. Foot-binding is a very painful procedure done to young girls' feet to cripple them, and keep them from 'running around' (Daly 1978: 134-137). This makes it very difficult for the girls to leave the home, making them dependent on men to learn outside of the home. Even more disturbing, is the fact that the painful, cutting and binding procedure was usually carried out by mothers or women within the household. The idea is that girls would be taught to 'never trust a woman,' since their own mothers did such horrific, painful procedures on their own children. It also benefits men when mothers and other women do this procedure to young girls, because the men do not physically participate and the pain is not associated with them. The girls are then brainwashed, because they do not know

that the men are the 'Master Minds' behind this awful procedure (Daly 1978: 134-137). Even though foot-binding is an old culture practice, there are still many practices that go on today that are extremely sexist and cause pain for many women.

To start, it is important to give the full definition of sexism (Levinson 1976: 426-431). Sexism is the belief that socially prescribed differences between the sexes are inherently biological and that sex is limited or in some sense inferior because of these reasons. Medicine, through its practices and beliefs has reflected these feelings of inferiority with serious consequences for men and women alike, both professionally and as patients. Psychologically, we think of health or 'normality' as what is 'right' or 'wrong.' Illness is usually viewed as wrong, or in some instances immoral and deviant. In the past, 'deviant' was viewed as heretic, or possessed, which needed treatment, neutralization or elimination. Today, in modern society, deviance is viewed as sort of 'sickness'. This relates to women and sexism, because the most sexism is in psychiatry. For most of psychiatry, women were seen as 'breeders and bearers,' simple, dumb creatures that give birth, and long for a more 'masculine' identity. Women who strayed away from this set of beliefs were usually seen as 'sick' and therefore, deviant. Diseases and maladies are more likely to be diagnosed in psychiatry to women more than men, reinforcing the label of deviance (Levinson 1976: 426-431). This shows that sexism is not just limited to one group of women, but is a huge global problem. This is relevant to French rap, because it shows the cultural and global background that maintains sexism and is reflected in rap.

Sexism exists everywhere, making certain situations and cultures extremely difficult for women to live in. Sexism exists as a way to undermine women, and keep

them in a lower status in society. This thesis will focus on the sexist environment of rap culture and language, but it is important to know the basis of sexism and how it is prevalent in all domains of life. It is also important to note the difference between sex and gender. Sex and gender are different, but also very similar. Sex, from a scientific standpoint is concerned with the biological differences between men and women (which could be potentially sexist). Gender, is the social construction of how men and women are supposed to act, which could be sexist as well, but is different from the biological meaning of sex. This explanation makes one better understand sexism. While sexist procedures and beliefs exist all over the world, sexism is extremely prevalent in the mainstream media, and has the potential to have a profound effect on viewers and how viewers develop their beliefs on women.

The representation of women in French and francophone rap produced by men often suffers from oppressive stereotypes that minimize them within society. Some artists create music that is sexist and damaging, however, not all rap is sexist. Some music created by women speaks in defense of women and fights against sexism. This thesis will analyze the language that is used when speaking about gender and how it constructs the image of men and women, including homosexuals.

Methodology. Before starting the analysis of this thesis, it is important to discuss how the research was gathered and where the information came from. The majority of data has come from a variety of rap texts compiled into a rap corpus of 804 pages, containing 232,000 words. The corpus contained three female rappers and seventeen male rappers. The corpus was called 'French Rap Corpus' and was created by Dr. Hebblethwaite, Kelly Weichman and myself and was created during the Summer of

2011. The corpus was made by a collaboration of three people. Each person was assigned a list of albums and songs and went on the internet, and collected the lyrics. Next, all of the lyrics were combined into one large corpus. There was also a smaller corpus, made of only female rappers that I created myself. The corpus had four female rappers; It consisted of thirty pages and 60,287 words and was also called 'the female corpus of rap texts.' It was created in February of 2012. After the corpus of rap texts was created, I did a 'search' for gendered or sexist words throughout the corpus. These words consisted of *pute*, *putain*, *salope*, *chatte*, *chienne*, *bite*, *cul*, *meuf* and *fessiers*. I would count each word after searching for it, and then trace and count all of its occurrences throughout the corpus. Next, I documented each finding and analyzed it, looking for patterns and the context related to each word. I did this analysis for as many gendered words as possible, keeping a log of all the occurrences and saving and analyzing them for later use in my thesis.

CHAPTER 2 HISTORY

Music of any kind is of a form of expression. It is a reflection of culture, society and the political environment in which it was created (Adams and Fuller, 2005: 938-957). Hip-hop is a form of music that attempts to communicate the experiences of minorities and different ethnic groups that have been marginalized or treated unfairly (Adams and Fuller, 2005: 938-957). Rap often illustrates unequal opportunities for minorities, brutality and injustice experienced by people of color, African Americans and those living in Caribbean communities. Rap is not just music; it is a culture and an attitude. Since rap is often focuses on the experiences of marginalized groups and minorities, it often goes against the dominant culture. Rap is a form of dance, language and perspective that is sometimes seen as the new style (Layli, Morgan, Steven 1976-2004: 253-277). This thesis will show how women are represented and how they contribute to the world of rap and hip-hop, specifically in the French and Francophone World. The main focus of this thesis will be on the language differences, concerning the language representation and usage between men and women with respect to gender.

Men and women are perceived very differently in the rap world. The main focus of this thesis will be on the language of gender identity and sexual identity. Gender identity and sexual identity exist as two different entities and may overlap at times; each has their own meaning (Motschenbashen 2010: 129-179). Even though these two subjects have different meanings, they work and function together (Motschenbashen 2010: 129-179). Gender and sexuality are constructed socially and linguistically (Motschenbashen: 129-179). In relation to this thesis, and to the rap corpus, the linguistic differences between men, women, and sexism created by gender differences

in language use will be discussed. This thesis will discuss gender in relation to the body and how the linguistic construction of the body creates gender. The language of homosexuality and heteronormativity will also be discussed, and in return will reflect upon how gender is understood. To start off, it is important to discuss the different perceptions of men and women, and their different constructions in the rap culture.

In the rap culture, as will be shown by rap texts, there is an entirely different attitude and language that is evident when rappers talk about men and women. Women, tend to be associated more with language involving domesticity, sexuality, submission and also in some cases violence and victimization. Men tend to be associated with power and dominance. This sort of language underlines and creates sexism and an unequal balance of power that is undeniable. This thesis will further explain these differences and inequalities, but to begin, we will discuss how women have contributed to the world of rap.

Women have had a very important role in the evolution of rap since the beginning (Layli, Morgan and Steven 1976-2004: 253-277). Media and critical analysis often downplay the role of women's contributions. Women have played roles as artists, writers, performers, producers and industry executives. Not only have women contributed in the business and artistic aspects of rap, but also influence rap's style and technique, forming the aesthetic and technological standards used by both men and women. Even though women have contributed greatly to the rap world, some differences between male rappers and female rappers are unavoidable. There are more men than women in the artistic, executive and consumer domains of rap. There are more male rappers and industry leaders than there are females. In terms of production

and development, the rap industry functions as an 'old boys club,' excluding women in ways that are both subtle and obvious. Although there are definitely inequalities between men and women in the rap industry, the global expansion of hip-hop has enhanced women's opportunities for participation and is often a masculinist culture, due to the outnumbering of men. This culture also exists in the context of pre-existing sexism and male dominance seen in occupational and commercial domains of society. This male-dominance structure is maintained by society; therefore, it is reflected in music. Men of color are often blamed for creating such misogynistic music, when in reality, they are expressing unequal social structures and these inequalities can be felt by many different types of men, not just men of color (Layli, Morgan and Steven 1976-2004: 253-277).

The blame for sexism and misogyny in rap music cannot be just limited to men either. Even though men might be the public face of rap, both men and women participate in ways that equally oppress, and liberate women (Layli, Morgan and Steven 1976-2004: 253-277). It can never be assumed that all men are equally sexist and misogynistic, and that all women are fighting for equality and battling against sexism. Rap is complex and full of many oppositions and contradictions. Rap gives women the opportunity to critique their own sex and also that of men. It is also a medium for critique and expression of the surrounding culture and society. Rap also allows women to express friendship and solidarity with men and to fight against other societal problems such as: classism, racism, both are issues that affect men and women. Since women do play a large role in the culture of rap, it is important to talk about feminism and some women's views on rap.

Rap represents feminism at the 'street level.' 'The street' is often where knowledge and common sense derives from people of color and lower classes (Layli, Morgan, Steven 1976-2004: 253-277). Even though some rappers and people in the rap audience may be well-educated, more value is placed on having 'street smarts' as a result of colonization, racism, oppression and exclusion from education. This means that emphasis is put on street smarts in the black community, because it contradicts the standards and expectations created by white culture and was created from cultures that are often excluded from education in some way. This is why 'street smarts' are often valued more than formal education (Layli, Morgan and Steven 1976-2004: 253-277).

Rap is a medium that women can use to express their feelings. It can be used to demonstrate feminist beliefs within the culture. Some rappers might reject these ideas: however, the purpose of women's rap is to encourage women to fight and succeed in the face of a problem. In rap, women communicate with each other about their struggles within the culture and society. Women support, challenge, criticize and work together (Layli, Morgan and Steven 1976-2004: 253-277). Now that we have briefly touched upon the roles of women in rap, we will further discuss the representations of women and the language associated with them.

CHAPTER 3 MISOGYNY

The focus of this chapter will be on the language of misogyny. It will explore the language associated with beliefs and ideas that are hateful towards women and homosexuals. It will provide evidence of genderism and sexism in rap language, proving that there is a significant amount of sexism in rap. I will use the 232,000 word corpus to analyze sexist language in detail and show the level of its significance. I will use the corpus by counting and documenting how many occurrences there are of sexist and gendered language and talk about the context behind each word.

Misogyny is a large problem in the world of rap. Misogyny is defined as the fear, hatred and feeling of disdain toward women. Misogynistic rap music reduces women to objects for men's ownership, use, abuse and pleasure (Adams and Fuller, 2005: 938-957). This type or class of rap depicts women as if they are expendable objects, to be used and abused and some heavier rap, such as gangster rap, glamorizes misogyny (Adams and Fuller, 2005: 938-957). There are several aspects of misogyny seen in rap.

First of all, there are countless derogatory sexual statements about women, including violent actions, specifically in regards to sex. Women are often portrayed as causing 'trouble' for men. The music often shows women as being 'users' of men, it refers to women as being 'beneath' men and often makes reference to women as disposable human beings, not worthy of love, compassion or respect (Adams, Fuller, 2005: 938-957). Where does all of this hatred come from?

Misogyny has always existed in music, and it is obviously not limited to rap music (Adams and Fuller, 2005: 938-957). The problem is that misogyny has been permitted

to grow and prosper in rap music, and it is seen as something acceptable. Artists that create music with more hateful and misogynistic lyrics make more money and their music videos are seen and rotated more often than others. This suggests that violent and misogynistic lyrics are encouraged by a consumer demand. Even if the more explicit and obvious lyrics are edited out of the mainstream, the message of the music is still there (Adams and Fuller, 2005: 938-957). There are many varieties of misogyny.

Some music might only express mild innuendos, whereas others are more direct and explicit when expressing violence (Adams and Fuller 2005: 938-957). Although lyrics may seem subtle or harmless, the theme of hatred and violence still exists. Rap has many derogatory terms for women, which reduce their value within society. Misogyny is not an element that exists alone, it is a larger part of social, cultural and economic systems that sustain and promote this ideology. Why is there so much hatred?

We live in a patriarchal world where violence, hatred, misogyny, racism and sexism are institutionalized, even if we do not realize it (Adams and Fuller, 2005: 938-957). This sort of ideology is even more glorified in rap and gangster rap, which legitimizes hatred, racism and sexism. There are many words that dominate the image of women in the French rap world and the words that will be analyzed in this thesis are; *pute*, *chienne*, *salope* and *putain*.

Table 2-1. Occurrences of gendered language.

French Word	English Word	Number of Occurrences
<i>Pute</i>	Slut	82
<i>Putain</i>	Whore	164
<i>Salope</i>	Bitch	12
<i>Chienne</i>	Bitch	13

'*Pute*' ('slut' or 'whore' in English) is the image of a dominant woman, who controls her man and her entire household. She is aggressive, mean and demanding (Adams and Fuller, 2005: 938-957). This word also has a sexual meaning behind it, creating the idea that she is a sexual object to please male rappers (O'Neill 2007: 27-128). '*Salope*' (bitch) is not a word that is always limited to women. It can also be used to talk about men, usually when referring to an enemy, as a way of showing that another man is weak. The language that is associated with this word is vulgar, violent, sexual and very graphic (O'Neill 2007: 27-128). This style of language is in many French rap songs.

The first example is in a song by La Fouine. We will start discussing the subject by further dissecting the usage of the word '*salope*' ('bitch' in English). '*Salope*' has many uses and contexts and is a very derogatory word, but it refers to women.

Dégage de ma chambre salope, si t'as tes règles (La Fouine, La Laoui vs. La fouine *Fouiny Juice*, 2011).

Get out of my room bitch, if you have your period.

The man is telling the woman to get out of his room and he is addressing her as '*salope*.' La Fouine's words show us that this word has a sexual association with it, as said above. There is evidence that this man has no respect for this woman, because he is just demeaning her as '*salope*' and not by her name. Even though La Fouine is using derogatory language when talking about the woman, it is even more important to mention that he is also talking about her menstruation cycle. This is interesting because in Muslim cultures, the female menstruation cycle is viewed as something dirty and impure, and couples are not supposed to have sex during mensuration cycles (Suad et Njambadi 2006: 28-35). Female sexuality and the female body is viewed as erotic,

tempting and impure in most Muslim cultures (Suad et Njambadi 2006: 28-35). This is also interesting, because La Fouine is a rapper of Moroccan origin, which gives us more background and context behind the meaning of this excerpt. While the female menstruation cycle is viewed as dirty in Muslim cultures, it is not only Muslim cultures who view the menstruation cycle as dirty. This is a common belief in Western cultures too and many women deny sex during this time. This excerpt also points out the biological differences between men and women, which could also be a root to sexism. Derogatory language is normalized and creates the idea that it is acceptable language used when talking about women. This way of speaking creates a linguistic gender inequality between the sexes, giving men the upper hand over women. Derogatory language like ' *salope* ' can be used like this to belittle and undermine the person, thus re-enforcing male-dominance. Men can use this word to express their dominance in more ways than the one we just saw. We can see an example of this, in another song by "La Rumeur."

J'ai toujours pas retrouvé le sourire nice dancefloor de salopes, du rap et du r'n'b non-stop (La Rumeur, *Regain de Tension*, P.O.R.C. 2004).

I still have not found the smile, nice dancefloor of bitches, rap and r'n'b non-stop.

Here we see the artist talking about a dance floor of '*salopes*.' If he had said a dance floor full of '*women*' it would be less offensive than placing women into the category of '*putes*' or '*salopes*.' When ' *salope* ' is being used, it places women into a category, which can be linguistically and socially damaging, because it minimizes women to sexual objects.

J'ai fait le tour de cette salope planète earth (Lunatic, Booba, Paradis, 2010).

I have toured this bitch planet earth.

'Salope' is used here and is associated with something negative. Just by reading this quote, we know that it is something negative. Even away from the context of women, this word is negative and can be used often to describe something hateful. This is seen again in a song by 'Mister You'

Les Medias salissent l'Islam on encule la Race a Betancourt grosse salope dédicace a yass alias le renard. (Mister you, Prémsumé Coupable, Je commence tours Doux, 2010).

The media stains Islam and fucks the Bentan court race big bitch to yass the alias fox.

In this quote the rapper is saying 'Betancourt,' which is French slang but this word (or sometimes a religious reference) is usually used to describe a woman and is directed at something unpleasant or bad. The idea that women are vulgar and bad is reinforced again and again, linguistically, in many different ways. Women do not have to be present to be insulted and to be objectified. We can see that the word 'salope' is used here negatively without reference to a woman, or a group of women, but when talking about women, this word is almost always associated with something sexual, detrimental or vulgar.

This can be illustrated in a song by "Booba," when he makes a sexual reference to a woman as being a 'vulgar bitch.'

Comme un vulgaire salope de film d'UQ (Booba, Ouest Side Mauvais Garçon, 2006).

Like a vulgar bitch from a porno movie.

First of all, we see immediately that this word has a negative meaning. ‘*Vulgaire Salope*’ is extremely derogatory and contributes to an image of women that is damaging. This quote also makes reference to pornography, showing the idea that women are often associated with sex. We also see a similar pattern of this with another quote by “La Rumeur.”

Putain c'est beau comme les masques tombent, la capital sans son maquillage, arrachée de sa vieille perruque blonde, des cernes sous les yeux, s'illuminant de gyrophares bleus. Ou sous les néons des sex-shops comme la dernière des salopes.(La Rumeur, Du cœur à l'outrage, Quand La Lune Tombe, 2007).

Fuck, it's great, like her haggard face, the best, without her make-up, taking off her old, blonde wig, bags under eyes, illuminating police lights, or under the neon lights of the sex-shops like the last of the bitches.

This quote is evidence to the idea that women and the word ‘ *salope*’ are associated with sex. And not only do we see that women are linked to sex, but we also see that again, a group of women is being referred to as ‘*salopes*.’ We know already that the word ‘ *salope*’ gives women a lower status than men, and when a man refers to women as just ‘*bitches*’ he is expressing his self-assumed power and dominance over them, whether it is obvious or not. It also important to note that ‘*salopes*’ can be used to insult men as well.

If a man uses ‘ *salope*’ or ‘*pute*’ to refer to another man, it is usually used to talk about an enemy or to describe another man’s weakness (O’Neill 2007: 27-128). Even when both sexes are involved with this word, it is damaging to women. When a gendered word like ‘ *salope*’ or ‘*chiienne*’ can be used to vehemently insult someone, it creates a linguistic inequality, suggesting that women are ‘dirty,’ ‘offensive,’ bestial and beneath the status of men. Here is another example of this word as an insult.

On est des salauds, eux, des salopes, ils déconnent (Rohff, *Marchine de Guerre*, La Cuenta, 2010).

We are bastards, but they are bitches and they talk shit.

This quote may seem neutral from first glance, but, it is negative because the use of 'bastard' as an insult seems to be less offensive than 'bitch.' Even though both of these words are equally offensive in different ways, there is more negative association with '*salopes*' saying that they 'talk shit.' '*Salauds*' is still negative, but it does not have the negative association linked to it that '*salopes*' does. We see that Rohff is talking about his enemy, who is a man, and is using '*salopes*' to refer to them. These images and references are oppressive and offensive, so why are they used in rap music?

Firstly, this sort of offensive language cannot be blamed on the rap and hip-hop culture alone. It is created by the effects of the dominant culture and dominant social structures. The use of this offensive and vulgar language allows men to boost themselves, while degrading and legitimizing their hatred for their female peers (Adams and Fuller, 2005: 938-957). This music also gives men the opportunity to express their dominance and prove their power over women. Another problem is that in a patriarchal society, men are encouraged to show their anger, frustration and aggression on the people who have less power in society, especially women and children. It is also interesting to note that *salope* occurs twelve times in the corpus of rap texts. Even though this word occurs several times, it does not occur as frequently as *putain* (164 occurrences) does. The uses of such words creates an image of women that is inferior to men and limits their success and happiness within society. The way that this music addresses women is evidence of a patriarchal society at all levels. The next part of this thesis will discuss the word 'putain,' and how its usage affects women.

CHAPTER 4 *PUTAIN* (WHORE)

As we have previously discussed gendered words and their many meanings and connotations, we will now move onto the word '*putain*' which is also used to denigrate women. We will start out with some history of this word. A '*putain*' (whore in English) is described as a sexually loose and aggressive woman (Adams and Fuller, 2005: 938-957). She wants and accepts sex in any form and uses it to get anything she wants from a man. This language creates the idea that women are the enemy for men, even if it is not true. The purpose of this word is to legitimize and justify the mistreatment of women by men and the power elite. The language and the context of this word are usually very vulgar, sexual or violent. This kind of language legitimizes violence, because it portrays women negatively, suggesting to the audience that violence is permissible. Even though there are many arguments that claim that we are not affected by the media and that we do not respond to violence in the media, there are many studies that show the contrary. Many recent studies show that there is a strong presence of violence in the media. Many children and youth spend countless hours in front of their televisions, consuming violent messages (Gunter 2002 : 80-157) In a recent study of college students, concerning studies of music videos and violence, three college students, (males) listened to three genres of rap; neutral, sexual/violent and assaultive. Next, they were asked to choose one of the three genres of videos/music to be shown to an unknown female. Those who listened to the misogynistic rap were more likely to choose an assaultive video to show to the unknown female. This is evidence that media affects our perspective. Music and media can make one think differently. The second part of the study also examined how young women respond to misogynistic rap music. In the

study, the young women were exposed to different types of music videos, consisting of sexually explicit videos, neutral, and both violent and non-violent. The women who were exposed to the non-violent, but more sexually explicit videos were more likely to accept dating violence, than the women who are exposed to more neutral videos. In another part of the study, young, African American men were exposed to non-erotic, but violent music videos created a different view of opposing sexual beliefs towards women, and had a negative effect to men. In the last part of the study, college students who were shown rock music videos with anti-social behavior were more likely to show that behavior, than the control group who did not see the rock music videos. In other words, experimental studies do show that there is enough evidence that watching violent music videos creates attitudes and beliefs that (mostly, not always) creates an acceptance in viewers, even if the effect is only short-term (Gunter 2002 : 80-157). It is arguable that violent and misogynistic rap is just entertainment and music, but it is much more than that. It affects the audience and how the audience views women, even if only temporarily. Misogynistic and violent lyrics are scattered throughout rap music, and could have a profound effect on the audience's perception of women. Even if the effects are only temporary, the damage has already been done. Now go back to the discussion of the word '*putain*.'

The language associated with '*putain*' is violent and aggressive, making it seem as if violence is necessary to protect oneself from this kind of woman. *Putain/Pute* are words that can be used synonymously, but they do have different meanings.

Putain/Pute is a construction that is similar to bitch, but, *Putain/Pute* is rather more of a sex object than what bitch is (slut). A *Putain/Pute* is an object that can be used to satisfy

the sexual pleasures and desires of men (Adams, Fuller, 2005: 938-957). Her entire self-image is made up of doing anything for a man, often for material possessions, she has no conscious, self-esteem or value. The language and the violence associated with this word may not be true, but, it is still in music and has the potential be internalized by the audience and create problems. This word is very common in French rap, and occurs 164 times in the corpus of music. This is evidence that this language is defining for women, whether it be positive or negative.

The first example seen is from 'Booba.' This quote shows the idea that women are sexual objects that exist for the pleasure of men.

Puis je cracha dans la gorge de cette pute à 150 euros. (Booba, *Lunatic*, Killer, 2010).

Then I spit in the mouth of a 150 euro hooker.

This language is clear evidence from the word '*pute*' that women exist as sexual objects for men's pleasure. The language associated with the woman in this example is vulgar and dirty. This style of language is unflattering for women. It also interesting to note that Booba speaks of this prostitute in such an uncaring, non-chalant way, suggesting that women are dispensable beings and that they exist for sexual purposes. Not only do we see that Booba is associating women with sex and vulgarity. The corpus offers endless examples of the usage of '*putain*' and the many faces and forms this word can take.

The first example will explore the idea that word '*putain*' is used as an intensifier to make words seem more to be any noun more harsh. There are many examples of this sort of language through the entire corpus.

La rage de voir cette putain de monde s'autodétruire (Keny Arkana, *La Rage*, Entre ciment et belle étoile, 2006)

The rage to see this fucking world self-destruct.

In this example, 'putain' is associated with '*la rage*' (rage in English) and '*autodétruire*.' (self-destruction in English) Both of these words are angry and could potentially be associated with violence. It is important to point out that while *putain* might be literally mean whore, it can also be used as other expressions of vulgarity, similar to saying 'fuck' in English. This has many occurrences in the corpus of texts, but, not all of these occurrences are overtly sexual. It is also important to point out that '*putain*' is used to intensify the negativity of a word. Take for example, the expression '*putain de monde*.' Even though this word literally means whore, it is not overtly sexist, and it is not intentionally used as sexist language. Over time, words have the potential to change their meanings through grammaticalisation and cultural changes, causing the semantic sense of the word to shift (Sweetser 1988: 389-405). We know that from context and other words associated with this phrase, that the artist is angry. It is problematic that a gendered word like 'putain' is used to insult or to weaken or to make a word or situation negative. The use of '*putain*' in this example might not be seen as sexist, but at the same time is detrimental that such a gendered word is used in so many negative contexts. The goal of the text might not even to insult women, but the high number of occurrences (164 occurrences in rap texts) suggests a deeper meaning to such a gendered and vulgar word. Use of such a gendered word over and over in such negative situations has the potential to emphasize sexism within a language, even if the speaker or the audience does not realize it. There might be examples of using male gendered words to insult, but, those insults are vastly outnumbered by using words like '*putain*' '*pute*' or ' *salope*.' This language, using female gendered words as insults can be seen again in a song by Sexion D'Assaut.

Sexism and gender inequality does not have to be direct or explicit to express a certain idea or message. There are also many examples of this way of thinking in this example.

Si ce putain de rap était un pays je serai son Dictateur, Dis que t'as peur, c'est nous les ti-peu hein, tire-toi dès que tu peux (Sexion d'Assaut, Les chroniques du 75, Le Relais, 2008).

If this fucking was a country, I would be the dictator. Say that you are scared, it's us, so get out as soon as you can.

In the first part of this example, we see again the use of using a gendered word as an insult, with '*putain de rap*.' Even though the use of this word might not have been intended to be sexual or sexist, the occurrences of this word in such negative situations makes a linguistic inequality between men and women that gives men more power than women. As soon as '*putain*' is mixed into the word, it immediately becomes negative. As there are shifts in meaning and semantic associations with words, the literal meaning of this '*putain*' in this context is most likely not meant to demean women, but it is still damaging that such a gendered word exists in so many negative contexts (Sweetser: 389-405). Not only do we see a linguistic inequality there, but it is also noticeable when Sexion D'Assaut uses the binary of 'pays' (country) and 'dictateur' (dictator). "si ce putain de rap était un pays, je serai son Dictateur.' Here, we have a dominant submissive relationship between a dictator and a country; however, this language brings something much deeper beyond just that. This creates genderism in language, because the male is dominant over the female. We know this because the artist, sexion d'assaut is male, and '*putain*' is a gendered word used to talk about women. This language is evidence of male dominance in rap music. This also creates a subtle inequality for women, suggesting that they are lower and submissive to men.

We see another example of this language in music by 'La Rumeur.'

Et l'apartheid commence là où s'arrête ma liberté avec ces putains de flics venus tester ma fierté (La Rumeur, Regain de tension, Nom, Prénom, Identité, 2004).

And the apartheid starts here where my freedom is stopped, with these fucking cops coming to test my pride.

There are two details from this example that demonstrate the language that creates sexism in language. Firstly, we see again '*putains de flics*' which intensifies the negativity the rapper feels towards cops. Then we also see '*tester ma fierté*' even though this word is associated with '*flics*' *flics*, is also associated with '*putain*.' This is damaging, because there is the stereotype that women and '*putain*' are out to get men. Even though the context of this quote may not be overtly sexist, the occurrence of such a gendered word does damage the image of women. In this example, the woman is 'testing' the man, which supports the stereotype of a '*putain*.' Through the music, we also see that '*putain*' is closely associated with sexuality.

In music by "La Rumeur" we see this association with words and objects that are sexual.

J'ai vu son putain de cancer évoluer, et dans ses poches trouées Durex et Subutex. Cherche pas à trouver d'où vient la saleté du texte, inspirée du contexte qui pue l'hostilité, la criminalité » (La Rumeur, Regain de tension, Paris Nous Nourrit, Paris Nous Affame, 2004).

'I saw his fucking cancer evolve and in his wholly pockets, Durex and Subutex. Do not look for where this dirtiness comes from, inspired by the context that reeks of hostility and criminality.'

To start off, we see the phrase '*putain de cancer*' which matches '*putain*' up with '*cancer*' giving both words a negative meaning. The cancer becomes more negative and intensified because it is paired up with the word '*putain*.' *Putain* suffers negatively because it is associated with cancer, with is a word of sickness and disease. There

many different associations that *'putain'* takes throughout the corpus and they all follow the idea of sickness, dread, ugliness, greed and sex. We also see the words *saleté*, *hostilité* and *criminalité*, all of which are negative and are associated with *'putain.'* All of these negative word associations within this corpus reinforce the idea that women are beneath men. Even though these associations are indirectly associated with women, and the intentions of this language were most likely not sexist, the linguistic inequalities created between men and women exist. The music does not have to explicitly say that women are lower than men. The message is clear in the lyrics and in the language, whether it is obvious or subtle. There are a few more examples that are necessary that prove that rap and the language that it uses are sexist.

'Putain' is connected with many different genres of negativity in rap music and by many different artists.

Fuck les putains et leurs fausses promesses " (Ol Kainry, *La Faucheuse* Iron Mic 2.0, 2010).

Fuck the bitches and their false promises.

First off, the phrase starts with *'fuck les putains,'* which already gives the listener/reader association with the word. Immediately following, we see *'leurs fausses promesses'* (false promises). This style of language suggests there is nothing positive to say about these women.

Putain is a word that is multi-faceted and can be used in many different ways. It can serve as an insult, a description of a woman, or to bring negativity to a specific word or phrase. What does this language tell us about women and gender differences? When a gendered word like *'putain'* or *'pute'* is used so negatively, explicitly sexual or violently, it gives us an insight to not only what only the artists feels, but to what society

feels towards women. This is not to say that there are not male-gendered words that are used as insults or obscenities, but there are far more female-gendered words that are used for obscenities or insults. Is this a reflection of the way a society and a culture feels about women? This corpus shows that culturally, there is some misogyny presented in the music. In a corpus where '*putain*' occurs over 100 times, but when a male-gendered word like 'bite' has far less occurrences (50 occurrences), there is evidence that there is more sexist language in rap, due to the outnumbering of derogatory gendered words. The use of this word, in all of its forms also is evidence to how the culture feels about women. '*Putain*' is defined as a loose, sexually aggressive, threatening woman. When this word is used in explicit and vulgar contexts, it suggests that sexually aggressive women are frowned upon or are seen in a negative light. The word '*putain*' has very little power associated with it, yet when compared to 'pimp' a male-gendered word, which tends to have more power and dominance associated with it, we begin to see the inequalities in language and in status within society. The image of the '*mac*' is often associated with wealth, power, privilege and sexual freedom, the complete opposite of the vocabulary that '*putain*' possesses. This gender inequality might not always be blatantly obvious but it exists linguistically, as well as culturally. Misogyny and gender-inequality are both seen in the written lyrics of rap and in the culture of rap

It is clear that imagery is essential in regards to music, but it is important to remember the phonetic importance of music as well (Bethune 1999: 107-131). Never underestimate the power of phonetics, rhyming and word patterns that are heard with vulgar language. Some lyrics are so shocking that they are in the conscience of the

listener. Dirty words seem to have a different enunciation and pronunciation more than common words that are less obscene. Chapter 5 will focus on the linguistic and cultural representation of homosexuality and its similarities and differences with gender and the representation of women.

CHAPTER 5 HOMOSEXUALITY AND THE WORD '*PÉDÉ*' (FAG)

Women and homosexuals, specifically gay men do not share the same sexual orientation, but have similar semantic associations. While women might be portrayed as weak, receptacles of violence, or loosely sexual, or sexually aggressive, gay men share similar semantic representations.

Homosexuality is not appreciated in the rap world (O'Neill 2007: 27-128). Rap is often homophobic and there are not many mainstream rappers who are openly gay. In rap, there are also many homophobic accusations and punchlines between rappers. Gays are often 'othered' or are made invisible in the mainstream media (Wolf and Kielwasser 1991: 19-35). There are many similarities and differences in the way in which gays and minorities are represented in the media. Sexual Minorities (gays/lesbians) often by their existence create a threat to the 'natural' order of life, creating false social and political threats and as a result, they are interpreted as problematic or controversial in the media.

Homosexuals are often underrepresented, and as a result maintain a powerless status. Those kept at the bottom of power hierarchies will be kept in places through their invisibility. If and when these groups do obtain some visibility, the way that they are represented will reflect on the biases of the elites who control media, most of whom are usually middle-aged white men, upper class or and who are primarily heterosexual (Wolf and Kielwasser 1991: 19-35). The dominant culture's ideals are projected through some degrees of mainstream film and television and are almost always presented as 'mediums' for what is reality. Whether we realize it or not, a lot of our 'real world' beliefs and information do come from the mass media. We might not always exactly follow

what television or film tells us to, but the effects of what we see and hear do linger in our minds (Wolf and Kielwasser 1991: 19-35). The media allows us to learn and construct images about people and groups that we may not know about. In other words, portrayals of minority groups or 'deviants' are most likely different from the lives of actual people. The media teaches us how to think about people, even if we do not realize it. The lyrics of rap, and other forms of media can teach people that violence against sexual minority groups is acceptable. Even if audience members do not go out committing hate crimes, it does desensitize people to violence and hatred. This is shown in the corpus of rap texts, with sexual minorities being treated violently. It is also important to note that the treatment of homosexuals is society's reflection of how gender deviance should be handled. Feminine men and masculine women are often punished in the media or shown in a derogatory manner, possibly due to the idea that they are contradicting the gender roles that are ascribed to them (Wolf and Kielwasser 1991: 19-35). While there might be an atmosphere of mistrust and hatred, it is also important to keep in mind that this music is coming from a heterosexual point of view and is sometimes meant to be funny and not violent or hateful.

The first example that will be dissected is in a song by 'Mister You.'

T'es qu'un pédé tu t'feras pété comme un bollos au métro ourcq (Mister you, *Vieux Mec*, *Présumé Couuple* 2010).

You are nothing but a faggot like a pussy at ourcq metro.

The beginning of the sentence starts with 'you are nothing but a faggot' saying that you are nothing illustrates that this word is associated with something low. We also see the word '*bollos*' which is a person who is easily victimized or tortured, and is usually a woman. This is extremely hateful and derogatory for the gay community. This language

expresses that not only does the artist feel that homosexuals are of a lower status than the rest of the society, but they are worthy of being beaten or victimized. Even though this is a word that refers to gay men, its usage and associations are very similar to the language associated with women. This suggests that potentially gay men and women are regarded on the same level, even though they are not of the same gender. What is even more interesting is that the word '*bollos*' is a term that is typically associated with women. A man might use '*bollos*' when talking about a woman who he could easily abuse or victimize. This sort of language legitimizes violence against gays and women, reducing them to a lower level of society. Since they are brought down to this lower level, it makes violence appear more admissible. This is an expression of the artist that arguably impacts the culture and society. Here are a few more examples of this found in the corpus.

We see more violence in another song by 'Mauvais Oeil'

Mon destin écrit sur un P.Q. Anti-pédé Pages entières, pour une mort violente garantie Horrifié parce que je récite illicite Kho Je suis une cuillère, du feu, une seringue du citron Arrêtez de jacter. (Lunatic, Le son qui met la pression, Mauvais Œil, 2010)

My destiny written on a P.Q. wall, anti-faggot Entire pages, for a guaranteed violent death. Horrified, because I recite an illicit Kho, I am a spoon of fire, and syringe of lemon, stopping from explosion.

Even though a large part of this example makes reference to drug use and heroin, it still points out the homophobic and sometimes prejudice climate of rap. In the second line of this verse we see '*anti-pédé*' which immediately tells us that this music does not welcome homosexuals. Then we see '*Pages entières, pour une mort violente garantie*' which threatens homosexuals with extreme violence, 'entire pages for a violent death guaranteed.' This genre of violence suggests intense hatred, especially from the words

'*une mort violente garantie.*' The association of violent language with homosexuality is very similar to what the corpus provides with the violence associated with women. We also see some male dominance, that comes from the phrase '*Je suis une cuillère, du feu une seringue du citron.*' This combination of words suggests male-dominance. 'Spoon of fire' creates the idea of power and 'citron' makes the association with bitterness or sourness. These two associations create a sense of power and male-dominance. The power and male-dominance is exerted over homosexuality, almost as if the artist is trying to eradicate homosexuals and homosexuality.

By the same artist, we see yet another example of the anti-gay mentality.

Dans mon crew
Y'a pas de pédé
Trop d'I.T.T." (Mauvais Œil, *Têtes Brulées*, Lunatic, 2000)
In my crew, there are no fags, too much I.T.T.

Here we see more lyrical proof of the anti-gay attitude. In a sense, we also see the idea that rappers accuse their colleagues of homosexuality, since the artist is vehemently expressing that he does not want any homosexuals in his 'crew' 'In my crew, there are no fags.' This suggests that the artist does not want to be associated with homosexuals, in any form. In his 'group' or 'crew' there will only be straight men and homosexuals will not be welcome. This style of language marginalizes homosexuals, putting them into a different social category and rejecting them in other domains. It seems like words that are typically masculine are not associated with homosexuality and homosexuality is not associated with masculinity. Does this mean that for rappers, gay men are not really 'men' since they are more linguistically associated with women?

Even though this music seems to brutalize or mistreat homosexuals, the majority of these lyrics come from a single artist. It is also interesting to point out that while there is such an anti-gay, homophobic attitude towards gay men in French rap, but there are minimal occurrences of derogatory language of lesbians. The anti-gay attitude is present in the rap culture, but this corpus has evidence that suggests otherwise. From the seven findings of *pédé* in the corpus, six of these findings come from 'Booba' or 'Lunatic' (same artist, one is his first group, one is his solo). Perhaps it is not the entire world of rap that associates such hateful language towards homosexuals (there are not many rappers out killing gays) maybe it is just the one man. Nonetheless, there is a negative and violent representation of homosexuals, which is very similar to what we see with the treatment of women. The next part of this thesis will explore ideas of sexuality and male and female bodies.

CHAPTER 6 WOMEN'S SEXUALITY

This chapter will focus on sexuality in language and how it effects the description of women's bodies. There is less focus on the woman as a person, and more focus on her body and sexuality. The female body is portrayed as an object for the sexual pleasure of men. The overall attitude is that the only use a woman has is to please men and to use her body to attract men. There are also many pornographic references in this corpus. Pornographic descriptions of women are very popular in rap and seem to be the norm (O'Neill 2007: 27-128). The focus of this chapter will be on the language of these findings and how the language used to describe these ideas is woven into rap and creates sexism and male dominance.

While it is important to discuss the many different images and representations of women, it is also important to discuss men. One figurehead that is essential to rap and the role of women is the pimp. The word 'pimp' literally means to persuade or to talk someone into. He is a man of the streets and has an entourage of women used for prostitution (Quinne 2000: 115-136). There is also a 'mac,' he is a persuader, trickster or rapper. These two words can be used synonymously in rap. The one trait that these two figures have in common is that they are both smooth talking and witty. With his wit, he earns money and he has superb language skills and knows how to communicate effectively with both men and women to earn money. A pimp might be charismatic on the outside, but his charm is just a façade he puts up. Pimps are usually violent, controlling and father figures. The pimp has a 'family' of women and he is the father figure. On the street level he is seen as heroic, but also very controlling. From the

street's perspective the pimp might be a heroic father figure, but from the viewpoint of law enforcement, he is a threat and a danger (Quinne 2000: 115-136).

The pimp figure is misogynistic because it promotes and reinforces the idea that women are objects, 'putes' (sluts) are a material object to the pimp. He can sell women, use women and get rid of women (Quinne 2000: 115-136). This attitude encourages the belief that women are dispensable and are only useful for sexual pleasure. Pimps also are portrayed having affluent lifestyles where they are surrounded by women. They have many material possessions and wear expensive clothes. These images promote inequalities between men and women and shows that not only is there male sexual power and dominance over women, but economic dominance over women as well. Examples of these images are depicted also in French/Francophone music. The main focus of this chapter will be on pimps and male-dominance, and the language that is associated with the ideologies of misogyny and masculinity.

The song "*Tête brûlée*" by Lunatic, portrays the glorified and extravagant lifestyle that pimps are thought to have.

La Facilité aux macs et leurs putes simulent à chaque passe

Pistent le luxe Ca existent pas dans mon district. (Lunatic, *Tête brûlée*, Mauvais Œil, 2000)

The ease of pimps and their hos simulates in every move, following luxury, which does not exist in my neighborhood.

This excerpt is talking about the easy and glamorous lifestyle of pimps. This is damaging to women, because it legitimizes violence and glamorizes the street lifestyle. This suggests that this lifestyle is luxurious and that pimping is a good lifestyle to have. In reality, pimping is not always an easy or glamorous lifestyle. Lyrics like the ones seen above reinforce the idea women are sexual objects and are possessions to men.

We also see the idea that women are seen as objects in another song by “Booba.”

Le choc débute, et y’aura pas qu’moi, mac les putes à chaque beat.(Booba, *Mauvais Augure*, Temps Mort, , 2006)

The shock begins, and there will be nothing but me pimping hos at every beat.

Here, the word ‘mac’ is used as a verb. The artist is talking about ‘macking’ women and selling them. This is typical in a lot of rap music. It is also clear that women are seen as objects again, because they are referred to as just ‘*putes*’ (sluts/hos in English). They are given a title that makes them appear as an object. The pimp does not care what happens to these women, as long as their services are being lent and he is making money.

We see another example of the objectification of women in a song by “IAM.”

Mac aussi puissant que cette putain d’argent sur le turf. (IAM, *Chez le Mac l’école du micro d’argent*, Chez le Mac, 1997)

Pimp is powerful enough that this fucking money is in the race.

When we see that the woman is being compared to money, semantically it is obvious that she is being objectified and is a material possession to the pimp. Even though the quote might say that she is just as powerful, or just as important as the pimp is, (in regards to money), she is still an object. Linguistically, the woman is associated with property that brings money to the pimp. Her existence is to make money for the pimp and to please him. In the same song, we see another glimpse into the lifestyle of the pimp.

Mais je redouble de travail et serre le jeu

Si tu veux la bombe, tu raques Ronald

Ca s’passe comme ça chez le mac. (IAM, *Chez le Mac*, L’école du Micro Argent, 1997).

But I want to double this work and grip the game, if you want the sex bomb, you have to pay up to Ronald. That's how it is with the pimp.

This excerpt is talking about the '*jeu*' (game) of pimps and how if you want a woman, you must pay for her, because that is just how it is in a pimp's world. This reiterates again the idea that women are objects to men. We know this from the language in the text. The idea that one can 'buy' a woman is damaging and also justifies the belief that women are dispensable objects that do not need to be treated with respect.

Pimps are just another figure that justifies abuse and violence against women. His extravagant lifestyle glorifies street violence and the street lifestyle. It also legitimizes the use and sell of women. It normalizes the idea that women exist as pleasure objects for men and damages the image of women. The kind of language associated with pimping glamorizes the lifestyles. Words such as '*argent*,' '*raquer*' '*puissant*' and '*mac*' are words used to glamorize, and even normalize the pimp lifestyle. These words are also associated with male dominance, power being a word often associated with men and '*argent*' (money) being a word associated with women. Since pimps sell women, they do have power over them. The language associated with pimps illustrates the gender inequalities through language in this music. Rap music is filled with dichotomies of power imbalances between men and women, men being portrayed as dominant or powerful. This language legitimizes violence, since women are portrayed as beneath men, it makes violence seem less extreme, over even understandable. Whether gender inequality and sexism exists as a cultural problem, or a linguistic problem, it still creates violence between the sexes. Next this thesis will focus on the representation of women's bodies.

CHAPTER 7 WOMEN'S BODIES

This chapter will focus on sexuality in language and how it effects the description of women's bodies. Body and gender are more closely related than one might think (Motschenbacher 2010: 123-179). Personal nouns, such as man and woman, deal with gender on a more abstract level or meaning. There is much more to gender than what meets the eye; the words 'man' and 'woman' do not fully encompass all the categories and facets of gender. Gender and the body can be categorized from social and personal experiences. The language associated with the body is very complex. The body can be seen from the external perspective, the focus being that the body is an object to be discussed. There is also the idea of the body from the internal perspective, the subjective experience of the body. These are just the social perspectives of the body, which are different from the linguistic perspectives. There are three main perspectives about the body in relationship to linguistics; studies of genital vocabulary, the idea that the use and speech associated with bodies changes according to the situation and, also studies about how talk of the body affects gender performance. This thesis will focus primarily on how talk and description of the body influences gender roles and expectations. There is also the approach that femininities, masculinities are subjects and identities that are linguistically performed. This theory makes one wonder the question, what does 'saying' or 'expressing' something actually produce? (Motschenbacher 2010: 123-179). Does simply describing a body, whether it is male or female have an influence on it?

The media is inundated with gender representations that occur by visually creating an image of bodies and body parts (Motschenbacher 2010: 123-179). The linguistic

construction of bodies is evidence to the theory of linguistic gender construction. And in comparison with visual constructions of the body, where the audience can see the body and make one's own assumptions, language uses symbols and semantics to create and construct the body. With that being said, it is important to also make note of the lexical differences associated with gender constructions. It is necessary to distinguish the types of body parts in relation to men and women. At first glance this may seem obvious, but aside from sexual descriptions and genital lexicon, it is important to recognize the fact that certain body parts are more associated with women, rather than men. In some instances, body parts such as lips might be more closely associated with women, whereas body parts like the back might be associated with men. In this corpus and in this thesis, the focus will be more on sexual organs and how they are described and related to gender.

In regards to linguistics, the representations of the body are represented through dominant gender discourses and they are used to normalize the construction of the male and female bodies (Motschenbacher 2010: 123-179). Texts can be gendered explicitly through body lexicon and terminology, specifically through gendered body parts such as breasts, vagina, penis, et cetera.

The constructions of male and female bodies create a dichotomy that demonstrates the differences in lexical associations (Motschenbacher 2010: 123-179). Typically, the description of female body parts is located on the surface of the body. Female body parts tend to hold more of an aesthetic, softer role. Male body parts are typically within the body. Male body parts are also more likely to be of a working or functional value, suggesting that male body parts have a purpose (for work or for sports)

when being compared to women's bodies. Of the two genders, the female body is more likely to be socially gendered, possibly due to the fact that the female body has been more socially objectified.

These ideas support the claim that linguistic gendering through body parts exists because gender performance and gender roles are closely related to the body and body parts (Motschenbacher 2010: 123-179). When compared to men, female features are more fetishized and obsessed over, more than men's are. This could be due to the dominant culture's beliefs on gender and the representations of gender in media. Even though media does have an influence on gender representations, it is also important to take into account chemistry, hormones and biology. Culture may very well influence the representation of gender, but biology does have an influence as well. The next part of this thesis will discuss how male and female bodies are represented in the corpus of rap music.

In the corpus being studied, there is a large amount of attention drawn to the female body. The female body discourse is constructed as an object for the sexual pleasure of men. Even though the female body is constructed mainly to please men, it is also important to note that not all rap music creates this image of women. Some music is also positive and admires the beauty of women. In general, the construction of the female body creates the image that the primary function a woman has is to please men and to use her body to attract, and also torment men. The focus of this chapter will be on the descriptions of the female body and how they gender and construct the image of women.

The first example we see of the female body existing as an object for men's sexual pleasure is in a song by Booba.

Mademoiselle c'est pour ton cul, ta chatte qu'on t'aime (Booba, *Abracadabra Lunatic*, 2010).

Miss, it is for your ass, your pussy, that we love you.

This example is the most explicit. This clearly shows that the female sexual body exists for the pleasure of this rapper. The word '*la chatte*' (pussy in English) is used often. It is one of the most gendered words used to talk about women's bodies (O'Neill 2007: 27-128). This word is used so frequently in rap that it creates the idea that women are reduced to their bodies and sexuality. Seduction is also seen throughout rap and is usually promoted more than romantic love. Sex is regarded as more of a product to be sold. There is also the idea that money buys sex, and that men can buy women.

As seen in the example by Booba the construction of the woman is only on her body and nothing else. The artist is also reinforcing the idea that women primarily exist for pleasure. He is explaining the use of her body and why men like it. The image of the woman is linguistically constructed into sexuality and genitals. Some examples of the idea that the female body is for male pleasure are so extreme that they seem as if they create a pornographic construction of the female body. This is common, and because of this, violence is often treated as gratuitous.

Si ça fait mal, que tu cries, que tu jouis c'est que je suis dans ta chatte.
(Booba, *Jour de Paye*, Lunatic, 2010).

If that hurts, whether you scream or whether you have pleasure it is because I am in your pussy.'

This quote is an example of the female body being used; regardless of whether it causes her pain or pleasure. This excerpt illustrates the construction of the female body

as an object for men. The female body is closely related to sexual pleasure. Another remarkable detail is that in this quote, the man has power and dominance over the woman. In the construction of himself, the man is associating his body with sexual dominance and power. He is associating his body with sexual power over the woman's body. This quote reinforces the idea that women are objects to men, and that men have dominance over women.

Furthermore, some lyrics are so sexually explicit that they are pornographic, supporting the idea that there are many pornographic references and ideas in rap.

Si tu ne veux pas t'faire baiser, alors viens pas chez nous, le slip entre la chatte et le genou. " (Booba, *Strass et Paillettes*, Temps Mort, 2006).

If you do not want to fuck, then do not come around us with your panties between your pussy and your knees.

The man is talking about the woman and having sex with her. In other words, he is saying that if you do not want sex, then do not come near us with your panties down. This quote is proof to the idea that the description of body parts is fundamental in the construction of gender identity. It also reinforces the stereotype that women 'tease' men and men maintain their masculinity and power by saying 'no.' Even though women's bodies are often very sexualized, it is important to point out that there are gendered terms for men's bodies as well such as '*bite*' and '*zob*,' (both words for dick). These words might exist, but they are seen in the corpus of rap texts the following table shows. (*bite* found 24 times, *zob* 1 time). Words associated with women, such as *chatte*, *seins*, *cul*, and *fessiers* (*chatte*: 34 times, *Seins*: 3 times *Cul*: 50 times , (note that *cul* could also be used as an insult for a man, and not always a part of the female body and *fessiers*: 1 time. occur much more frequently. We also see specific gendered words associated with the female body 'le slip,' 'la chatte' and 'au genou.' These descriptions

of the female sexual organs and the female body eroticize the woman's body, providing a description that removes her clothes and allows the man to be dominant, or fantasize about her. This also gives evidence to the claim that women exist primarily for the use of men and that the primary use of the female body is sexual.

Since the description of female body creates the gender construction that the female body is an object used for men's sexual pleasure, we also see more examples of male sexual dominance throughout this corpus. The description and portrayal of the female body is not just limited to how women act, it also creates an identity for men, and how they should act around women.

Pute, suce moi direct, je suis circoncis. (La Fouine, *Fouiny Gamos*, La Fouine vs. La Laouni,).

Bitch, suck me directly, I am circumcised.

Even though we do not see any explicit descriptions of the female body in this example, we still witness male sexual dominance. This quote is very explicit, and pornographic. Male dominance and power is very prevalent, showing how gender representation is unequal in rap. It also shows again, that women are often seen as sexual objects. There are minimal, if any examples in the corpus of rap texts that show women having sexual dominance over men. We also see the sexual association with the word, the idea discussed earlier that the word '*pute*' is often associated with women being sexual objects for men. It is even more interesting in this example, that the man is making demands of the woman. This could be due to the idea that men have more power associated with them than women do. This situation creates a space for women to be subordinate to men, thus creating an image, or identity that promotes the idea of the inequality of power between men and women. Even if the body is not present, we

can still see gender identities and sexuality, and this is an example that proves my claim. The man expects sexual pleasure from a woman and he demands it from her. He even goes as far to address the woman as ‘*pute*,’ suggesting that he views the woman as a sexual object, who exists only for sexual pleasure. This word also places women into a linguistic category that can be damaging socially and mentally. Another quote that supports this claim is in another song by Booba.

Quelques putes veulent cohabiter dans l’son avec moi et ma clique mais tout c’que tu vas faire c’est un featurig avec ma bite. (Booba, Temps Mort, Animals)

Some sluts want to live in the studio with me and my gang and all you have to do is a featurig with my dick.

We see here that the rapper again only sees women as sexual objects. Not only do the women in this excerpt exist as sexual objects, but, the man again, has power over them. The man is saying that there are some ‘bitches’ that want to record with him and his group, but the only thing they will do is having a ‘featurig with my dick.’ Once again, this shows that women exist for the pleasure of men. This example also shows that the rap culture can often be very explicit, sexual and pornographic. The sole purpose for the women recording music with Booba is to please him sexually and nothing else is important. We know just by reading these lyrics, that women are constructed as sexual objects. It is also important to discuss the language associated with sexuality and with women.

There are so many examples of ‘*chatte*’ repeated throughout this corpus that offer a linguistic insight into how male rappers really feel about women and about sexuality.

Deux mille, deux mille onze trop d’MC ont la chatte rasée, rasée. (La Fouine, Veni Vidi Vici, La Fouine vs. La Laouni).

2000, 2011 MCs too have shaved pussy.

Even though this quote is referring to men and MCs, the language is very sexual and gives pornographic qualities to the female body. Erotic and pornographic language, even used when describing men creates damaging stereotypes for women, even if women are not being discussed directly. This language and description of women gives women a pornographic quality. The description of '*chatte*' as a gendered word constructs an erotic identity. In a way, this kind of language teaches women about their own sexuality, through the descriptions of their bodies. Women and men alike do not have to create the notion of gender identity; it can be the sole description of the body that creates the image and the ideal of what women are. The description of body parts also creates a very specialized image of what sexuality is, and what the female is supposed to resemble. The lustful language and borderline obsession with women and the female body gives the female body a sexual, eroticized quality that seems to define their being. Almost all associations with '*chatte*' are sexual. Even though this word refers to a part of the female sexual anatomy, it is still portrayed as erotic and explicitly sexual, especially when compared with the male sexual anatomy. Returning back to what was stated earlier on in Chapter 7, the female body is described with a more aesthetic appeal, whereas the male body is described in a more functional and 'working' manner (Matchenbacher: 2010). When compared to men's sexuality and the description of men's bodies, there is also another dichotomy and difference in power between the genders both linguistically and culturally.

The language associated with the female anatomy and sexuality is often very erotic and detailed, but the sexuality of men is extremely different and much less erotic. This is likely due to the fact that men outnumber women in the rap world, and men are

describing women. If there were more women in the rap world, gender and sexuality representations might be very different. Since men outnumber women in the rap world, naturally the atmosphere of gender is likely male centered and creates images and representations that usually benefit men. The focus on the content of the language is vastly different. Even though there are a lot of gender differences, roles and representations, it is important to say that not all gender differences are sexist. Men and women are biologically different, and because of that, behave very differently. Even though some lyrics and some texts might be sexist, and there might be some differences in gender, not all lyrics and not all difference is sexist.

It is important to note that the word '*bite*' (dick) occurs only twenty-four times in comparison to the thirty four times that '*chatte*' occurs. Even though '*bite*' does have many occurrences (50 occurrences) and as a result, male sexuality is discussed, it is not discussed as widely as female sexuality is. The corpus of rap texts gives evidence to this, with the 34 occurrences of *chatte*. The following table shows the occurrences of sexual body parts in the corpus.

Table.6-1 Occurrences of sexual body parts

The French Word	The English Word	Number of Occurrences
<i>La Chatte</i>	Pussy	34
<i>Les Seins</i>	Breasts	50
<i>Le Cul</i>	Bottom, backend	50
<i>Les Fessiers</i>	Bottom, Backend, Butt	2
<i>La Bite</i>	Dick	24

The first example of male sexuality discussed will be from a song by 'La Fouine.'

Monte sur ma bite "mmmmm", t'auras le mal de mer » (La Fouine, La Fouine vs Laouni, Nhar Sheitan Click, 2004).

Get up on my dick 'mmm' you will get it bad'

Here we see a man making demands of a woman and expressing his dominance over her. In this example, we see the construction of the male body. We see what defines the male body and male sexuality. From this construction of masculinity and sexuality, we see how it relates to female sexuality and femininity. This is not to say that there is no description of the female body in his sense, but, the example talking about men's sexuality are often described in power, giving situations where the man is doing something to a female and he is dominant. Throughout this entire corpus, I saw no examples of a woman expressing sexual dominance over a man, culturally nor linguistically.

How do all of these descriptions of sexuality and the male and female bodies construct gender identities? We already know that the description of the male and female bodies is extremely different and serves different functions in relationship to sexuality. The description of the body is closely related to gender and sexuality and can influence social behaviors and personal identity. One result of the description of the female body might be the gender construction that women exist as sex objects. Even though it is arguable that rap is just entertainment, and listening to this music may not provoke listeners to commit hate crimes against women, it still creates an unflattering representation of women. It is also important to note that even though many of the images of women in rap are unflattering, rap also creates negative images for men as well, not just women. Rap might create this sexualized, subordinate image of women, but it also has the potential to make male rappers look like power hungry and violent creatures. Through unflattering representations of both women and men, both genders alike might learn the idea of the sexual objectification through such popular culture

descriptions of their bodies. Women might learn through language and body description that they are objects of pleasure, and men might learn through the descriptions of their bodies that they are sexually dominant and as a consequence, can sexually objectify women who are less powerful and dominant than they are. How does this kind of attitude damage and condition gender?

Sexual objectification is damaging to women and men because it legitimizes abuse and violence. Even though not all of these images and lyrics are explicitly violent, they can lead to violence, since the female body is seen as an object and the male body is depicted as powerful and dominant.

It is important to say that violence seen in rap is not just limited to rap music, it is a cultural ideology that is also seen in television, film and the mainstream media (Wolf and Kielwasser, 1991: 111-128). In regards to television and in most other genres of media and programming, women have been largely underrepresented. This pattern of underrepresentation dates back centuries. Even though women tend to be underrepresented, it is also important to examine how women are being represented, instead of how much they are seen in the media. In television, as in rap, there are fewer women than there are men, and tend to have a much narrower range of roles than what men do. This is also true in rap, since there are overall less female rappers, and less women in the executive domains than there are men, giving women less opportunity to hold positions of power both culturally in music and on a business or management level in the industry. Both the mainstream media and rap show evidence of inequality between men and women.

In the media, and in pornography, men tend to take a dominant role and women tend to be subordinate to men, serving as creatures of sexual pleasure at the convenience of men (Wolf and Kielwasser, 1991: 111-128). This type of representation is the most prevalent in pornography, specifically in relationship with scenes of coercive sex or sexual violence. Sexual violence might be prevalent in porn, but, some feminist writers argue that in porn, women might exist as subordinate beings for the pleasure of men, and are willing to do any sexual act or take any male sexual advance. Continued exposure to this genre of pornography might result in subordinate sexual roles in women or the dominant sexual role in men and consequently could lead to behaviors that reflect these beliefs. Here are a few more viewpoints on sexual violence and how it affects viewers.

One viewpoint is that porn is harmless entertainment (Wolf and Kielwasser, 1991: 111-128). It is harmless in the sense that it is just a form of entertainment and that it shows positive sexual behavior and offers therapy in a 'puritanic' culture's beliefs on sexuality. The other viewpoint is that porn is damaging, and degrades and demeans the status of human females. Modern porn, according to feminists portrays women as sexually and socially subordinate to men and are dominated by men believe that women are portrayed as 'malleable, obsessed with sex and willing to do anything with their partner.' Some of these patterns are seen in rap. Rap and porn might be very different forms of media/entertainment, but both reflect the dominant culture's beliefs about differences between men, women and sexism. After reading about both viewpoints on sexual violence and violence in the media, it is important to discuss and define the problem being faced.

In the media, and in pornography, it is not so much the objectification of women that is the problem, but rather the violent attacks on them (Wolf and Kielwasser, 1991: 111-128). Even though there is limited empirical evidence and research on violence in porn, there is research that emphasizes the narrow, but highly stylized content of porn that is chauvinistic, 'macho' and promotes highly masculine behavior. Research shows that exposure to degrading; sexually explicit material does have an effect on viewers, both men and women. The effects include desensitization towards rape, rape victims and sexual violence. Research also shows that exposure to degrading material was as likely as violent material to increase the likelihood in males to want coercive sex. Another study, using college women showed that when exposed to either violent or degrading porn, the women were more likely to experience mood disturbances and had more negative feelings towards rape victims than people who were exposed to non-violent, non-degrading porn. Men who were exposed to violent porn, with coercive sex were more likely to view rape victims as sexually promiscuous. Women who were exposed to violent porn were more likely to be more accepting of permissiveness after seeing violent or coercive sex. It is true that there is a lot of sexual violence in pornography; it is also true that violence against women is also seen in a lot of horror and slasher movies.

Just like in pornography and in rap women are portrayed as subordinate to men. Subordination of women in slasher movies that contain sexually explicit material and receive adult or restricted ratings often focus on the victimization and subordination of women (Wolf and Kielwasser 1991: 111-128). In these types of films, women are more likely to be portrayed as victims than men are. It is not to say that men are never

portrayed as victims, but in general, women are more likely to be portrayed this way (Wolf and Kielwasser, 1991: 111-128). It is also relevant to point out that in violent or torture scenes involving women, the scene is more likely to be longer and more drawn out than what a torture scene involving a man would be. This is evidence that culture creates sexism, and sexism exists in all forms of media. Rap might create a sexist atmosphere, but, rap is not the sole culprit for all things sexist. Sexism is a cultural ideology that permeates in many other domains.

It is arguable that rap is just entertainment, and in some that ways, that is true. Rap might be a form of entertainment, but it is still a reflection of a culture and set of beliefs. This sort of music is the result of a dominant culture's belief system and how it believes women are viewed and how they should be treated (Adams, Fuller, 2005: 938-957). With that being said, it is important to discuss how media affects men and how these messages affect behaviors and attitudes.

Returning to pornography and sexual violence, we will discuss how regular consumption of violence can affect, or even change men's attitudes and beliefs towards women. Research has shown that the exposure of media depictions of rape, in which the woman is responsible for their own rape, or if appears to enjoy her assault, can result in many different cognitive reactions to rape and violence in both men and in women (Wolf and Keilwasser: 129-157). Research shows that women who are sexually assaulted, but have a positive reaction to their assault produces less sensitivity to rape from men and an increased acceptance of rape myths and interpersonal violence. Another view about the effects of violent pornography is that it could potentially teach men how to perform anti-woman acts, and relay their inhibitions about these acts. This

could also condition men to experience arousal in reaction to violent sexual acts (Wolf and Keilwasser: 129-157). One particular study examined positive and negative rape portrayals in film and in porn.

This study examined pornographic films in which the woman was either aroused, or was abhorred by her attack (Wolf and Keilwasser: 129-157). These depictions of sexual assault and rape changed how the viewer perceived sexual assault and attacks. When the victim became aroused by her attack, the viewers saw it as a justification for the attack. The experiments showed that changing the outcome of rape affects the way the attack was understood. Even though these portrayals of rape affected the attitude the viewer had towards rape, it did not give any evidence saying the viewer would go out to commit violent sexual acts or rape. Even though the likelihood of one of the listeners committing a rape is not very high, the material did still affect their attitude towards rape and women, which is damaging.

Now that we have discussed the representation of the female body and the effects of violent media, we are going to discuss sexual violence potentially caused by the objectifying description of the female body in culture, including rap. Language in misogynistic rap has the potential to express the idea that violence against women is acceptable. The language of misogynistic rap desensitizes the audience to sexual harassment, violence, abuse and exploitation (Adams and Fuller, 2005: 938-957). It legitimizes the lack of support and mistreatment and degradation of women (Adams and Fuller, 2005: 938-957). The style of language and the description of the female body makes violence seem permissible. Examples of violence against women are found all over French/Francophone rap.

The first topic discussed regarding violence will discuss language associated with rape. It is interesting to note that the language describing rape is coming from a man, giving a male perspective on violence against women. Some rap might have misogynistic lyrics, but not all rappers are sexist or violent. Rap is a very complex culture, that has many layers and there are many different artists, both men and women, who offer many different perspectives

Les hommes sont des gros bâtards envers les femmes.

Ils leurs mentent, les trompent, les forces, les violent et les frappent. (Disez la Peste, Disez The End, Le monde sur mesure, 2009).

Men are bastards toward women; they lie to them, cheat on them, force them, rape them and hit them.

In this example, the artist, who is a man, is speaking out against rape. He is saying that men do not treat women well; they lie, betray, force, rape and hit. This specific example does not glorify or promote violence, but instead, it is speaking in defense of women from the male perspective. This is evidence that even though the rap culture can be misogynistic, not all music is hateful. In this example, there is some subtle description of the female body, but it is in a different light. From this angle, we see the male perspective on violence and how it is felt by other men. This quote is evidence to the complexity that exists in rap. It shows that while there might exist violence; there are many different artists who speak out against it. It is important to note that in comparison to women, there is not much, if any sexual violence against men. It is also important to say that in rap there is lewd sexuality and objectification, but not always violence, but the two can be correlated. This means that lewd sexuality and violence may not be the same thing, but lewd sexuality could instigate sexual violence. Next this thesis will discuss violence against women from a woman's perspective.

It is also important to note how when women are talking about issues and problems specific women, their gender identities change. Since this quote comes from a woman, it shows solidarity and power from women and shows that violence against women is not okay. It gives women the opportunity to work together and communicate their ideas and work against violence. This quote goes against the mainstream constructions of the female body and the permissible attitude towards violence. Another quote by a woman that speaks out against rape is by an artist called 'Bams.'

This quote speaks of solidarity and working against rape, violence and aggression.
Viol, Agression,

Ma seule et unique compensation est que je suis née une femme

L'homme devra le dev'nir dans son âme

Si je rassemble, unis l'ensemble des femmes

Ce n'est pas un geste ni une cause féministe

Juste un sentiment de devoir humaniste

Super exposée je fais mes thèses bien exposées (Bams, *Douleur de Femme*, *Vivre ou Mourir* 1999).

Rape, aggression my only compensation is that I was born a woman,

The man must have the obligation in his soul, if I gather all,

United together as women,

It's not a feminist cause or gest, just a feeling and humanist obligation, exposed, I make my arguments very explicit.

This quote brings light to violence against women, but, from a woman's perspective. It also shows solidarity and wants women to stand together to speak in their own defense and to stand up to violence. This style of language brings another representation to the female gender. Women working together have the power to construct their own bodies and identities from their own perspectives and realities that

are different from the dominant, mainstream culture. This style of language surfaces the problem to the mainstream and strives to show that violence is not acceptable in any form.

One should note that the word '*violer*' (rape) is used by female artists and there are not as many uses by male artists. This could mean two different things. To start off, this could mean that rap music is becoming less sexist and violence is less prevalent, especially when being compared to American rap music. It could also mean that rap music is empowering for women, and it gives them the opportunity to speak out against violence and to defend themselves against predatory men. Both of these examples are women speaking about women's issues and men are not involved. Even though they are speaking about men, these perspectives are coming from the point of view from a woman. Linguistically, these examples fight against sexism in music, because in the text the women speaking are using words that are associated with power. Even when talking about men, they do not use language that is hateful or degrading.

The first example of power is when Bams says '*unis l'ensemble des femmes*' (women united together). This language suggests that women are working together to get something accomplished. In other examples of the corpus, when men are describing women, they are often (but not always) putting them into a group and marginalizing them, or singling them out. Even though it is true that not all men are sexist, the climate and the language of rap music creates a sexist and unequal atmosphere for women. Music gives women the opportunity to speak out against unequal social structures in society. Even though the language of rap might create a sexist atmosphere for women, it also can be empowering for women to communicate ideas and beliefs through music.

Chapter 8 will focus on how rappers portray women in the domestic world, and will focus more specifically on mothers and fathers.

CHAPTER 8 DOMESTIC WORLD:

The focus of this chapter will also be on gender differences in language, but on a different level, it will talk about the language associated with mothers, fathers and domesticity. Male rappers respect their mothers more than any other women in their lives. Male rappers also respect their wives; women gain more respect when they are married and have children, compared to situations where a woman might have a child outside of marriage. If a woman has a child, her image changes and becomes more positive. It is also important to discuss the language associated with sisters and girlfriends and other female family members. Male rappers have a different perspective and a different way of describing women that are their family. Next, the last part of Chapter 8 will dissect the language male rappers use when talking about their mothers and how it is positive and how it functions in gender differences of language. Both mothers and fathers will be compared, to show the differences.

After studying this corpus, male rappers have very little, if anything, negative to say about their mothers. French rap might have a sexist climate at times, but the mentality changes completely when mothers are involved.

Dans cette pluie battant je pense à ma maman ma tante A cette mauvaise pente, à l'insuline et ça me hante Ça me hante (MC Solaar, ça me hante, Mach 6, 2003).

In this driving rain, I think of my mother and my aunt, at this terrible slope, at insulin, that haunts me, that haunts me.

This example shows the adoration the male rapper has for his mother.

Maman sèche tes larmes Je sais qu'j'ai construit de mes propres mains
cette galère dans laquelle on rame Encore un mois sans la télé
Les courriers se font rare comme les pointeurs qu'on a méllé
Forfait NEO on s'endort au portable J'pense à l'avenir mais j'essaie qu'la

poisse m'attends devant le portail Promis bébé à ma sortie j'ferais des efforts (La Fouine, *M'évader*, La Fouine vs. La Laoui, ,2011).

'Dry your tears momma, I know that this hell that we are struggling through, another month without tv, the post comes rarely like the timekeepers that mailed it, The compensated by NEO, we sleep on the phone, I think of the future, but there is bad luck waiting me at the door, baby I promise when I leave, that I will try'

The language associated here with this example is gentle and less violent and harsh when compared with other language when speaking about women. It is also important to recognize the contrast between how male rappers speak about their mothers in comparison to other women in their lives. Words and phrases like '*sèches tes larmes*' (dry your tears) or '*Promis bébé à ma sortie j'ferais des efforts*' (I promise baby when I leave I will make an effort) are gentler in comparison to the language associated with the words like 'putain.' It is also important to note that not only do rappers have an appreciation for their mothers; they also speak highly of women who are in close relationship with them, such as girlfriends, wives and sisters. We see the affection associated with girlfriends with the excerpt '*Promis bébé à ma sortie j'ferais des efforts*' Since rappers have affectionate and respectful towards mothers, wives and girlfriends, it is also important to talk about domestic, family and relationship life.

Mais depuis que maman n'est plus là, c'est lui qui court derrière moi (La Fouine, *La lumière*, La Fouine vs. La Laoui, 2011).

But since mom is no longer here, it is she who runs behind me.

The example is evidence of the respect and adoration that this rapper has for his mother. When quotes like the ones seen above are compared to ones in which words like '*pute*' or ' *salope*' are used we see very different associations and attitudes towards women. This sort of language reinforces that rap is complex and has many layers. At

times, women are represented in a negative light as objects to use and abuse, and at other times, they are important figures in rappers' lives. Next, we are going to examine the image of the mother from a woman's perspective.

Keny Arkana, a female rapper gives another insight into how women and the rap world in general feel about mothers.

Reçoit l'Amour de tes enfants qui veulent retrouver ton sein
Qui viennent se connecter ensemble pour retrouver le grand Un
Qui ont conscience que nous sommes tout, et qu'à la fois nous ne sommes rien
Qu'on te doit tout chère maman, déjà mère de nos anciens
Pardonne le monde et son égo, bien trop ingrat pour voir le bien
Louons ta gloire et ta splendeur pour préparer le Jour prochain
Tu es la reine, la mère chérie, martyrisée par nos engins
(Keny Arkana, *Alterlude Pachamama Désobéissance Civile*, 2008,)

Receive the love of your children who want to find your breast again, who come together who want to find again the great one, who are conscious that we are everything, and that we are nothing at the same time, that you owe all to your dear mother, already the mother of our ancestor, forgive the world and its ego, and already to ungrateful to see the good, praise your glory and splendor to prepare for the next day, you are the queen, dear mother, martyred for our devices.

In order to linguistically dissect this excerpt, it is important to recognize all of the words associated with mother '*l'amour*' (love), '*les enfants*' (children) '*chère*' (dear) '*gloire*' (glory), '*chérie*' (sweet, dear) and '*reine*' (queen). This language is very soft and gentle, but also very respectful, almost to the point of worshipping mothers. Even though language like this is positive for women, it also reinforces stereotypes of motherhood. This language might be positive, but it reinforces an image of women that could be interpreted by some as negative. It is also interesting that language like this is coming from another woman, which is also another way to fight against sexism in the rap culture. Love and respect coming from other women, is empowering and has the potential to unite women. Diam's, who is a female artist, also shows how women

supporting and promoting each other can be positive in working against negative stereotypes.

In this excerpt, Diams (a female French rapper) shows how important it is for women to respect themselves. The language Diams is using shows that she has respect for women and herself, which was something that she learned from her mother.

Je suis rappeuse pas chanteuse hé qu'on s'entende bien Je suis hargneuse pas chanceuse, donc je ne vous doit rien. Je suis gentille moi, je m'énerve rarement Mais respecte toi et on te respectera m'a dit ma maman. (Diams, *Si c'était le dernière*, SOS, 2009).

I am a rapper not a singer that everyone likes, I am fierce not a singer and I do not owe you anything. I am nice and I do get mad often, but as my mother told me, respect yourself and others will respect you.

In this excerpt, respect is associated with mothers. The mother is teaching her daughter about self-respect. This quote shows that women working together and showing each other in a positive light can go against negative stereotypes in rap. Not only is this language empowering for women, but it also confronts the rap culture and how men think of women. There are very few, if any examples where men speak ill of their mothers in this corpus which suggests that sexism is only domain specific and does not exist in all domains of rap. Not everything in the rap world is sexist or demeaning. Not all language connected with women is vulgar or violent. Women have many different roles within music lyrics and some are seen more positively than others. It is also important to discuss how sisters and other female family members are described, as a way to give an insight into how rappers feel about their family, and how domestic language involving women differs from other language. The first example describing sisters and family is in a song by Rohff.

Ma soeur, mon frère, on va le faire, on va le faire On a la foi, la richesse de la misère Les yeux de la banlieue, on voit Claire On assume notre sort, on va tous se refaire Ma soeur, mon frère, on est fort, on va le faire (Rohff, La Cuenta, On va le faire, 2010).

My sister, my brother, we are going to do this; we are going to do this. We have faith, richness from misery, in the eyes of the suburbs, we see clearly, we assume our exit, we are all going to do this over again, my sister, my brother, we are going to do this.

This example of language associated with family and domesticity has words that are associated with strength and unity of family members. We see words such as '*la foi*' (faith), '*tous*' (all/together), '*fort*' (Strong), and we also see '*notre*' which means 'our,' suggesting that the family is one collective unit that will work together. It is important to point out that when the rapper talks about his 'brother' and 'sister' he may not necessarily be talking about his biological family; it could easily be referring to his friends too. Even if he is not referring to his biological family, the use of the word 'sister' changes the description and the words associated with the woman. Rappers talk about their sisters in a similar, but different way than they do their mothers, but regardless, the language associated with family members is much less explicit than it is with other types of women.

As a way of providing even more evidence about domesticity and mothers, it is also important to talk about how fathers are represented. It is clear that mothers are respected in the rap culture, and in the language of rap, however, the image and representation of fathers is much different. Some male rappers feel an intense hatred and disrespect towards their fathers, especially those were absent or were not present during childhood, or when needed the most. La Fouine, a male rapper, demonstrates the disdain male rappers feel for their fathers.

Et si je garde en moi toutes les blessures du passé C'est pour me rappeler tout ce que tu as fait pour moi Dans mon jardin secret les mauvaises fleurs ont toutes fanées Le temps va tout s'en va par l'amour que j'ai pour toi Papa juste un mot j'irai là-bas là-bas pour to Papa le temps va tout s'en va par l'amour que j'ai pour toi » (La Fouine, *Papa*, La Fouine vs. La Laoui, 2011).

And if I keep in all the wounds from the past, it is to remind me of all that you have done for me, in my secret garden, the bad flowers have all withered, time leaves by the love that I have for you, just a word Dad, I will go there for you, Dad the time all goes by for the love that I have for you.

In order to linguistically dissect this excerpt, it is important to make note of the words associated with father, '*les blessures du passé*' (wounds from the past), '*les mauvaises fleurs*' (bad flowers) and '*par l'amour*' (no love). These words are associated with negativity, but some of the associations are also positive. This shows that not all language associated with fathers is bad, it can also be positive. The combination of the positive and negative images shows that the relationship that La Fouine has with his father is complex, and not completely negative or positive. Even though the way La Fouine is talking about his father is both positive and negative, it is still evidence that men and fathers are represented in a way that is much different than mothers and women. The language expressed gives a perspective on how the father is perceived.

The language associated with fatherhood often gives a feeling of deep loss and sadness and hurt. There is an example of this in a song by Sexion D'Assaut, also a male rapper.

Papa mais t'étais où ?! Le jour où je suis né Aujourd'hui maman ne cesse de me dire qu'on a l'même gros nez J'ai vu une photo d'elle et d'un homme, jeune épanouie Elle avait le même regard qu'elle porte sur moi, seule ébahie Papa ! Elle te connaît, elle te déteste je sais Moi c'est pire j'te connais pas et je te déteste tu sais Mais t'étais où ?! Le jour de mes 1 ans, mes premiers pas, quand j'comprendais rien Mes années passent et devant l'école Le père d'Alpha vient toujours me dire 'Bonjour' franchement il est cool Et en classe, de quoi j'ai peur et honte à ton avis ? Une question très

très gênante, 'Qu'est-ce que ton père fais dans la vie ? (Sexion D'assaut, *Tel père, tel fils*, L'école des points vitaux 2010).

But Dad, where were you the day that I was born? Today, Mom always tells me that we have the same big nose, I saw a picture of her and a man, young, beaming. She had the same look that she has for me, only dumbfounded. She knows you dad, she hates you, I know. You know that it's worse that I do not know you and I hate you, but where were you? The day of my first birthday, Alpha's Dad always came to say hi, but really it's okay, one question that is very irritating, what does your dad do in life?

Again, from this excerpt we will point out different words that are associated with fathers 'déteste' (dislike/hate) 't'étais où' (where were you?), 'peur' (fear), 'honte' (shame), and *gênante* (irritating, troublesome). This language creates the image of hatred, or even fear of fathers. It takes away from male dominance in rap, suggesting that a lot of male complexes and dysfunctions of sex and women could be correlated to absent fathers. Absent fathers, shame, fear and hate, what do all of these words mean? It might be true that there are some songs, where the artist does not have anything bad to say about their fathers. While it might be true that male rappers see their fathers negatively in some contexts, it is also important to point out that there is a difference between the absent father and the father who is present. The following excerpt will show a positive representation of a present father, providing evidence that not all images of fathers are negative.

J'ai mis dans ce Rap ce que je n'ai pas su te dire Tu restes mon père pour le meilleur et pour le pire Tu t'es levé à 5h du mat pour qu'on puisse avoir des baskets à nos pattes Mais malgré ça j'ai quand même giflé le prof de math Yeah au square on m'appelle Fouiny baby mais pour toi je reste Laouni weld bladi Boom Boom les keufs viennent me lever T'es jamais venu au parloir car les hommes se cache pour pleurer Yeah si t'as ouvert c'est que le vice a sonné Mais on reste tous les mêmes Papa tu es pardonné Ce qui est dit est dit ce qui est fait est fait J'ai trempé ma plume dans mes larmes pour écrire ce couplet » (La Fouine, *Papa, Fouiny Baby*, 2011).

I put in this rap what I did not know how to tell you, You will be my father for better or for worse, you woke up every day at five in the morning to make sure we had shoes on our feet, but despite that, I still lashed out at my math teacher, yeah on the streets everyone calls me 'Fouiny Baby' but for you I still am "Laouni Weld Bladi". Boom Boom the cops come to get me, you never came to the visiting room because the men hide themselves to cry. Yeah if you open up, it's the fault that rang, Dad you are forgiven, what is said was did, and what is done is done. I soaked my pen in my tears to write this verse.

This quote gives a complex, multi-layered view of how the rapper feels about his father. He speaks about a man who woke up at five in the morning every day to make sure that he had shoes, but also talks about how his father never came to see him in jail. La Fouine also goes on to say that his father is forgiven for what he has done, what is said is said and what is done is done, and he is willing to forgive him. This quote shows the positive side of how fathers are represented when they are present, but also a negative, complicated side of the relationship that male rappers have with their fathers. La Fouine was angry with his father's lack of support for him, (for crimes that he committed as an adult) but also grateful for being there for him when he was a child. We also see another example of the positive influence of a father who is present.

Avec le temps va tout s'en va mais pas l'amour que j'ai pour toi papa Dédié aux frères qui ont eu un père comme le mien, qui s'cassait le dos à taffer du soir au matin. Dédié aux sœurs qui ont eu un père comme moi, qui du matin au soir courrait derrière la gloire (La Fouine, *Papa*, Fouiny Baby, 2011).

With the time that goes on but not the love that I have for you Dad. Dedicated to the brothers who have a father like mine, who breaks his back working from night to morning. Dedicated to the sisters who have a dad like me, who works from morning to night running behind glory.

This quote gives a positive representation of fathers, but it is also important to point out that the father is present in the rapper's life. There are not many negative examples of a

present father. Some of the examples might be complicated or multi-layered, but are rarely negative.

In general, male rappers do have negative feelings towards fathers who are present, but absent fathers tend to have the most negativity associated with them. Overall, the representation of the father is complex, having both positive and negative sides. Next, I will compare mothers and fathers and how the contrast between the two affects women.

What does this comparison, between mothers and fathers say about women? First, the type of language associated with mothers and fathers is very different. The language used to describe mothers is very gentle, soft and associated with respect. Some language associated with mothers is often very stern, strong, and even masculine. This gives a different perspective on how women are viewed in rap culture. The language associated with women as mothers is much different and contradicts the language associated with women in other domains of the culture. Much of the other language associated with women was hateful, disrespectful, and even violent at times. When talking about mothers, male rappers take an entirely different perspective on women, domesticity and motherhood.

In comparison with mothers, fathers have an entirely different role. In the rap culture, men are the more dominant, strong, and powerful figures. Even though there are many female artists, men dominate rap; so naturally, they have the most power and influence. This image changes completely when male rappers talk about their fathers. Their language tends to be hateful, sad, and mistrustful and the idea of the 'absent' father is repeated often. In the corpus of rap texts, *papa/père* occurs fifty times, and

over half of those occurrences had negative associations. This suggests that while rap might not be entirely hateful towards fathers, but on the whole, fathers are not as appreciated as mothers are. This image is also very contradictory in the rap world. Male rappers seem to view their fathers as low, and untrustworthy, especially those fathers who were not around during their childhood. The typical gendered roles that we see in rap are completely turned opposite when talking about mothers and fathers. The roles and ideals change completely when talking about domesticity. The language associated with these two figures also changes completely. When rappers talk about women, who are not their mothers, the language that they use tends to be very sexual and explicit, thus placing them in a subordinate status to men. Men also talk about other men differently, and tend to express their power and dominance in their language and lyrics. This also changes completely, when men talk about their fathers.

Now that this thesis has discussed the language associated with the two genders and how the language functions in rap music, and in the rap culture, the next part will discuss the effects of this language, genderism and sexism and their roles in rap. Not only does this music and language affect the rap world and genderism within language and music, it also affects society. Music is not just music, and language is not just language. It affects people in ways that they do not even realize. As a way of showing how language and rap affects people and languages and the different representations between men and women, Chapter 9 will examine the difference between male and female rappers.

CHAPTER 9 FEMALE RAPPERS

It is important to note that in the world of rap, there are far more male rappers than there are female rappers. Typically, rap is a 'male game' and there are not nearly as many women as there are men. The lack of women in rap does not mean that women are insignificant to rap. As pointed out at the beginning of this thesis, women have contributed in many different ways; musically, artistically and culturally. There are four main female artists from the corpus that will be discussed in Chapter 9; Diam's, Bams, Keny Arkana and Black Barbie.

Keny Arkana's music is very angry and she could be described as a voice 'full of rage' (Perrier 2010: 234-333). The main themes in her music are social issues and peace and equality in a world that is horribly unjust. She is one of the main female figures in the current world of rap. Her music and style go against what is the mainstream for women and she speaks out against social problems and provides a positive image for women in rap. Her music is explicit and she is not afraid to express her anger against unfair social structures and other societal and cultural problems, such as globalization, global warming and environmental problems, classism and unfair political practices. The next artist cited in the corpus is Bams.

Bams is different from other female artists, because she is one of the rare female artists who has her own solo career (Perrier 2010: 234-333). She is similar to Keny Arkana and Diam's in the sense that she confronts social problems and unfair social structures in her music. She speaks out against the demands and expectations of women in a masculine world and expresses feminism and women's issues in much of

her music. She is best known for her messages about world peace and promoting openness to other cultures. Lastly, we will discuss Diams.

Like Bams, Diams is a voice for women in a masculine world (Perrier 2010: 234-333). Diams is best known for her unwillingness to fit into the gendered stereotypes of women. She presents herself in a way that goes against the mainstream way of representing media, choosing not to be an object in a magazine and speaking out on violence against women. She is an idol and a positive image for women. While Bams and Keny Arkana express unfair social and political problems, it is also important to talk about Black Barbie.

Much of Black Barbie's music is highly sexual, criticizing women, and in some cases she even dominates and criticizes men, going against what is typical for many women in rap. This is shown in the following excerpt.

Reste en chienne Ton gars te maltraite on t'avait dit de le larguer
Reste en chienne Tu n'as pas écouté il a recommencer
Reste en chienne T'as mise des talons tu galère pour avancer
Reste en chienne Ta coucher avec quel patron pour être mieu payer?
Reste en chienne Té tellement grossière qu'il faut te mettre une muselière
Reste en chienne Té tomber enceinte tu sais même pas qui es le père.
Reste en chienne sur I remix de black barbie
reste en chienne je te répète si t'as pas compris
Reste en chienne sur I remix de black barbie
Reste en chienne un dans la cave ta fait des trucs louchent avec tes mains avec ta bouche
Pourquoi tu portes plainte pour viol c'est toi qui a voulu qu'il te touche (Black Barbie, *Reste en Chienne*, Black Barbie Style, 2007).

Be a bitch, your guy treats you bad, he told you about his size, be a bitch, you did listen, he started over, be a bitch, you put on heels, you sweat blood to advance, you slept with what boss to be better paid? Stay a bitch, you are so fat that he should put you in a muzzle, stay a bitch, you got pregnant and you don't even know who the father is, stay a bitch, black Barbie remix, and I repeat to you again, if you did not understand, stay a bitch, stay a bitch in a basement, you did dirty things with your hands and with your mouth, why are you complaining about your rape, it was you that wanted him to touch you.

This excerpt reverses gender expectations of women. Black Barbie is extremely aggressive, criticizing another woman's sexuality and actions, and in a sense, is describing women in a derogatory way. This shows that it is not only men who are sexist; women are capable of creating sexist music too. Black Barbie repeating 'be a bitch,' evidence that she is criticizing another woman. It is even more shocking at the end when she says 'you did dirty things with your hands and with your mouth and you are complaining about your rape, when you wanted him to touch you.' These kinds of lyrics could be evidence of two things: the desensitization of violence and rape, sexual violence towards women and also the idea that women are sexually aggressive, out to get men and are 'troublemakers.' Even though this excerpt supports the idea that women are 'troublemakers' it is also important to point out that Black Barbie is sexually forward. Music created by women has a different style and attitude to it, and that affects how women are represented within the lyrics. It is also important to point out the linguistic differences and the style of rap between men and women.

When compared to women, men tend to be much more threatening and violent. Even when looking at an artist like Keny Arkana, or Black Barbie who is extremely aggressive, she is not as aggressive as an artist like Booba or La Fouine. To show this, we will compare some examples of lyrics.

La rage, car c'est la merde et que ce monde y adhère, Et parce que tous leurs champs OGM stérilisent la Terre !
La rage pour qu'un jour l'engrenage soit brisé
Et la rage car trop lisent « Vérité » sur leur écran télévisé.
La rage car ce monde ne nous correspond pas, Nous nourrissent de faux rêves pour placer leur rempart
La rage car ce monde ne nous correspond pas, Où Babylone s'engraisse pendant qu'on crève en bas ! (Keny Arkana, *La Rage*, Entre Ciment et Belle étoile, 2006).

The rage, it's shit that this whole world sticks to it. And because all of their OGM fields sterilize the earth. The rage, because one day the gears will be broken. The rage for the that does not correspond with us, and the rage for reading too much 'truth' on the television, rage for this world that does not understand us, feeding us with false dreams to put up their shield, where Babylonia gets fat and we die below.

When looking at this example, we see words like *rage* (rage) and *brisé* (broken), which are both angry words that exemplify her anger and hatred for unfair social structures and poverty. Even though she is one of the most aggressive female rappers, she is still not as intense as some male rappers are. Take for example, the following song *Indépendant* by Booba.

Pages entières, pour une mort violente garantie'

'J'crée l'émeute, mon feutre imbibé d'sang, pédé, J'te descends du rouge à lèvres sur la beute Et c'est bandant d'être indépendant (Booba, *Indépendant*, Temps Mort, 2006).

Entire pages for a violent death guaranteed. I create the riot, my knife covered with blood, faggot. I make red fall on the floor. And it is a turn-on to be independent.

In this excerpt, we see words such as *morte violente* (violent death), *feutre imbibé de sang* (knife covered in blood) and *J'te descends du rouge à lèvres sur la beute* (I make red fall from your lips). When compared to Keny Arakana, this language is more violent and aggressive. Arkana might be aggressive, but her style and the language associated with her is nothing like the violence and aggression created in this song. There are differences between the kind of anger and aggression between Keny Arkana and Booba, and they cannot all be blamed on gender. It is also due to the fact that they are both rapping about entirely different subjects. Keny Arkana has explicit reasons to be angry, and the anger in her music could have positive effects on listeners. Booba's music might be more aggressive, but Booba, and men in general tend to rap about

different subjects. Women tend to rap more about social, political and personal issues. Some male rappers rap about social issues, but tend to have more street violence associated with them. Even though there are instances where women are aggressive and angry, it is also important to talk about music that supports women, with language that does not demean or damage the way that women are represented. Diam's is known to create positive music that supports women.

Diam's, another one of the four main French female rappers, often raps in a way that promotes respect and solidarity amongst women. She uses languages that is empowering, that promotes respect for both men and women, for example:

Tu veux être le roi? Tu veux être le prince? Traite moi comme il se doit,
traite moi comme une princesse. Tu veux être le mal, tu veux être le boss?
Traite moi comme une femme et j'te traiterais comme un homme.
Traite moi comme une reine, un coup de love un coup de rêve et j'pourrais
crever pour toi. Mais si on fait ça dans les rêves est-ce que toi mon homme
tu pourrais crever pour moi? (Diam's, *Rose de Bitum*, S.O.S. 2009).

Do you want to be the king? Do you want to be the prince? Treat me like
you should, treat me like a princess. Do you want to be bad, do you want to
be the boss? Treat me like a woman, and I will treat you like a man. Treat
me like a queen, with love and I will die for you. But if I do that in my
dreams, my man, would you die for me?

In this excerpt, we see a lot of language associated with power and respect.

Words such as '*roi*' (king) '*prince*' (prince) '*le boss*' (boss) and '*reine*' (queen), all of which are words associated with power and respect. This type of language puts men and women on an equal level, neither gender having more power than the other. Diam's is talking about love and respect here, empowering both men and women.

As we have talked about the four female artists that are in the corpus, it is also important to note that there are linguistic differences between men and women. Since men and women learn gender differently, they will naturally speak and express

themselves differently. Women are often taught to be more polite and 'softer' spoken than what men are. Men are usually expected to be more direct and less concerned with politeness and social grace. The women studied from this corpus go completely against what is expected and stereotyped. In most of the music, the women directly express the issues they choose to discuss, in ways that are fearless and do not always meet the stereotype of femininity. Keny Arkana's '*La Rage*' is extremely aggressive and she is fearless about speaking her mind. This kind of attitude goes against gender norms expected women. The same also goes for Diams and Bams. Their music is not as angry and turbulent as Keny Arkana's, but nonetheless, both of these women have their own way of going against what is normally expected of women in the mainstream world.

It is important to note that not all men are sexist and not all women are feminists. The language used in this corpus, in rap music, and in language in general constructs gender differences and unequal power between genders. Music produced from men, by men is a reflection of a patriarchal society. There are gender differences in language. Rap is evidence to these differences that can be both sexist and damaging, but at the same time, depending on the case are positive and empowering for women. Since women do work in rap, they are given the opportunity to a work together with men to create music that is neither sexist nor misogynistic. Rap is not just music; it is a reflection of a society, social structures and a culture.

CHAPTER 10 LINGUISTIC WOUNDING

Music is a reflection of social, cultural, political and economic structures. Gendered language and gender differences do exist in rap and the language that it uses. Sexist language found in rap can create a phenomenon called 'linguistic wounding.' Linguistic wounding can mean a couple of different things. More often than not, male and masculine identities make women invisible. It might be true that some female identities exclude men and violate their identities, but this happens much more rarely than what male identities and male constructions do to women. Female gendered differences are much different than their male peers. Women are often represented in ways that are very unflattering and because of that, they are pushed into a more subordinate position in society than what men are. This is shown to be true in the corpus, as we see that women are often referred to as '*putain*' (whore) or '*pute*' (slut) *salope* (bitch) or *chiienne* (bitch) which places women into a less prestigious and less powerful category than men are. Even though there are some positive images of women and female rappers, they are still the minority in rap and still suffer from negative stereotyping.

The idea of linguistic wounding also makes gender differences seem 'normal,' or 'unquestionable' It is uncertain whether or not the corpus makes gender differences between men and women 'normal' but they do exist and they are plentiful. In situations involving media, the language constructing gender creates extremely stereotypical gender features (Motschenbacher 2010: 123-179). In the case of rap in this corpus, we see this in the differences between men and women. Women are constructed into sexual beings, seen as 'soft', submissive and in other cases, 'out to get men,' 'loose'

and sexually aggressive. While there are some unflattering representations of women, there are also positive ones, such as the representation of mothers, girlfriends, wives and sisters. Gender constructions for both men and women are highly stereotyped and place men and women into different categories, which can be damaging both socially and linguistically, creating the idea of 'labeling.'

Gender labeling has a risk to damage and to wound the image both men and women in rap (Motschenbacher 2010: 123-179). Certain labels can cause more damage than others. For instance, in this corpus, women are more often labeled with more gendered words such as '*pute*,' ' *salope*,' '*chienne*' and '*putain*.' These words give women a label and categorize them much more than the word 'woman' does. Even though the word woman is a gendered word and has behavioral expectations associated with it, more rigidly gendered words like '*putain*' have the potential to do more linguistic wounding and damage. With that being said, a person's gendered identity is established and may be a platform in which normal gendered ideas and theories are created. This holds true in the corpus, with all of the different associations and contexts that we see with such extreme gendered words. This means that the language associated with gender and sexuality is closely tied to linguistic wounding.

There are two different types of wounding. The first type of wounding is the idea that from birth there is unfair gender treatment and bias, and people do not get to choose their gender (Motschenbacher 2010: 123-179). From birth, people learn how to behave as men or women. The second type of wounding is the idea that gendered ideas and stereotypes are unavoidable. To be successful in society, one must conform

to what the gender expectation is. We see this in the corpus because there are very few men or women who are actually prepared to go against these gender norms.

Even though there are women rappers, and women speaking out against violence and misogyny, they do not appear to adhere to gender norms. Men do not seem as if they are violating the gender norms either. The corpus offers some examples of homosexuality and men who are not stereotypically masculine, but these examples are not typical. There are different messages that gender constructions portray.

The first of these messages is the idea that people obtain their identities through gender roles (Motschenbacher 2010: 123-179). Women are portrayed as lesser beings and are prototypical members of certain social groups. Men can be seen as negatively, but are usually not perceived as negatively as women are.

CHAPTER 11 CONCLUSION

We arrive to the conclusion to what all of these findings mean. French rap creates stereotypes for women that are both sexist and oppressive to women. In Chapter 2, the role of women in rap was discussed as a way to show that it is not just men who create rap; women create music too and contribute to the rap culture. By way of supporting my claim that French rap is sexist, the next part of this thesis dissected the many forms of misogyny and how they create an oppressive atmosphere for women in rap. Next, the many images and constructions of women were discussed and how they affect women socially and linguistically. The language associated with women and the constructions created for both men and women create an imbalance of power between the two genders, giving men more power than women. This claim is supported by linguistic evidence in the corpus, since the language associated with men was more closely related with power and dominance, and the vocabulary associated with women was much more submissive, domestic and sexual. This thesis also discussed gay men and homosexuality as a way to show that there are gender differences in language and that the treatment and linguistic constructions of homosexuality are similar to that of women and to how gender is constructed. The treatment of homosexuality also shows the sexist climate of rap music. The way gay men and lesbians are treated often reflect upon gender roles and how men and women are expected to act, and the corpus of rap texts shows this.

We saw that women's bodies were highly sexualized and in many situations, men had power and sexual dominance over women. We also saw that men's and women's bodies had different functions. The focus on women's bodies was concerned much

more with beauty and sexuality and physical attractiveness. Men's bodies were constructed much differently than women's bodies were. Their bodies were portrayed much as more powerful and dominant. The male body had very little focus on physical attractiveness, but more on power and strength. Next, this thesis discussed violence against women and gay men, as way to further explain that there is an unequal balance of power between men and women.

Lastly, we compared men and women in the relationship to mothers and fathers in the domestic world. We saw that in this domain, women are more associated with power and strength. This could be due to the image of the absent father in rap music. The absence of fathers creates a situation in which the mother has to be strong in order for the survival and happiness of her children and family. This is a situation in which men and women go against the stereotypical gender constructions. Women were portrayed as more powerful and dominant figures, while men were portrayed as absent, weaker figures. The last section of this thesis discussed the representation of female rappers in comparison to male rappers. Even though there might be a strong presence of female rappers, men still outnumber them. Women might contribute in the rap industry, but they are still not as numerous as men. This is also true in music. Women might produce some aggressive, angry music, but they are still not as angry and aggressive as men are. This imbalance of power puts women in a more subordinate position to men.

After all is said and done, this corpus is evidence that there is deep and problematic sexism in rap. Even though the sexism may not always be explicit or direct, it exists due to much misogynistic discourse and the repetitive idea of male dominance

and female submissiveness. It is important to take a feminist approach to rap, because even though these lyrics might appear to be just entertainment, there is more to it. Take for instance, the violence seen in the corpus of rap texts. As stated earlier, violence does affect viewers. I am not trying to say that if someone sees a violent act on television, or in a film that they are going to commit a murder or a rape, but it does change the attitude towards violence. Repeated exposure to violence does change the perspective on violence, often desensitizing listeners to the effects of violence. It is also true that when listeners were exposed to degrading images of women, made violent acts towards women seem more permissible or acceptable. There were a lot of sexually degrading acts about women in the corpus of rap texts, which could change the attitude and perspective that the audience to this music has about women. While it may be true that not all men are sexist and not all women are fighting for feminism, but no matter what the perspective, sexism and gender inequalities do exist in rap. The large majority of the lyrics in the corpus of rap texts created a sexist environment that made women subordinate to men.

APPENDIX
GENDER AND ORIGIN OF ARTISTS

Reference list of gender and origin for each artist in the corpus of rap texts

Table A-1. List of gender and origin of artists in document.

Artist	Gender	Country of Origin
Oi Kainry	Male	France
La Fouine	Male	Morocco
Keny Arkana	Female	Argentina
IAM	Male	France
Booba	Male	France
Canardo	Male	Morocco
Rohff	Male	France
Disiz La Peste	Male	France
Mister You	Male	France
La Rumeur	Male	France
Bams	Female	Cameroon
Diams	Female	French
Black Barbie	Female	French
Soprano	Male	French, Comorian descent
Mc Solaar	Male	Senegal
Oxmo Puccino	Male	Mali
Abd Al Malik	Male	Congo
Kery James	Male	Haiti
Lunatic (Booba's rap group)	Male	France
Sexion D'Assaut	Male	France

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