
The role of rap in countering stereotypes of masculinities of afrodescendant men : a qualitative investigation in French-Speaking parts of Belgium

Auteur : Dumont, Emma

Promoteur(s) : Martiniello, Marco

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NOM : DUMONT

Prénom : Emma

Matricule : S153096

Filière d'études : Master en Sociologie, FS Immigration Studies (Liège-Barcelone double diplômation)

Mémoire de fin d'études

The role of rap in countering stereotypes of masculinities
of afrodescendant men : a qualitative investigation in
French-Speaking parts of Belgium

Promoteur : Marco Martiniello

Lecteur : Zenia Hellgren

Lecteur : Alexis Gossiaux

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I. INTRODUCTION

Rap music is one of the most popular music genre nowadays, but in the meantime it is also very controversial (Oware, 2016; Rose, 2008). One of the controversial elements is the masculinity that some rappers display. Indeed, rap music is criticised by some for its misogyny, portrayal of violence and criminality (Rose, 2008). As Freitas (2011) noted, these are also "specificities attributed to black masculinity: violence, strength, concupiscence, sexual appetite, artistic talent, and criminality" (p. 12). Indeed, afrodescendant people in Belgium still face stereotypes, which tend to reinforce the discriminations they experience (Demart et al., 2017). These racial stereotypes are notably inherited from colonial ideology (Collins, 2004; Viveros Vigoya, 2018) and vary according to gender (Collins, 2004). There are thus specific stereotypes that weigh on masculinities of afrodescendant men (Collins, 2004; Viveros Vigoya, 2018). Several scholars argued that due notably to processes of commercialisation of rap, a tendency emerged in this music to represent masculinities that correspond to racial stereotypes of the masculinities of afrodescendant men (Avery et al, 2017; Collins, 2004; Freitas, 2011; Laybourn, 2018; Rose, 2008). Rap is one of the most popular means of cultural expression for urban youth or immigrant origin (Martiniello, 2019). Moreover, Laybourn (2018) wrote : "rap music provides a lens to examine the effects of racial ideology in cultural production" (p. 2085), and Oware (2016) shared a similar insight, including masculinities in the elements rap music allows to study. Martiniello (2019) noted the importance to take gender into account when approaching rap, in addition with the racial or ethnic aspect, and social class aspect. Therefore, considering popularity of rap, its relationship with stereotypes of black masculinities and the possibility it offers to analyse racial and gender issues, it seemed interesting and relevant to bring together issues of constructions of masculinities, racial stereotypes of afrodescendant men and their participation in art and to ask the following question: "how and to what extent does rap music help countering stereotypes of black masculinities in French-speaking Belgium today?". Indeed, the link between these different elements in this context has not yet been much explored in literature.

First, this paper will review literature on masculinities and most specifically, described one of the main framework in masculinity studies nowadays, which is based on Connell's (2005) work on hegemonic masculinities. In this framework, Connell (2005) offered an approach of masculinities that allows to understand the reproduction of social domination through the legitimation and stigmatisation of practices that construct masculinities. The conception of masculinities she proposed is based on an intersectional approach, and the legitimation and stigmatisation of masculinities rely not only on gender but also on other social elements such as race, class or sexual orientation (Connell, 2005).

Hence, this paper will afterwards review the specificities of the stigmatisation of masculinities of afrodescendant men through stereotypes. The role of the colonial ideology on the emergence of these

stereotypes and the specific case of Belgium in relation to colonisation will be briefly discussed. Then I will present a very short definition of rap, and I will continue with the issues of the commercialisation of this music, and how scholars relate it to the stereotypical masculinities of afrodescendant men in rap. I will also consider the role of record labels in highlighting these masculinities in rap music (Rose, 2008). This last point will indeed be one of the themes addressed in the problematisation: what is the relationship of afrodescendant rappers in Belgium to the commercial demands of the labels and how does this impact, or not, on the representation of their masculinities in rap music?

Subsequently, this paper will review the notion of authenticity, which is said to be an important element in the rap world (Oware, 2016). Based on the literature, two meanings that this term covers will be considered. First, authenticity refers to a genre convention, a type of rap : for some, authentic rap is rap as it is without the influences of commercialisation, is a rather committed rap (Belle, 2014). For others, authenticity refers to the codes of more commercial rap, which promotes an image of black men based on stereotypes held by white majority toward afrodescendant masculinities (Freitas, 2011; Rose, 2008). Second, authenticity refers to the correspondence between the narratives that rappers share through their raps and their actual experiences and lives (Freitas, 2011; Randolph, 2006; Rose, 2008). I propose to examine the importance of authenticity for the rappers involved in my research. Indeed, this will allow us to consider the influence of the notion of authenticity on the masculinities represented in their rap: are these influenced by the conventions of the musical genre? Are they influenced by an emphasis on consistency between the narratives of their raps and their lives?

The fieldwork for this research was based on qualitative methods of data collection and data analysis. More precisely, online interviews with 4 afrodescendant rappers, as well as on the lyrics of their raps and music videos that are available with some of their songs, were analysed following a qualitative thematic analysis (Bengtsson & Andersen, 2020; Van Campenhoudt & Quivy, 2011).

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Masculinities

1. Approaches on masculinities

a) Sex roles approach

Early works in on masculinities in social sciences were taking the approach of sex roles. According to this approach, there is a mere model of role for men, and a model of role for women, valid in a historical and societal context, and those models are distinct, explaining the social inequalities between men and women. As Connell (2005) wrote, “Masculinity and femininity are quite easily interpreted as internalised sex roles, the products of social learning or ‘socialisation’” (p. 22). This approach accounts for the socially constructed character of roles and therefore, acknowledges the possibility and necessity of change in these roles to fight patriarchy (Connell, 2005; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p831). This account for social change in masculinity is one of the key improvements of this first social science approach on masculinities, stepping forward from the first theorisations on this subject in the field of psychoanalysis (Connell, 2005).

b) Problem of this approach : plurality of masculinities

One of the main problems with this approach is that it failed to acknowledge the relationship between masculinity and femininity and other social realities such as class or race (Connell, 2005) and therefore it failed to acknowledge the diversity of social positions within the gender categories of men and women (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Several movements, in theory or in civil society, have helped to understand and theorise this plurality in masculinities (Connell, 2005).

Black feminism shed light on the specific position of black men and black women and on the fact that the mere categories of men and women, and more generally gender alone, are not sufficient to understand social systems of domination and dynamics of gender construction (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Goel, 2015). Mara Viveros Vigoya (2018) referred to the work of Bell Hooks, Michelle Wallace, Audre Lorde and Angela Davis as important figures of this black feminism. Patricia Hill Collins (2004) wrote:

(...) if racism and sexism are deeply intertwined, racism can never be solved without seeing and challenging sexism. African American men and women both are affected by racism, but in gender-specific ways. Those African American boys were attacked by the usher because they were Black and male, not simply because they were Black. (...) (p. 5)

Moreover, the growing interest of some highly educated men in feminism and their fight against patriarchy rose awareness on feminist and gender theories of social class specificities of masculinities (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

The gay movement also contributed to enrich studies on masculinities by noting, as did black feminism, that there are relations of domination within the social category of men, in this case based on sexual orientation and based on the difference in masculinities this sexual orientation sometimes leads to (Connell, 2005; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

2. Intersectionality

The term ‘intersectionality’ is indeed an heritage of the black feminist movement (Fassin, 2015; Goel, 2015), and was coined by a jurist, Kimberlé Crenshaw in the 1990’s (Fassin, 2015), and as a concept is more and more used in more and more diverse fields of research (Goel, 2015). According to Eric Fassin (2015), the paradigm of intersectionality is an answer to the necessity “to account for the plurality of the logics of domination” (p. 5) such as “gender, race and class, but also sexuality, age or disability” (Fassin, 2015, p.5). Taking an intersectional approach does not mean listing the different features that construct one’s position but rather it requires to analyse how these features interact to create very specific positions (Crenshaw, 1995, as cited in Goel, 2015; Fassin, 2015), without giving priority or more weight to any of these features in this construction (Fassin, 2015).

Fassin (2015) insisted that intersectionality allows us to understand the social positions of all individuals, whether these individuals are in a dominating or dominant social position. Even when it is invisibilised because some positions are normalised and constructed as the normality (Goel, 2015), race, gender, class and other features interact in a complex way to construct one’s position. Patricia Hill Collins (2004) went along this point of view when she pointed out :

Talking about gender does not mean focusing solely on women’s issues. Men’s experiences are also deeply gendered. Thus, gender ideology not only creates ideas about femininity but it also shapes conceptions of masculinity (p. 6).

To illustrate this by borrowing a phrasing from Goel (2015), in the case of black men, their masculinity is constructed through their blackness, and their blackness is constructed through their masculinity (p. 30).

Moreover, intersectionality and its account for the different features constructing one’s position allows to understand the contradictions, or ambivalences in these positions: besides some rare cases, the

multiplicity of the constitutive elements of the positions generate relations of privileges or marginalisation, which depend on the contexts and the "other" considered (Goel, 2015).

In other words, the intersectional approach allows to understand one's social position taking into account different social categories and how they interact, even when these categories could have been forgotten because they were invisibilised by their normalisation (Goel, 2015).

Another example could be that if intersectionality encourages to take into account the interaction of disability with other features to construct some social positions, it is also needed to remind that ability however very generally invisibilised, is also a significant interactant to understand social positions, practices and experiences and producing domination relations. This element is rarely taken into account in studies that are not primarily interested in analysing issues of (dis)abilities (Goel, 2015).

Understanding the different power relations constructed by the interactions between race, gender, class, (dis)abilities, age, etc., requires a contextualisation of these interactions. This allows to understand how they produce power relations differently according to the contexts. These interactions do not produce one general social result in all contexts (Varela, do Mar, Dhawan, 2010, as cited in Goel, 2015). For example, the intersection of race and gender does not produce the same effect on women whether we consider a country located in Africa or in Europe. The context also helps understanding the emergence of the categories (Goel, 2015). As was written by Urmila Goel (2015), "Taking into account context, meaning and time specific locations is for me part of understanding intersectionality as a perspective of analysis" (p. 31).

Considering all these elements, and as we will see in the following paragraphs, the approach of masculinities offered by Connell (2005) deeply relies on an intersectional framework.

a) Hierarchy of masculinities

It was progressively acknowledged that masculinities are diverse and linked with other features of identity, such as race and social class (Connell, 2005). There is not only one masculinity but several masculinities. The different features that interact to constitute masculinities, such as race, sexual orientation, social class, organize relations of power in society, relations of domination (Viveros Vigoya, 2018). One's race and social class also define one's privileges. Because of that, masculinities, in addition to be plural, are not equivalent in the system of power and domination. They are ordered on a hierarchy (Connell, 2005). Collins (2004) noted that gender norms and a hierarchy in masculinities is also a way to construct a race differentiation and inferiorisation.

3. The concept of “hegemonic masculinity”

These acknowledgements led Connell (2005) to coin the concept of hegemonic masculinity, which is based on the central ideas that masculinities are plural and ordered on a hierarchy. Masculinities, according to Connell (2005), are “patterns of practices” (p. 44). This echoes Fassin’s (2015) work on intersectionality in which he pointed out : “it is the social practice which makes the domination relation” (p. 7). The concept of hegemonic masculinity refers to a cultural model, institutionalised as the norm for masculinity, and that sets a specific “pattern of practices” that construct the hegemonic masculinity. It is important to stress that because hegemonic masculinity refers to a model, it is possible that no individual is able to adopt and embody it completely. Moreover, hegemonic masculinity does not refer to a specific and fixed category of men that would endorse and represent this masculinity (Connell, 2005; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

Connell & Messerschmidt (2005), in their reformulation of the initial concept, noted and insisted that hegemonic masculinities are constructed and make sense at three different levels : the global level, the regional (or societal) level, and the local level. Hegemonic masculinities are plural (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Messerschmidt, 2012; Messerschmidt, 2019). It is interesting to note that the plurality of hegemonic masculinities means also a plurality of modalities by which patriarchy can function, survive and be legitimised (Messerschmidt, 2012). Moreover, according to Messerschmidt (2012) the plurality of hegemonic masculinities and its intersectional nature means that men who are dominant in regards to race or social class, or other segments of identity (for example white men or middle class men) have not the monopoly of hegemonic masculinity, but that men that are in a subaltern position can construct also masculinities that are hegemonic. Goel (2015) went along this perspective when she wrote: “Any other, however marginalised in other respects, can also be perceived as hegemonic to the self at least in one perspective” (p. 35).

It appeared that the concept of hegemonic masculinity was used in different ways, and that has increased the confusion about this concept. It was pointed out that hegemonic masculinity is a cultural model, but that some men construct in their everyday lives hegemonic masculinities. We would like to retain the definition of the concept of hegemonic masculinity as a *cultural model*. As such, it flows from practices and prescribes in return practices, but no individual endorses those set of practices at 100% in his everyday life. Therefore, it is important to nuance between hegemonic masculinity as a cultural and normative model, and embodied masculinities that may or may not include some elements (to different extents) of this hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2005).

One element is often cited to be defining the concept of hegemonic masculinity, even by Connell herself, or Connell & Messerschmidt (2005), whose (re)formulation of the concept has been widely used. This is, that hegemonic masculinity is defined through the legitimization of dominance over women and over other masculinities it allows. Indeed, Messerschmidt defined hegemonic masculinities later as “those

masculinities that legitimate an unequal relationship between men and women, masculinity and femininity, and among masculinities” (Messerschmidt, 2015, p. 34, as cited in Shen, 2017, p138). This makes the concept unclear and difficult to use. It seems more accurate to acknowledge that nowadays, most masculinities that are hegemonic are also legitimating domination over women and over other masculinities, but that does not define the concept of hegemonic masculinity in its essence. Rather, we would prefer the last definition offered by Messerschmidt :

Hegemonic masculinities are configurations of social practice that produce simultaneously particular social relations and social meanings, and they are culturally significant because they shape a sense of what is “acceptable” and “unacceptable” gendered behavior for copresent interactants in specific situations (Messerschmidt, 2019, p90).

Therefore, hegemonic masculinity is normative. The role it plays in relations of domination is expressed notably through this normativity. The normativity reinforces the domination on men outside this hegemonic masculinity because it sets standards that are not accessible to some men, according to their age, their sexual orientation, their race or their social class, and because it sets other masculinities as less valid. This normativity reinforces the domination on women because hegemonic masculinities nowadays are often constituted of practices of male domination on women and it is the norm to which other masculinities are evaluated and legitimated. In other words, other masculinities tend to feature women domination because the hegemony sets it. “Hegemony relates to cultural dominance in the society as a whole. Within that overall framework there are specific gender relations of dominance and subordination between groups of men” (Connell, 2005, p78).

An essential feature in the concept of hegemonic masculinity is that it is historically defined, and because societies change, so do masculinities and hegemonic masculinities. Therefore, the concept of hegemonic masculinity is open to change. This openness to change makes space also to understand that there are struggles to set some practices as normative at different levels (local, regional/societal, global), in other words that there are struggles to set the masculine hegemony (Connell, 2005; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Connell (2005) wrote “ ‘Hegemonic masculinity’ is not a fixed character type, always and everywhere the same. It is, rather, the masculinity that occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations, a position always contestable.” (p. 76).

4. Non-hegemonic masculinities

Connell (2005) developed a classification of masculinities that are not hegemonic, in four categories. Considering that masculinities are constructed in a relational process, the different categories of masculinities represent different relations that masculinities have with the hegemony (Connell, 2005).

Connell (2005) classified non-hegemonic masculinities as “*complicit masculinities*”, “*subordinate masculinities*”, and “*marginalized masculinities*”. These categories are interesting because they account for the fight for power and domination in gender relations on which masculinity construction relies (Connell, 2005).

Considering that hegemonic masculinity is a model and that it is possible that in their everyday-life, not so many men could display all practices that are dictated by hegemonic masculinity, *complicit masculinities* are defined as masculinities that approximate the hegemonic model and therefore benefit from the product of unequal gender relations that this model offers, through the practices it promotes (Connell, 2005; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

Subordinated masculinities and marginalized masculinities are masculinities that are devaluated and considered less valuable. The distinction between both is that marginalized masculinities are constructed as deviant in reason with its interaction with elements that are “external” to gender, such as race, social class or age; while subordinated masculinities are devaluated due to gender itself, in other words due to its relation with femininity (Connell, 2005).

5. Institutional power and hegemonic masculinity

We noted that hegemonic masculinity is a model, not a type of masculinity that is always fully endorsed by some men. However, this model is better adapted to the lifestyles of some men, because they are the men who have the resources and institutional power required to set a cultural model as hegemonic masculinity is. Connell (1995) wrote :

hegemony is likely to be established only if there is some correspondence between cultural ideal and institutional power, collective if not individual (...) It is the successful claim to authority, more than direct violence, that is the mark of hegemony (though violence often underpins or supports authority (p. 77).

In western societies, the hegemonic masculinity at a societal level is often linked with norms defined by middle or higher class, white, heterosexual men (Oware, 2016), who tend to detain the mentioned institutional power. Studying black masculinities in the context of Belgium therefore means taking into account the gender relations between those masculinities and the (societal) hegemonic masculinity set to correspond to masculinities of white middle class men. This masculinity, in order to maintain, has to culturally delegitimize practices of some groups of men. Stereotyping afrodescendant men and their masculinities is a way to do so. Racialised, afrodescendant men, in contrast, can struggle to modify this cultural model of hegemonic masculinity, or adopt practices that mirror it. In both cases, the struggle is to legitimize socially and culturally the masculinity they constructed.

These theories about hegemonic masculinity help understanding the link between masculinities and cultural model, institutional power, struggle for legitimacy, and the importance of stereotypes for hegemonic masculinity.

B.
Afrodescendant masculinities

1. Belgian post-colonial context and stereotypes on black masculinities :

As was pointed out in the previous lines, masculinities are the products of tensions and struggles through history (Connell, 2005). They are constructed in a specific social and historical context which therefore needs to be taken into account when analysing masculinities and gender issues in general. Mara Viveros Vigoya (2018) stressed the importance in taking into account historical processes when studying masculinities. In the case of this study, the post-colonial context of Belgium is very important.

At the end of the 19th century, Leopold II, at the time sovereign of Belgium, progressively and following many international negotiations between the various important national powers of the time, has more or less explicitly obtained the green light to colonise a big territory in Central Africa known as Democratic Republic of Congo. This led to the creation of the “Congo Free State” (1885-1908) characterised by a personal rule of Leopold II. In 1908, this territory became a Belgian colony as the Belgian state ended Leopold’s personal rule and has taken over the administration of this territory, which lasted until 1960, the year of congolese independence (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Verbeek, 2020).

Belgian ruling over african territories also took place in Burundi and Rwanda following WWI (Demart, 2018). The recognition of this colonial past and of the racialisation and inferiorisation of afrodescendant people that went with this colonisation undertaking is lacking in the belgian collective awareness, even though essential (Demart, 2018).

Mara Viveros Vigoya (2018) wrote :

As Aimé Césaire (1955) and Frantz Fanon (1952) have pointed out, the systems of slavery, colonialism and imperialism systematically denied black men a dominant position in the gender hierarchy and imposed on them specific forms of terror in order to oppress them (p. 19).

The stereotypes on black masculinities not only determine representations on black men but also help reinforcing representations on white dominant men, by contrast. By looking at stereotypes held toward masculinities of afrodescendant men, one can point out features that construct hegemonic masculinities. In this part, we will therefore also try to point out different elements that are use to socially define masculinities in general.

In order to justify colonisation, exploitation and systematic domination of racialized populations, some narratives and imaginaries of inferiority and deviancy have been imposed on these populations (Collins,

2004). These narratives are still at stake nowadays, and interact with the construction of hegemonic masculinity of white dominant men and institutions they control and ideologies they shape (Viveros Vigoya, 2018). Researchers even talk about ‘post-colonial treatment’ of afrodescendant people to refer to the treatment of racialized populations nowadays (Demart et al., 2017, p140). About the relationship between hegemonic masculinities and blackness, Collins (2004) wrote:

Black men, by definition, cannot be real men, because they are Black. The fact of Blackness excludes Black men from participating fully in hegemonic masculinity because, if they do so, they decenter the assumed Whiteness of those installed in the center of the definition itself. (p. 193)

A first feature of the stereotyped narratives on afrodescendant men, and racialized people in general, is that there is a tendency to see black people as an homogeneous group; they are assumed to be alike (Collins, 2004). It is in the nature of stereotypes to be imposed on all members of the stereotyped group (Viveros Vigoya, 2018).

Freitas (2011) listed some of the features that are stereotypically attributed to black men : “violence, strength, concupiscence, sexual appetite, artistic talent and criminality” (p. 12). In general, these stereotypes can be understood through a dichotomy between nature and culture that has contributed in shaping western ideologies (Stengers, 1984; as cited in Viveros Vigoya, 2018, p. 114). Black men were seen as closer to the nature, while white men were on the culture side of the dichotomy. Black people are seen as wilder, closer to an earlier step in an assumed evolution of human societies and civilizations. The nature side is linked with a greater significance of the physicality in the representations of black masculinities (Stengers, 1984; as cited in Viveros Vigoya, 2018, p114). As Randolph (2006) noted, the significance of the body as the chore of black masculinities accentuated their inferiority, their lack of civilization, in gender ideologies and representations.

The importance of physicality and the perception of black people as “beings fundamentally centred on the pleasure of the senses” (Viveros Vigoya, 2018, p109) also helps explaining the stereotype of black people being intrinsically good at music and dance. This can be valorized by black communities, but it has also the counter-effect to stuck black people in the stereotype of being good at physical activities, such as music and dance, and less naturally destined for intellectual activities (Viveros Vigoya, 2018). Indeed, black men are also assumed to be intellectually inferior (Collins, 2004, Demart et al., 2017) which can also be explained through their assumed closeness to nature, in opposition with culture. The mutual exclusivity of the different capacities (intellect/physical) is inherited in western thought from importance of the dichotomy between nature and culture mentioned here above.

These stereotypes of intellectual inferiority have very concrete impacts on the lives of Afro-descendent men in Belgium. A report combining qualitative and quantitative research on people of African descent

in Belgium illustrates this, particularly with regard to opportunities at school. It shows that the racist prejudice of the "intellectual slowness" of young Afrodescendants translates into discrimination at school, with teachers behaving differently with these students because they assume that their abilities are lesser (Demart et al., 2017). In addition, the report explains that young Afro-descendants are more likely to be oriented towards technical and manual fields of study, as this orientation corresponds more closely to the stereotypes that the teaching community, like the rest of society, has of them (Demart et al., 2017).

Patricia Hill Collins (2004) noted that the Western stereotype of a more unbridled sexuality was commonly attributed both to black men and women, but that this sexuality was considered as a danger only on the part of black men, who were in addition thought to be more violent to white men and women in general (p. 27). The assumed greater sexual appetite of black men has helped categorizing those men as a threat (Viveros Vigoya, 2018).

The importance of physicality, the importance of senses and the closeness to nature also entails in stereotypical representations of black men the greater presence of emotions, in contrast with rationality, associated to dominant masculinity (Seidler, 1997, as cited in Viveros Vigoya, 2018, p45; Viveros Vigoya, 2018,p114).

Afrodescendant people, and most specifically men, also face assumptions that they are likely to be criminals and violent (Demart et al, 2017; Freitas, 2011).

2. Some of the variables that define socially masculinities

Drawing notably from the stereotypes held toward masculinities of afrodescendant men, we would like to point out some features of a hegemonic masculinity that might apply at the Belgian level. This specific hegemonic masculinity is the one that corresponds to socially dominant group in Belgium in a gender order (middle-class white men) and who also hold most of the institutional power at the Belgian level, which is as we have noted in the previous lines, an important element to set and support an hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2005).

Understanding better the hegemonic masculinity at the Belgian level will help us to understand and compare the masculinities of rappers in relation with this hegemonic masculinity. In the features of hegemonic masculinity described here above, we will find that they are expressed often in relational terms, in practices and attitudes towards women or other men and masculinities, such as described in Connell's (2005) theoretical framework on masculinities.

It seems important to note that gender crosses most aspects of individuals' lives and identities, notably by interacting with other features of identities such as race, sexual orientation, social class, (dis)abilities, etc. Therefore, it is difficult to establish an exhaustive list of features that construct masculinities,

because masculinities can take expression in every practice of individuals. We listed here the features that are most widely and most visibly and stereotypically used to define one's masculinity, and hegemonic masculinity in particular.

The contrast with femininity and women in general is an important feature of hegemonic masculinity (Collins, 2004). First, the opposition between femininity and masculinity can be found in most features that define the hegemonic masculinity described here, in opposed elements, such as rationality/emotions or strength/weakness. Not only the contrast with women and femininity underlies dominant masculinities, and hegemonic masculinity, notably in Belgium. Superiority to femininity and women is also defining these masculinities (Collins, 2004). According to Collins (2004), this superiority as a defining feature of hegemonic masculinity also entails authority on women and practices that confirm these superiority and authority. Collins (2004, p189) wrote "male require female validation as a constant reminder of male superiority".

The relation with rationality is widely used to define masculinity. Therefore, in opposition with the stereotype held toward afrodescendant men, but also toward women who are seen as excessively emotional, the hegemonic masculinity involves a rational attitude toward the world, and by extension a distance with one's own emotions (Collins, 2004).

A good financial attainment is also traditionally linked with hegemonic masculinity in relation with the idea that men need to provide material support for their relatives (Collins, 2004). The correlate of this idea is the stereotype suggesting that women tend to be more easily attracted to men who are more wealthy.

The relation to heterosexuality also defines hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity traditionally implies a distance with homosexuality and some differentiation with gay men. This relation to heterosexuality is also expressed through the importance sometimes given to the sexuality with women, the number of sexual relations with women,... Being sexually active with women is traditionally considered as a path to manhood (Collins, 2004).

The body is of course an important feature of masculinity construction. Collins (2004) noted that the hegemonic masculinity valorises a quite muscled, hairy male body, as a way to contrast it with bodies of young boys and female bodies.

Being responsible and independent are also important features in the construction of masculinity and hegemonic masculinity (Collins, 2004). The independence can be linked with economic success, the relations to one's own emotions and to others (in relations toward family or partners for example). The responsibility can be linked with one's relation to family, and notably fatherhood, which is also an important element in masculinity representation (Viveros Vigoya, 2018).

To summarize, masculinity can be defined through different attitudes, ideas and practices given to several elements : relations to women, relations to one’s own body, relations to intellect, relations to emotions, relations to family.

3. Limits of the literature on black masculinities coming from different contexts

One might note that the literature on stereotypes about black people needs to be understood taking into account the historical context in which it was produced and the specific racial relations that came with it. More precisely, the literature about stereotypes of black masculinity in the North America is very rich, but this region is characterised by a past of slavery, followed by racial segregations and inherited inter-racial relations and social organisation that are thus specific.

However, the historical links that tied Europe and North America to constitute “the West” also lead to think that some stereotypes might be shared and entrenched in a Western way of thinking and of representing racialized black individuals and black masculinities. Western countries share the history of colonization, and systematic domination of racialised and black people, and have imposed on them the stereotypical narratives described above to justify this colonisation and exploitation.

C.....

Rap, a brief definition

Rap music is a part of broader hip-hop culture, which also comprises a dance genre (breakdance) and graffiti. Rap music was born in urban poor neighborhoods of New York, populated by ethnic minorities, majorly black and latin-american communities (Rose, 1994).

Progressively, and partly due to a commercialisation of hip-hop, artists from different communities and regions started to engage in rap music. Hip hop is traditionally about re-inventing pre-existing specific cultural elements, recounting personal experiences and also redefining and promoting the identities and living spaces of certain communities. Because of this, hip hop diversified as different regions and communities created raps that carried regional and cultural specificities (Rose, 1994). Later, rap music has left the North American context and has travelled throughout the world, which undoubtedly has contributed to more intense diversification in rap.

This importance of region and community that is creating in the diversification of hip-hop helps understand why sometimes some musical pieces quite different fall under the same name of “rap”.

D.....

Commercial issues

It is important to review commercial considerations on rap music to try to understand factors that influence representations of masculinities in rap, how these representations can counter or reinforce stereotypes of black masculinities. It may be suggested that there is a link between commercial considerations over rap and power of institutions in musical world, and in music industry. And as we have seen, institutions play an important part in shaping hegemonic masculinities (Connell, 2005). Therefore, in the following part, I will try to review literature on commercial aspects in rap and its link to masculinities.

1. processes of rap commercialisation

a) From some communities to billboards charts

Initially confined to black and Hispanic communities in urban New York City, rap music spread to other communities and other parts of the United States and then the world. This was due in part to the increasing commercialization of this musical genre since the late 1980s. Indeed, rap artists have seen their audiences grow, their songs broadcast on the powerful media (Rose, 1994). The number of rap songs that made it into the charts of the most listened to songs has been increasing (Avery et al., 2017, p183). Today, rap music is one of the predominant genres in the music industry.

b) Why rap commercialised?

This commercialisation can be explained by the popular origin of rap. Bouyahia (2011) explained that the art that is born in the street, as rap is, has strength in the market (the music market in this case). In addition to this, rap was born inside black and Hispanic communities in USA, and has inherited from many elements of black culture (Rose, 1994). The difference in the culture of the communities leading this musical genre was also appealing for white audiences (Rose, 1994). It is also the subversive side of rap that has attracted audiences. White audiences were attracted to rap because through it, hip-hop artists were rebelling and made their voices heard (Rose, 1994).

This was even more true for white middle class youth that constituted a very important part of the audience for rappers when rap started to be commercialised on a very high scale. Hip-hop artists could represent role models, notably of masculinity, different from what parents expected of middle-class white youth, pushing them to turn to this musical genre in order to distinguish themselves from their parents (Freitas, 2011).

2. Commercialisation and white audience

a) A shift in relations with the mainstream audience

As Tricia Rose (1994) noted, the process of commercialisation that started in the late 1980s is not the start of profit and market considerations in rap but rather it is what she said to be a transition in the relations with the market. With this process, rap entered into dominant music industry, in mainstream medias, and in a popular culture that is also directed at audiences composed by racially dominant white group.

b) normalisation of black masculinities in rap corresponding to stereotypes

Many scholars noted that commercialization of rap has been accompanied with a normalization of a black masculinity in rap that corresponds to stereotypes of white dominant society (Avery et al, 2017; Collins, 2004; Freitas, 2011; Laybourn, 2018; Rose, 2008). The imagery of the violent, hypermasculine, highly sexual and women dominating black male rappers is said to be increasingly present with commercial success (Avery et al., 2017). The use of alcohol and drugs gradually became elements to which the artists increasingly referred, and which were seen as positive elements (Laybourn, 2018). Therefore, it appeared to some that the “narration” supplied by black artists was being adapted to the expectations of the white demand (Freitas, 2011). This does not mean, of course, that each and every rapper that has commercial success would present this hypermasculinity, but that there is a tendency in rap that has imposed its commercial success in recent decades to present these masculinities (Rose, 2008; Rose, 2008 as cited in Freitas, 2011).

Freitas (2011) noted that it is the narrative of the thug life that has emerged as a successful in rap through commercialization because it was corresponding to dominant definition of black males. He wrote “*The black body as the surface of the "thug life" narrative - reified in the "rap industry" - would define, rationalize, and then produce racialized gender performances¹*” (Freitas, 2011, p10). That is, the context of commercialized rap, artists give a performance, and that this performance is specific to rap that is commercialized for a white audience. Freitas (2011) wrote that those commercial constraints for hip hop artists reinforce the processes through which racialised men are imposed an identity influenced by dominant racial ideology.

Rose (2008) described that labels play a role in the highlighting of certain afrodescendant masculinities in commercial rap. She wrote :

Corporate record companies, while claiming to be mere middlemen distributors of authentic black ghetto tales, are product makers, and they really do steer public attention

¹ Translated from French

toward and away from ideas and images. They want to sell records and thus they promote, tailor, encourage, discourage, sign, and release artists based on two crucial factors: what they think will sell as many copies as possible and what they think won't cause too much negative attention, friction, or resistance from society and government. (Rose, 2008, p143).

c) A definition of commercialised rap

This process of commercialisation created what Tricia Rose referred to as “commercial hip-hop”, which she defined as following :

(...) when I use the phrase “commercial hip hop,” I am not referring to any artist signed to a record company. In this market environment, nearly all artists who want to survive have to sign up to one label or another. “Commercial hip hop,” then, refers to the heavy promotion of gangstas, pimps, and hoes churned out for mainstream consumption of hip hop. Powerful corporate interests that dominate radio, television, record production, magazines, and all other related hip hop promotional venues are choosing to support and promote negative images above all others (...) (Rose, 2008, p. 24).

3. Videos and visual support

An important element for commercial success of rap songs was music videos. It was at the core of the commercialization and incorporation into mainstream music market because with music videos, rappers were played on tv channels with very large audience and influence, such as MTV (Rose, 1994). However, the emergence of rap music videos can also be a factor of some masculinities traits that became predominant in rap. Tricia Rose (1994) wrote:

The visualization of music has farreaching effects on musical cultures and popular culture generally, not the least of which is the increase in visual interpretations of sexist power relationships, the mode of visual storytelling, the increased focus on how a singer looks rather than how he or she sounds, the need to craft an image to accompany one's music, and ever-greater pressure to abide by corporate genre-formatting rules. (p. 9)

4. Commercialised rap, social criticism and intellectualism

Scholars have also theorised that commercialization of rap decreased the potential for social criticism that was the core of incipient rap. This view is also shared among some actors within the world of rap (Belle, 2014; Rose, 1994).

Coherent with this view, Jenkins theorised that the intellectual potential and knowledge is not as valorised in commercialised and mainstream rap as it was when rap was about producing social criticism (Jenkins, 2011). Tricia Rose (1994) nuanced the opposition between commercialisation and criticism in

rap. Interestingly, she stated that the many negative opinions about rap show that it is still a cultural form of the marginalised. She also wrote : “Rap music and hip hop culture are cultural, political, and commercial forms” (Rose, 1994, p63), meaning that the commercial aspect of rap is only part of it, but that it is a part of what rap is and not an external element. In other words, it is not in itself the commercial aspect of rap that became problematic, rather the commercialisation on a market where those with the power to shape commercially successful rap are mostly white (Rose, 2008).

Moreover, Jenkins’s (2011) view opposing commercial rap and intellectual potential and knowledge is limited to a certain definition of what knowledge is. One can consider that being able to succeed in music industry, understand expectations might be defined as intellectual abilities and might be valorised as such. Also, despite the fact that the themes covered and the approach on these that may not be the most critical, commercial rap can still be the place to express musical and artistic knowledge, and language mastery.

5. Relations of rappers with commercial issues and labels

Nowadays, it is not unusual that commercially successful rap makes demonstration of hypermasculinities, with much of sexism, sexual domination or violent contents (Oware, 2016; Rose, 2008).

The codes for masculinities that are attributed for successful and widely marketed and commercialized rappers might have an impact on rappers today. One question could be: Is there in the context studied, an aim for profit that would encourage rappers do to what would be perceived as potentially more successful rap? Or on the contrary, is there a will to do independent rap whatever the potential cost for future success? If music labels are the one most interested in making financially profitable rap, is there in the Belgian context a relation with them that pushes rappers to make “commercial” rap in the sense of Tricia Rose (2008), in other words, are afrodescendant rappers responsive to a pressure from labels to represent stereotypised black masculinities in rap?

E..... Authenticity

Another element that can orientate the masculinity of rappers is the importance of “Authenticity” in rap. Authenticity can become a central concern for artists and their audience, because it is a way of legitimizing people who engage in rap music (Jones and Dyson 2006, as cited in Oware, 2016, p373).

As Hammou and Simon (2018) pointed out in an interview, the authenticity can play a role as ‘capital in the social world of French rap or as a commercial signal to music market intermediaries and audiences” (Hammou & Simon, 2018, p31). Therefore, the authenticity issue is not merely a concern of legitimacy within the rap community but also a commercial issue. Authenticity plays a role as a

commercial tool in the music market, but also in other markets in which hip hop and the lifestyle attributed to it (Jenkins, 2011) has been used to boost sales (Laybourn, 2018).

In the literature, two conceptions of authenticity can be found. Tricia Rose summarized this plurality of definition in these terms : “The notion of keeping it real is about both representing a particular black ghetto street life and being truthful about one’s relationship to that life” (Rose, 2008, p136). First, the notion of authenticity is used to refer to the compliance to a certain ideal of what rap and a rapper is. Second, authenticity refers to the correspondence between on the one hand the narratives and identity proposed in the rap and on the other hand the reality of the artist's real life.

1. Correspondence with widely shared definition of the genre

Different factors can help determine and construct an idea of what are the features of the authentic rapper and the authentic rap : “place, space, gender, and culture are all frames used to achieve credibility”, in addition with race (Oware, 2016, p.374). These factors have some answers that have progressively been dominating to construct images of the “authentic” rapper. As it was noted : “Being ‘hard and black’ and from the street vs ‘soft and white’ and from the suburbs was used to draw the line between what is an authentic rapper and what was not” (McLeod, 1999, as cited in Oware, 2016, p373).

Some argue that the answer to these different criterias to define what an “authentic” rapper is have been influenced by the process of commercialisation of rap (Freitas, 2011; Rose, 2008,). Laybourn (2018) described that the notion of authenticity in rap flows from a “commodified” (p. 2086) realness of what black people are, which is constructed on the basis of racist stereotypes and white dominant/mainstream society and perceptions. This “commodified realness” (Laybourn, 2018, p. 2086) was built on two processes. First, with the commercialisation of rap, the image of a hypermasculine, from the street, black men was progressively promoted — over other images — to boost sells. Second, it was progressively claimed that these figures, these representations of black men in rap gave a real idea of their lives. This promoted realness was also used as a legitimating tool in the process of promoting rappers (Freitas, 2011; Oware, 2016). According to Rose (2008), the figure of the black men from the street that was promoted in commercial rap, and that therefore emerged as a largely shared reference of what an authentic rapper ought to be, allies the trinity “the black gangsta, pimp, and ho” (p. 4).

This first image of the authentic rapper is often infused with some hypermasculinity, violence, misogyny and sexism (Oware, 2016). Due notably to the processes of emphasis and valorisation of it in commercial rap that music labels and medias have favoredised (Rose, 2008) (even though, as mentioned by Tricia Rose (1994), rap has been containing sexism from its beginning, which is not surprising considering that it is part of a broader sexist culture). This is well illustrated in Oware’s (2016) research on the identity construction of white male rappers. According to the author, they tend to exaggerate the hypermasculine elements of their identity and in their art in order to invisibilize the fact that their skin color does not

correspond to the representation of the authentic rapper. In other words, they build their authenticity and legitimacy as rappers on the hardness of their rap rather than on their race (Oware, 2016). Therefore, the call for authenticity can be seen as a pressure to hypermasculinity in rap, in other words to write more explicitly sexist or violent rap lyrics, to picture men domination over women in rap videos, or even in the identity rappers make circulate, on social networks for example.

In an interview, Hammou and Simon (2018) noted that in the French context, it is not the racial element that matters primarily to define the authentic rapper, rather is suburban life (French suburbs are highly precarised neighbourhoods, with a strong presence of populations with immigration origins). However, they added that the representation of the people coming from the suburbs is highly connoted from the perspective of sex and race. In other words, the preconceived image of the authentic rapper in France is also racialized men. I would like to add to this that the stereotypical representation of the suburban population is highly connoted in regards with masculinity, too. From the dominant perspective, men from the suburbs are characterized by behaviors of women domination, sexism and violence (Boyer & Lochard, 1998, as cited in Dalibert, 2018, p23). Even though we tend to have a less clearly defined suburban areas in Belgium than in France, it is not unreasonable to state that the common representation of rappers are shared between these two countries.

Some on the contrary note that what is the authentic hip hop is precisely opposed with what makes commercial hip-hop : according to Belle (2014) authentic rap is often seen as rap through which artists criticize social inequalities, discriminations and injustices. She states that “underground rap” (that she defines in opposition with mainstream rap) deals with these social issues, while mainstream rap is mostly aimed at profit making. She added that authenticity of underground rap is also build on an open criticism of mainstream rap, that moves away from social criticism. This author went along with Tricia Rose (2008) who stated that black rappers seem to have to limit their social criticism to please labels’ and white broader audiences’ expectations, in order to increase their commercial value and profit generated by their music. It has to be noted that for Belle (2014), as for Rose (2008), engaging in underground or mainstream rap is not neutral when it comes to masculinity. Belle (2014) stated that especially in mainstream rap, black male rappers tend to perform masculinities corresponding to stereotypes held by white broader audience while in underground rap, street credibility matters less than in commodified rap.

One may disagree with the distinction between commercial hip-hop and underground, critical hip-hop drawn by some authors. This distinction is not absolute but reflects rather trends.

2. Authenticity as correspondence between personal life and artistic narrative

It has been suggested that the notion of authenticity has been central in rap (Oware, 2016, p. 373). Even though the realness of rap narratives and rapper figures has sometimes been used only to highlight certain features of the masculinities of afrodescendant rappers for commercial purposes as was explained in the previous lines, the relevance of authenticity can be explained due to the importance of personal experience in rap music. Rap music from its beginning has been about the narration of the artist personal experience from their own perspective (Freitas, 2011; Rose, 1994). This element may reinforce the importance of the artist identity and biography in rap, and the importance of the authenticity of the narration of these through rap. Indeed, scholars have shown that the life path of rappers was highlighted in order to justify that the content of song reflects real experiences and personal lives of rap artists (Freitas, 2011; Rose, 2008). Even though the importance of authenticity was promoted and exacerbated by others than rappers themselves (such as medias, labels or fans), the artists themselves share sometimes this view that they are telling truly about themselves in their art. They often share this rhetoric of rapping about their own life: indeed, Rose wrote (2008): « Keeping it real has become a genre convention as much as a form of personal storytelling » (p. 136).

However, for some authors, rappers themselves sometimes insist on the fictional nature of the narratives offered through their art but have the “rhetoric of authenticity” (Randolph, 2006, p.208) imposed on them whatever their claim is. This author stated that sometimes rappers themselves emphasize that the narratives and stories they share through rap music are, at least to some extent, fictional and shaped as entertainments products but that medias mostly developed a “rhetoric of authenticity” through blaming and shaming rappers who have told stories in their songs that medias found out to be “untrue” (Randolph, 2006).

3. Diversification of rap and relevance of authenticity

Rap has diversified a lot since it was born and it is difficult to establish one mere shared notion of what is the authentic rapper. Indeed, rap music has been through a process of feminization and whitening that might have changed the definition of the authenticity in rap or even its centrality. Therefore, one could raise the question of the relevance of rap authenticity nowadays.

However, it is possible to make the hypothesis that the image of authenticity that was built through the process of commercialization tend to have more power than others, because it is not only supported by the will for authenticity, but also by economical/commercials factors, and that it supports stereotypes held by the dominant social group. It is not here to neglect the importance of the definition of rap authenticity as subversive and critical rap, rather to situate it in a context where other forces are at stake that might limit its influence.

It is important to highlight that authenticity is a narrative and not a concrete reality. Whatever is the “rhetoric” that was progressively built around authenticity, it has in every case erased a part of rap diversity. For example, the definition of rap authenticity as being masculine, black, from the street, forgets that from the beginning there were women doing rap (Rose, 1994). But as a narrative, authenticity is interesting to take into account because it has the power to shape reality.

4. Rappers’ relation with authenticity ?

From the literature, we find that authenticity matters importantly to rappers and the world of rap music, and that several definitions of authenticity exist, and different conceptions of what an authentic rapper is are offered. Some hold a definition of the authentic rapper as the black men, from the street, who is hypermasculine and “gangsta”. Other stated that the authentic rapper rather does not comply with this image and kind of masculinity representation and rather would stick to a more “underground”, “denouncing” rap. On the other hand, being true to one’s life (“keeping it real” to use Rose’s (2008, p136) terms) is an important element in general, but perhaps not for all and perhaps not to the same extent for all. The notion of authenticity held by rappers could influence the black masculinity represented in rap, and notably whether or not they represent masculinities that reflect the stereotypes: do they value one representation of an authentic rapper above another? Do they hold one representation of what an authentic rapper is considering that rap has diversified a lot? Does it influence their own rap? Is it important for them to “keep it real” or do they accept and fancy a part of fiction in the narratives and images they offer?

III. PROBLEMATIZATION

The research question that emerged for this research is the following : how and to what extent does rap music help countering stereotypes of black masculinities in French-speaking Belgium today?

We will address this question more specifically by looking at representations of masculinities in rap. These representations of masculinities may or may not correspond to stereotypes. And one way to counter the stereotypical masculinities of afrodescendant men through rap is to represent non-stereotypical masculinities through this discipline. Two themes can be chosen to delineate a more specific approach to this question. These two themes can influence the representations of Black masculinities in rap.

The first theme is the theme of authenticity, which is frequently found in the literature: the definition of authenticity (on the fictional aspect of narratives in rap on the one hand, and on the figure of the rapper and 'authentic' or 'original' rap on the other) and the importance given to it can influence representations of African-descendant men's masculinities in rap. I would like to explore how this applies to Belgian Afrodescendant rappers today. During the exploratory interview, the rapper emphasized the importance

of the narratives told in rap music resembling his life, and that if he was ever able to produce a more "commercial" rap, in the sense of being more "gangsta", his life evolved and his rap music evolved with it.

The second theme is the theme of commercialisation and relationships to labels. According to the literature, the labels can represent a pressure and direct the production of rap in a direction that corresponds to the models of commercially profitable rap and therefore financially profitable for the labels. According to the literature, this commercial rap promotes masculinities that correspond to the negative stereotypes held about African-descendant men. During the exploratory interview, this theme was discussed and it emerged that the rapper interviewed felt free to produce his own rap music and had very few constraints on the artistic direction of his songs.

These two themes (authenticity / commercial aspects and relations with labels) seem interesting to study in themselves but also the interactions between these two elements. When looking at the representation of masculinities in rap music, do these two elements reinforce each other? does one element take precedence over the other? are there tensions? In the case of the exploratory interview, these elements seemed to point in the same direction: the interviewed rapper's life did not correspond to commercial rap representations of masculinities and it was important to him that his rap corresponded to his life, and he was very independent in the production of his rap and therefore had no external pressure to produce a commercial rap representing stereotypical masculinities.

The general approach to masculinities taken is the hegemonic/non-hegemonic masculinities approach developed by Connell. In this approach, hegemonic masculinities are sets of practices legitimised in the gender order, and often embodied by individuals with institutional power. Non-hegemonic masculinities are delegitimised, and according to Connell, there is a struggle around masculinities: individuals may struggle to embody a masculinity that corresponds to the norms of hegemonic masculinity or struggle to redefine hegemonic masculinity. According to the theory, Afro-descended masculinities are non-hegemonic masculinities. We will therefore analyze the representations of the interviewed rappers' masculinities and their relationship to hegemonic masculinity. We would like to link the responses regarding authenticity and relationships to labels to these struggles around hegemonic/non-hegemonic masculinities.

IV. METHODOLOGY

A. Qualitative methods

In order to draft some answers to the research question, this research will rely on qualitative methods, which seemed a good fit for this research for several reasons. First, it allows to have data on the topic based on individuals' understandings, opinions and meanings. As Järvinen and Mik-Meyer (2020) wrote

: “Qualitative researchers often want to see reality “from the perspective of the person studied” ” (p. 3). Qualitative methodology relies on a comprehensive approach on social phenomenon, aiming at producing rather in-depth analysis on specific phenomenon. It seemed appropriate to go for a methodology that would allow to account for the diversity and complexity in the material and in the experiences and art of the research subjects. The fact that this research crosses several topic as gender, art and ethnic minorities, it seemed even more relevant to go for an approach which aims at accounting for this complexity in a comprehensive way. Moreover, quantitative methods would require a greater amount of respondents (Van Campenhoudt & Quivy, 2011), whose profile for this research is quite precise and therefore the availability of this great amount of respondents seemed difficult to achieve.

B.

Exploratory interview

This research started with contacts with literature. However, when writing the literature review and during the process of drafting a problematic, it seemed important to conduct an exploratory interview. The exploratory interviews help consolidating or redirecting the research problematic. Indeed, through a first contact with the field, the researcher can see if certain leads have not been forgotten, or underestimated, or if certain questions or hypotheses also envisaged during the readings do not emerge as more important following a meeting with the field actors (Van Campenhoudt & Quivy, 2011).

This exploratory interview was also important for my research, given that I am not part of the hip-hop world, and given my positionality. It was important to observe whether my understanding of the phenomenon, acquired through the readings, and the words used in the interview, made sense to the interviewees, who were sometimes socialized in very different social environments from mine and those I know. The exploratory interviews are also important because the research focuses on the Belgian context, which is specific, yet a minority of the literature on hip hop, and *a fortiori* on black masculinities in hip hop, is devoted to this context.

To ensure that the various objectives of the exploratory interview are met, the interview was semi-directive (Van Campenhoudt & Quivy, 2011). In this way, the interviewee was able to bring in any leads not envisaged, and the more directive aspect made it possible to see whether the framing of the problem makes sense for the research subjects, and are elements that are open to discussion for them. This can help to better prepare future interviews as well.

The interview guide was prepared in advance and discussed in consultation with the supervisor of this research. It can be found in the annexes of this paper.

C.

Semi-structured interviews

One of the methods of data collection that was used for the fieldwork of this research is semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews allowed for channeling and directing the interviews to the different themes approached in relation with the research question, but at the same time leaving space for different interviewee’s personal input (Järvinen & Mik-Meyer, 2020). This relative openness and flexibility in the interviews was important to avoid imposing preconceived ideas (based on the literature or my personal background) and orienting the interview excessively.

Due to the pandemic of COVID-19, the first idea was to conduct online interview. These online interview took place with a videoconference in a way that would reconstruct as close as possible to face-to-face interviews, with the possibility of visualizing each other's facial expressions in order to establish a proximity and an easier understanding of what is being said thanks to the non-verbal communication. Even when it would have been possible to meet in face-to-face, it was sometimes easier to propose online interviews, as it was sometimes more convenient for the interviewees. Also, the sanitary conditions would at some point have allowed for face-to-face interviews but with the inconvenient of wearing a face mask which would have been very limiting for me as I strongly rely on lip reading as a hearing impaired.

All interviews (included the exploratory interview) were fully retranscribed. The full retranscription allows to go back and forth in the interview data and to take into account some elements of the interview that may not have appeared as relevant at first (Van Campenhoudt & Quivy, 2011).

D.
Analysis rap lyrics

As the aim of the research was to study masculinities of rappers and representation of these masculinities in their art, the lyrics of their songs were an already existing very rich material to be used in the analysis. From a methodological perspective, this means analysing material that was not produced for the purpose of the research, which is specific. As Järvinen & Mik-Meyer (2020) wrote :

In interview and observation studies, data are produced with the researcher, whose questions and focus of observations affect the data that will be analysed. However, empirical documents (...) exist prior to the study of which they become part. They have been produced without the involvement of a researcher and his/her research interests. (p. 17)

I only took into account songs released during the last three years (from 2018) to have a overview of quite recent work of rappers interviewed, but also to try to limit the gap in the quantity of songs available for different artists considered.

E.....
Visual analysis

The analysis of lyrics of rap songs of the rappers that are part of the research and the qualitative analysis of their interviews will be coupled with visual analysis of the images available with the music of these rappers.

Martiniello (2017) noted, “Douglas Harper considers visual sociology as a sub-discipline of qualitative sociology” (p. 3). Ball (2010) insisted that it is important to differentiate between two aspects of visual research. Indeed, she wrote :

we prefer to use the term visual research methods to refer to the gathering of research data using visual technologies —such as cameras or drawing materials— and we use the term visual analysis to refer to research, or the stage of the research process, which involves the dissection and interpretation of visual data (whether the data has been deliberately generated for research purposes or not. (p. 4)

In the case of this research, I will thus proceed rather to visual analysis.

F.....

Subjects of the fieldwork

The population for this research was afrodescendant men who are involved in rap music in french-speaking Belgium.

As the research required to combine lyrics analysis, music videos analysis in addition with qualitative interviews, the number of interviews was limited. The quite hardship in reaching potential interviewees also explains this limited amount of interviews. However, we intended to diversify the profiles of people contacted. In order to do so, a list of criterias was set. These were the criteria on which I tried to gather info in order to diversify the profiles of the persons contacted : the city, the age, the time they started rap, whether they are from the first or second-generation of migration, if they have children, the size of the audience based on spotify monthly listeners. Of course, all the informations were not always available or were approximative but it allowed at first to have an overall idea.

Afrodescent men in this research were defined as men who were born in a country of subsaharian Africa, or men who have one or both of their parents born in a country of subsaharian Africa. I tried to pay attention to the fact that afrodescendence was claimed by the rappers themselves, either in biographies available on Internet, interviews consulted beforehand, or in their songs.

The fieldwork was delimited to french-speaking Belgium. The french-speaking parts were chosen for feasibility reasons, both for the interviews and for lyrics analysis: it was better to ensure that the language was well handled, which would not have been the case with flemish.

G.

Analysis method

As was noted by Quivy and Van Campenhoudt (2011), conducting interviews, but also gathering lyrics and music videos, consists in a data collection method that does not induce a method of analysis automatically. It was therefore necessary to choose and develop an analysis method in addition to these collection methods.

My analysis method is based on thematic analysis, considered by Quivy & Van Campenhoudt (2011) as one of the different methods of content analysis existing. Thematic analysis fits for different kinds of materials (Bengtsson & Andersen, 2020; Van Campenhoudt & Quivy, 2011), hence it suits the materials

of different nature collected for this research (visual material, song lyrics and transcript of interviews). In concrete terms, this analysis method consists in pointing themes (and likely sub-themes) in the material, to analyse how these themes relate to each other and how they repeat or not in material collected from different artists (Bengtsson & Andersen, 2020). In other words, this thematic analysis will allow for the categorisation process that is required in qualitative analysis in order to organise the data in a way that helps producing a comprehension of the social phenomenon under study (Järvinen & Mik-Meyer, 2020)

H.

Ethics

A document of informed consent was drafted and was shared with the interviewees before each interview. This document was validated by the research logistician of the faculty. The contents of the document were also orally repeated at the beginning of the interview.

Despite that this document states that the interview would be anonymised, it appeared that putting in relation the interviews and the contents of the rap and videos would not guarantee this anonymity fully. Therefore, I informally contacted the rappers with whom I had already had an interview to ask their consent to use their artist names in my research. In the case of Bakari, I asked him during the interview, and he agreed. Although others agreed too, this is a slight limitation to the conduct of my fieldwork in terms of ethics, which is why I prefer to keep this paper confidential on the platform on which it will be posted (the platform MatheO from ULiège).

I.

Positionnality

As Koobak and Thapar-Björkert (2014) explained, every researcher has her own history, is positioned in a certain way in the society. Also the position of the researcher impact the way or even whether or not she thinks about some phenomenon. This is what Donna Haraway called « situated knowledge » (1988). Goel (2015) underlined “the importance of questioning one’s own position, i.e. interrogating one’s privileges and biases, in order to think about those who are easily ignored” (p. 25)

I am a white young women, middle class, studying in university. This influence my own approach of my study of black masculinities. Except from a gender perspective, I belong to the socially dominating group. Regarding the subjects of my study, this means my social position is likely to to have fostered stereotypes about them. My affinity with the feminist movement may also lead me to be particularly sensitive to certain aspects of masculinities in rap. Given this, one has to be particularly careful to try to understand the perspective of the subjects of the research.

My position will also impact how the research subject will interact with me. As Quivy & Van Campenhoudt (année) have accurately noted :

The interviewee's words are always linked to the specific relationship between him and the researcher, and the latter can only interpret them validly if he considers them as such. The analysis of an interview must therefore include an elucidation of what the researcher's questions, the exchange relationship and the framework of the interview induce in the interviewee's words. (p. 172)

The interviewees might try to meet what they consider to be my expectations. On the contrary, depending on one's personality, they might focus more strongly or exaggerate some elements to "choc" me. To that extent, crossing interviews with other type of materials could be helpful.

Moreover, as a woman or as a white person, there are probably some discourses that they may share more easily with a man or with a black researcher, because they perceive that those will understand them. Mara Viveros Vigoya (2018) gave a quite extreme example of this when she explained an interview with a black men who considered her as belonging to his ethnic group and then who presupposed that she was sharing his views when he said "you know how white people are".

J.

The fieldwork

1. Contacts

For the exploratory interview, I contacted by email the belgo-congolese rapper Badi. He accepted to have an online video interview.

For the other interviews, I contacted via social networks (Instagram) Bakari, Smahlo, Isha, Frenetik, Percy and Fresh. From those persons contacted, only Percy responded and then accepted to have an online interview.

Through a friend who is related to them, the rappers from Liège Haïtch and Santa were contacted. Haïtch did not respond but Santa agreed to have an online interview.

Another friend who has contacts with rappers as he is getting involved in beatmaking, I asked him to help me getting in touch with rappers. He is the person who put me in contact with Bakari.

2. Presentation of interviewees

Badi : was born in Belgium, his two parents were born in Congo. He is 39 years old, started rap when he was 14 years old. Now he is a full-time artist. He had first an education in sales, and then he enrolled in a formation in music, music management at the *Institut des Arts de diffusion* (Institute for Broadcasting Arts).

Percy : was born in Congo, both his parents are from Congo. He migrated to Belgium when he was almost two years old. He started rapping when he was around 16 years old. He is based in Brussels. He studied law at university in Belgium.

Santa : was born in Belgium in 1994, both his parents are from Congo. He started rap when he was ... He is based in Liège (Droixhe). He is currently employed in the field of sales for a shoe store.

Bakari : Both his parents are from Rwanda. He was born in Congo in 1996 and lived in Rwanda until he was 7 years old, when he migrated to Belgium. He graduated from secondary school. He has lived in Liège since he came to Belgium. He started rap when he was 16. Since 2019, he has a contract with the label O To Ten, and collaborates with Hall Access, which is part of the Sony corporation (Narduzzi, 2019).

K.
Limits of the methodology

One of the limits of the methodology is linked to the skills as interviewer. I am quite a beginner in this practice, and therefore the quality and the richness of the material is not as good as it might have been if I had had more experience. This relation between the quality of the interview and experience was pointed out by Quivy & van Campenhoudt (2011).

Even though the interview grid can be (and was) edited in consultation with other persons, researchers, in this case the supervisor of this paper, the conduct of a semi-structured interview is less structured than a questionnaire survey (because the questionnaire can be edited in concertation with several persons and then it is set for good), for example, and therefore the interviews are particularly dependent on the dynamics that are established between the researcher and the interviewee, their respective social positions, and the relationship of trust and proximity that can be established (Van Campenhoudt & Quivy, 2011). It was during the course of the interviews that I became aware of certain problems in the way I asked certain questions, for example. To illustrate: I asked "have you studied", which in my mind covered a whole range of types of training and not just university studies, but I think that in the heads of certain interviewees this question made them think of university studies and made them feel uncomfortable, leading them to answer vaguely and I did not dare to push, which meant that the information I had on this subject for one of the interviewees was unclear. I then adapted my question and changed "study" to "training".

Even though talking through a screen can constitute a distance or a boundary that helps feeling more comfortable (Deakin & Wakefield, 2014, as cited in Järvinen & Mik-Meyer, 2020, p.14), the online interviews may have also impeded some comfort that comes with meeting in real life, getting installed etc before the interviews starts.

V. ANALYSIS

A.
Masculinities

Through interviews, rap lyrics and music videos available, I tried to note what are the attitudes of the rappers interviewed in relation with some of the elements defining masculinities. This will help understand how these elements are articulated between them and give an idea about what masculinities they display, but also the possible points of differentiation or rupture between what is observed in their music and what they describe in their interviews. Most importantly, I would like to see what the relations of their masculinities with the stereotypes of black masculinities are, and then attempt to position them in relation to a hegemonic masculinity at the Belgian level. The other themes of the survey (authenticity, the relationship with labels and commercial demands) will be based notably on these relationships of the interviewees' masculinities to hegemonic masculinity and to stereotypes.

1. Some descriptive elements of the masculinities of the subjects of the research :

Based on the several elements that were described in the literature review as significant to define masculinities, but also based on the literature on the stereotypes of black masculinities, I will in this section consider the masculinities of the interviewees in their raps and in the interviews by focusing on the following aspects: attitude toward women; relations to family; relations to emotions; relations to studies; relations to employment; socio-economic background; references to racial aspect. It should be noted that not all these aspects were relevant to all of the interviewees. Furthermore, their rap and interviews led to having more information on some aspects depending on the rapper interviewed.

a) Relationship toward women

In Badi's art as well as in his interview, it appeared that he does not base his masculinity on practices of domination and sexualization of women. On the contrary, he valorises women and tries to defend gender equality. He questions openly his attitude toward women. In his way of challenging these, he seems aware of the unconscious and progressively incorporated aspect of the practices that characterise his relationship with women (in other words, aspects of his masculinity), the deconstruction of which puts him in an ambivalent position and requires repeated efforts and attention, which he is willing to do. He explains :

Well, actually, "I dance against myself", it's a bit... it's a way of saying I'm fighting against myself in fact. I'm in a battle, in fact, you see, I'm in a battle against myself... When I say "I'm afraid to be like other people, when I fight my impulses, am I a father or am I a man in trouble, and I dance against myself". Because we ask ourselves questions. I'm a man, when I'm hitting on, er... this woman, am I not going to talk to her badly, am I not going to, you know, be that one more asshole, er... who just wants to put his hand on her ass, well, I'm making it up, but that's what it is.

In Badi's conception of relations between men and women, the accent is put on equality rather than complementarity.

When we talk about women, and here I'm maybe addressing men more when I write me too, it's not this gentlemanly image, you know, it's the image of the person who respects everyone, on this point of equality what. And I think that women, that's what it's all about... at the salary level, at the social level, effectively at the level of violence, whether sexual or physical, I think it's important, not to talk about women, but to put women in their place in fact.

In this sense, it is worth noting that Badi regrets that women are a minority in rap.

His valorisation of women is not primarily about respecting women (in a perhaps paternalistic "gentlemen" attitude) but about giving them opportunities to take their place. Nor is it about talking about women, but rather about himself as a man. It might be envisaged that this emphasis on equality rather than complementarity tends to reduce the importance given to a difference between men and women in an ideal model of gender relations for Badi.

This aim for equality is expressed through his lyrics and in his music videos. The song "Me Too" is a feminist call for equality, in which he denounces violence against women but also he defends women's independence, calls for equal pay. There is an attention to be in an inclusive feminism, because he insists on diversity and the importance of women's choice, whatever that choice is. His call for men to question their attitude his also present in the song. Here is an extract of the lyrics of "Me Too":

*It's hard to say "me too",
Even worse when it's your father,
Whether you are veiled or wearing a cleavage,
You're offered a couch promotion,
Man is a wolf to man,
But is a monster with women,
And calls them a tease,
When he doesn't know how to manage his flame*

The music video of "Me Too" features women in different activities: a sound engineer who mixes, another who puts away books in what seems to be a bookstore, a woman who tinkers, a woman who is a municipal consultant. Hence, the clip highlights women. Again, there are women from different ethnic backgrounds so the clip also highlights diversity and inclusive feminism. Finally, there are also several shots of books on feminism, the history of the Congo and colonization, or works by Lisette Lombé, a poet who is one of the protagonists of the clip.

In his song “Chocolat”, Badi proposes an erotic story that highlights and values black bodies. The music video features Badi and a black woman, relying on a similarity in the form of the appearances of each. The equality is noticeable in the first shot in which the two characters are side by side and dressed very similarly. The clip is imbued with a sensuality that concerns Badi as much as his partner in the video.

There is a bit more of sexualisation of women’s bodies in his clip ‘Muasi Na Ngai’, in which Badi and Kaysha (the artist in featuring on this title) are notably filmed amongst women dancing next to a swimming pool. However, here again there is a diversity of women, notably an older woman figures in this clip. Moreover, the lyrics are about his love for a woman (his partner) and his attachment to her:

*you were a tenant, you became an owner
you grabbed the keys of my single heart
woman of value like a diamond, woman of charm like a snake
The one you introduce to your parents, you are the mother of my children*

Unlike Badi, Santa in his interview puts forward the idea of complementarity between men and women, that each of them have a role, that the complementarity of women and men is necessary to find a balance. He states :

so they have to know that they have value, but they shouldn't take too much confidence too, you know, because today there are too many women who think that they can manage everything by themselves, jmmm, you know, while... while no, God created man and woman and it's not for nothing you know. Without us they would be bored and without them we would be bored... without us they wouldn't have had children, they wouldn't have... they wouldn't have a man who could do things on earth, you know what I mean, so I think we both need men and women, now here we are, we need to find a balance.

Percy explains in his interview that he was raised by his mother alone and for that reason, he could not denigrate women, because he testified by observing his mother that women are capable of anything, and that they can be independent. He also explained that he is interested in discussing with women about their experiences in order to open their minds. In this sense, he is a bit like Badi who is trying to question his masculinity. Percy explains:

and as weird as it sounds I really like talking to people, just to open my mind, because sometimes there are things that I think I know and I realize that, well my knowledge is limited, then there are things too, there are reflections for example, lately there is a lot of. ... well, a lot, it's something that has always existed, but I mean that today women are speaking out a lot more, on everything that concerns feminism, and rape

culture, and all the problems that follow. Since we are not women, I take a lot of time to talk with them, to really try to understand (...)

Despite the fact that he explains this, there are still some tendencies to objectification of women in his songs and his music videos. In his video music of the song “Fuckboy”, the woman is very sexualised, with many close-ups of her body wearing only underwear. In “Tendresse”, as well, the body of the woman in the video is much more shown and sexualized than his own body filmed as well. His lyrics also, participate in this objectification and sexualization of women in his artistic work. In “Flouse”, for example:

*You want to dump her,
But she's hot,
You can fuck her,
But she's ugly,
This one is beautiful,
she is so sweet,
if you manage her,
she will cost you a lot*

On the other hand, he also raps a lot about his romantic relationships with women, about the fact that he wants to make a serious commitment with some of them, that he sometimes feels vulnerable to them because of his feelings. It the case in his song “Un bail”, or “Temet Nosce”. In “Convalescence”, he sings:

*Single mothers are not for me at all,
but I was definitely willing to make the exception for you,
to face the whole world just for you,
but obviously that wasn't enough for you*

Bakari’s art shows a tendency to share misogynistic discourses and hypersexualised representations of women. In his videos, he is always with other men. There are no women in his music videos. His lyrics are not mostly about women, even though there are some references to women in a sexualised way in his rap, and it seems that it is more present in his earlier songs than in his songs released in 2021. He refers to women often in relation with their bodies or as sexual partners. In “Jamais”, he says:

*It's not the same anymore, solo when I count my pay
At midday I'm going to kick out the bitch from the night before*

In “Melodie”, he sings :

*But the bitch is down for it,
put your pussy away, I don't give a fuck*

When he mentions women, it is often as sexual objects who wants to have sex with him and be romantic, which he is not interested in or not for long. For example, in “Sosa”, he sings :

*She wants to talk about romance
But I'll only leave her semen*

There are also several cases of him rapping about choosing money or his business over women and that friends matter more than women. He mostly refers to women with the words “bitch”, “pute” or “salope” (the last two have the same meaning as the first one). For example, in Marlo Stanfield, he sings:

*We took the weapons, it's winter,
very far from where the whores were profiling (...)
It's all for the family, for the buddies
We'll never fight a war to each other because of the whores*

There are, however, references to disappointments in love or to his mother. These references to women contrast with the tendency towards misogyny in his rap.

As for Santa, there is a tendency to refer to women in an oversexualised way that is present in each of his songs available. This is only expressed through lyrics, not through images. As for now, there are no other references to women in his rap than these kind of references. In “Twerk sur la table” he raps:

*There's Bad bitchies, ugly bitchies, and so many hoes,
She's sniffing with a fifty euros bill
Eyes open, her nose is taking it
(...) I sent bottles in the club she got wet
Twerk on table,
Your string is wet go change it*

In “Van2Straat”, the image offered is also that of the venal woman who is interested in financial success (expressed by the reference to designer clothes) and sexually available:

*I am wearing Christian Dior she's looking at me
Watch the little one she's watching, if I like her I finish her*

To summarize, the interviewees displayed different attitudes in their relation toward women. Badi, in his rap as well as in his interview, presents an egalitarian relationship with women. His approach to women is inclusive, highlighting the diversity of women's experiences. His feminist attitude towards women leads him to question some of his practices that constitute his masculinity. Percy, in his interview, also emphasises a feminism and a willingness to learn about women's experiences. However,

in his rap, there is a tendency towards objectification and over-sexualisation. However, this is not constant and Percy also talks a lot about women in a romantic relationship in which there is not systematically this sexualisation. As far as Bakari and Santa are concerned, their rap is indeed quite misogynistic. Santa's speech in the interview was softer but seemed to value the perpetuation of a rather traditional femininity, in a male-female complementarity.

b) Family

In his interview, Bakari explains that he is quite independent from his family, which he links with the fact that he had a complicated familial history. In his songs, he sometimes refers to his parents to explain that he disappointed them (for example, because he did not study as his father would have liked), that they had a difficult life, and that he would like to take care of them, which is one of the reasons he wants to succeed financially. As part of his relation to family and to women, there are references in Bakari's rap to his mother, as the woman who deserves his respect and who he compares to other women. One can hear in "Impliqué" :

Bitch, she thought I liked her but I need more, you're the only one I love, mom

The other rappers interviewed seemed to be in a relationship of greater proximity and interdependence with their family. Santa, for example, explains:

Well, we are very much into family, eh, we are very very much into family and everything, so family is everything, you see, if you have a nice family, that's it... well, for example, if my family is happy, I am happy, you see... my mood depends a lot on all that, too, you see...

However, this was not displayed in his rap. On the contrary, Percy, explains sometimes in his rap elements of his familial history in a way that matches what he describes in the interview about his conception of family. He explains that he grew up in a blended family (his father was mostly abroad) with not enough communication about each other's emotions, and that this had impacted the way he envisioned his family life later on. That is mentioned in particular in the songs "Convalescence" and "Temet Nosce".

As part of their conception of family, one element that emerged is the importance of fatherhood for defining their masculinity. Being or becoming a father was very early mentioned in Santa's and Percy's interviews when they were asked about family and what they consider would be an ideal family. This importance of family or of fatherhood is not perceptible in Santa's rap, on the contrary of Percy's who mentions these topics in his music. For example in his song "Temet Nosce" :

*I could see myself putting a ring on your finger
A picture of the two of us with a piece of us*

A mini me
With a mini me

Badi mentions it in “Me too”: indeed, as we have seen in a previous interview excerpt, Badi’s lyrics opposed being a father with being a man in trouble, “en perdition”, which he seems to afterwards equate with being the kind of men oppressing toward women. In other words, fatherhood represent the model to which he aspires, the model of masculinity to which he associates practices that are coherent with his values, in this case feminist values. He also sings about it in “Muasi Na Ngai”, in which he praises the woman who is the mother of his children.

Regardless with the slight variations in their narratives about fatherhood, one element that was very present is that fatherhood was equated with providing a sense of security for the children but also the partner. As he already is a father, Badi explained that it changed a lot in his life and notably that being able to provide for his children was important. In addition to this, authority was another shared element brought up to describe their conception of fatherhood and they imagined themselves as (future) fathers.

Here, even though Santa shared the conception seems to share Badi’s and Percy’s attitude toward family, he does not rap about it, on the contrary of Badi and Percy who do. Bakari expressed more distance from the family, although he sometimes refers to it in his rap.

c) Relation to emotions :

Percy, in the interview, openly states that he is a very emotional men and that he is very communicative about it. His rap is often the place for longing about his personal worries, especially in his love life. That can be observed in “100 doutes”, in “les yeux”, or in “bloqué”.

In Bakari’s song, there are two tendencies. One a one hand, there are several references to a kind of despair, a long-term sadness, so in this case he is open about his emotional state, without offering many details about it. He raps about a form of pessimism, that he can not find happiness in general and in romance. For example, in “Mélodie” he sings :

I abstain when I doubt,
Lost in the face of so much pain,
You fished me out of doubt
Oh, you my sweet melody

Or else, in ‘Jamais’ :

I wrote a lot of sentences
about what was locked up in my heart
I tried to call happiness but this bitch is on voicemail (...)
I've been soaked in hate

On the other hand, he gives an image of some distance with his emotions, notably because of disillusionments. He sings that he puts his emotions at a distance for the benefit of money and his business. Also, these disillusionments express the end of his “naïve” dreams and his hopes as child and young men. In a way, the "coldness" that Bakari expresses also marks a passage to adulthood for him.

d) Studies

Santa & Bakari faced difficulties with school. They stated that they were not interested in what they were taught at school, that they were not taught what they had interested in — Santa gave the example of colonisation — and that they had difficulties with the vertical hierarchical organization of the traditional school system in Belgium.

It is also present in Bakari’s song : he explains that his father was disappointed because he did not study, that back to that time he would rather hang out with his friends, which he says in “N’da Blocka” :

*The teacher says I have potential
But I prefer my friends, my neighbourhood*

He criticised a bit school in his song “Comme les autres” :

Remember, the teachers took us for fools

As for Percy, he graduated from a master of law at a university in Belgium. His time at university was very challenging for him, but before that he was very comfortable with school and he appreciated it. The school system in primary and secondary school suited him very well and he was doing very well, he explained.

Badi’s rap does not mention the studies, except in the song “Integration” when he sings:

*OK, you have an education
graduated in math*

However, in his clip “Me Too”, there are several shots showing that show books, which is a way to value knowledge.

e) Employment

In his song “Sommet”, Bakari sings that he would not want to be in a conventional job :

*We're not going to fit in, you'll forgive my mother
I'd rather rob, deal, do dirty than say "Thanks boss".*

Now, his full-time occupation is his artistic project as rapper, supported financially by a label, but as for now, the way he works with this label grants him independence in his work which he values. In a way,

what he sings that he rather rob than have to work for a boss is also a way for him to value his independence. Badi's occupation is also full time in artistic project.

Santa is employed in the field of sales for a shoe brand. He does not mind being in a conventional job with its constraints. He even says that he prefers this to having to make concessions on his music or interacting with labels that have the priority of making a profit from his music (this point will be discussed in more detail later in this analysis).

f) Alcohol or drugs

There are very frequent references about drugs in Bakari's rap and videos. In some of his music videos there are references to his involvement in drug trafficking, which is one of the themes that stands out most in his lyrics. In most of his music videos, he is represented smoking and sometimes drinking alcohol. The use of alcohol and drugs is related to his sorrows, are mentioned as a way to forget the difficulties he has been through and is going through. He is also denouncing the precarity and lack of opportunities for people from his social origin, and skin colour, and explains that it is why he engaged in some illegal activities. For example, in his song "Nuage" he sings :

*I wanted this life but the neighbourhood said: "No"
If I don't sell the product, I won't even have dinner tonight
I've been in this shit for a long time*

*From the start, seriously limited, we sold coke, crack and limited the bigger guys who had been
around for a long time*

Solo in my troubles, coke in my jeans for the salary

And in "Comme les autres", he sings:

*At the beginning we had nothing, no euro, no friend
It would be different if I was not of ebony's colour*

There were references also about some kind of illegal dealing, most likely drug dealing, in Santa's song Van2Straat#2 (Twerk sur la table) :

*Come sniffin' in the toilet
When you finish
Clean the room
Illegal business in the party
If you're not taking anything stay home*

However, in his interview, Santa clearly denounces this type of practice.

Santa displays these practices more from an entertainment perspective, and distances himself from this in the interview. Bakari, on the other hand, explains these practices by the circumstances of his life, both in his rap and in the interview.

g) Financial attainments

This topic was mentioned during the interviews and is a topic important in the rap of some of the interviewees.

Indeed, the visuals of Bakari counting his money, and the references in his lyrics about that, are many. This topic is related to the theme of drug dealing in his rap but also the success he wants to have through music. In Santa's clip, too, there are visuals of bundle of bills (cf "Twerk sur la table"). Both highlight their progress in terms of financial success, notably by mentioning expensive branded clothing.

Here again, Badi's is in a different trend since he insists, in the interview as in his rap, on the fact that money does not give value to people. For example in the song "Virgil Abloh" :

*Value of the man is not euro
all that glitters is not gold*

h) Violence

There are some references, visual or in the lyrics, to violence in Bakari's rap. This goes along with the aspect of his life that he puts forward in his art. In the music videos, we see him sometimes with gun. There are also scenes of group violence. This is most often in the context of drug dealing.

This violence is also sometimes expressed as a threat of response to people outside his "gang", his group. He presents a threatening aspect of himself and there is a form of emulation by this dangerous side that he presents. Having a form of power thanks to his success in trafficking and thanks to his money, notably in relation to the younger people in his neighbourhood, marks a form of adult masculinity that has authority and power over the youngest (a feature of masculinity described by Collins (2004), thanks to money and status in the "business. Notably, the threats of violence express this. He says in the song "Impliqué":

*Why is that nigga staring at me? Why is that nigga staring at me?
He's going to end up on the ground and his friends too, end up on the ground and his friends too
(...)
But they want war so I prepare it in my den (my den)
Kid, talk to me properly, I probably sold the drugs to your mom or dad or both
If you do the big one at 12:20 pm, your body disappears at 12:22 pm*

However, the theme of violence is treated from a different perspective as well. There are also in the video of "Jamais" scenes of brutality from the police, we see Bakari and his friends being pursued by

the police, then questioned. There is then a shot on the injured face of the singer. The topic of police brutality is mentioned in his songs (in “Comme les autres” notably).

i) Competition

Badi, in the interview, noted that rap is very competitive, which is according to him a typical masculine trait. Indeed, Rose (1994) noted that boasting and competition are essential parts of rap.

The competition as such was not very present in Badi’s rap, a bit in "Méchant Méchant" in which he says:

*20 years of rap and I still have the hunger.
the competition I call "my little one".*

However, boasting is present in his music. He valorises his style and his sense for fashion on several occasions.

This is a feature that was also quite present in Bakari’s rap. He highlights his qualities for rap, but also in his other activities, and is in a form of competitiveness with others, notably rappers. Sometimes the insults and interpellations in his lyrics aimed at his rivals consist in attributing to them a homosexuality that is also denigrated (in “Marlo Stanfield”, or in “Que du Gang”).

Competitiveness and boasting (Rose, 1994) were also present in Percy’s and Santa’s rap.

j) Socio-economic background

As described in the literature review, the hegemonic masculinity is based on different features, as race, sexual orientation but also socio-economic status (Connell, 2005). This last element of social origin sometimes stands out quite clearly in the lyrics and clips of the interviewed rappers.

Several of Bakari’s videos clip are filmed in neighbourhoods that suggest social precariousness: neighbourhoods with low-income architecture, high buildings, where young people and children gather outside at the foot of the buildings (cf notably video clip of “Melodie” and “N’da Blocka”). It is also something that stands out in his lyrics. For example, in “Jamais”, he sings :

*I didn't grow up Rue de la loi, for me it was the law of the street
And I had to use of cunning*

One of the clips of Santa, also takes place in this type of setting (“Van2Straat#1”), and the other video available also offers these kinds of images, even though to a lesser extent (“Twerk sur la table”). It has to be noted that some videos also contrast this, with rather luxurious settings, like in the video music of "Panamera" in which Bakari sings in the restaurant of a luxury hotel.

From what was explained in the interviews, it seems indeed that both of these men are from popular backgrounds. As far as Santa is concerned, he grew up in Droixhe, one of the neighborhoods with the most socio-economically fragile populations of the city of Liege. This is indeed therefore constitutive of their masculinity. But in terms of the representation of it in their rap, it's also a trait that they emphasize. So they don't represent a hegemonic masculinity from that point of view: they emphasize an aspect of their masculinity (being from popular origin and from the street) that is coherent with the stereotypes of black rappers (Freitas, 2011; Rose, 2008) and that corresponds to a masculinity delegitimated.

The context of the video music of Badi and Percy do not accentuate a disadvantaged socio-economic background. However, they mention it in their rap. Even though it is mentioned sometimes in the lyrics, it is an atmosphere and an information of the socio-economic origin which appears less than for Bakari, and a little less Santa.

k) References to the racial aspect and immigration background

In Badi's rap, there are often references to the experience of being black in Belgium. He puts forward and values, in his clips as in his rap, the influence of his Congolese origins. There are many references to Congolese personalities in his rap, he uses often the Lingala. In his video music he puts forward elements of African influence, as in the music video of the song "Virgil Abloh" in which he is in a house filled with African art pieces. He calls for a valorisation of people of immigrant origin as such and not by erasing their specificity and diversity, in "Virgil Abloh" notably he sings :

*I am the African of the future
They are reappropriating our culture
the whites are putting on self-tanner
Blacks use lightening product*

Or else, in "Integration", he says :

*We have lost our memory,
We are the forgotten of history,
Back to the beginning for those who still have hope (...)
integration
disintegration
why did you get whiter?*

In "Chocolat", he valorises the beauty of black bodies :

*She crunches, she falls for it,
Chocolate, one hundred percent black*

Percy and Bakari also refer to their blackness in their art. Percy denounces racism in “Férié”:

*More than one branch to my tree
I've been told I'm descended from a monkey*

As was noted earlier, Bakari mentions it notably in “Comme les autres”, to explain that his skin colour impacted the path of his life.

2. Relation of masculinities described to stereotypes of masculinities of afrodescendant men

As we have seen, the stereotyping of afrodescendant men's masculinities aims to delegitimize the masculinities of these men belonging to a racial minority in order to preserve the hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2005). Indeed, as Collins (2004) explained, the blackness of afrodescendant men distances them, as a group, from the hegemonic masculinity.

Furthermore, all of the men interviewed for this research are engaged in artistic activities, which, as Badi noted, brings their masculinity closer to one of the stereotypes about afrodescendant men, which is that they are particularly and naturally gifted in music and dance (Viveros Vigoya, 2018). Badi explains in the interview :

it's true that I, alone, already represent a [cliché], because we always have the impression that black men only know how to do music or sports, I do music so...

For these reasons, we can say that the various rappers interviewed are not the best representatives of hegemonic masculinity in the form it takes at the Belgian level (a level in which there are stereotypes and discriminations on afrodescendant men (Demart et al., 2017)). Their masculinities are rather non-hegemonic.

However, all of the interviewees masculinities do not have the same relations with the stereotypes that exist toward afrodescendant masculinities, and therefore they are not all delegitimised in the same way nor do they interact all the same way with the hegemonic masculinity.

As we have seen, Santa and Bakari, in their rap emphasize aspects of their masculinity that go along different stereotypes that are held toward afrodescendant men even though they sometimes emphasise in their interviews other aspects or in the case of Santa, distance themselves from what is emphasised in their rap. These stereotypes are criminality (Freitas, 2011), misogyny (Freitas, 2011; Oware, 2016), and being dangerous and “from the street” (Oware, 2016). Bakari’s accent on criminality and drug dealing is one of these aspects. Santa also mentions these in his rap, however to a lesser extent than Bakari (moreover, their attitude in the interview were different on these). Bakari’s and Santa’s rap is also marked by misogyny, and in the case of Bakari, some remarks also tend to be denigrating in relation to homosexuality. The peculiarity of their Bakari and Santa, is that on the one hand there is an emphasis

on a precarious social environment, and on the other hand their universe is very masculine (visually we never see a woman in their videos, while in the clips of Badi and Percy, they are surrounded by women too). We can see here that it is difficult to apply the typology of non-hegemonic masculinities proposed by Connell (2005) to these masculinities, which can be both protest masculinities, because in a sense they are hypermasculine, and marginalised masculinities because they are delegitimized by stereotypes based on race (Connell, 2005).

In the case of Percy, he also in a way represent in his rap some of the stereotypes, mainly in the representation that he gives of his sexuality and of a form of misogyny and oversexualization of women that he makes there. However, the other themes he deals with and the way he approaches them, by putting forward a sensitivity towards the women who are his partners, contrasts and balances this a little. Percy probably fits more closely with the marginalised masculinity described by Connell (2005).

As for Badi, he does not seem to show in his rap, or in his interview, traits of masculinity that go in the same direction as the stereotypes carried on the afrodescendant men, except for his commitment in artistic activities as music (Viveros Vigoya, 2018), as explained above. Here again, it seems to fit the “marginalized masculinity” of Connell's (2005) proposed typology of non-hegemonic masculinities, also because, as was noted by Collins (2004), his blackness excludes him from an hegemonic masculinity as a model of a white masculinity.

B.
Authenticity

One of the themes proposed to be addressed in order to answer the research question was the theme of authenticity. On the one hand, we proposed to explore whether rappers hold a conception of an authentic rap, and if yes which one: rap as in its early days or at least before processes of commercialisation, i.e. that it should be a rather engaged rap (Belle, 2014) or a more “from the street”, “gangsta” rap as it was reinforced through commercialisation (Rose, 2008). On the other hand, we wanted to investigate whether they valued the correspondence between the narratives in rap and the rappers' lives (Freitas, 2011; Rose, 2008). We will see in the following lines how these themes were developed in the interviews and how it can be related to the representations of black masculinities in rap and to the fight against stereotypes of these masculinities through rap.

1. Authenticity : first sense of the definition :

a) Rap committed: not an issue of tradition but of personal value

As was noted earlier, Belle (2014) explained that for some, the authentic rap is a rap that does not comply to commercial codes for rap — the “the black gangsta, pimp, and ho” trinity described by Tricia Rose (2008, p.4) and that is rather politically and socially committed. It is the case for Badi and for Percy

who state that it was important for them to have committed lyrics in their songs. However, none of them accounted for the importance of the perpetuation of an original rap. This can be illustrated by the two interview excerpts, in the following lines.

Badi notes a change in rap since the birth of the discipline, which he does not blame :

At the same time there are rappers who can talk about social things, but I mean as rap is only a reflection of this society, it's a whole movement in fact... We can... at the time, rap was a bit of a talking point about what was wrong, now, most rappers write more about their moods, their feelings. Or they describe, just their daily life, which doesn't mean it's bad but I think it's the evolution of society, and rap is just a reflection of that

Percy states :

In fact it's funny because when you look historically, rap was created in 1974 in a DJ party... in a block party, (...) it was not at all in a context of protest but in a party. Rap was born in a festive context, in reality. It's really a cohesion of a lot of practices and a lot of things that made that moment rap was born. Now rap has become a weapon, for oppressed populations, for minorities, to challenge the system, through music, it has clearly become a weapon of protest in relation to several things, and I think that it is something that remains important because today, in the vast majority of cases, we are disarmed in the face of the system. So it's clear that if music can get a message across, because music isn't just music, it's also politics. (...) I personally feel that I have a voice that carries a bit more than the average person, and my voice, if I've been given it, if people have given it to me by listening to me (...) it's so that this voice can be heard. it's so that this voice can be of use to them too, it's not so that it can only be of use to me, so for me, when there are problems that affect a community in general, a community in which I recognise myself or in which I feel concerned or which affects me, well I say to myself that I must speak about it, because it's a fee for me in relation to the public, but not everyone shares the same opinion on the matter.

Here we can see that Percy does not consider that there is something unauthentic in non-engaged rap because he insists on the fact that it all started in a rather festive, entertainment context. This point was also noted by Bakari. He also finishes by noting that this importance he gives in being committed is personal and that it is not shared by all rappers. Amongst rappers interviewed that claimed to be dedicated to create committed content (Badi and Percy), all seem to valorise freedom of each rapper and therefore to hold no normative definition of what an authentic rap should be. This non-normativity

means that they were not influenced in the image of themselves and kind of rap they offer by an a priori conception of what a rapper should be.

Moreover, both Percy and Badi explain that it has been a bit of a constraint for them not to conform to the more commercial rap and masculine expectations of afrodescendant rappers. Percy says:

in fact, from the moment you decide not to fit into certain stereotypes and certain clichés, well, rap becomes very difficult, in fact, very difficult, for someone with a profile like mine, who is often assimilated to Damso, to this or that, where it is very gory, and very violent, and very much so... and when you're not in that, in the collective imagination of the listeners, it's a bit difficult to fit us in, and so it's also difficult for the record companies to think that we can be a product that can be profitable, and so you have to know how to create your profitability and how to sell yourself as an artist

For those two artists, being socially and politically engaged through lyrics, denouncing stereotypes like Badi does, or complying more to rap codes (and the black masculinity representations) inherited from a rap before a commercialisation process is not an issue of tradition, of complying with a genre but rather was explained in reference with a personal commitment which only involved them and not rappers in general, and as we will see, the importance that the rappers interviewed give to the coherence between the narratives they share in their rap and who they are outside of these narratives (Freitas, 2011; Rose, 2008).

b) Valorisation of diversity in rap

As we have seen, the rappers interviewed who value committed rap did not seem to have a normative definition of authentic rap. On the contrary, they valued diversity in rap and the freedom of each artist. This was also the case for the other rappers interviewed who did not insist on a specific desire to have socially or politically engaged lyrics, and in their case rap that fits more into the commercial codes of masculinity for afrodescendant rappers . Santa accounted for this diversity in rap when asked if he thought that there was a type of message that rap should share :

Everyone says what they want firstly, and then... you see today what's good is that there are several raps you see, (...) I think today there is rap for everyone, and I think that's why it's the first style listened to you know (...) there's something for everyone, that's what's good about it, you know, everyone does what they want...

Bakari, as Percy, answered also that it was positive that there are different types of rap for everyone, and different circumstances. He also, as Percy did, referred to the origins of rap music :

there have always been two currents in rap, you know, everything that's conscious, you know, and the more festive current, you know, that's been around since the beginning of the history of rap, it's just that people fantasize about an era that they didn't experience and they say yeah, it was better before (...), I think that there has to be rap for everyone, for all circumstances

For those rappers, too, the impact of definition of the “authentic rap” as politically and socially engaged and sterile from the convention of the gangsta rapper, hypermasculine, violent, from the street is limited as they valorise diversity in rap. Moreover, it appeared in the interviews when Santa stated that rap is primarily a way of entertaining and that he would not rap about more serious topics in all of his songs. Bakari, for his part, explained that he left it up to the music and the inspiration of the moment. That it was not a question for them, as it was for Percy or Badi, of emphasising the importance of getting committed through rap.

The valorisation of diversity of representations in rap therefore in a way limits or denies the influence of the authentic committed, non commercialised rap as a genre convention on the masculinities represented by rappers. But through the interviews, it appeared that this diversity was important when it comes to stereotypes and representation of masculinities of afrodescendant rappers from another perspective. Indeed, in the following interview excerpts, the rapper Badi explains that fighting stereotypes requires a diversity of representations and that it is therefore positive that rap is diverse and offers diverse models of black men:

I think rap is an emancipation weapon as well... Before rap, we didn't see many afrodescendants or Africans on TV, or it's always the same cliché, it's the black guy who plays the tom-tom, ... now someone comes on TV who really, ... we talked about MC SOLAAR, at the beginning, here, someone like MC SOLAAR who speaks well, (...) but it could just as easily be Booba, who is in his entrepreneurial delirium, who works with his label, with brands etc., who can also give a boost to a new generation, with people who are ready to take initiatives. And that is why I say that rap is an emancipation weapon above everything.

(...)

we've always said, there are bad guys... It's a bit as if there were bad guys and good guys, in fact. I'm going to stick to the example of two people, two people who have influenced me as much as each other. And there's no ambiguity about that, because they're both great lyricists, and at the same time they're both examples, and even if they don't have the same background, and precisely, I think that we were talking about cliché, there's this cliché where all black people have to look the same, too, that has to be broken. No, there's Booba, there's MC Solaar, I want to tell you, there are people

like Kiddy Smile, who are homosexuals, you know, in the LGBT movement and who make music and who also break down clichés, and there are lots of people, and that's the richness of the thing, it's its diversity. That's what makes rap so rich.

Badi explained in the interview that for him, one of the first stereotype that black men face is that they are assumed to be all the same, going along Collins (2004). For him, there is a problem in common representations of black men who rap that holds a binarity between “good” and “bad” that lacks nuance. Valorising the diversity of representation of afrodescendant men is therefore an interesting path for countering these stereotypes described by Badi. In the perspective described by Badi, each rap taken in complementarity with the others makes it possible to question assumed homogeneity of black men as a group. However, there is indeed a problem when it comes to countering stereotypes if this diversity in rap and rappers figures is not visibilised (Dalibert, 2018).

The issue of visibility will be addressed later as it was also brought up during the interviews when the importance of the real or fictional aspect of rap stories was discussed. I will therefore first look at this aspect and then come back to the question of visibility.

2. Authenticity : second sense of the word :

All the rappers interviewed explained that it was important to them to stay true to themselves and their real lives in their rap. There were however variations to the degree to which they applied this importance.

Badi noted that he did not want to rap about something that is not is life, even though it means that is rap would not correspond to the most commercial rap and if that means not representing the stereotypical black masculinity that fits into the codes of this commercial rap (Freitas, 2011; Rose, 2008). He explained :

you know, basically... Let's say it's natural... I mean I went through this stage maybe more gangsta but from the moment I'm not in it anymore, you know, I... I don't see myself talking about it actually, I don't see myself talking about it or putting it forward. In the end... in the end it's not my life. In the end, it's really not my life, and so, uh, in relation to that, it's really something where I said to myself, well no, it's not me, so in the end I stayed in something quite natural so as not to lie to the public and especially, not to lie to myself in fact.

On the topic of being authentic to himself in his songs, Percy assured that it was very important to him and directly linked it with his availability to his public. He said :

But as far as art and communication with the public is concerned, well for me it's important, so I... it's important that when these people talk to me they say ok, we get to know the artist, well the person rather, through the artist's songs, that when we

talk to the artist we know that ok, it's someone who is more sensitive to that, who has such and such an interest and they can communicate with me more easily. If I was someone who was very inaccessible like some artists, I wouldn't have many private messages for example, I wouldn't discuss much with the followers etc. etc., and as a result there would be less people who would do it because there would already be a rumour that would precede me like "well it's useless to send him messages, he doesn't answer"... But that's not the case at all. And I want that when I do a song or life stories, they are always inspired by real facts, mostly from my life, so that people recognize themselves in them when I speak too.

a) Authentic but partial representations of masculinities through rap
Santa, as the other interviewees, explained that contents of his rap could give a good idea of what is life is like. Later he insisted that people listening to his rap know him, and they know he is true in his music, which shows that it is important for him to remain true to himself in his music. However, Santa primarily noted that rap is a way of entertaining. For this reason, some of his rap contents are sometimes describing lives and behaviours that do not alone allow to understand who he is, the way he lives. He referred to the contents of his rap until now as "stuff of an idiot, in a way" (des trucs de con, un peu), expressing some distance with it : it might be part of him, but it is not all he is. He said :

but I don't take it as, ... I try not to make an example out of it and to... to always say to ourselves that here it is, it's an entertainment, you know, and to make a distinction you know between music and real life, and that music I consider it as an entertainment. Afterwards, yeah, what I'm saying can have an impact on those who listen to it etc., you know, but you have to think that the goal is to get by in life, you know, to get by in life and you know, even if you say, we're going to say some trashy things, well... to always have a sentence that says "yeah, but don't think that's it, you know"

The accent he puts on the entertainment aspect of rap helps understanding the representation of masculinity in his songs. It is for fun, so it explains that some aspects of his masculinity will be more present than others in his songs. Indeed, there is a "party" aspect very present in his songs or in his clips, and it is understandable that this aspect is linked with references to alcohol consumption, or to seduction relationships for example.

Bakari, too, explained that it was important to him that his rap and the images he gives in his rap be true, similar to his life, who and how he is outside rap.

the sounds that are released even if they are from three years ago, it's still in correlation with what I'm going through right now you know. My life hasn't really changed

However, he explained that the narratives that he used to offer in his rap only covered some aspects of his life, not all of them. He stated that it is evolving, and explained what aspects he is trying to begin covering :

For example, I'm in the middle of it and I'm thinking about it, I talk a lot about the contrast between what people know, well, between what people think they know, you know, about my life, compared to what they see on the networks or whatever, and what it really is, and how I live it, how I perceive it, you know? It's something I'm starting to talk about more and more, now when I'm in the studio... I talk a lot more about my family, you know, before I wasn't necessarily able to do that, there you go ... I'm more in the private sphere, you know, I try to talk about private things, but yeah, before, it was a lot... well, I tried to tell my life story but, uh, through a single prism, you know, there was no... the other facets, whereas the human being is full of facets, it's not just one thing, you see, you're not just a student, there are other things, and I was only talking about one facet, and now I'm starting to talk about another, I'm trying to, you know....

Bakari explained that he is now progressively including new themes, new aspects of his life into his songs. Bakari's efforts and wish to cover more aspects might not yet be fully noticeable in the songs that are already available. Indeed, he explained that some of the songs that are released these day were written some years ago. Also, what he is now producing might be released in a while as well. He explained that this delay does not impact the similarity between his life and his songs, because what he described a few years ago is still part of his life nowadays. Rather, this delay between the moment he writes a song and the moment he releases impacts the way we can understand, when we look at the already released songs, what are the themes he wants to approach today and what are his perspective on what rap should be. Indeed, when I asked him what he thought were the reasons for him to rap about only some aspects of his life, and why those aspects specifically, he gave me two reasons. On a one hand, he linked it with the codes of rap, what he always listened in rap songs :

Because it was the codes of rap, it was the codes of rap that I listened to and it was uh, that's what I listened to, and I thought that it was only that you know, that I had to talk about that, you know, and then as I grew up, listening again to some of the tracks that I listened to at the time, and with uh... well because I didn't understand everything at the time, uh in the sounds, I was very small and I just liked the guy's music... I was shaking my head, the sound was good and that's it you know, then as I grew up, when I understood the lyrics a little bit better, well I see that in fact I can afford to talk about more stuff, but yeah I think I started by doing this style of rap because I listened to this style of rap, you know, that's all, that's what was there you

know. But as I grew up I saw that there was more stuff, there's not ONE rap you know.

On the other hand, he explained that the aspects that are not yet in his songs require more maturity from him and that he wants to take time to make experiences before rapping about it :

the sounds that I'm busy releasing now are sounds that are three four years old already, so obviously with time well I deal with other subjects because I'm growing up, I'm maturing, I'm living other things, my life is not just about hanging out, a couple of fights and selling weed, you know what I mean it's a lot more complex than that, but there are some subjects that I'd rather... I prefer to avoid them for the moment because I don't think I have the distance or the maturity to talk about them properly... So I'm also giving myself time to grow up, to understand some things, time to live, and I think that when I'll be mature enough in my head, and musically, well I'll know how to show that in music, but it's going to happen, it's just right now I'm in the middle of it, so...

For Bakari and Santa, when taking into account only the songs and the music videos that go with some of these songs, one is able to get a representation of their masculinity that is based only on some aspects of their masculinities. These aspects tend to correspond to the aspects of black masculinities promoted by commercial rap. Indeed, as was described, this commercial rap is based on a black masculinity corresponding to a “thug life narrative” (Freitas, 2011, p10) based on references to criminality, hypermasculinity, misogyny (Avery et al, 2017) and drug and alcohol use (Laybourn, 2018) and street life, from the ghetto (Rose, 2008).

Bakari mentioned “the codes of rap” to explain which aspects of his masculinity he puts forward in his rap. Therefore, it can be suggested that he was influenced by the image of the authentic rapper that corresponds to commercial rap (and was reinforced by the commercialisation process). Considering that Santa’s rap and masculinity in his rap are also coherent with these codes of commercial rap, it is it's not unlikely that he was also influenced by those masculinities and models that dominate commercial rap. This goes along with Rose’s (2008) argument that even though when rapper's offer in their rap the stereotypical black masculinities promoted by commercial rap, it might be indeed real, corresponding to their real lives, but that it is partial : it shows only the part of their lives that corresponds to the expectations produced by commercial rap.

However, the influence of these commercial rap codes is limited, because as we have seen, rappers who, like Badi or Percy, cannot base the specific traits of commercial rap masculinities on their lives, will not represent these masculinities in their rap. Indeed, rappers who, like Bakari or Santa, have more basis in their real lives to assert that the masculinity represented in their rap fits reality, are more likely to represent the masculinities of commercial rap. However, they are critical of these codes: Bakari realizes

that he has only shown some aspects of his masculinity and claims to be evolving towards integrating other aspects. Moreover, Santa also distances himself from what he displays in his rap, which corresponds to the stereotyped masculinities of commercial rap. Indeed, he explains that it is important to contrast these partial narratives of rap. This is what will be exposed in the following section.

b) Indirect authenticity and holistic approach required to get to represent fully who rappers are

When Santa developed about this topic of the unfictional natures of his rap, he explained that even though for him rap is primarily a way of entertaining, and that it therefore covers some themes more often than others, he explained that it was important to sometimes make reminders that life is not limited to these themes, to what he raps about :

You know what I mean, I think it's important, especially with the generation of the moment, you have to make, from time to time, little reminders, you know. But it's sure that I'm not going to say it in every song, you see there will be songs where it will be really only the party and where I'll talk only about that, and there will be... I think that today you have to know the character before listening to his music, you know what I mean? Because if you only listen to the music, if you only listen to a song where the song is for two minutes it's... like the guy screaming and partying and drinking alcohol, and then he has other stuff where he's going to talk to you about life and so on, I think that you really have to know the character, you know.

Several elements stand out in this interview extract. Firstly, he stresses the importance for him of contrasting the contents of entertainment or that reinforces a negative image (e.g. talk of delinquency) with little phrases that remind the listener of the exaggerated or fictional nature of these contents. This contrasting content can be according to him sentences within the song or another song, or outside the musical contents for example in interviews.

This bring us to another element important to him : that it is important to consider rapper's corpus as a whole and that taking into account only one song at a time can be misleading to get an idea of their masculinities.

Santa's conception whether his rap gives a good idea of who he is, and in general of who rappers are, is more indirect than for Badi or for Percy. The idea here is not to suggest that because he sees his rap as an entertainment, his narratives or his practices in his rap are not also representative of his masculinity. However, the representation that the listeners get primarily from his songs seems more partial than for rappers who do not stress this entertainment nature. Getting a good representation of him requires to be truly willing to know the character, to be careful to the sentences he says to contrast with the narratives dominating his rap, taking the whole opus into account:

I think that if you make music you have to show your life, or you say ok in the music I said that but then on the other hand I play my role of father or child, or you know I help my mother, for example, and you have to show that there you go, the real things in life and then there you go, it depends on the style of music you make, and ... and I think that it depends on the character.

The accounts of some aspects of his masculinity seem to be less prevalent in the songs because he says to refer to it sometimes with sentences (that are not present in every songs) and relegated to the outside of the songs, in the presentation of oneself or in the communication with the audience. These aspects are aspects less linked with negative stereotypes, like being a good child, taking care of the mother, that delinquency is not revindicated. This is why it seems that through songs, listeners have a partial representation of his masculinity. The fact that he also relies on contents outside rap to give a full, really true representation of rapper also leads to think that his conception of authenticity is rather indirect : his rap is authentic because it corresponds to some aspects of his life, which he values, but he also insist that to be truly authentic it is important to contrast the contents of rap with some sentences, in some songs or with interviews.

It is important because if in songs, and videos, the masculinity represented is partial, it is what impacts the representation that listeners primarily make of rapper's masculinity. As Santa explained, this scenario requires an effort from the listener to really forge a nuanced and real idea of who he is, what is daily practices really are (for example being a good child or taking care of the mother), in other words to represent as completely as possible his masculinity. This effort required puts him in a different position toward those who might hold stereotypes toward him than rappers who give a more complete representation of masculinity through their songs and videos. Indeed, if he mostly represents a masculinity that is stereotypical, with elements of masculinity that are not stereotypical but that are less present in rap because they take the form of "reminders" or that are outside rap in interviews, this leaves more room for stigmatizing him, delegitimizing his masculinity. In other words, if it takes more effort to realize that there are non-stereotypical elements that he shares, there is a little less chance that his activity as a rapper can help counteract the stereotypes that weigh on the masculinities of Afrodescendant men.

In the same sense, he brought up the idea that it was actually important to know the rapper's character rather than just focusing on his music. This brings us back to the theme of visibility, but in a different way to how it was approached earlier in this paper. In the first case, the focus was more on providing different representations of afrodescendant men and afrodescendant rappers. Here it is more about really getting to know them in depth and understanding their character, the nuances and details in their rap, and the story behind it.

3. Visibility

As we could see in the previous interview excerpt of Badi, the diversity in rap that he valued was linked with issues of visibility through which, according to him, emerges a possibility of fighting stereotypes. He indeed linked rap with new representations of black men in medias that go beyond the image of the “black guy who plays the tom-tom”. His point of view that people of with African origins are not visibilised enough in medias is widely shared among afrodescendant people in Belgium, according to a study (Demart et al, 2017). The author of this study, based on a qualitative and quantitative survey among people of African descent in Belgium, wrote :

The respondents have the overall feeling that people of African origin are too little present in television programs and that the Belgian media tend to reinforce prejudices about Africans and do not give the same opportunity to all to express themselves, whatever their origin is. (Demart et al., 2017, p116)

Badi stated that narratives that are visibilised and share through rap are important for questioning stereotypes :

In the end, it's true, I said, either we are seen as president or son of a president, or we sweep up. But that's when they see us. Generally speaking, we are invisible for most people. We have a kind of invisibility or we don't really exist in fact. And it's already giving a real visibility, not through music, but through words. By telling our stories, because the stories of immigration, the stories of integration, um... well, before they yelled "allez au diable (go to hell)", today they yell "allez les diables (go red devils, belgian national football team)", well, the best Belgian goal scorer of all time is called Romelu Lukaku. He comes from somewhere, he has a story, and that's really what we have to do, we have shed light on this.

However, even though Badi valorises that rap is diverse — as was noted earlier, he highlighted figures as different as Booba and Mc Solaar, pointing out that both had qualities that he and other Afrodescendant men could learn from —, he regrets a lack of diversity in representation in medias :

When you look at some medias, it is all about the negative when we talk about rap. It's... it's clearly the aspect of misogyny, violence, drugs and everything... which indeed some rappers talk about, but we don't put their words in context, so it may indeed seem shocking (...)

(...)

We have visibility... and yet, what kind of rappers have visibility... there are very few rappers, now that we see on TV, who really have a social message, etc... Besides, we see very few rappers on TV, we create our own media.

From the perspective of some of the interviewees, the type of representations of afrodescendant men in commercial rap is not a problem, rather was the lack of representation of the actual diversity in rap.

Santa's conception of rap as primarily a way of entertaining, and therefore him relying more on an indirect authenticity, was also linked with a specific way of countering stereotypes that weigh on rappers like him and their masculinities:

I think that you really have to know the character, you know. And that's what people ask too, you know, they want to know the character. I think for example of Damso, if you stop at... at the song he says "whore, whore" every time etc, you're going to criticize the rap again, you know as everyone did, and afterwards if you get to know the character... and that's what made his strength, I think, it's that people got to know the character, they looked at his interviews and all that, and then afterwards, they appreciated his character and then they understood when he said whore and why. It's that... it's that...

However Santa stressed the importance of knowing the character in order to understand the music and go further the narratives of one or several songs, he explained that himself is not very available to make his character known :

The truth is, I'm not very approachable and all, you know, I don't do too many interviews, talk and so on, I'm not too much into showing off and so on, doing interviews and so on, you really have to know the character, you really have to want to know and not denigrate and so on, ... so yeah, we're very difficult to approach and talk about too, because it's... we know we don't have a good image, we know that... we know that where I come from people criticize us a lot without even knowing us, without even having taken the trouble to find out what a young person from Droixhe is, what he wants, why, why it's like that over there, ... and I think that if people take the trouble to want to discover, to want to discover, to discuss with a young person, I think they will understand a lot of things you know... Afterwards there are things that are not tolerated etc... that are not tolerable, that... I think... I don't know, we're not accessible because of that, because of the way people look at us... because of the fact that people want to transform everything, everything you say, they're... people are bad, you know, um, that's why we put up barriers, that's why we're always on the defensive, because of that, you know...

This discretion he talked about is at least partly linked to the fact that he feels that himself and people with the same social background suffer from misrepresentation, and that people who do not have the same social background will focus on the negative, "transform what they say", which recalls the literature that suggests that the mainstream media tends to represent African-descendant rappers and

afrodescendant people in general in a way that fits the stereotypes that the white majority has of African-descendant men (Dalibert, 2018; Demart et al., 2017).

When looking at the literature, this question of visibility in medias is indeed a relevant one when it comes to the stereotypes of African-descendant men. The mass media is sometimes one of the main means by which certain sections of the population have representations of ethnic minorities that they do not encounter much. The sorting that is done in the media is therefore all the more important for the survival of the stereotypes that the white majority has about black men (Collins, 2004).

Iwamoto (2003) argued that diverse representations of black young men in mainstream medias are lacking. He stated that there are “one dimensional portrayals” (p. 45) in the medias that picture black men as dangerous, violent or “gangstas”, which mirrors the stereotypes of the larger society about those men. This is also the point of view of Patricia Hill Collins (2004). She wrote : “Mass media images of Black femininity and Black masculinity present but one social script among many that encourages certain behaviors and discourages others” (Collins, 2004, p184).

This limited representation of the diversity of black masculinities in the media is reinforced by the focus on certain elements of black rappers and their masculinity. The medias tend to pay particular attention and highlight the virilistic, violent, or misogynistic side of black rappers (Dalibert, 2018). This goes along what Badi and Santa highlighted. Rose (2008) also noted that medias, as corporations, aim for profit and thus circulate the commercially profitable images of Afrodescendant rappers, in other words the stereotypical images of criminal and misogynistic black street rappers.

Collins (2004) and Dalibert (2018) argued that afrodescendant people who are visible have a particular profile. These people belong to the middle class, show an attitude of respect and are not overly critical of racial inequalities (Collins, 2004) or have expressions of gender equivalent to expressions of gender of white upper-middle-class (Dalibert, 2018). Those afrodescendants individuals that are visible in mainstream medias are represented as exceptions, and the positive image that they get is used to further devalorisate and deligitimate black individuals that have different gender expressions that of white middle class, or those who are too critical (Collins, 2004; Dalibert, 2018).

According to this perspective, it is important for the media to show Afrodescendant rappers by representing their masculinity in their complexity in order not to perpetuate a stereotypical image of the masculinities of Afrodescendant men. It is necessary to go beyond of the duality described by Collins (2004) and Dalibert (2018): it is not just a matter of, on the one hand, visibilising and valuing rappers who have a masculinity that corresponds to middle-class white masculinity and, on the other hand, only highlighting the negative and stereotypical aspects of the masculinities of other Afrodescendant rappers. It's important to show the other aspects of their masculinity that rappers like Santa want to put forward, to use his words "get to know the character". This is all the more important when, like Santa and Bakari,

the relationship to the authenticity of their masculinity in rap is more partial, more indirect and requires more attention to the whole corpus and their discourses outside of their songs to represent their masculinities in a more complex and less stereotypical way.

As Connell (2005) explained, institutions, such as the media, participate in the reproduction of hegemonic masculinities. We can see here, with Collins (2004) and Dalibert (2018) as well as the testimonies of Badi and Santa, how the media indeed focus on the stereotypical elements of rappers' Afrodescendant masculinities and, as Badi mentioned, visibilise very few rappers in a frame outside of these stereotypes, who actually carry a social message.

C..... Labels

Another topic that this research set out to explore was the commercial aspect and the relationship to labels, and how these topics may or may not influence the representation of the masculinities of Afrodescendant rappers. This topic is quite closely linked with the precedent theme of authenticity. Indeed, the authenticity of rap and the importance that the interviewees gave to it was contrasted with the prioritisation of the commercial quality and profit of these rappers. It was therefore notably this aspect of authenticity that played a role interviewees' desire for independence from the labels.

1. Teamwork or independence

At first sight, one could be tempted to oppose two realities: working with a label and being independent. However, the interviews showed that these realities are not so clearly opposed and that it is not in these terms that the interviewees envisaged things when we discussed the topic of labels.

Santa signed a contract with a label in 2019 but the experience was negative for him. First, Santa deplored the lack of horizontality and concertation in the way decisions were taken. He stated that he wanted to work with a team with which he could discuss and with which he could share the perspective on the development of the artistic project. The point here is to say that it is not working in team that is the problem when he was in a label, rather was the hierarchical organisation and constraints. It is also what Badi notes :

No, I'm completely independent, and I do what I want, you see, I... I don't like to work under constraint. Well, it's not the fact of being independent, because you can work with partners, but not work with a certain constraint, but generally, I do what I want....

Bakari, however having signed a contract with a label, does not feel constrained :

They don't give me any advice. It's really, I do everything with my team, from the music to the video, and they just finance the project, but I always wanted to have

control over what I was doing, you know because I was already 23 years old you know when I was signed, I've been doing music since I was 15 years old, so, without any pretension, I think I know what I'm doing. So I didn't need anyone to shape my music in any way, and in my opinion the few advices I could get is more in terms of artistic direction, from time to time, you know, on more technical stuff, in terms of streaming formats, blah blah blah, the length of the tracks...

And then, he states :

the image and everything I have control over, you know, I came up with my universe directly and it matched, so they just validated and they helped consolidate all that you know

He explained that he has a lot of independence, which he valued, based on the fact that he is not the most commercially successful artist in signed in his label. According to him, those artists are more are more closely followed by the label and sometimes have a little less independence for that. He is a little less followed but keeps more independence, which he qualified as "a blessing in disguise". He also stated that he was very satisfied with working with his team, constituted of people who worked with him even before his project was financed by the label, and who are not primarily concerned with "his best interest".

Here, we can see that the rappers interviewed all value teamwork and independence, defined in opposition with not with working with a team but with working with labels that will impose elements for financial reasons, without first taking into account the best interest and all the possibilities of the rapper.

2. Putting artists in boxes to make money

In his experience as an artist with a signature with a label, Santa observed some of the constraints the label may exercise on rappers. Here are the terms in which Santa shared about his experience with the label :

it went very badly and that's why, I understood a bit the music system you know, and that's why since... well since 2019 I'm free you know (...) I tell you, I prefer to work with a team where we have the same vision, where I am allowed my freedom and... and they will know how to develop the artist, you know, because we are all... we are in development, you know (...) I produce myself, you see, and you need a bit of a vision, you need people, you need a team around you who know... who know the image you want to give, who know how to make it real, and then... it has to be yourself. And then it was rather a team of people who... who just wanted to make money and who were going to put an image on you that didn't correspond to you but

this image was going to bring in money and so there you go (...). for example, they want you to make a type of sound, and your palette is much more diversified than that, you know... and they're going to lead you into a type of sound. We'll say you're more of a style of music like Damso, like we talked about him, you know, or like Hamza, you know, and you made a sound like wejdene, you know, and then we'll tell you to only make wejdene, you know, but... no, you know what I mean. Or there's another one, you know uh... he's not a street guy at all, you know what I mean, and we're going to tell him to do the street guy... when he's not a street guy... So it's stuff like that that I've seen, and then I've seen the truth, they all want to make money and that's all you know...

He pointed out several elements which he disliked and deplored in the way labels work. To him, the primary concern of labels is to make profit, which he criticizes in itself. He called it “a shark world”. For him, the flaws of the label system — their demands in terms of putting artist in boxes of musical styles or image — are not worth override for the sake of money. He stated later in the interview :

you see... money... I think you get up in the morning and you go to work and you make money... you know... I thought... okay... if that's all it is... just wait.

Firstly, according to Santa, labels sometimes impose a reductive and fixed image in the character presented. As he explained, he has seen labels sometimes want a rapper to present a "street guy" image when he is not. He is critical of this approach by labels, and it has played into his desire to produce himself and be independent. Here we see the limits of the influence of label demands and profit demands on the representation of his identity and masculinity in his rap, and the link with his view on the importance to be true in one's art. In other words, commercial or label's demand would not lead him to present another image of himself in his rap because being true to himself is important, and also because he insisted that he could earn money outside of rap.

The "street guy" is an image that is commercially efficient, as we have seen it has sometimes argued that the reason this image sells well is precisely because it represents these stereotypes of the dominant majority from a racial or class perspective (Freitas, 2011; Rose, 2008). What Santa observed therefore is similar to what Rose (2008) described about record labels in the U.S., that is, they will look for rappers to put forward masculinities and identities that are commercially profitable but also in line with negative images. It can also be said that in addition to force them to represent dominated and socially delegitimised masculinities, the money generated by the rappers and these images goes largely to the label itself (Rose, 2008). The issue of money sharing was mentioned several times in the interviews, with interviewees feeling that labels in general artists and that the sharing of money is unfair to the artists. Bakari, who is the only interviewee currently under contract with a label, did not express an opinion in this sense.

Secondly, Santa explained that labels want to fix their artists in one type of rap although they are competent in different styles, in order to make a profit. Although he recognises that music can be a way out for some, as noted earlier, making money is not the primary concern for him in rap, or not a concern that would take precedence over other things that are important to him: for him it is a way of expressing who he is, of developing himself or of making artistic discoveries, even if it is not the way that makes the most money *a priori*. He states that he wants to have the freedom to make different types of music, because he is able to. He insisted on the way that artists are developing, and he wants to have the freedom to develop in the direction or the directions he wishes.

Santa noted that labels tend to reduce the artist complexity, his possibility of evolution, of development. They create a fixed, and sometimes fake or reducing, images for the artist both in the character presented or the style of music made. When asked about this issue, Bakari explained that he felt free to develop, bring new aspects of himself in his rap, even though he has a contract with a big record company. Here again, this might be influenced by his relative autonomy in comparison with other artists of the label, as he explained. Moreover, as he explained, he already had an identity in his rap, "a universe" before being signed by the label. This universe, as he explained it, had been influenced by the "codes of the rap", what he listened mainly. If his universe sticks well to the expectations of the label in term of profitability and commercial quality of his rap, it perhaps influences the fact that he does not feel constrained, contrary to what Santa observed.

In the interview of Percy emerged also the issue of having an identity and an image that suits label's and listener's expectation as a rapper. He explained:

Well, I am, like many artists, I am independent, so I set up my label, well, I haven't declared myself yet to have the status of all that, but I set up my label as an independent, simply because in fact, from the moment you decide not to enter certain stereotypes and certain clichés, well, rap becomes very difficult, in fact, very difficult, for someone who has a profile like mine, who is often assimilated to Damso, to this or that, where it's very gore, and very violent, and very much so... And when you're not in that, in fact in the collective imagination of the listeners, it's a bit difficult to fit us in and so it's also difficult for record companies to say that we can be a product that can be profitable, And so you have to know how to create your profitability and how to sell yourself as an artist, because the luck today is that there are artists who go in all directions, it is just that artists have to find their public, that's all, so yes I am self-producing.

Here again, it was noted that labels are more interested in artist whose image fit into a box, of an image that is commercially profitable.

We can understand here that, for Percy as well, being independent from labels is a way of being authentic to himself and not complying to the representations of afrodescendant rappers that are commercially profitable. He prefers his authenticity to the financial support of labels. His statement that “someone who has a profile like his” is often associated to rappers like Damso echoes a point that Badi made in his interview, stating that one of the first stereotype that afrodescendant men face is that they are all the same, which is also what Collins (2004) explained. Damso is one of the most famous afrodescendant French-speaking rapper of these times. Finding one's place and image as an Afrodescendant rapper in a context where there are these expectations can be a way to fight this stereotype of homogeneity.

We note therefore that rappers with very varied rap and varied expressions of masculinity in rap, value their independence, in the sense of the absence of constraints from labels, and value the team work. Two rappers with masculinities in rap fitting commercial expectations have different experiences with labels. Another, Percy, explained that it is difficult to find a label when, as an afrodescendant rapper, one does not fit the expectations of labels in terms of rap genre and masculinities represented.

3. Going beyond boxes and profit : from artistic object to artistic subject

Santa's criticism of the way labels want to put artists in boxes in order to make money, thereby diminishing the possibilities of artistic evolution and diversification; his resistance to a hierarchical functioning that lacks horizontality for his taste; the emphasis he places on the fact that he can make money by working and that profit will not be a strong enough argument to bend to these demands; make one think that he is resisting a system and a functioning in which he would be an artistic *object* rather than an artistic *subject*.

Even though she based it on different realities, Mara Viveros Vigoya (2018) also used the figure of the object and the subject to analyse experiences of afrodescendant artists. She opposed a subjectification of afrodescendant artists through sensation in art, with an objectification that comes with being seen through artistic performances.

Here, I suggest to consider the experience of other rappers interviewed also in this struggle between being an artistic object and an artistic subject. Indeed, they give importance on a one hand to be true to themselves in their rap, and on the other of not being constrained by labels in the music they make. This opposition is based on a conception of artistic objects as externally defined, as marketable and adaptable to the demands of commercialization. In contrast, artistic subjects have room to maneuver, to represent themselves, and their masculinity, according to who they are as subjects, and to develop their raps in accordance with their evolution also as men.

In terms of masculinity, we have seen that they all represent rather marginalized masculinities if we follow Connell's (2005) typology. In this typology, marginalised masculinities are non-hegemonic masculinities, delegitimised. In this perspective, rappers positioning themselves as artistic subjects

rather than artistic objects can limit the impact of the delegitimization of their masculinity from hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2005). Indeed, for some, this means staying true to their rap and thus not representing stereotypical masculinities. For others, it means not bending to the constraints of labels that limit the possibilities in terms of musical evolution or limit the possibilities in terms of identity, allowing for the development of the full potential of Black men and making room for different aspects of their masculinity to emerge in their rap. And while some do indeed represent masculinities that are stereotypical in their rap, this evolves as they mature and step back from rap itself, as is the case with Bakari.

Indeed, as was noted in the case of Santa, even though he aims at staying true to himself in his rap, his masculinity represented in music is partial, as is to some extent the case for Bakari. It is partial in a way that corresponds with stereotypical representations of afrodescendant rappers. However, as Santa explained, his conception of authenticity requires him (and he extended this to rappers in general), to share other aspects of his masculinity whether outside his rap, whether at some occasions in his rap. This was related to the topic of visibility. This issue of visibility thus limits the potential of rappers positioning as artistic subjects in countering stereotypes of afrodescendant masculinities, but also shifts the responsibility of countering these stereotypes of masculinity on those who have the power to visibilise the different narratives they can offer, that represent masculinities that are not only stereotypical, as explained by Dalibert (2018) in her study about the mediatization of rappers in France.

VI. LIMITS OF THIS RESEARCH :

This research would have benefited from several arrangements in terms of methodology. First, after trying to give a general overview of masculinities displayed by rappers in their rap and in the interviews, it appeared that participant observation would have been well adapted. Indeed, the interviews allowed only to give a limited overview of aspects of masculinities that rappers do not display in their rap, and some aspects could not be discussed the same way with all interviewees. For example, it was hard to say whether Bakari's attitude toward women in his rap really represented his attitude in general. The interview did not allow to be clear about this. These are important for the research on masculinities and on the potential discrepancies between rapper's attitudes represented in rap and outside of rap. However, these are also topics that were really impacted by the relationship interviewee-interviewer and my social position. Moreover, as we have seen with Connell (2005), masculinities are relational. It would therefore have been interesting to be able to follow rappers in different circumstances to observe how the practices that constitute their masculinities might change depending on the circumstances, the people they are interacting with, and so on. However, in any case, this kind of fieldwork was probably not possible this year, due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

To keep on the methodological aspect, it is clear that this research would have benefited from interviews with more rappers, in order to diversify the experiences analysed.

Furthermore, it would have been useful to base the comparison of the masculinities of rappers interviewed on a more concrete definition of hegemonic masculinity at the Belgian level. However, as far as my researchs allow to state, the literature on which such a definition could be base is not yet available.

My research analyses the relation of rappers towards expectations of labels and towards labels in general. However, the research would have benefitted from a more nuanced approach on labels. Indeed, there are undoubtedly labels which do not value commercial rap as defined by Tricia Rose (2008), do not want to put forward, even for commercial reasons, masculinities that correspond to the stereotypes. Therefore, taking into account the difference that may exist between labels would have allowed for a better understanding of how rappers' relationship to labels influences the possibility of countering stereotypes of afrodescendant masculinities through rap.

VII. FURTHER RESEARCH

We explained that the rappers we interviewed attached importance to the authenticity of their rap, to it being true to their lives. However, as we have seen, some of them were influenced by "rap codes", like Bakari. Bakari explained that as he got older, he tried to put forward other facets of his masculinity than those traditionally shared by rap codes. In future research, the question of authenticity could therefore be asked again, as age and careers of rappers evolve. We might ask ourselves whether this authenticity tends to become less partial with time and experience.

In another way, we have seen that rappers rather valued a freedom of individuality with regard to rap genres, they did not have a vision of 'authentic rap' as a genre. One might ask whether the diversification of rap and rap figures in Belgium influences these attitudes. Further research could therefore analyse the possible impact of the diversification of rap on the pressure to represent the figure of an authentic rapper, which many authors until now defined as the black men hypermasculine (Oware, 2016) and from the street (Rose, 2008).

The relation to hegemonic masculinity here was based on the hegemonic masculinity at a Belgian level, a level at which the group racially dominant is white people. Connell & Messerschmidt (2005) explained that hegemonic masculinities can be envisaged at different levels. For further research, it could be interesting to take other levels into account, for example to consider relations between masculinities at a more local level. These local levels could be some neighbourhoods of a city, or defined as limited to a social group based on race or class. For example, one could examine what are the relations between masculinities and the relations of domination and stigmatisation of these masculinities when taking only into account urban youth, or only men with immigration background.

VIII. CONCLUSIONS

Based on the analysis of the different empirical materials, I first pointed some elements of the masculinities of rappers interviewed that emerge from their raps or interviews. I propose based on that that their masculinities are non-hegemonic and correspond to the marginalised masculinities, following Connell's (2005) typology of non-hegemonic masculinities. Also, based on that analysis, I suggested that some of them emphasise certain aspects of their masculinities, which correspond to negative stereotypes of afrodescendant rappers, even though they nuanced these aspects in their interviews.

Then, I argue, following the material, that the rappers interviewed do not hold a definition of authentic rap as a genre convention. They rather valorise diversity of rap and freedom of each rapper. I showed how the diversity of rappers' images and masculinities was valorised by rappers as a way to counter stereotypes, even if it means that some rappers represent stereotypical masculinities in their rap. This point of view of the interviewees counters the criticism sometimes made in common debates about rap that it perpetuates negative and stereotypical images of afrodescendant men (Rose, 2008).

In contrast, rappers interviewed seemed to give a lot of importance to authenticity in the sense that it refers to the similarity between their rap and their life. For some, it was very clearly linked with the kind of masculinities they display in their rap, even though it meant for them to break out of the commercial codes that make their rap easier to market and for listeners to understand the meaning of their artistic project. This shows the limit of the impact of commercial rap codes that circulate stereotypical images of masculinity: the rappers interviewed did not seem to value rap as fiction for the sake of commercial issues. Authenticity, in the sense of the realness of rap, is therefore an important asset in rap's potential to counter stereotypes of afrodescendant masculinities.

Some of the rappers interviewed had a more indirect conception of authenticity, which they balanced by relying on the visibilisation of their character and their masculinity as a whole in mediums other than rap, such as via the media. This poses a limit to rap's potential to counteract stereotypes as some media focus on the negative aspects of afrodescendant rappers' masculinities (Dalibert, 2018).

Coherent with the theme of authenticity, the analysis of the materials in this particular fieldwork allowed me to show that the rappers interviewed valued their independence in terms of their relations with labels, although their experiences with labels were varied. This point, in relation to respondents' attitudes to

authenticity, led me to propose that there is a willingness on the part of rappers to be artistic subjects rather than artistic objects. Artistic subjects, as opposed to artistic objects, have control over the evolution of their art, have the possibility to represent evolving and complex masculinities in their rap, that these correspond and interact with their masculinities in their real lives as well and are not mostly shaped for commercial reasons. This desire not to be reduced to an artistic object can help to counter stereotypes, since it is a question of showing complex and evolving afrodescendant masculinities, not limited to commercial stereotypical aspects.

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X. ANNEXES

A.

Badi

1. Clips

Me too :

[ME TOO - Badi x Boddhi Satva x Zap Mama x Kooffeey - YouTube](#)

Chocolat:

[Badi, Boddhi Satva - Chocolat \(ft. J.O.J.\) - YouTube](#)

Mauvaise ambiance:

[Badi, Boddhi Satva - Mauvaise Ambiance - YouTube](#)

Virgil Abloh:

[Badi & Boddhi Satva – Virgil Abloh \(Official Video\) - YouTube](#)

Muasi na ngai :

[Bodhi Satva, Badi & Kaysha - Muasi Na Ngai \(Official Video\) - YouTube](#)

Méchant méchant

[Percy - Méchant 2 \(ft. Badi\) - YouTube](#)

b. Lyrics

<p>Badi Trouble Fête Album 2020</p>
--

1- Mauvaise ambiance

Fini les croisières en Italie,
On pêche des poissons venus de Somalie,
Cours de natation à Lampedusa,
Et d'escalade aux USA,

Mauvaise ambiance,
Mon ami c'est mauvaise ambiance,
Mauvaise ambiance,
Tu ramènes la mauvaise ambiance, Mabekoti
Mauvaise ambiance,
Mon ami c'est mauvaise ambiance,
Mauvaise ambiance,
Tu ramènes la mauvaise ambiance, Mabekoti

This is Belgica, pays de la bière et de la NVA,
Des mains coupées et des cervelas,
Responsable de la mort de Lumumba,
Pays de Stromae, Pays d'Abdeslam,
Molenbeek Islam radical,
Les mêmes qui criaient allez au Diable,
Aujourd'hui ils crient allez les Diabes,

Mauvaise ambiance,
Mon ami c'est mauvaise ambiance,
Mauvaise ambiance,
Tu ramènes la mauvaise ambiance, Mabekoti
Mauvaise ambiance,
Mon ami c'est mauvaise ambiance,
Mauvaise ambiance,
Tu ramènes la mauvaise ambiance, Mabekoti

Kendrick sous chant raciste au Pukkelpop,
Jeté de noir à la gare d'Aarschot,
Camping au Parc Maximilien,
Big up au mouvement citoyen !
Nous sommes la valeur ajoutée,
Ma mère nettoyait tes WC,
Avant c'étaient les centres aérés,
Aujourd'hui gamins en centre fermé,

Mauvaise ambiance,
Mon ami c'est mauvaise ambiance,

Mauvaise ambiance,
Tu ramènes la mauvaise ambiance, Mabekoti
Mauvaise ambiance,
Mon ami c'est mauvaise ambiance,
Mauvaise ambiance,
Tu ramènes la mauvaise ambiance, Mabekoti

2- Kitendi

On taffe pour une chemise,
Alors qu'on rêve d'un empire,
Signe extérieur de richesse
Pour masquer nos faiblesses,
J'étais stylé avant Kanye,
J'portais jeans troués avec quatre ourlets,
Marinière Gaultier, lunettes Oakley,
Papa Wemba est-ce que tu connais ?
Ne porte pas de jeans car je ne suis pas mécanicien,
Je suis tellement soigné qu'on m'appelle le médecin,
Tendancieux, Japonais, Chic et Rebel,
Frigo vide et armoire pleine,

Au nom du père, du fils et du Saint Esprit de Fally
Sapé comme jaja en Roberto Cavalli,
Versace, Gianni, Yoji, Armani,
Grand prêtre de la sape, disciple Kitendi
Hey, disciple Kitendi (4x)

Nouvelle chaîne en or on reste esclave du système,
Victime de la mode, frigo vide armoire pleine,
Venu pour être diplômé, tonton fini part chômer,
Il est docteur soigné sa personnalité,
L'animal a souffert, t'approche pas de la bête car elle griffe,
Je porte de la fourrure, mais si j'ouvre la veste je te griffe,

Au nom du père, du fils et du Saint Esprit de Fally
Sapé comme jaja en Roberto Cavalli,
Versace, Gianni, Yoji, Armani,
Grand prêtre de la sape, disciple Kitendi
Hey, disciple Kitendi (4x)

Je me sens comme Kester Emeneya, Stávros Niárchos, Papa Wemba,
Na poto exam na Kinshasa, proclamation Boddhi Satva nous béni par invocation,
Bien habillé, bien sapé et bien chaussé, looké fashion le congolais écossais,
Mokoto croco, cuiranta à damier, le sol s'illumine quand je touche le pavé,
Weston, Rolex, sur le nez Cartier, Stávros Niárchos est-ce que tu connais ?
Est-ce que tu connais ?
Est-ce que tu connais ?
Est-ce que tu connais ?
Stávros Niárchos
Est-ce que tu connais ?

Hey, disciple Kitendi
Hey, disciple Kitendi
Hey, disciple Kitendi

Hey, disciple Kitendi

Au nom du père, du fils et du Saint Esprit de Fally
Sapé comme jaja en Roberto Cavalli,
Versace, Gianni, Yoji, Armani,
Grand prêtre de la sape, disciple Kitendi
Hey, disciple Kitendi
Hey, disciple Kitendi
Hey, disciple Kitendi
Hey, disciple Kitendi

3- Virgile Abloh

T'es africain depuis Wakanda
Moi depuis Soudiata Keita
Plus zulu chaka que T'Challa
Va dire à Zemmour, j'm'appelle Ndeka
Valeur de l'homme n'est pas euro
Tout ce qui brille n'est pas wolo
J'suis pas à la mode mais j'ai du style
J'te le dis en toute modestie

J'suis off-white comme Virgile Abloh
LV comme Virgile Abloh
Africain comme Virgile Abloh
Parti de rien Virgile Abloh
Virgile Abloh Virgile Abloh (lingala) (2x)
Virgile Abloh Virgile Abloh
Allez Virgile, allez Virgile Abloh
Virgile
Allez Virgile Abloh

T'es nappy mais t'as rien dans la tête
Je préfère un bab qui porte des dreads
Je suis l'africain du futur
Il se réapproprie notre culture
Les blancs se mettent de l'autobronzant
Les noirs produits éclaircissants
Tu sabres le champagne sans eau courante
Dernier smartphone sans le courant

J'suis off-white comme Virgile Abloh
LV comme Virgile Abloh
Africain comme Virgile Abloh
Parti de rien Virgile Abloh
Virgile Abloh Virgile Abloh (lingala) (2x)
Virgile Abloh Virgile Abloh
Allez Virgile, allez Virgile Abloh
Virgile
Allez Virgile Abloh

4- Intégration

Malembe (7x)
Ça c'est bon, ça c'est chaud

Frigo vide, armoire pleine *Negro*
Petite momie, mamy Benz *Negro*
Oncle Tom, oncle Ben's *Negro*
Entre nous on s'appelle *Negro*
On vit dans nos contradictions
Entre ndombolo et religion
Enfermés dans nos traditions
Fruit de la colonisation
Ouais, c'est ça.

Intégration (12x) Tout le monde
Intégration (4x) Tout le monde
Désintégration (4x) Tout le monde
Désintégration (3x)
Ouais, c'est ça
Malembe (4x) oh Malembe Malembe (4x)

Ok, t'as fait des études *Negro*
T'es diplômés en math sup *Negro*
Poursuivi par les stup *Negro*
T'es stupide et cupide *Negro*
Nous avons perdu notre mémoire
Nous les oublies de l'histoire
Retour à la case départ pour ceux qui portent encore espoir
Ouais, c'est ça

Intégration (12x) Tout le monde
Intégration (4x) Tout le monde
Désintégration (4x) Tout le monde
Désintégration (3x)
Ouais, c'est ça
Malembe (4x) oh Malembe Malembe (4x)

Pourquoi tu t'es blanchi ? *Momie*
Infirmière, femme de chambre *Momie*
T'as rencontré DSK *Momie*
Indépendante, commerçante,
elle a élevé ses enfants seule
trois gosses et il l'a laissée seule
eux ne te laisseront jamais seule
Aider leur mère, c'est tout ce qu'ils veulent
Ouais, c'est ça

Intégration (12x) Tout le monde
Intégration (4x) Tout le monde
Désintégration (4x) Tout le monde
Désintégration (3x)
Ouais, c'est ça
Malembe (4x) oh Malembe Malembe (4x)
[Lingala]

5- Qui es-tu ?

Tous les gars ? (3x)
[Lingala]
Qui m'aime me suive ou même solo
T'es plutôt Trump , bois de Samaro

Ou bobo, vegan, ecolo
 gosse de riches ou fils de prolo
 J'me moque des noirs
 j'me moque des blancs
 J'ris en wallon, pleure en flamand
 J'suis chez mère Malou
 J'suis chez Léon
 Belgicain, homme caméléon
 black and white comme Mickaël Jackson
 coupe afro comme Mickaël Jackson
 Les putaclic des polémiques
 Fake music, fake journaliste, extrémiste
 suprémaciste, féministe, indépendantiste
 Chacun son camp
 chacun ses voies (voix)
 ça tube pour tous
 chacun pour soi Merde
 Qui es-tu ? Qui es-tu ? Qui es-tu ? Hé
 [Lingala]
 Qui es-tu ? Qui es-tu ? Qui es-tu ?
 [Lingala]
 Toi, tu te veux plus blanc que beige
 Et toi t'es plus noire que belle
 Tu viens d'Afrique ou bien t'es belge ?
 Tu fais express ou bien t'es bête ?
 Tu fais des banger ou d'la zumba ?
 C'est du Hip Hop ou d'la rumba ?
 T'es Marianne ou Nabila ?
 T'es Marine ou Taubira ?
 Black live matter, all is matter.
 T'es un suceur ou un ?
 Harvey Weinstein ou Femen ?
 De Syrie ou du Yemen ?
 Al-Quaïda ou Daesh ?
 Picachu ou Salamèche ?
 D'extrême gauche ou d'extrême droite ?
 Dictateur ou démocrate ?
 Qui es-tu ? Qui es-tu ? Qui es-tu ? Hé
 [Lingala]
 Qui es-tu ? Qui es-tu ? Qui es-tu ? Hé
 [Lingala]

6- Chocolat

(...)

Fruit défendu aux arbres pendus
 Sourire charmeur car entendu
 Collé serrés la nuit vendu
 Saut d'ange à tes lèvres suspendu
 Chocolat praliné
 Demande qu'à être câliné
 Friandise à emporter
 J'suis venu te reconforter
 (...)

Moi caramel toi t'es nougat
 You and I toi et moi
 Jusqu'à ce que tu die

Où que je m'en aille
Saveur douce amère
Mon goût sur tes lèvres
Rien de mieux qu'un chocolat chaud
Pour faire monter la fièvre
(...)
Fruit défendu aux arbres pendus
Fève de cacao, âme chocolat,
Sourire Banania tablette de Milka
Chocolat pimenté,
Sang chaud à tempérer
Ils me mettent à l'amende
Je compte les envies gourmandes
Aphrodisiaque
J'ai pris **des exta**
Elle croque et elle craque
Chocolat, cent pour cent black
Saveur douce et amère
Mon goût sur tes lèvres
Rien de mieux qu'un chocolat chaud
Pour faire monter la fièvre
(...)

7- Muasi Na Ngai

Oh baby girl.
You don't gonna have to put on my french
but you are oh la la
so beautiful is your melanin
Sorry girl
But I'm gonna be kind of direct on me
Because I know
you are my girl
Muasi Na Ngai Muasi
Muasi Na Ngai
I don't want a collection of girls
Muasi Na Ngai
Muasi Na Ngai
I have no more loocking for everybody
Muasi Na Ngai

T'es la 1ère, la 2ème, la 3ème, la 4ème Bureau
Tu as changé my life des cœurs je ne suis plus un bourreau
Snap, insta et whatsapp love 2 point 0
Muasi Na Ngai kitoko ata vue de dos (ma femme est belle même vue de dos)
Nzoto Nzoto (2x)

Muasi Na Ngai
Muasi Muasi Na Ngai
I don't want a collection of girls
Muasi Na Ngai
Muasi Na Ngai
Muasi
Muasi Na Ngai
I have no more loocking for anyone
Muasi Na Ngai
Baby you are my girl Muasi

You got a world
I won't be used forever and I know
Muasi Na Ngai
Oh baby you are my girl You got my world
I won't be never be chasing again
cause you're Muasi Na Ngai
Muasi Na Ngai

Ozalaki locataires, aux commis propriétaires
Tu as chopé les clés de mon cœur de célibataire
OK
Muasi ya valeur lokola diamant
Muasi ya charme lokola serpent (femme de valeur comme diamant, femme de charme comme un serpent)
Viens que je te présente à mes parents
Tu es la mère de mes enfants
Can I taking aloof because all you get me mama
Muasi
Can I taking aloof because all you get me mama
Muasi
Muasi Na Ngai

8- Visa (part 2)

Papa si tu n'as pas le visa fini à Lampedusa
Maman si tu n'as pas le visa fini à Lampedusa
Papa si tu n'as pas le visa fini à Lampedusa
Maman si tu n'as pas le visa fini à Lampedusa
Nager (x4)
Pagayer (x4)
Nager (x4)
Pagayer (x4)
Tula, tula

L'herbe n'est pas plus verte ailleurs,
Y'a qu'en Jamaïque qu'elle est meilleure,
Bac+5 pour devenir cueilleur,
Tipo Tipo devenu passeur,
Esclave moderne sur CNN,
Condescendance européenne,
Indépendance c'était pas cha-cha,
Indépendance c'était du bla bla,
Sous, sous-marin,
Olingi o nagé,
Nako meka te,
Olingi o nagé,
Ga nako sakana te,

Papa si tu n'as pas le visa fini à Lampedusa
Maman si tu n'as pas le visa fini à Lampedusa
Papa si tu n'as pas le visa fini à Lampedusa
Maman si tu n'as pas le visa fini à Lampedusa
Nager (x4)
Pagayer (x4)
Tula, tula

Pirate en méditerrané,

Jack Sparrow sapé en shégué,
Négro enchaîné en Libye,
Guerre interminable en Syrie,
Printemps arabe, été indien,
C'est l'hiver pour les africains,
Cimetière méditerranéen,
C'est l'amistad en 2020,

Papa si tu n'as pas le visa fini à Lampedusa
Maman si tu n'as pas le visa fini à Lampedusa
Papa si tu n'as pas le visa fini à Lampedusa
Maman si tu n'as pas le visa fini à Lampedusa
Nager
Pagayer
Papa si tu n'as pas le visa fini à Lampedusa
Maman si tu n'as pas le visa fini à Lampedusa
Papa si tu n'as pas le visa fini à Lampedusa
Maman si tu n'as pas le visa fini à Lampedusa
Nager (x4)
Pagayer (x4)
Nager (x4)
Pagayer (x4)
Tula, tula
Nager (x4)
Pagayer (x4)

Monsieur Daniel Iribaren et madame Sylvie Iribaren veuillez vous présenter à la porte B14 pour retrouver votre

9- Me too

*Dur de balancer son porc,
Pire encore quand c'est son père,
Que tu sois voilé ou en décolleté,
On te propose promotion canapé,
L'homme est un loup pour l'homme,
Mais est un monstre avec les femmes,
Et les traite d'allumeuses,
Quand il ne sait pas gérer sa flamme,
C'est arrivé près de chez vous,
Vous fermez les yeux au Kivu,
Tu la traites de michto parce qu'elle a dit me too,
Femme surqualifiée demande salaire équitable,
Tous les héros ne portent pas de capes,
Certaines portent même un hijab,*

*Non tu n'es pas qu'une femme objet,
Indépendante dans tes projets,
T'es pas juste là pour qu'on procrée,
Yeah (x4)
Non tu n'es pas qu'une femme objet,
Indépendante dans tes projets,
T'es pas juste là pour qu'on procrée,
Yeah (x4)*

*Suis-je un père de famille ou suis-je en perdition ?
J'ai peur d'être comme les autres quand je succombe à mes pulsions,*

Et je danse contre moi-même, et je danse contre toi-même (x2)
Et je danse contre moi-même,
Et je danse contre toi-même (x2)
Danse alone (x4)

10- Muasi Na Ngai (Percy version)

Oh baby girl.
You don't gonna have to put on my french
but you are oh la la
so beautiful is your melanin
Sorry girl
But I'm gonna be kind of direct on me
Because I know
you are my girl
Muasi Na Ngai Muasi
Muasi Na Ngai
I don't want a collection of girls
Muasi Na Ngai
Muasi Na Ngai
I have no more loocking for everybody
Muasi Na Ngai

T'es la 1ère, la 2ème, la 3ème, la 4ème Bureau
Tu as changé my life des cœurs je ne suis plus un bourreau
Snap, insta et whatsapp love 2 point 0
Muasi Na Ngai kitoko ata vue de dos (ma femme est belle même vue de dos)
Nzoto Nzoto (2x)

Muasi Na Ngai
Muasi Muasi Na Ngai
I don't want a collection of girls
Muasi Na Ngai
Muasi Na Ngai
Muasi
I have no more loocking for anyone
Muasi Na Ngai

Baby you are my girl Muasi
You got a world
I won't be used forever and I know
Muasi Na Ngai
Oh baby you are my girl You got my world
I won't be never be chasing again
cause you're Muasi Na Ngai
Muasi Na Ngai

Ozalaki locataires, aux commis propriétaires
Tu as chopé les clés de mon cœur de célibataire
OK
Muasi ya valeur lokola diamant
Muasi ya charme lokola serpent (femme de valeur comme diamant, femme de charme comme un serpent)
viens que je te présente à mes parents
Tu es la mère de mes enfants
Can I taking aloof because all you get me mama
Muasi

Can I taking aloof because all you get me mama
Muasi
Muasi Na Ngai

J'fais de belles métaphores
Pas aussi belles que toi quand tu mets ta robe
Ta blouse est remplie de pierres
J'ai dit que je ne t'emmènerai jamais dans ce piège
Quand j'te revois je m'dis que j'ai menti
Muasi Na Ngai
Mama Na Ngai Mama Na Ngai
Elles m'ont toutes fait la guerre
Et tu m'as amené la paix
Toi et moi on fait la paire
comme le ciel et la terre
Muasi Na Ngai

11- Visa (Bonus)

Histoire *Annoncée*
Histoire *Annoncée*
Histoire *Annoncée*
La terre n'est pas des gens,
Ah, je ne sais pas vraiment
Attention, ça fini je pense Ah ça fini
Ah Lampedusa *Ah vraiment*
Nous avons du chemin à faire
Sur nos 5 continents et ensemble

Papa a quitté le village pour avoir une nouvelle vie
Maman était folle de lui alors elle l'a suivi
Mais si tu n'as pas le passeport, faut passer par la Turquie
Il faudra prendre le bateau pour aller là pote
Et si tu ne sais pas nager va falloir pagayer

Car, si tu n'as pas le visa suka se Lampedusa
Papa si tu n'as pas le visa suka se Lampedusa
Maman si tu n'as pas le visa suka se Lampedusa
Aller nager et nager et nager et nager
Pagayer, Pagayer, Pagayer, Pagayer
y'a des syriens, des libyens, des maliens,
somaliens, sénégalais, congolais
Tous espèrent y aller
Alors on remplit la cale
Alors on remplit le pont
On espère que Dieu nous garde
car on sait que Dieu est bon.
Y'a pas canot de sauvetage
Y'a pas bouée de sauvetage
La mer t'as pris en otage
Il va falloir que tu naaaaages

Papa si tu n'as pas le visa suka se Lampedusa
Maman si tu n'as pas le visa suka se Lampedusa
Aller nager et nager et nager et nager
Pagayer, Pagayer, Pagayer, Pagayer

Puis le cœur a chaviré, le bateau a chaviré
Parti nombreux au départ, très peu sont à l'arrivée
Au loin tu vois la côte
De très loin les garde-côtes
L'embarcation va couler
Il va falloir que tu sautes
Et si tu ne sais pas nager, accroche-toi à ce qui flotte

Car si tu n'as pas le visa suka se Lampedusa
Papa si tu n'as pas le visa suka se Lampedusa
Maman si tu n'as pas le visa suka se Lampedusa
Aller nager et nager et nager et nager
Pagayer, Pagayer, Pagayer, Pagayer
Papa si tu n'as pas le visa suka se Lampedusa
Maman si tu n'as pas le visa suka se Lampedusa
Aller nager et nager et nager et nager
Pagayer, Pagayer, Pagayer, Pagayer
[Lingala]

dans l'espace Schengen
Alors papa et mama, les frères et les sœurs
L'enfer n'est pas chez nous
et le paradis n'est sûrement pas chez eux
La preuve, non
L'herbe n'est pas plus verte ailleurs comme dit le proverbe. YES.
Et maman si tu n'as pas le visa , fini à Lampedusa
Papa si tu n'as pas le visa, fini à Lampedusa
Allez, nager, pagayer.

B.....

Bakari

1. Clips
2. Lyrics

Bakari Mélodie Single 2019

Enfant seul peu fréquentable
J'avais d'la beuh cachée dans l'sac
Devant la juge, indéfendable
Tu sais qu'mes gars ne plaisantent pas
Ils m'verront pas nager dans l'feu

J'le ferai avec ou sans eux
J'aimerais oublier un peu
Ici, y a pas d'fumée sans beuh
(Hein, hein) (Eh, eh)
J'aimerais oublier un peu
Ici, y a pas d'fumée sans beuh
(Hein, hein)
(Toi ma douce mélodie)
J'aimerais oublier un peu

Ici, y a pas d'fumée sans beuh

Je l'ai compris depuis longtemps
Que j'étais bien différent d'eux
J'étais naïf, il fut un temps
Depuis, j'ai fumé tellement d'beuh
J'ai vu la vérité en face
Tu vaux R si t'es en hess
J'suis dans la tess, avec un socle
Tous les jours, mes poumons s'encrassent

On a souffert en silence, eh
Ma douleur est dans l'pilon, eh
Et mon regard en dit long, eh
J'suis un désastre ambulante, eh
Mais la bitch est emballée
Range ta chatte, j'm'en bats les reins
J'dois affronter tant d'galères, hein
Toi qui disais qu'je n'valais rien

Hier, j'ai liquidé un stock
Aujourd'hui, j'ai perdu un pote
J'm'en bats les steaks, c'était une pute
J'l'ai vu depuis le télescope
J'ai mis les faux sur le côté
T'façon, pardon, c'est surcoté
Chez nous, personne va plus voter
L'désespoir d'une communauté
(Yeah, hein-hein)
Yeah
Chez nous, personne va plus voter
L'désespoir d'une communauté
(Hein-hein, hein-hein)
Eh, yeah
J'me suis drogué à la haine et là j'ai fait comme une OD

Enfant seul peu fréquentable
J'avais d'la beuh cachée dans l'sac
Devant la juge indéfendable
Tu sais qu'mes gars ne plaisantent pas
Ils m'verront pas nager dans l'feu
J'le ferai avec ou sans eux
J'aimerais oublier un peu
Ici, y a pas d'fumée sans beuh
(Hein-hein)
(Eh)
J'aimerais oublier un peu
Ici, y a pas d'fumée sans beuh
(Ouais, ouais, toi ma douce mélodie)
J'aimerais oublier un peu
Ici, y a pas d'fumée sans beuh

Je m'abstiens quand je doute
Perdu face à tant de douleur
Tu m'as repêché dans le gouffre
Oh, toi ma douce mélodie
Je m'abstiens quand je doute
Perdu face à tant de douleur

Tu m'as repêché dans le gouffre
Oh, toi ma douce mélodie
Yah, yah, yah, yah

Enfant seul peu fréquentable
J'avais d'la beuh cachée dans l'sac
Devant la juge indéfendable
Tu sais qu'mes gars ne plaisantent pas
Ils m'verront pas nager dans l'feu
J'le ferai avec ou sans eux
J'aimerais oublier un peu
Ici, y a pas d'fumée sans beuh
(Hein-hein, hein,-hein, hein-hein)
(Eh)
J'aimerais oublier un peu
Ici, y a pas d'fumée sans beuh
(Eh)
(Toi, ma douce mélodie)
J'aimerais oublier un peu
Ici, y a pas d'fumée sans beuh
(Hein-hein, hein-hein, eh)
(Eh, oh, toi ma douce mélodie, eh)
(Hein-hein, hein-hein-hein, hein)
Oh, toi ma douce mélodie

<p style="text-align: center;">Bakari Ailleurs (feat Isha) Single 2020</p>

Mon négro, j'suis au caillou, j'trouve pas d'autre solution
J'fume la beuh, j'suis dans l'sky, j'trouve pas d'autre solution
Posé dans le hall sous doré, moi, j'rêvais d'ailleurs
Un jour, j'vais décoller pour chercher le bonheur ailleurs
Mon négro, j'suis au caillou, j'trouve pas d'autre solution
J'fume la beuh, j'suis dans l'sky, j'trouve pas d'autre solution
Posé dans le hall sous doré, moi, j'rêvais d'ailleurs
Un jour, j'vais décoller pour chercher le bonheur ailleurs
Un autre jour, tout recommence, défoncé sous beuh, j'pense au prochain plavon
J'dois faire tourner le commerce, la CC, la beuh, gros, tout ça, nous avons
Ces négros soulèvent pas vingt kilos au DC mais peuvent provoquer ton décès
Entre son amour, mon oseille, j'suis indécis, style de vie crade et indécent
Des négros, des rebeus, tout ça, c'est féroce, paie-nous ou on va t'raser les locks
J'ai vécu en chien, j'veux mourir dans le luxe, Audemars Piguet, Rolex
J'devrais affronter mes démons mais j'remets sans cesse à demain
J'suis sans cœur avec madame, huit heures du soir, j'ai pas damé mais bientôt, j'vais changer la donne
J'crois qu'j'suis baisé, j'traîne dans mon hood toutes les saisons
J'sais qu'je l'aime mais quand j'recompte, j'perds la raison
Yeah, yeah
J'sais qu'je l'aime mais quand j'recompte, j'perds la raison
Mon négro, j'suis au caillou, j'trouve pas d'autre solution
J'fume la beuh, j'suis dans l'sky, j'trouve pas d'autre solution
Posé dans le hall sous doré, moi, j'rêvais d'ailleurs
Un jour, j'vais décoller pour chercher le bonheur ailleurs
Mon négro, j'suis au caillou, j'trouve pas d'autre solution
j'fume pas beuh, j'suis dans l'sky, j'trouve pas d'autre solution

Posé dans le hall sous doré, moi, j'rêvais d'ailleurs
Un jour, j'vais décoller pour chercher le bonheur ailleurs

[Isha]

T'inquiète même pas, j'ai mes frères, j'ai du soutien,
T'soulève dans ton lit, c'est pas pour bagarre de coussins
J'suis d'nature à m'poser trop d'questions, j'ai abordé l'monde dans un bordel monstre
Et j'me sens plus proche des clochards qu'ont une guitare
Que d'toutes ces pouffiasses qu'vous transformez en divas
Et si tu savais, frère, à quel point j'ai peur, on s'était promis d'la faire thug life forever
J'parle de moins en moins, j'cache mon troisième œil
Des rires démoniaques, des larmes de joie, des pleurs
C'est un univers de ouf, c'est une matrice de dingue
On vend d'la dope à des artistes peintres
Nos biographies commencent dans la violence, c'était déjà la guerre dans le chapitre 1
C'était déjà la guerre dans le chapitre 1
J'suis en train d'marcher très loin des jaloux, les cheveux tressés, je vais droit devant
J'arrive pas à l'attraper par les poignées d'amour, elle a des fesses mais elle a pas de hanches

Mon négro, j'suis au caillou, j'trouve pas d'autre solution
J'fume la beuh, j'suis dans l'sky, j'trouve pas d'autre solution
Posé dans le hall sous doré, moi, j'rêvais d'ailleurs
Un jour, j'vais décoller pour chercher le bonheur ailleurs
Mon négro, j'suis au caillou, j'trouve pas d'autre solution
J'fume la beuh, j'suis dans l'sky, j'trouve pas d'autre solution
Posé dans le hall sous doré, moi, j'rêvais d'ailleurs
Un jour, j'vais décoller pour chercher le bonheur ailleurs

<p style="text-align: center;">Bakari N'Da Blocka Single 2020</p>
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Le prof dit qu'j'ai des capacités
Moi j'préfère mes potes la cité
Dans la tchope direction sitar
J'me rappelle de comment c'était
On parlait pas d'vendre des CD
J'aimais Sedi et mazaudou
Saigne la vie avant de décéder
Fuck la popo c'est la zeba
Automne hiver été
Sur le terrain j'étais
Yencli monnaie j'attends
Ma conscience est bonne à jeter
Y vont t'baizer si t'es gentil
C'est c'que je vois c'est c'que j'entends
J'pourrais t'attendre mais j'ai pas le temps
J'fais le boulot pour le palace que j'offrirai à mes parents
J'me suis barré car la police veut nous voir derrière les barreaux
De mes frangins j'suis séparé
Parce que la juge est d'mauvaise humeur
Elle se fait tromper par son mari
J'ai perdu mon temps dans les rues de ma ville
Elle m'a tout pris je lui ai donné ma vie
J'ai vendu la daube jusqu'au bout de la nuit

J'ai touché mes poches j'ai senti la diff'
Petit j'avais walou depuis j'ai le seum
La semelle des air maxs est collée au sol
A travers la fenêtre j'ai prié le ciel
J't'enverrai des mandats obligé le sang
Dis-moi comment faire moi j'suis bloqué
Même devant 10 ans fermes on ferme la bocail
Je suis dans le bath 1000 n'da blocka n'da blocka
Direction paki achète un paquet j'allume un petit avec un pot
Là j'suis dans l'auto, redis moi où t'es pull up en 22

Flex comme didi c'est la zeu j'connais les taros de la beuh
Tout comme les plans qu'ils élaborent
Ces bâtards veulent nous faire ah bon
J'leurs envoie les petits de la bande
On avait R rappelles toi je rallume les bedos pour raviver l'espoir
Si t'es en galère rappelles moi vivant tu connaîtras jamais la hess gars"
Et l'équipe adverse on la baise 4000 c'est nous c'est la base
Et l'équipe adverse on la baise 4000 c'est nous c'est la base
J'ai caché ma conso écoulé le stock juste avant le concert
J'ai vidé la potion seul dans le noir face à mes pensées

J'ai caché ma conso écoulé le stock juste avant le concert
J'ai vidé la potion seul dans le noir face à mes pensées
J'ai perdu mon temps dans les rues de ma ville
Elle m'a tout pris je lui ai donné ma vie
J'ai vendu la daube jusqu'au bout de la nuit
J'ai touché mes poches j'ai senti la diff'
Petit j'avais walou depuis j'ai le seum
La semelle des air maxs est collée au sol
A travers la fenêtre j'ai prié le ciel
J't'enverrai des mandats obligé le sang
Dis-moi comment faire moi j'suis bloqué
Même devant 10 ans fermes on ferme la bocail
Je suis dans mon 4000 n'da blocka n'da blocka
Dis-moi comment faire moi j'suis bloqué
Même devant 10 ans fermes on ferme la bocail
Je suis dans mon 4000 n'da blocka n'da blocka

Bakari Groupie Love (feat Bakari) Single 2020
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[jâde]

Tu fais des sons, tu fais des sous, toi, tu vas me plaire
J'te dis pas non pour faire un tour et fum' un teh
T'habites dans l'18 moi aussi, ça tombe à pic
J'te l'répète mais ça fait du bien quand tu t'appliques
L'amour, c'est cool, le sexe aussi, les deux, c'est mieux
J'fais ta lessive au parfum des amoureux
Et si je coule au fond d'la piscine comme Isabelle
Dis-moi qu'j'suis belle comme les filles des magazines

Ne t'en vas pas trop loin
Des filles à chaque refrain
Dis-moi, t'en as combien

Des groupies love ?

[Bakari]

Tu fais des sons aussi, j'crois que tu m'plais déjà (tu m'plais déjà)
J'suis pas du genre docile, salaud aux yeux des gens (aux yeux des gens)
Je crois que je t'aime un peu plus quand on s'voit moins (quand on s'voit moins)
Nous, y a que d'avant la juge qu'on verra les témoins
J'te réponds peu, j'ai toi et ients-clis dans ma SIM
Y a rien d'nouveau, j'ai deux-trois groupies dans ma vie
Quand j'finis, j'pense à toi, moi, j'vois ça comme un signe
Pour moi, t'es plus belle que les filles des magazines

[jâde]

Ne t'en vas pas trop loin
Des filles à chaque refrain
Dis-moi, t'en as combien
Des groupies love ?
Ne t'en vas pas trop loin
Des filles à chaque refrain
Dis-moi, t'en as combien
Des groupies love ?

[jâde, Bakari, ensemble]

J'veux pas d'un flirt, j'veux pas d'tes fleurs
T'arrives à 23 heures, c'est quoi l'excuse ?

<p style="text-align: center;">Bakari Panamera (feat Sofiane Pomart) Single 2021</p>

Alalalalalalah, lalalalah
Ma Panamera, ma Panamera, ma Panamera
Ma Panamera, ma Panamera, ma Panamera

Navré, monsieur l'agent, j'peux pas quitter le chantier, j'dois mailler sur le champ
Car la nuit, j'suis bon qu'à chanter, ouais, j'suis bon qu'à chanter, j'me suis levé du bon
Plug dans la che-bou, les ennemis sont bons qu'à danser, yeah
Tout l'été, j'restais dans l'barrio, avec des rêves plein le barillet
Débrouillard de toutes les manières, tellement d'ennemis, si peu d'alliés
J'ai perdu mon temps, détailler, visser et puis, compter le montant
Clientèle fidélisée, tout l'monde est content, c'est pas une série télévisée mais j'peux t'raconter, jeune étranger

Dans le four, tous les jours, faire le danger (danger)
Négro, j'ai vu le jour dans les tranchées (tranchées)
J'vais pas changer, non, j'vais pas changer tant qu'j'ai pas

Ma Panamera, ma Panamera, ma Panamera
Ma Panamera, ma Panamera, ma Panamera
Ma Panamera, ma Panamera, ma Panamera
Ma Panamera, ma Panamera, ma Panamera

J'ai pas changé, j'suis le même négro qu'à l'époque, hey
Marche dans l'établissement scolaire avec un Glock, hey

Même dans la merde, chez nous, on balance pas les potes, hey
Tu m'fais le Tony, on va t'niquer ta réput'
Souvent, j'dois méditer car changer, ça met du temps
À faire du mal, je m'habitue, l'impression d'être habitué
J'fais la guerre par habitude et la paix par lassitude
Une descente à la cité donc les femmes sont parasitées

Dans le four, tous les jours, faire le danger (danger)
Négro, j'ai vu le jour dans les tranchées (tranchées)
J'vais pas changer, non, j'vais pas changer tant qu'j'ai pas

Ma Panamera, ma Panamera, ma Panamera
Ma Panamera, ma Panamera, ma Panamera
Ma Panamera, ma Panamera, ma Panamera
Ma Panamera, ma Panamera, ma Panamera

Pana-Panamera
Pana-Panamera
'mera, 'mera, 'mera
'mera, 'mera, 'mera
'mera

<p style="text-align: center;">Bakari Solo Binks #1 (Détonation) Single 2021</p>

Il y aura des blessés juste pour ton information
C'est comme un FC, t'entends des détonations
Moi je vais les baiser avant les prolongations
Mets du respect sur le nom de ma fédération

Yeah, quand on viendra tirer sur vous, ouh, ouh, ouh
Il sera trop tard pour faire des tours, ouh, ouh, our
Yeah, quand on viendra tirer sur vous, ouh, ouh, ouh
Il sera trop tard pour faire des tours, ouh, ouh, our

Je suis sûr le terrain vingt-quatre sur sept, drogue monnaie c'est everyday
Fais des grosses pertes sur un petit joint tellement ma beuh s'est effritée
Au charbon même le trente et un du douze gros tu peux vérifier
J'ai pas dormi ça fait longtemps que je me dit que ce biff est mérité

Gucci boy, j'arrive en Gucci boy, eh
Pussy boy, eux c'est des pussy boy, eh
Je cours après le biff j'ai pas mangé de la journée oh
Bonheur dans l'amour moi j'ai jamais trouvé oh

Elle me dit pourquoi tu mens, elle me dit pourquoi tu mens habibi
Je suis plus dans le bâtiment, je suis plus dans le bâtiment mais ça bibi
Prada boy, j'arrive en Prada boy eh
Nous c'est le gang, fuck le protocole eh

Il y aura des blessés juste pour ton information
C'est comme un FC, t'entends des détonations
Quand je vais les baiser avant les prolongations
Mets du respect sur le nom de ma fédération

Yeah, quand on viendra tirer sur vous, ouh, ouh, ouh
Il sera trop tard pour faire des tours, ouh, ouh, our
Yeah, quand on viendra tirer sur vous, ouh, ouh, ouh
Il sera trop tard pour faire des tours, ouh, ouh, our

Bakari
Solo Binks #2 (Pilon)
Single 2021

This is Cellobrate on the beats
Mmh, mmh, mmh, mmh

Faut qu'monnaie tombe plus souvent, c'est la guerre, on tire sur ton clan
Bénéfice, cash et comptant, drogue, dealer posé sur l'banc
J'pensais que j'gagnais du temps, faut qu'je prie plus souvent
Faut qu'monnaie tombe plus souvent

Depuis longtemps, j'ai fumé du pilon
Depuis longtemps, haine dans mon regard en dit long
Depuis longtemps, j'ai fumé du pilon
Depuis longtemps, haine dans mon regard en dit long

Kilogrammes pesés, emballés, tout va partir et en balle
Doué dans l'son et dans l'sale, criminel mais j'ai tant d'valeurs
Tous sont dans l'trafic, dans l'vol, sous be-her, j'm'endormais dans l'bolide
Ça réveillait mes peines quand j'cogite et j'oublie tout quand j'recompte dans l'QG
J'ai tout appris sur le rrain-te, l'appel à la prière, je l'ai raté
Et c'est mon ssiste-gro qui m'fait le rappel, d'avant les gens, on avait honte de rapper
Nous fait pas la re-sta, ceux qu'ont déjà testé font parti de l'histoire
Lui, il aurait dû s'taire, c'qu'on va lui faire, Allah yster (Allah yster)

Faut qu'monnaie tombe plus souvent, c'est la guerre, on tire sur ton clan
Bénéfice, cash et comptant, drogue, dealer posé sur l'banc
J'pensais que j'gagnais du temps, faut qu'je prie plus souvent
Faut qu'monnaie tombe plus souvent

Depuis longtemps, j'ai fumé du pilon
Depuis longtemps, haine dans mon regard en dit long
Depuis longtemps, j'ai fumé du pilon
Depuis longtemps, haine dans mon regard en dit long

Bakari
Solo Binks #3 (Impliqué)
Single 2021

Kenzy à la prod'
Early Vibzz (Early Vibzz)
Cosmo envoie des tracks, tracks, tracks
Yeah, yeah, yeah
Yeah, yeah

Yeah, beaucoup trop impliqué, beaucoup trop impliqué, j'rallume bédo et sans briquet
Tellement la hess nous a baisé encore, j'suis trop marabouté, j'suis trop marabouté

Bonheur, oseille, dis-moi, où t'es ? Maintenant, je sais, j't'ai attendu à tort
Et j'les emmerde, c'est pourtant clair, faut viser l'best
Maman, s'ils arrivent à m'faire, tout pour mon frère : mets ça sur mon testament
Salope, elle pensait m'plaire mais j'ai besoin d'plus, y a que toi que j'aime, maman
Té-ma les sommes qu'on fait mais j'reste le même que quand y avait R, maman

Trap, négro, j'arrive dans le bloc et brr, brr, j'leur mets dans la cabeza
Ils font que parler sur mon gang, gang, pute, négro, comme si j'le savais pas
Droque, monnaie dans l'coffre, fini dans l'stock et puis, je revends le-sa
Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah

J'ai passé ma vie dans l'biz, j'n'avais pas d'plan, j'n'avais pas de Audemars
J'traînais dans le parking, posé sur un banc, larme est salée comme eau de mer
Appelle si y a un plan biff, appelle si y a heja, négro, direct on démarre
J'ai passé ma vie dans c'truc, mon négro, j'ai passé ma vie dans c'truc
Elle voit les marques sur mon visage, voit les marques sur mon visage
Elle voit les marques sur mes habits aussi, Gucci, Fendi, Louis Vuitton
Pourquoi ce négro me dévisage ? Pourquoi ce négro me dévisage ?
Il va finir au sol et ses amis aussi, finir au sol et ses amis aussi

Yeah, j'recomptais mes pesos, capital, on effrayait les passants
Quand t'arrivais, on était déjà passés, monsieur le commissaire fait de son possible
Mais ils veulent la guerre donc je la prépare dans ma tanière (ma tanière)
Petit, parle-moi bien, j'ai sûrement vendu la droque à ta mère ou à ton père, ou bien les deux
Si tu nous fais le grand à minuit vingt, ton corps disparaît à minuit vingt-deux
Final aparté, j'roule un joint d'beuh, j'ai des filles dans l'appart' et j'roule un joint d'beuh
Et qu'est-ce que t'y connais ? Charbonné pour une semaine à Mykonos
Interpellation et chasse aux gros bonnets

Trap, négro, j'arrive dans le bloc et brr, brr, j'leur mets dans la cabeza
Ils font que parler sur mon gang, gang, pute, négro, comme si j'le savais pas
Droque, monnaie dans l'coffre, fini dans l'stock et puis, je revends le-sa
Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah

J'ai passé ma vie dans l'biz, j'n'avais pas d'plan, j'n'avais pas de Audemars
J'traînais dans le parking, posé sur un banc, larme est salée comme eau de mer
Appelle si y a un plan biff, appelle si y a heja, négro, direct on démarre
J'ai passé ma vie dans c'truc, mon négro, j'ai passé ma vie dans c'truc
Elle voit les marques sur mon visage, voit les marques sur mon visage
Elle voit les marques sur mes habits aussi, Burberry, Prada, Christian Dior
Pourquoi ce négro me dévisage ? Pourquoi ce négro me dévisage ?
Il va finir au sol et ses amis aussi, finir au sol et ses amis aussi

Bakari

Sur écoute : saison 1
EP 2021

1- Jamais

Yeah
Les darons s'en faisaient, petits et mauvais
Dans tous les plavons pour faire les lovés plus rien à sauver
L'ennemi s'en souvient, ça tirait encore
Devant les condés on sautait en cœur
Les poches vides on avait tout dans l'cœur
On a grandi ensemble, saignés ensemble
Vus nos rêves d'enfants réduits en cendres

Mais on fait l'taff sans euro on s'en sort
On partage l'butin dans l'ascenseur
Maintenant c'est plus pareil, solo quand j'compte ma paye
À midi j'avais virer la pute de la veille

Ils m'oublieront jamais
J'ai traîné tous les soirs dans ma ville en recherche de khaliss
Ils m'oublieront jamais
J'ai traîné tous les soirs dans ma ville en recherche de khaliss, hey
Je repense à tout ce qu'ils nous ont pillé
Rien à faire sauf gratter un billet
Malgré les preuves ont à tout nié
J'm'endors sur le chant des canons sciés
Je repense à tout ce qu'ils nous ont pillé
Rien à faire sauf gratter un billet
Malgré les preuves ont à tout nié
J'm'endors sur le chant des canons sciés

J'suis un peu solo dans ma trixe-ma
Ça tire partout des morts ça m'attriste pas
J'suis dans la rue j'vends l'canabis
Et vendredi j'ai studio à ris-pa
J'ai gardé mes peines dans le cœur
Mes poumons encaissent tant de beuh
J'avais tout baiser dans ce jeu
Après j'irais brûler dans le feu parce que j'ai vissé tant de geuches
J'ai pas grandi Rue de la Loire moi c'était la loi de la rue
Et j'ai du user de la ruse
J'ai pris les épines et la rose avant la fin de la hess
Nous c'était la loi de la rue
Et j'ai du user de la ruse
J'ai pris les épines et la rose avant la fin de la hess

Ils m'oublieront jamais
J'ai traîné tous les soirs dans ma ville en recherche de khaliss
Ils m'oublieront jamais
J'ai traîné tous les soirs dans ma ville en recherche de khaliss, hey
Je repense à tout ce qu'ils nous ont pillé
Rien à faire sauf gratter un billet
Malgré les preuves ont à tout nié
J'm'endors sur le chant des canons sciés
Je repense à tout ce qu'ils nous ont pillé
Rien à faire sauf gratter un billet
Malgré les preuves ont à tout nié
J'm'endors sur le chant des canons sciés

2- Sommet

J'suis dans la street, j'fais les cent-pas, j'suis la déception d'mes rents-pas
Nanananananana, hey

J'suis dans la street j'fais les cent-pas, j'suis la déception d'mes rents-pas
J'suis pas tout bleu, donc je n'entre pas, j'fais de la peine, j'vois geush ramper
Tu m'dois du biff, j'suis sur ton cas, on viendra t'lever dans ton code
J'avais les fumer jusqu'au ton-car, t'as pas braquer, c'était ton pote
On t'a pas cru, t'es qu'une actrice, on t'a pas vu, rappes plus notre vie
Je parle fort, j'assume aussi, j'donne peu d'amour, j'ai l'seum aussi

Très souvent, j'me sens seul ici, je veux la gloire, les sommes aussi
Y'aura pas d'prises de soumissions, nous c'est quatre milles ou homicide

Le sourire quand j'pense à la mort, j'vois ça comme vacances à la mer
On va pas rentrer dans la norme, tu passeras l'pardon à ma mère
J'préfèrais braquer, dealer, faire du sale, que d'dire "Merci patron"
J'suis arrivé sans invitation, repars sans explication
Tard le soir je rêve du sommet, j'n'ai pas le choix j'en perds le sommeil
Tard le soir je rêve du sommet, j'n'ai pas le choix j'en perds le sommeil

Des trous dans mes ??? et dans mes poches, braquer ma ???, garder la pêche
Elle me dit qu'j'ai rater le coche, j'ferai mieux de tourner la page
Mais qui m'empêche ? Maintenant, j'suis dehors, j'fais l'papier, j'fais le cash
Maintenant elle veut bien que j'la touche, mais moi je n'veux plus de sa teuch
Et j'me rappelle, quand on s'faisait cueillir, ramasser à la pelle
Et j'suis le même, bien des années plus tard, beaucoup manque à l'appel

Très souvent, j'me sens seul ici, je veux la gloire, les sommes aussi
Y'aura pas d'prises de soumissions, nous c'est quatre milles ou homicide

Le sourire quand j'pense à la mort, j'vois ça comme vacances à la mer
On va pas rentrer dans la norme, tu passeras l'pardon à ma mère
J'préfèrais braquer, dealer, faire du sale, que d'dire "Merci patron"
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Le sourire quand j'pense à la mort, j'vois ça comme vacances à la mer
On va pas rentrer dans la norme, tu passeras l'pardon à ma mère
J'préfèrais braquer, dealer, faire du sale, que d'dire "Merci patron"
J'suis arrivé sans invitation, repars sans explication
Tard le soir je rêve du sommet, j'n'ai pas le choix j'en perds le sommeil
Tard le soir je rêve du sommet

3- A6 (feat Rojens RPT)

Y'a personne qui t'assume débrouillard c'est faire son biff
Dans la rue j'ai appris ce qu'on te dit pas dans les livres
J'ai pété un gros joint d'frappa avant qu'tu meurs il faut qu'tu vives
C'est mieux d'finir au top y'a tellement d'clients à servir

Cash, bitch, bénéfice monnaie j'encaisse
J'suis sur la A6 direction Paname en grosse location
J'suis dans le trafic rien que la tchop empeste
La beuh le haschich sur on t'as déjà vis-sert à l'occasion

J'tire une barre sur un gros joint d'beuh
J'suis dans mon délire, j'ai rangé mon belila
T'aura pas life des Champs Élysés
J'suis grave dans l'délit j'ai
D'la cocaina dans le Levis, j'te vis-sers sur Beriz
Trois heurs du mat' bombarde sur l'périf
Le train d'vie est très risqué

On arrive en Gucci
Bitch elle a kiffé le look
À 200 et sous tease
Bitch on a crashé la loc'

J'suis né sans les sous bitch
Donc on a des goûts de luxe
Gucci et Prada des barrettes des locks
Il m'faut un kilo un plug vers le luxe

Yeah, j'suis toujours impliqué sa mère
Y'a plan B si ça merde
Cette année dans la cocaïne
T'as l'né dans mes affaires
Nos douleurs sont nos forces
Tout l'monde se met dans une massas
Renvois la teille de Jack j'm'en lave les mains

Y'a personne qui t'assume débrouillard c'est faire son biff
Dans la rue j'ai appris ce qu'on te dit pas dans les livres
J'ai pété un gros joint d'frappa avant qu'tu meurs il faut qu'tu vives
C'est mieux d'finir au top y'a tellement d'clients à servir

Cash, bitch, bénéfice monnaie j'encaisse
J'suis sur la A6 direction Paname en grosse location
J'suis dans le trafic rien que la tchop empeste
La beuh le haschich sur on t'as déjà vis-ser à l'occasion

Les 100 pas j'connais, j'ai charbonné
Plus le biff est sale plus les cœurs sont noirs
Nous on parle de rue j'aime peu les voir
Tu tire tu tousses ou t'sort le mouss
On sort une tête elle fait peur la couz'
Et c'est méchant puissance 4
J'suis dans l'embrouille j'fais du catch
Phénoménal, hendek ça finit mal
J'prépare un plan près du parking
J'avoue j'l'ai bien vis-ser mais j'sais même pas où elle habite
Que des blagues à cause des locks des survêts nike et du Gucci
Bienvenu chez nous le piège la transaction est aboutie

J'ai couru après l'espoir il a mis tempête
J'ves-ki couteau dans l'dos pourquoi il m'guette
Nos douleurs sont nos forces
Tout l'monde se met dans une massas
Renvois la teille de Jack j'm'en lave les mains

Y'a personne qui t'assume débrouillard c'est faire son biff
Dans la rue j'ai appris ce qu'on te dit pas dans les livres
J'ai pété un gros joint d'frappa avant qu'tu meurs il faut qu'tu vives
C'est mieux d'finir au top y'a tellement d'clients à servir

Cash, bitch, bénéfice monnaie j'encaisse
J'suis sur la A6 direction Paname en grosse location
J'suis dans le trafic rien que la tchop empeste
La beuh le haschich sur on t'as déjà vis-sert à l'occasion

4- Dans ma rue

J'ai passé ma vie dans le piège
Mon papa s'endort quand je pèse
Et dans ma tête y'a plein de questions
J'fais rien sauf traîner dans le tieks

Tout les jours c'est la guerre, pas de trêve
J'vois des familles unies quand je rêve
Pourquoi maman a quitté la maison ?

Dans ma rue
Lucifer t'invite à danser dans ma rue
J'bois ma liqueur j'suis défoncé dans ma rue
C'est comme ça qu'nos plaies sont pansées dans ma rue
Seul et perdu dans mes pensés dans ma rue

Lalila lala lalala
Lalila lala la

Moi j'aime rien sauf faire rentrer du pala?
Crois pas m'faire avaler tes salades
Tu dis chercher mon cœur il est pas là
Pas de smile et encore pas de câlin
Cherche un plan pour faire rentrer deux kilos
D'la blanche dans un cello mon plug c'est un killer
Dans ma peine j'bois 6 shot tequilas
D'la beuh pour décoller ma life c'est un thriller
Elle veux savoir ce que je fais dans la vie
J'fais des études et je vends d'la drogue
J'compte plus les heures perdus dans ma ville
J'vendais déjà quand c'était pas la mode
Et c'est nous les méchants dans le film
Pas de fils de che-la dans le mob?
J'ai trouvé mon bonheur dans le crime
Et un sas Vide dans le code
J'suis dans la street j'fais l'oseille depuis douze ans d'âge
Choisis la bouteille en fonction d'son pourcentage

J'suis dans la ue-r j'ai grandi j'vends la pure
J'suis dans la ue-r et aucun grand n'm'assure
J'suis dans la ue-r j'ai grandi j'vends la pure
J'suis dans la ue-r ouais

Dans ma rue
Lucifer t'invite à danser dans ma rue
J'bois ma liqueur j'suis défoncé dans ma rue
C'est comme ça qu'nos plaies sont pansées dans ma rue
Seul et perdu dans mes pensées dans ma rue

5- Un peu plus

Lalalala, yeah
La rue comme ta bitch on la connaît bien
Lalalala, hey

La rue comme ta bitch on la connaît bien
Visser es surveillants les collégiens
Beaucoup moins d'amis que d'abonnés, hein
On fait pas la mafia tu connais rien
Serein car j'prends la vie comme elle vient
Ils en ont pris deux mais il en reste pleins
Si t'allumes nous on éteint
Barillo la calle ou ?
Racailler en hiver et en été

Enculé j'avais chasser la monnaie, temps
Ceux qui m'ont mis au monde sont endettées
J'les baise toujours d'un coup jamais en deux temps
J'ai fait pour les Gucci les Versace
J'm'en bat les couilles j'suis né j'avais pas un
La coca' se vend et le verre s'achète
Activité depuis l'??

Negro j'ai poussé dans la merde (negro j'ai poussé dans la merde)
Il m'fallait toujours un peu plus tu connais (il m'fallait toujours un peu plus tu connais)
Negro j'ai poussé dans la merde (negro j'ai poussé dans la merde)
Il m'fallait toujours un peu plus de monnaie (Il m'fallait toujours un peu plus de monnaie)

Yo
J'dois combler le retard
Aller-retour elle dit Rotter'
Sous doré j'me demande c'est quand qu'l'a roue tourne
J'fais ronronner l'moteur
À deux-quarante 'm'éloigne des vautours
Trafic de beuhère ou trafic de CC on était impliqués
J'sais pas si t'as saisi
Opinel caché dans la chaussure
C'est de leurs sang qu'on a repeins la chaussée
J'étais dans la rue puis j'étais à la rue
Ils se demandent pourquoi j'suis malheureux
J'ai des souvenirs ils sont grave douloureux
Incompris comme Despo l'coeur endolori
J'suis lié aux miens à la vie à la mort
Jette mes sentiments comme une 'teille à la mer
J'pars à la guerre mais j'reviens mi amor
Ma tête dans les nuages ... ??

Negro j'ai poussé dans la merde (negro j'ai poussé dans la merde)
Il m'fallait toujours un peu plus tu connais (il m'fallait toujours un peu plus tu connais)
Negro j'ai poussé dans la merde (negro j'ai poussé dans la merde)
Il m'fallait toujours un peu plus de monnaie (Il m'fallait toujours un peu plus de monnaie)

Negro j'ai poussé dans la merde
Il m'fallait toujours un peu plus tu connais
Negro j'ai poussé dans la merde
Il m'fallait toujours un peu plus de monnaie

6- Comme les autres

Drogue douce et un peu de cash
C'est tout ce qu'on avait nous à ce que je sache
J'avais le corps mais pas le cœur de lâche
Toi t'es la tu m'prends pour un thug de base
Un 45 et quelques munitions
Opinel aiguisé pour la finition
Des noirs des arabes qui chantent à l'unisson
Violence policières et divine punition
J'oublie qu'j'aurais pu y passer pour de bon
Souviens toi les profs nous prenaient pour des cons
La vie pas un sprint mais une course de fond
J'ai sauté sans cordon et mousqueton
Défoncé comme si c'tais le jour de l'an
Mes amis sons tous armés lourdement

Tombé pour stupéfiants au détournement
Dans le bus comme en classe jamais tout devant mais

Et rarement je pleure comme toi
Et franchement j'essaye comme toi
Et parfois je ris, et parfois je heurte
Et puis j'me rappelle que j'suis comme les autres
J'suis comme les autres, j'suis comme les autres
Lalalalalalalala

Yeah
À la base on avait R pas un euro pas un pote
J'crois qu'ce truc est dans mon ADN
Ce serait différent si j'étais pas ébène
J'connais pas notre père, j'connais plus ?
Mon âme va errer loin du jardin d'Eden
Splif au bec tema ma dégaine
Un mélange d'alcool danse dans ma ?
Ça a jamais été grave une baston
Vu les vies qu'on mène c'est plus un passe temps
L'argent disparaît avec le pasteur
Quel enfoiré priera pour mon pardon
Il y a peu j'ai accepté mon destin
Donc si t'a un plan sur moi j'suis partant
Donné perdant dès l'premier quart-temps
J'ai porté ma croix défait mes carcans mais

Et rarement je pleure comme toi
Et franchement j'essaye comme toi
Et parfois je ris, et parfois je heurte
Et puis j'me rappelle que j'suis comme les autres
J'suis comme les autres, j'suis comme les autres
Lalalalalalalala

J'ai cherché la vérité loin des hommes
Dans ma tête cette petite voix qui résonne
Et si cette vie n'en vaut pas la peine
Moi j'préfère mourir si je n'suis pas libre
J'suis pas comme les autres (j'suis pas comme les autres)
J'suis pas comme les autres (j'suis pas comme les autres)
J'suis pas comme les autres (j'suis pas comme les autres)
Lalalalalalalala (j'suis pas comme, j'suis pas comme les autres)

Bakari

Sur écoute : saison 2
EP 2021

1- Capo Plaza

Ghost Killer Track, bébé

J'suis dans le bolide, ah ouais, j'réveille pas ma folie, ah ouais
Motherfuck police, ah ouais, j'dois livrer le colis à l'heure
J'suis dans le trafic, ah ouais, eh, chasseur de khaliss, ah ouais, eh
Moi, j'ai mon calibre et j'ai la pratique, ça sonne la panique, ah ouais, eh
Tu connais le gang et tu connais le plan, j'roule en direction de la planque
Ils vont tout vider tant qu'j'ai pas tapé la banque, eh

Enfoiré, j'ai mis le plein, le poto à droite fini d'rouler le pli
Même pas majeur, on a braqué le plug, les tits-pe ont grandi, ils en voulaient plus, hey
Moi, j'suis dans la ville, pépère, j'faisais sans toi, eux, c'est des faux, je les sens pas
On débarque en î, pépère, j'mets les gants noirs, j'dois pas laisser d'preuves
J'ai la ppe-f' et ta meuf, mets des sous, mets des joints sur sa sse-f'
Dans sa tte-ch', j'passe les rapports, là j'roule un dej' puis ça repart

J'suis dans la plaza (j'suis dans la plaza), capo comme plaza (capo comme plaza)
J'suis conscient qu'on est que d'passage et le fer sous le siège passager (passager)
J'suis dans la plaza (j'suis dans la plaza), capo comme plaza (capo comme plaza)
J'ai prié pour qu'on puisse s'assagir mais dés-con ont foutu l'bazar

J'suis dans le bolide (ah ouais) et j'ai le brolique (ah ouais)
Motherfuck police (ah ouais), j'réveille pas ma folie (ah ouais)
J'suis dans le bolide (ah ouais) et j'ai le brolique (ah ouais)
Motherfuck police (ah ouais), j'réveille pas ma folie (ah ouais)

Dans le-refou, j'étais posté, j'voulais laisser les roses à la costa
Plus tard, j'voulais braquer la poste, fuck, madame a jugé ses questions, eh
Mais bon, c'est nous à la gestion, j'ai fait mon tour, Opinel dans la veste, eh
Là, c'est plus comme avant, on encule tes gravons, la ville nous dit "bravo"
Négro, c'est aud-ch, tu connais, j'te prie de citer mon nom, p'tit connard
J'vais les fumer comme un cke-sti, coño, cramé dans la ville, j'ai l'style de zonard
J'ai vendu la drogue, j'étais pas autorisé, connu dehors et connu des autorités
J'suis dans le bolide, le moteur est arrêté, j'vends sur leur terrain car je sais qu'ils vont pas rer-ti

J'suis dans la plaza (j'suis dans la plaza), capo comme plaza (capo comme plaza)
J'suis conscient qu'on est que d'passage et le fer sous le siège passager (passager)
J'suis dans la plaza (j'suis dans la plaza), capo comme plaza (capo comme plaza)
J'ai prié pour qu'on puisse s'assagir mais dés-con ont foutu l'bazar

J'suis dans le bolide (ah ouais) et j'ai le brolique (ah ouais)
Motherfuck police (ah ouais), j'réveille pas ma folie (ah ouais)
J'suis dans le bolide (ah ouais) et j'ai le brolique (ah ouais)
Motherfuck police (ah ouais), j'réveille pas ma folie (ah ouais)

2- Nuages

J'voulais cette vie-là mais la té-c' a dit : "Non"
Si j'vends pas l'produit, là j'vais même pas dîner
J'suis dans cette merde depuis longtemps
Dès le départ, grave limité, on a vendu coke, crack en imitant les plus grands qui étaient là depuis
longtemps

Solo dans mes galères, coke dans l'jean pour le salaire
Si ils l'ont fait, c'est qu'il le fait, après le plavon d'be-her, ils vont mêler (nuage, nuage, nuage)

Nuage, nuage, nuage, sur mon nuage, nuage, nuage
Nuage, nuage, nuage, mmh, mmh
Des années de galère, j'ai ramé, j'ai semé, j'ai jeuné, récolté rien
J'ai erré, j'ai zoné, j'sais plus où je dormais, d'mon passé, tu connais rien

Tu connais, tu connais
Tu connais, tu connais

Air Max neuves, m'demande plus comment j'l'ai acheté
Moi, j'traîne dehors, j'connais modèle et les plaques des analysés qui tournent dans la ville (qui
tournent dans la ville)

Y a que des plavons dans le tieks, j'ai pas tout dit dans mes textes
Signé en maison, j'avais pas d'paperasse sur la tête
Donc qu'est-ce qu'tu m'parles de hess, toi ? Ton père le mettait en RS3
J'parle à Dieu la nuit, pour garder espoir

Solo dans mes galères, coke dans l'jean pour le salaire
Si ils l'ont fait, c'est qu'il le fait, après le plavon d'be-her, ils vont mêler (nuage, nuage, nuage)

Nuage, nuage, nuage, sur mon nuage, nuage, nuage
Nuage, nuage, nuage, mmh, mmh
Des années de galère, j'ai ramé, j'ai semé, j'ai jeuné, récolté rien
J'ai erré, j'ai zoné, j'sais plus où je dormais, d'mon passé, tu connais rien

Des années de galère, j'ai ramé, j'ai semé, j'ai jeuné, récolté rien
J'ai erré, j'ai zoné, j'sais plus où je dormais, d'mon passé, tu connais rien

3- Tout laisser

Mmh, yeah

Le daron se pose tant de questions, j'fais que traîner dans le tiekson
J'côteie des camés et des mecs sombres, oh, eh, j'ai pas des diplômes, ni la gestion
Je cache un que-tru dans la veste, kilos de be-her, j'ai investi
Elle veut que j'l'emmène pour un resto, non, t'auras un grec, joue pas les res-sta
Là où je suis, y a plus de réseau, j'ai conditionné toute la résine
J'ai fait du sale et j'ai mes raisons, j'vais tout raconter dans mes récits

J'sais qu'j'ai déconné, tout pour la monnaie, pourquoi j'ai volé ? J'sais pas moi
J'recompte ma somme et tout pour la zone, la police a sonné, j'étais pas là
Et j'ai tout laissé, pour elle, j'ai tout laissé
Et j'ai tout laissé, pour elle, j'ai tout laissé
J'sais qu'j'ai déconné, tout pour la monnaie, pourquoi j'ai volé ? J'sais pas moi
J'recompte ma somme et tout pour la zone, la police a sonné, j'étais pas là
Et j'ai tout laissé, pour elle, j'ai tout laissé
Et j'ai tout laissé, pour elle, j'ai tout laissé

Tout laisser, pour elle, j'ai tout laissé
Tout laisser, pour elle, j'ai tout laissé

Tu veux la vie mais t'as pas idée, oh, j'ai fait mes bagages, j'ai tout quitté, oh
Fume sur ma beuh, c'est d'la qualité, oh, reconnu coupable mais j'suis acquitté, oh
À la rue, j'suis abonné, j'ai que la dope à donner, les taros tu les connais
Négro, j'suis dans le commerce, appelle et prends ta commande
Demande pas "elle est comment ?", au re-fou, y a du de-mon donc tu reviendras

J'sais qu'j'ai déconné, tout pour la monnaie, pourquoi j'ai volé ? J'sais pas moi
J'recompte ma somme et tout pour la zone, la police a sonné, j'étais pas là
Et j'ai tout laissé, pour elle, j'ai tout laissé
Et j'ai tout laissé, pour elle, j'ai tout laissé
J'sais qu'j'ai déconné, tout pour la monnaie, pourquoi j'ai volé ? J'sais pas moi
J'recompte ma somme et tout pour la zone, la police a sonné, j'étais pas là
Et j'ai tout laissé, pour elle, j'ai tout laissé
Et j'ai tout laissé, pour elle, j'ai tout laissé
J'sais qu'j'ai déconné, tout pour la monnaie, pourquoi j'ai volé ? J'sais pas moi
J'recompte ma somme et tout pour la zone, la police a sonné, j'étais pas là (j'étais pas là)

4- Le monde (feat Mona)

Au départ, on avait nada, le produit que je vends vient de Nador

La rue en est inondée, tu sais qu'on fait toujours ce que l'on dit (ce que l'on dit)
Du lundi au lundi, j'ai visser du carré jusqu'au landau
Mais le commissaire n'a aucun indice donc il va me garder jusqu'à l'aube (jusqu'à l'aube)
J'ai les meilleurs taros (taros), la meilleure be-her, joue pas les paros (paros, paros)
Impacts de balles dans tes carreaux, retourne frimer dans le carré (carré, carré)
J'ai volé de l'or, beaucoup d'carats, devant la juge, porte tes cojo' (cojo', cojo')
On sait qu't'as chanté comme une chorale, la faucheuse arrivera à l'heure

Ils m'aiment plus tous les jours, pas comme avant quand j'n'avais rien (quand j'n'avais rien)
J'ai traîné sous les tours avec ma gueule de galérien
Du sang et du sable sur mes vêtements, j'ai affronté le monde en chantant : "Na, na-na, na-na"
Ils m'aiment plus tous les jours, pas comme avant quand j'n'avais rien
J'ai traîné sous les tours avec ma gueule de galérien (de galérien)
Du sang et du sable sur mes vêtements, j'ai affronté le monde en chantant : "Na, na-na, na-na"

[Mona & Bakari]

Ils m'aiment plus tous les jours, pas comme avant quand j'n'avais tchi
Il croit qu'j'veux finir avec lui, que j'pense [comme lui, ma famille, biff ?]
Dans mon gang, j't'ai oublié depuis longtemps, j'dois faire rentrer des gros montants, j'pensais pas faire passer autant
J'suis prêt, je sais qu'ils veulent me faire, j'dois les allumer pour mettre des clairs
Elle a mis ses plus beaux habits pour me plaire, mais j'serais pas là, j'dois v'-esqui les porcs, hey
D'puis tit-pe, j'suis dedans, maintenant y a M.O.U.2S et cke-Fran, eh
J'sais qu'ces pédés vont ler-par mais aucun d'eux m'a poussé au départ
Ici, y a ni Père-Noël, ni Cendrillon, j'vide la canette et j'm'en sers comme cendrier
Bébé, dans mon ventre, y a plus de papillon, j'suis dehors, j'pense qu'à ramener les papiers
Mais aussi plein la tête si vous saviez, c'est une peine à deux chiffres la civière
J'ai mes notes de musique dans le sablier et insha'Allah, un jour, tout ça va payer

Ils m'aiment plus tous les jours, pas comme avant quand j'n'avais rien (quand j'n'avais rien)
J'ai traîné sous les tours avec ma gueule de galérien
Du sang et du sable sur mes vêtements, j'ai affronté le monde en chantant : "Na, na-na, na-na"
Ils m'aiment plus tous les jours, pas comme avant quand j'n'avais rien
J'ai traîné sous les tours avec ma gueule de galérien (de galérien)
Du sang et du sable sur mes vêtements, j'ai affronté le monde en chantant : "Na, na-na, na-na"

[Bakari]

Na, na-na, na-na, j'ai affronté le monde en chantant : "Na, na-na, na-na"
Eh, eh, hey, hey, j'ai affronté le monde

Ils m'aiment plus tous les jours, pas comme avant quand j'n'avais rien (quand j'n'avais rien)
J'ai traîné sous les tours avec ma gueule de galérien
Du sang et du sable sur mes vêtements, j'ai affronté le monde en chantant : "Na, na-na, na-na"

[Mona, Bakari]

Ils m'aiment plus tous les jours, na, na-na, na-na
J'ai affronté le monde en chantant : "Na, na-na, na-na"
Du sang et du sable sur mes vêtements, j'ai affronté le monde
J'ai affronté le monde

5- Ibiza

Et la nuit tombe quand je fais mes rondes, je refais les comptes
Et j'suis dans le blizzard, ouais, j'suis dans le blizzard
J'ai dû vous quitter pour mieux voir le monde, le mauvais, le bon
Dans les ambiances bizarres, plus proche de l'enfer que d'Ibiza

Tu-lu-tu-tu-lu-lu-lu-lu (lu-lu-lu-lu)

Tu-lu-tu-tu-lu-lu-lu-lu
Tu-lu-tu-tu-lu-lu-lu-lu (lu-lu-lu-lu)
Tu-lu-tu-tu-lu-lu-lu-lu

Yeah, j'suis le fils de Ismaël et Marie-Claire, aide ménagère, employé sanitaire
Ce soir, ça va pas trop, d'humeur solitaire, défoncé au volant et j'roule sans mis-per
Le cœur serré pendant qu'il remplit les pochons, j'la vends en ville et personne va m'empêcher
Bolosse vient pper-cho et remplit mes poches, la rue est fière mais j'ai déçu mes proches
Jeté mon cœur pour mieux blesser mes prochains, tout pour le cash, j'suis dans la cachette
J'empile les kichtas, mets tout dans les sachets, viens voir chez nous, on a l'meilleur prix d'achat
Viens voir chez nous, on a l'meilleur prix d'achat, avant c'était chaud, ça s'réglait à la machette
Maintenant, ça tire, les tits-pe ont des machines, est-ce que t'imagines, gros ? Est-ce que t'imagines ?

Et la nuit tombe quand je fais mes rondes, je refais les comptes
Et j'suis dans le blizzard, ouais, j'suis dans le blizzard
J'ai dû vous quitter pour mieux voir le monde, le mauvais, le bon
Dans les ambiances bizarres, plus proche de l'enfer que d'Ibiza

Tu-lu-tu-tu-lu-lu-lu-lu (lu-lu-lu-lu)
Tu-lu-tu-lu-tu-tu-lu-lu-lu-lu
Tu-lu-tu-tu-lu-lu-lu-lu (lu-lu-lu-lu)
Tu-lu-tu-lu-tu-tu-lu-lu-lu-lu

Monter sur le terrain pour chasser les ronds, esquiver la PAB, les fédéraux
Bonjour monsieur l'agent, moi j'fais des euros, toi vas niquer ta mère, tu feras des heureux
Cherche pas à savoir c'qu'on a fait pour les papiers, les morceaux de mon cœur sont éparpillés
Depuis combien d'années je n'ai pas prié ? Déter', convaincu, j'finirais par briller
Et tous les jours que Dieu fit, j'les ai donné à la zone, conscient que cette vie n'est pas la bonne
J'suis un peu fou mais je n'suis que ce qu'a fait de moi, la zone, conscient que cette vie n'est pas la bonne

Et la nuit tombe quand je fais mes rondes, je refais les comptes
Et j'suis dans le blizzard, ouais, j'suis dans le blizzard
J'ai dû vous quitter pour mieux voir le monde (mieux voir le monde), le mauvais, le bon
Dans les ambiances bizarres, plus proche de l'enfer que d'Ibiza

6- Sans EU

Na-na-na, na-na-na, na-na-na-na-na
Na-na-na-na, na-na-na
Na-na-na, na-na-na, na-na-na-na-na
Eh

Trois heures du mat', j'suis pas rentré, sur le terrain, sur le chantier
J'ai détaillé avant de chanter, tout s'achète sauf bonheur et santé
"Interdiction de nous fréquenter", t'as dit ta maman à la rentrée
On rentrait dans vos maisons, gantés, petit, j'en voulais au monde entier
J'ai écrit "barrio" dans l'trou noir et je vous ai raconté ma jeunesse
J'sais plus quoi répondre quand il m'demande : "Dis-moi pourquoi t'as gâché ta jeunesse ?"
Burbe, Christian Dior, j'ai d'jà tout dit dans "Impliqué", ouais
Pardon au bon Dieu, j'crois qu'c'est moula qui m'a piqué, ouais

On voit le sang sur mon visage mais toujours pas love (toujours pas de love)
J'suis dans des ambiances bizarres tandis que j'prends de l'âge (tandis que j'prends de l'âge)
Échoué sur le rivage, demain, j'reprends le Nord (demain, j'reprends le Nord)
Le bonheur n'est qu'un mirage, je l'apprends dans le drame (je l'apprends dans le drame)

J'suis que de passage pour le plata, brûle le monde

J'suis dans le sale encore, j'vais jamais y arriver sans eux (y arriver sans eux)
J'foutrais le bazar pour le drakkar, brûle le monde
J'ferais du sale encore, j'vais jamais y arriver sans eux (y arriver sans eux)

J'ai écrit "barrio" dans l'trou noir et je vous ai raconté ma genèse
J'sais plus quoi répondre quand il m'demande : "Dis-moi pourquoi t'as gâché ta jeunesse ?"
Burbe, Christian Dior, j'ai d'jà tout dit dans "Impliqué", ouais
Pardon au bon Dieu, j'crois qu'c'est moula qui m'a piqué, ouais

J'suis dans l'store, j'suis dans les parages, par tous les moyens, les p'tits s'en sortent
J'suis plus dans l'sport, c'que j'fais, n'est pas halal, Baka' n'est pas là, il deale encore
Dans l'autoradio, j'ai mis Temps mort, y a pas d'voyous, que des gars qui s'en sortent
J'suis devant quand on arrive encore, le seul négro de l'équipe sans locks
J'suis l'négro d'de-ble, j'ai la puissance, eh, sur le terrain, j'ai mis des p'tits ponts
J'menais trois-zéro à la mi-temps, eh, quand tu nous prenais pour des tits-pe, eh
J'ai fermé les cahiers (cahiers), parti à la guerre, j'ai taillé (j'ai taillé)
Revenu médaillé (médaillé), tu veux savoir pourquoi j'ai racaillé

On voit le sang sur mon visage mais toujours pas love (toujours pas de love)
J'suis dans des ambiances bizarres tandis que j'prends de l'âge (tandis que j'prends de l'âge)
Échoué sur le rivage, demain, j'reprends le Nord (demain, j'reprends le Nord)
Le bonheur n'est qu'un mirage, je l'apprends dans le drame (je l'apprends dans le drame)

J'suis que de passage pour le plata, brûle le monde
J'suis dans le sale encore, j'vais jamais y arriver sans eux (y arriver sans eux)
J'foutrais le bazar pour le drakkar, brûle le monde
J'ferais du sale encore, j'vais jamais y arriver sans eux (y arriver sans eux)

J'ai écrit "barrio" dans l'trou noir et je vous ai raconté ma genèse
J'sais plus quoi répondre quand il m'demande : "Dis-moi pourquoi t'as gâché ta jeunesse ?"
Burbe, Christian Dior, j'ai d'jà tout dit dans "Impliqué", ouais
Pardon au bon Dieu, j'crois qu'c'est moula qui m'a piqué, ouais

On voit le sang sur mon visage mais toujours pas love (toujours pas de love)
J'suis dans des ambiances bizarres tandis que j'prends de l'âge (tandis que j'prends de l'âge)
Échoué sur le rivage, demain, j'reprends le Nord (demain, j'reprends le Nord)
Le bonheur n'est qu'un mirage, je l'apprends dans le drame (je l'apprends dans le drame)
Na-na-na, na-na-na, na-na-na-na-na
Na-na-na-na, na-na-na
Na-na-na, na-na-na, na-na-na-na-na (j'suis dans des ambiances bizarres)
Na-na-na-na, na-na-na (toujours pas de love)

<p>Bakari Bourbier Single 2021</p>

Un nouveau jour égal un nouveau bourbier
J'dois faire des papel j'ai plus le temps de roupiller
Eux c'est des zemel donc je marche même plus outillé
Je la ken début de semaine, week end je l'ai déjà oublié

Han han han
J'suis dans un nouveau bourbier
Je recompte ma somme pour oublier
Han han han

J'suis dans un nouveau borbier
 [Dans un nouveau borbier]
 Et dans tout les borbiers
 Ils voulaient pas me voir briller
 J'ai vu leurs vrai visage
 Sous mes lunettes Cartier
 Mais c'est quoi ces manières
 De janvier à janvier
 Elle mets du Gucci Fendi pour finir déshabillé
 Han han
 T'es pas des miens, fais pas genre on se connait bien
 On est masqué, c'est pas Corona, c'est haut les mains
 Quatro bak igo tu sais qu'on viens de loin
 [4000 zoo tu connais
 Tellement loin
 280 dans le bolide
 La vie de manny et Tony
 Le mercé, le audi
 Tout baiser c'est ce qu'on c'était promis
 Ils diront qu'on était solide
 Nous on dira qu'on est maudit
 Cacher la dope dans les taudis
 On a tout fait mais pas tout dit
 Un nouveau jour égal un nouveau borbier
 J'dois faire des papel j'ai plus le temps de roupiller
 Eux c'est des zemel donc je marche même plus outillé
 Je la ken début de semaine, week end je l'ai déjà oublié
 Han han han
 J'suis dans un nouveau borbier
 Je recompte ma somme pour oublier
 Han han han
 J'suis dans un nouveau borbier
 [J'suis dans un nouveau borbier]
 J'ai fais la paix, j'ai fais la guerre
 Solo comme dans mes affaires
 J'ai gratté mes peines sur Azerty
 Balle dans la jambe pour avertir
 C'est la goute avant l'averse
 J'lui ai laisser des coups sur le coeur
 Des coups sur la ..
 Des coups sur les fesses bitch
 J'ai quitté la tess pour quitter la hess et vider la caisse bitch
 Moi j'avais pas un mais ils me jetaient l'oeil comme si j'ai cé-per
 J'ai fumé la Og Kush la j'suis complètement cher-per
 J'suis dans le bolide direction à là moi j'sais pas
 Tema les che-po
 280 dans le bolide
 La vie de manny et Tony
 Le mercé, le audi
 Tout baiser c'est ce qu'on c'était promis
 Ils diront qu'on était solide
 Nous on dira qu'on est maudit
 Cacher la dope dans les taudis
 On a tout fait mais pas tout dit
 Un nouveau jour égal un nouveau borbier
 J'dois faire des papel j'ai plus le temps de roupiller
 Eux c'est des zemel donc je marche même plus outillé
 Je la ken début de semaine, week end je l'ai déjà oublié

Han han han
J'suis dans un nouveau bourbier
Je recompte ma somme pour oublier
Han han han
J'suis dans un nouveau bourbier
Je recompte ma somme pour oublier

C.....
Percy

1. Clip

Gérer :

[Percy - Gérer - YouTube](#)

Tendresse :

[Percy-Tendresse - YouTube](#)

Fériedé :

[Percy - Fériedé \(ft. Werrason\) - YouTube](#)

Méchant méchant :

[Percy - Méchant 2 \(ft. Badi\) - YouTube](#)

Roulette russe :

[Percy - Roulette Russe - YouTube](#)

Temet nosce :

[Percy- Temet Nosce \(Official Music Video\) - YouTube](#)

Roulette russe :

[Percy - Roulette Russe - YouTube](#)

Temet nosce :

[Percy- Temet Nosce \(Official Music Video\) - YouTube](#)

2. Lyrics

Percy Album Convalescence 2019

1- Nzambe

Vivre pour les gens c'est mourir à petit feu

Ils préfèrent que j'sois méchant
Les sentiments jouent à saut qui peut
Noir dans un pays de blanc, donc forcément j'vois gris

La confiance ça coûte cher,
C'est pour ça que ça n'a pas de prix
Quand je crois tout est fini
Mes anges viennent me sauver
Quand je suis sur le point de tout finir
Mes démons viennent me retrouver

Une année de plus passée à se débrouiller
Une année de plus, à perdre des amitiés
Une année de plus ou je suis pas diplômé
J'ai besoin de m'isoler

Hum Nzambe
Ouuuh
Nzambe
Pona nini boye

La chance joue à cache à cache
La poisse est dans les alentours
La peur c'est un cercle vicieux
De plusieurs de tes erreurs qui t'entourent

J'ai fait du mal c'est vrai
Je l'ai toujours payé
Parfois même avec les intérêts
Le karma connaît bien mon CV

Quand la vie me fout une claque
Je me mets à rigoler
Je profite de mon existence
Avant que la faucheuse
Vienne me violer
Vienne me violer
Vienne me violer

Hum Nzambe
Ouuuh
Nzambe
Pona nini boye

NZAMBE !! (3x)

J'ai besoin de m'isoler
J'ai besoin de m'isoler
J'ai besoin de m'isoler

Ouuuh NZAMBE.
2- Les yeux

*Regarde-moi dans les yeux
Regarde-moi dans les yeux
Je veux voir dans ton regard
Si c'est mort pour nous deux
Regarde-moi dans les yeux*

*Regarde-moi dans les yeux
Je veux voir dans ton regard
Si c'est mort pour nous deux*

Les yeux c'est le reflet de l'âme
Si tu brûles d'amour pour moi
Pourquoi dans tes pupilles je ne vois plus les flammes
Pourquoi ton sourire a perdu son charme
Pourquoi lorsqu'on se parle
Ça finit toujours en larmes
À croire que notre histoire tombe à l'eau
Et que tes yeux tirent l'alarme
Tu me dis que je suis plus le même
On passe de l'amour à la haine
Mais la haine de l'amour arrive
Même la plus belle des roses a des épines
Même la plus belle des roses fane
Je pensais que tu serais ma femme
Je croyais que t'avais réparé mon cœur
Mais il est retombé en panne

*Regarde-moi dans les yeux
Regarde-moi dans les yeux
Je veux voir dans ton regard
Si c'est mort pour nous deux
Regarde-moi dans les yeux
Regarde-moi dans les yeux
Je veux voir dans ton regard
Si c'est mort pour nous deux*

La trahison ça fait mal
Mais le doute ça tue
Ça a tué tout ce qu'il y a entre nous
Mais je ne regrette rien du tout
Je savais que ça serait compliquer
Mais j'ai essayé quand même
Après toutes joies qu'on vivait
Ta rétine ne me montre que de la peine
L'amour c'est plus que 3 mots
C'est par seulement dire je t'aime
Le tableau était si beau avant que
Les pinceaux s'en mêlent
Mais je supporte plus
L'océan de tristesse
Dans lequel notre histoire baigne
L'hémorragie est trop forte nos cœurs saignent
Il faut que tout ça s'arrête

*Regarde-moi dans les yeux
Regarde-moi dans les yeux
Je veux voir dans ton regard
Si c'est mort pour nous deux
Regarde-moi dans les yeux
Regarde-moi dans les yeux
Je veux voir dans ton regard
Si c'est mort pour nous deux*

3- 100 doutes

Et toujours sur la route bébé
Toujours en vadrouille bébé
Je sais que ça te soûle bébé
Mais je n'ai pas le temps
Et Toujours sur la route bébé
Toujours en vadrouille bébé
Je sais que tu doutes
Mais je n'ai pas le temps
Et je sais que je te manque
Que tu veux ma présence
Mais faut que je fasse du flouz
Pour te couvrir diamants
Mais je sais que ça te soûle, bébé
Mais s'il te plaît reste cool bébé

Holà holà
Je peux pas effacer
Les erreurs les disputes du passé
Mais si y'a bien une chose dont je suis sûr
Avec toi je vais écrire mon futur
Et je sais que tu souffres bébé
(Oh la la la)
Mais je le fais pour nous tu sais
(Ayayaya)

J'sais pas qui était ton ex
Il a bien foutu la merde
J'essaie de recoller les morceaux
De ton cœur tombé en miette
Et c'est pour ça que tu doutes bébé
Et ça je le sais bébé

Et toujours sur la route bébé
Toujours en vadrouille bébé
Je sais que ça te soûle bébé
Mais je n'ai pas le temps
Et Toujours sur la route bébé
Toujours en vadrouille bébé
Je sais que tu doutes
Mais je n'ai pas le temps
Et je sais que je te manque
Que tu veux ma présence
Mais faut que je fasse du flouz
Pour te couvrir diamants
Mais je sais que ça te soûle, bébé
Mais s'il te plaît reste cool bébé

Holà holà
Je reste bouche bée
Holà holà
Quand je te vois bouger
Je sais que t'as peur que j'en check une autre
Mais j'ai un œil sur toi
Tu m'as rendu aveugle
Les autres je les vois plus
Il n'y a que dans tes yeux

Que je retrouve la vue
Mais peu importe les problèmes
Et peu importe où ça nous mène
J'en ai rien à kicker tant que tu m'aimes
On met les voiles sur toutes les mers

Yeaiyeah
Whohouho
Yeaiyeah
Whohouho

Et toujours sur la route bébé
Toujours en vadrouille bébé
Je sais que ça te soûle bébé
Mais je n'ai pas le temps
Et Toujours sur la route bébé
Toujours en vadrouille bébé
Je sais que tu doutes
Mais je n'ai pas le temps
Et je sais que je te manque
Que tu veux ma présence
Mais faut que je fasse du flouz
Pour te couvrir diamants
Mais je sais que ça te soûle, bébé
Mais s'il te plaît reste cool bébé

4- Un bail

Tu sais au début je te calculais même pas
Mes potes me parlaient de toi
Je disais « J'sais pas »
Souvent on se croiser dans le Binks
Tu squattais toujours avec ta Banda
On s'est échangé nos numéros de phonetel
Peu à peu on s'est mis à mieux se connaître
Un jour je me surprends à lire nos sms
J'ai compris que j'étais tombé dans le piège

Je sais que tu ne voulais pas d'un gars
Comme moi,
Un gars comme moi
Je ne voulais pas non plus d'une meuf
Comme toi
Une meuf comme toi
Mais on s'est retrouvé dans
Un Bail comme ça
Un Bail comme ça
Et on s'est retrouvé dans un Bail comme ça
Un bail comme ça (3x)

La passion
La tension
Qui anime nos corps
Donne à mes raisons
Les raisons d'avoir tort
J'suis rentré dans ton cœur
Sans même faire exprès

On s'est mis ensemble
Sans être prêt

Mes blessures t'as su les panser
Y'a que ton sourire dans mes pensées
Je sais pas trop ce qu'on fait
Mais ça me donne envie de foncer
Baby

Je sais que tu ne voulais pas d'un gars
Comme moi,
Un gars comme moi
Je ne voulais pas non plus d'une meuf
Comme toi
Une meuf comme toi
Mais on s'est retrouvé dans
Un Bail comme ça
Un Bail comme ça
Et on s'est retrouvé dans un Bail comme ça
Un bail comme ça (3x)

La passion
La tension
Qui anime nos corps
Donne à mes raisons
Les raisons d'avoir tort

Je sais que tu ne voulais pas d'un gars
Comme moi,
Un gars comme moi
Je ne voulais pas non plus d'une meuf
Comme toi
Une meuf comme toi
Mais on s'est retrouvé dans
Un Bail comme ça
Un Bail comme ça
Et on s'est retrouvé dans un Bail comme ça
Un bail comme ça (3x)

5- Tendresse

Le ciel étoilé
Illumine nos corps
Les draps sont froissés
Sa tête est sur mon torse
Je me surprends à penser à elle
Pourtant elle m'inspire que de la haine
Tu m'as emmenée au 7e ciel
Pour ensuite me couper les ailes
Je ne veux pas t'aimer
C'est juste ton corps m'appelle
À la poitrine je suis blessé
Saignante est encore la plaie
Je n'ai pas besoin qu'on soit un couple
Tant pis si cette n'est qu'un coup
Je n'ai pas besoin de ton amour
J'ai juste besoin de tendresse

Besoin de tendresse (6x)

Je suis dans les cuisses de cette femme sexy
Mais c'est toujours elle qui occupe mon esprit
Mes couilles sont pleines
Mais mon cœur est vide
Tomber amoureuse
Il faudrait que t'évite
J'ai couché avec ces filles pour l'oublier
Mais j'y arrive pas donc je dois vivre avec

Besoin de tendresse (2x)

Je veux pas t'aimer
C'est juste ton corps m'appelle
À la poitrine je suis blessé
Saignante est encore la plaie
Je n'ai pas besoin qu'on soit un couple
Tant pis si cette n'est qu'un coup
Je n'ai pas besoin de ton amour
J'ai juste besoin de tendresse

Besoin de tendresse (6x)

Besoin de tendresse (6x)

6- Ébène

Pourquoi tu fais ça
Ma petite ébène
Ta couleur peau est belle
Même si tu le sais pas
T'éclaircir la peau
C'est devenir pauvre
Dans le regard des autres
T'as l'impression que t'as un défaut
T'es complexée par ton taux de mélanine
T'es la plus foncée de toute ta famille
Et c'est pareil avec toutes tes amies,
Mais personne ne sait comment tu le vis
Le gars que tu kiffes te calcules pas
Et tu penses que c'est parce que t'es trop noir
Tu souffres en silence et t'en parles pas
Iyaah Iyaah

Ma petite Ébène
Je peux voir ta peine
Ton teint naturel
Avec ça t'es belle
Ma petite Ébène
Je peux voir ta peine
Ton teint naturel
Avec ça t'es belle

Tu fais couler à flot l'hydroquinone
Tu t'éclaircis

Mais méfie toi aussi de l'eau tu qui dort
Des produits tu es là merci
Des tâches apparaissent sur ton corps
Tu reconnais même plus ton torse,
Les effets secondaires te prouvent que malgré
Tes raisons tu avais tort
Ébène sache l'amour est un poison
Mais te détruire n'est pas un remède
Accepte ta pigmentation
Car elle regorge de richesses
Ma chérie t'es belle reste toi même
Ma chérie t'es belle Iyaah Iyaah

*Ma petite Ébène
Je peux voir ta peine
Ton teint naturel
Avec ça t'es belle
Ma petite Ébène
Je peux voir ta peine
Ton teint naturel
Avec ça t'es belle*

Oza kitoko
Ma chérie Coco
Oza kitoko
Ma chérie Coco
Tikala Bongo
Pona Lela Yo
Motema Nga
Elela Nga Yo

*Ma petite Ébène
Ton teint naturel
Avec ça t'es belle
Ma petite Ébène
Je peux voir ta peine
Ton teint naturel
Avec ça t'es belle*

7- Temet Nosce

Je fais tout pour combler l'absence de ma mère
Du coup je sors avec des Postbad qui me maternent
Et puis je m'arrête à mi-chemin quand je vois où ça mène
Au final ça ne va pas plus loin
Que quelques rapports charnels
Je parle pas de mes sentiments
Je laisse mes sentiments parler
Cœur brisé dans le ciment
Amour en béton armé
J'ai connu le seuil de la haine
C'est mieux de faire envie que pitié
Je me suis mis à nu
Je te parle pas de se déshabiller
J'ai sacrifié des amitiés

Pour des meufs qui m'ont quitté
J'ai battu mes peurs
Les obstacles ne font qu'abdiquer
Aimer ça fait mal quand on ne peut plus aimer
Aimer ça fait mal quand on aime plus ce que l'on est aimé
Avant d'être un Fuckboy
J'étais un bon gars
Avant d'être un fuckboy
J'étais ton gars
J'enchaîne les relations
Je sais même pas pourquoi
J'ai cru voir la solution
Mais en vrai je me fourvoie
Des fois je me parle à moi même
Je me reconnais pas alors je me vouvoie
Tu crois que je suis à fond dedans
Mais en vrai je me fous de toi
Tu crois que je m'en fous
Mais en vrai je suis fou de toi
J'ai toujours le sang chaud
Mais j'ai le cœur tout froid
Et j'ai différentes sœurs avec différentes mères
J'ai passé trop de temps à juger mon père
Et puis j'ai grandi plus j'ai compris que la chair est faible
J'ai le cœur qui s'arrête quand elles m'appellent
Pour me dire qu'elles ont un retard de règles
Un 9 décembre t'es parti
Avec une partie moi
Une partie de notre histoire
On jouait à OXO
Et t'as mis une croix sur nous
Mon cœur bat toujours même si y' a un immense trou
Je me voyais déjà te mettre la bague au doigts
Une photo de nous deux avec un bout de nous deux
Un mini moi, avec un mini moi
Elles essaient de refaire le puzzle
Mais il manque toujours une pièce
Plus le temps passe plus je m'dis que t'es partie avec
Je t'ai donné tout ce que j'avais
Tu m'as donné de l'espoir
Je t'ai supplié comme jamais « Stp ne me laisse pas »
Mais c'était pas assez pour sauver notre histoire
Je dois laisser le passé au passé pour ne plus le ressasser
Je pars en Vadrouille pour oublier mes soucis
Mais mes soucis ne m'oublie pas et c'est ça le soucis
Tout est éphémère
Et le temps peut tout faire changer
Hier j'avais des frères
Aujourd'hui c'est des étrangers
Mon père m'a dit la vie c'est pas des maths
Le prix de tes erreurs est cher peu importe la somme
L'erreur est humaine
Donc papa je te pardonne
Je comprends mieux les choses
Maintenant que je suis un homme
Entre les vices les vertus
Le choix est très dur
Je suis vidé d'espoir

Mais je suis rempli d'amertume
Ce qui faisait mon bonheur
Aujourd'hui ne l'est plus
Les hommes viennent de Mars
Mais toi tu venais de Neptune
J'vois aucune meuf à marier parce que les meufs à marier

Bah elles sont déjà mariées

Ouai

J'avale plus les mensonges
Je les digère plus
Je cherche la moitié de mon âme que j'ai perdue

8- Férié (feat Werrason)

Ata mvula eboyi ko Kata
Chérie yeba que to ko lover
On va s'amuser bébé yeba lelo c'est ma journée
To ko panza ba champagne
To ko mela ba chicha
Lelo toujours corps à corps
Na mutu olingaka (Baby youuuuu)

Les chéries sont belles

Et les tables sont bien apprêtées

On va faire la fête

Même s'il n'y a rien à fêter

Férié (Oh bébé)

Férié (On va profiter)

Férié (Oh bébé)

C'est férié, c'est férié

Férié X4

Mon Psy s'appelle Jack

Mon thérapeute s'appelle Daniels

Mes soucis dans un sac

Je les ai jeté là à poubelle
J'ai des negros qui sortent de bibli
Des negros qui sortent du bendo
To ko solola lobi
Lelo to za na essengo
Pas de soft que de la tembo
A ma table y'a que vrais go
À la tienne y'a que des blemspro
Blemspro pendejo
On dit pas bonjour Chez nous
On dit mbote na bino
Les seuls blancs qui m'appellent negro sont des albinos

*Les chéries sont belles
Et les tables sont bien apprêtées
On va faire la fête
Même s'il n'y a rien à fêter
Férié (Oh bébé)
Férié (On va profiter)
Férié
C'est férié, c'est férié
Férié x4
oh bébé, on va s'enjailler
oh bébé, c'est férié*

Ta Tchoin ne sert à R si tu la ken pas
Boule Comme bulldozer nizzo
Moi J'aime ça
Connexion BX à Lemba
La naïveté ne paie pas
Hermano Hermano
La concurrence j'la graille comme des makemba

Je suis tombé sur sa chute de rein (x2)
Elle était black and white comme la Juventus de Turin
Je lui ai fait du mal
Elle m'a dit ça fait du bien
Plus d'une branche à mon arbre
On m'a dit que je descendais du singe
Ko bebisa mbongo
Pamba pamba
Pona ba Nzele
L'argent attire les femmes
Mais ne les fais pas rester
ZalaMayele

Les chéries sont belles
Et Les tables sont bien apprêtées
On va faire la fête
Même s'il n'y a rien à fêter
Yes
Férief (Oh bébé)
Férief (On va profiter)
Férief (oh bébé)
C'est férief, c'est férief
Oh bébé, c'est férief
Férief x4

Tala nga na misu
Tala nga na misu
Ne me cache rien du tout
Ne me cache rien du tout
Yes
Tala nga na misu
Tala nga na misu

Ne me cache rien du tout

Ne me cache rien du tout

Yoka

9- Méchant Méchant (feat Badi)

Prévenez les Mbila Prévenez les Mbila

Le Hermano est chaud la soirée sera iya

Ça va danser du Ndombo en pagaille

On aime les gros boules

Pas les boules billard

Téma le pogo Téma le pogo

Non non t'inquiète

J'ai pas peur de ces bâtards

Niquez mes adversaires c'est devenu Banal

Je me sens comme Paris en Ligue 1

J'en Neymar

Les meufs aiment bien les fils de putes

Si jamais tu touches à la miff

Tu leur fais du mal on te le rend au centuple

Méchant Méchant (Likofi ya Tyson)

Méchant Méchant (Likofi ya Tyson)

Méchant Méchant (Likofi ya Tyson)

Méchant Méchant (Position de combat)

Gauche Droite (Méchant) (4 x)

Je fais bouger les boules je te fais bouler

Je suis pas Afrotrap je suis Tabuley

Article 15 pour la Money

Hustle is real tu nous connais

Méchant Méchant Didier Deschamps
T'es Benzema même pas sur le banc
Méchant Méchant comme Mutombo
Personne ne passe quand t'es Ngolo
Eh Mama Ngai
20 ans de rap et j'ai toujours la dalle
La concurrence je l'appelle petit na ngai
Je suis sappé soin mais je peux faire du sale
Okay

Méchant Méchant (Likofi ya Tyson)
Méchant Méchant (Likofi ya Tyson)
Méchant Méchant (Likofi ya Tyson)
Méchant Méchant (Position de combat)
Gauche Droite (Méchant) (4 x)

Bouge Massoko sur Ndombolo
Bouge Loketo sur Ndombolo
Bouge Massoko sur Ndombolo
Fuenge Fuenge Fuenge Ndombolo

Bouge Massoko sur Ndombolo
Bouge Loketo sur Ndombolo
Bouge Massoko sur Ndombolo
Fuenge Fuenge Fuenge Ndombolo

Méchant Méchant (Likofi ya Tyson)
Méchant Méchant (Likofi ya Tyson)
Méchant Méchant (Likofi ya Tyson)
Méchant Méchant (Position de combat)
Gauche Droite (Méchant) (4 x)

Méchant (méchant) (3x)

Position de combat (3x)

Méchant Méchant (Likofi ya Tyson)

Méchant Méchant (Likofi ya Tyson)

Méchant Méchant (Likofi ya Tyson)

Méchant Méchant (Position de combat) !

Méchant Méchant (Likofi ya Tyson)

Méchant Méchant (Likofi ya Tyson)

Méchant Méchant (Likofi ya Tyson)

Méchant Méchant (Position de combat)

Gauche Droite (Méchant) (4 x)

10- Fuckboy

T'aime pas les gars trop gentils

Parce qu'avec eux tu t'ennuies

Tu veux un gars qui a confiance en lui

S'il est trop sérieux direct tu t'enfuis

Et je te le dis direct

Les bails de Friendzone c'est pas pour moi

Si je vais pas ken je me tire

Elle a les yeux revolver

Pourtant c'est elle qui est dans ma ligne de mire

Tu me parles d'amour Je te parles de sex

Je te parle de nous Tu me parles de tes ex

J'en ai rien à foutre d'être ou pas en couple

Tout ce qui compte c'est qu'à la fin je te baise

T'es qu'une série et moi je suis Netflix

Après le final season je te quitte

Et J'ai dit non quand tes sentiments ont demandé les miens en feat

Car je suis un Fuckboy Aye Aye Aye

Un Fuckboy Aye Aye Aye

T'aimesles Fuckboy Aye Aye Aye

Je ne suis qu'un homme je fréquente plusieurs femmes

On est pas ensemble donc je suis pas polygame

Juste un Fuckboy

Je peux pas t'promettre de t'aimer toute la vie
Mais j'te promets qu'tu vas jouir toute la nuit
Fuckboy

Tu me parles d'aimer mais tu sais pas c'est quoi

Tu veux te poser mais tu sais pas pourquoi

Et tu veux un mec qui sera là pour toi

Tu seras là pour lui ? Ça je ne le pense pas !

Tu veux qu'on s'affiche sur les réseaux

Pour montrer que ta vie est mieux que celles des autres

Non désolé, non désolé

Tu le trompes avec moi puis tu me dis que tu m'aimes

Qu'on doit se mettre ensemble pour y mettre un terme

Tu crois vraiment que je vais me mettre avec toi

Pour qu'un autre fils de pute vienne me faire la même

Hell no

Tu parles de relations sérieuses

Mais tu kiffes les mecs dans mon genre

Le genre de mec qui sait faire couler la fontaine

qu'il y a entre tes jambes

Un fuckboy Aye Aye Aye

Un fuckboy Aye Aye Aye

T'aimes les fuckboy Aye Aye Aye

Je n'suis qu'un homme, j'fréquente plusieurs femmes

On n'est pas ensemble donc j'suis pas polygame

*Juste un fuckboy Aye Aye Aye
Fuck fuckboy (3x)*

Toi et moi ça n'ira nulle part
C'est sûrement pour ça que tu restes
On passe toute la nuit au plumard
Mais t'es pas la femme de mes rêves
Tu veux qu'on te dise la vérité
Mais La vérité c'est que tu veux que je te mente
Y'a des trucs pas facile à entendre
Mais vu comment tu sucés tu l'as mérité
En vrai je te trouve bonne
Et je veux pas m'engager
J'ai juste besoin de tendresse
Je pense que tu peux m'en donner surtout
En me donnant tes fesses
Tu me parles d'avenir et je suis pas contre
Mais ça veut pas dire que je suis pour
Et si ça marche et que tu tombes amoureuse
Vaudrait mieux que tu te relèves et que tu cours

*Fuckboy Aye Aye Aye
Un fuckboy Aye Aye Aye
T'aimes les fuckboy Aye Aye Aye
Je n'suis qu'un homme, j'fréquente plusieurs femmes
On est pas ensemble donc j'suis pas polygame
Juste un fuckboy Aye Aye Aye
Oh, Juste un fuckboy*

Ton fuckboy
Préféré

11- Roulette russe

Dis-moi est-ce que tu m'aimes
Dis-moi est-ce que tu me kiff
Parce que je connais pas tes potes
Et aucun membre de ta miff

Tout ça en vaut-il la peine ?
Les mecs vous êtes tous les mêmes
On passe beaucoup de temps ensemble sans avenir
Au finale à quoi ça sert ?

Tu poses toutes ces questions depuis 2 mois
Je peux comprendre vu le contexte
T'arrêtes pas de me parler de lui
Et moi je baise encore avec mon ex
Très abstrait, rien de concret
Quand tout paraît simple
C'est toujours complexe
En vrai je suis un gars posé
T'es une meuf tarée
Donc on se complète

A la roulette Russe
A la roulette Russe
On devrait se quitter mais on cherche des excuses
A la roulette Russe
On joue à la roulette russe
On devrait se quitter mais on cherche des excuses
Roulette Russe, roulette roulette roulette Russe
Roulette Russe, roulette roulette roulette Russe

12- CVS Interlude

Chier Putain d'examen de merde
Putain
Pourquoi j'ai voulu faire ces études de merde

Ça me casse les couilles
(Sonnerie GSM)
Elle sait qu'j'ai exam celle-là
Qu'est-ce qu'elle veut encore
(Sonnerie GSM)
Mais putain de M
Putain mais c'est pas possible
Putain
(Notification message)
Ouais je sais
Je sais qu'ça fait au moins 7 fois que j't'appelle
Je suis désolée d'insister autant.
Et en plus t'as exam demain
Donc, sûrement qu't'étudies là, t'es occupé ou j'sais pas.
Bref.
Mais il faut qu'tu m'rappelles
C'est vraiment important
(Notification message)
J'ai pas trop envie de t'dire ça au téléphone. Mais vas-y.
En fait, ça fait plus d'un mois. 9A fait genre 1 mois et 2 semaines que j'ai pas mes règles

Pffffff

Ça me stresse un peu là
Il faut qu'on parle
Il faut qu'on parle
STP rappelle moi dès que tu reçois ce message.

13- Convalescence

Elle m'a dit ça n'ira pas plus loin toi et moi
Mes parents n'accepteront pas que j'me ramène un noir
J'comprends pas c'qui m'arrive
J'étais l'homme de ta vie
Et puis tout est parti en couille en même pas un mois

Qui était là quand maman enceinte de 8 mois s'est faite renverser
et qu'Naomie était dans l'coma
Qui était là quand j'ai pleuré toutes les larmes de mon corps à l'hôpital le matin jusqu'à ce que plus une
seule goutte sorte
Maman taf de 6H du mat à 6H du soir
Elle m'a dit ton taf c'est être premier d'classe sans faire d'histoire
Elle pleurait quand elle savait pas payer mon sac Eastpak
J'avais envie d'lui dire que je l'aime mais chez nous ça n'se dit pas

Regarde dans l'fond d'mon âme tu verras plein d'cicatrices
Des fois j'en ai marre du destin et de ses caprices
J'ai du mal à en parler du coup j'veux l'écrire tout le temps
J'ai du mal à m'en rappeler du coup j'me tatoue tout le temps
Tu sais les relations familiales c'est parfois complexe
Comme quand t'apprends qu'ton cousin est en train d'baiser ton ex.
Jusqu'à aujourd'hui, j'ai pas compris le concept
Comme sortir avec une meuf qui parle toujours de son ex

J'néglige toujours c'que j'ai et j'envie c'que j'ai pas
J'ai cru voir la bonne mais en fait c'était un faux départ
Pour oublier tes peines, y'a pas le didacticiel

J'ai cherché du réconfort chez une péripatéticienne
A l'intérieur, j'suis mort
Je baise et je m'sens vivant
J'me sens trop bien en elle
J'pourrais passer ma vie d'dans
J'ai vidé ma colère, ma haine, ma tristesse, mon amour perdu et mes espoirs déçus.
En bref, j'ai fait ma vie d'ange.
J'me lève la nuit en sueurs froides en pensant à toi
J'me demande si tu dors pas à côté d'un mec à poil
En vérité, j'suis l'ainé donc j'ai pas eu d'exemple
De pire en pire sont mes dernières relations récentes
Mes récits de chair sont trop indécents
Mes 14 février ressemblent à des nuits de décembre
trop de tensions en moi
Il faut que j'me détende
Mais pour monter faut pas avoir peur de se faire descendre

J'me sens moins vulnérable quand j'pars en guerre tout seul
J'aimerais réussir pour voir à quel point ça leur fout l'sum
ce jour-là tu m'as quitté avec un bisou sur la joue.
On l'a fait partout. Sur le lit, l'canapé, dans la douche

J'ai compris que tu me disais adieu en douce
que c'est la dernière fois que je voyais ta bouche
qu'il fallait faire le deuil
C'est fini entre nous
La convalescence a commencé un 23 août

Tu dis tout le temps que tu veux pas que je voie ta fille
parce que ton ex l'a perturbée quand il a quitté ta vie
En attendant mes voisins t'entendent le soir quand tu jouis
ton plan cul ou ton mec
J'sais pas très bien c'que j'suis
Les mères célibataires c'est pas du tout pour moi
mais j'étais vraiment prêt à faire l'exception pour toi
à affronter l'regard du monde entier rien qu'pour toi
mais manifestement c'était pas assez pour toi
Tout c'que j'ai dit dans les dernières phrases est derrière moi
les yeux ouverts pour voir c'que l'avenir dira
Avant j'étais bon et maintenant j'suis vraiment têtù
maintenant j'suis mi ange démon et mi ange déchu
Tu places ta confiance aux autres
c'est pour ça qu't'es déçu
Tu savais comment ça allait finir dès le début
mais t'es sorti avec elle parce que tu la trouvais belle.
Elle était pas pour toi mais tu te cherchais des excuses.

Convalescence.

D.

Santa

1. Clip

Van de straat #1 :

[Santa - Van2straat #1 - YouTube](#)

Van de straat #2 (Twerk Sur la table) :

[Santa - Van2straat #2 \(Twerk Sur La Table \) - YouTube](#)

Straat Drill (feat Cop OSLM) :

[COP OSLM - Straat Drill \(feat Santa & Haitch\) - YouTube](#)

2. Lyrics

Santa
Straat #1
2020

La straat, la straat

(HA) J'suis en Christian Dior elle me tema

Impossible de descendre le sans faire le T-max

Tema la gamine elle terma si j'ai les mah je la termine

(hahaha) S.A.N.T.A van de straats, et ouai (azyzy)

LA BOUCHERIE

J'suis en Christian Dior elle me tema

Impossible de descendre le sans faire le T-max

Tema la gamine elle terma si j'ai les mah je la termine

Tu deviens parano tu stresses, maintenant t'as le nez qui pousse

J'vais essayer encore une fois une hlel si ça marche pas j'prends une keh comme épouse

J'suis discret comme un fantôme, shopping place Vendôme

La pembe est tellement pure même coupée elle reste jaune

Gestuelle dans les gênes, torse nu sans-gêne

Ne fait pas le Christiano, t'as les cheveux crépus sans gel

Ton plat est raté t'es parti sucer

Mais rien à gratter

Les petites ont grandi se prennent pour Kelly, Ariana Grande

J'suis en Christian Dior elle me tema
 Impossible de descendre le sans faire le T-max
 Tema la gamine elle terma si j'ai les mah je la termine
 Enfance difficile Comme à Guibsy H on veut quitter la street et payer des valayettes
 Arrête de mentir tu n'y mettais pas les iepes à notre époque tu ramassais des balayettes
 On est dans la rue toi tes sur le net elle est sur ma queue rien qu'elle fait du twerk
 Aller chez Moussah il fait des pancakes même en freestyle il faut qu'j'arrête
 Ça fait trois ans que vous avez fait qu'ça la récré fini maintenant rentrer en classe
 C'est le retour des grands patrons eux-même ils savent devant les gens parle pas trop
 J'suis en Christian Dior elle me tema
 Impossible de descendre le sans faire le T-max
 Tema la gamine elle terma si j'ai les mah je la termine
 Tu deviens parano tu stresses, maintenant t'as le nez qui pousse
 J'vais essayer encore une fois une hlel si ça marche pas j'prends une keh comme épouse
 Car on the straat (8x)
 Straat chut straat life
 S.A.N.T.A
 LA BOUCHERIIIE

<p>Santa</p> <p>Straat #2</p> <p>2020</p>
--

La straat la straat
 Viens sniffer dans les lé-toi (toilettes)
 Quand tu sors de la pièce faut qu'tu nettoies
 Ventes illicites dans la résoi (soirée)
 Ceux qui consomment pas restent chez soi
 Viens sniffer dans les lé-toi (toilettes)
 Quand tu sors de la pièce faut qu'tu nettoies
 Ventes illicites dans la résoi (soirée)
 Ceux qui consomment pas restent chez soi
 Chicha, ballon, bouteille, champagne
 Des bonnes, des moches, des putes, j'en passe
 Billet d'cinquante tu tires une latte
 Yeux grands ouvert, ton nez inhale

J'kick sur le beat
J'envoie, l'ingé nettoie les pistes, normale
Santa ils veulent que tu kick,
Santa ils veulent que t'envoies
J'ai envoyé, elle a mouillé
Fais du twerk sur la table
Ton string est mouillé va le changer
J'ai envoyé, elle a mouillé
Fais du twerk sur la table
Ton string est mouillé va le changer
Twerk sur la table
Twerk twerk sur la table
Twerk sur la table
C'est qui, c'est qui l'papa d'la came
Twerk sur la table
Twerk twerk sur la table
Twerk sur la table
C'est qui, c'est qui l'papa d'la came
J'ai envoyé, elle a mouillé
Fais du twerk sur la table
Ton string est mouillé va le changer
J'ai envoyé, elle a mouillé
Fais du twerk sur la table
Ton string est mouillé va le changer
Twerk sur la table
Twerk twerk sur la table
Twerk sur la table
C'est qui, c'est qui l'papa d'la came
Twerk sur la table
Twerk twerk sur la table
Twerk sur la table
C'est qui, c'est qui l'papa d'la came
Viens sniffer dans les lé-toi
Ventes illicites dans la résoi
Viens sniffer dans les lé-toi
Ventes illicites dans la résoi

Santa (COP OSCM feat Santa & Haitch)

Straat Drill

2021

Cocaïne carla 42 shab Hollanda
Trouve une dale au fil planta
La nourrice prend 6000 par mois

Salia beida 42 shab Hollanda
trouve une dale au fil planta à la recherche d'la recette comme Plankton

Parle pas aux phone-tel
C'est délicat
J'ai la puce
J'ai la carte lika
Salope j'te beef pas avec la kichta, hein

Parle pas aux phone-tel
C'est délicat
J'ai la puce
J'ai la carte lika
Salope j'te beef pas avec la kichta, hein

En ce moment c'est la crise
Mais on court après la peufra
J'me débrouille j'fais du biff
J'compte pas sur l' pe-ra
S'il faut faire tapiner ta sœur on l'fera
Au charbon H24 même les jours feries
Si on nique pas tout qui l'fera hein
Si on nique pas tout qui l'fera

Hein, azyzy nous c'est la ure
J'te préviens t'es en danger
1ère alerte à la grenade ton p'tit frère mort au cas où il veut s'venger
J'vais cracher prend un essuie
Le canon fume, ben j'ai l'essuie
15 minutes pour le showcase
J'vais au studio après j'vais arway
J'suis pas d'ceux qui lance des projectiles
Ils veulent savoir combien t'as de jectiles
42 straat ils vont être belo
Sache aussi que c'est un gros deal
Parle en coke pas par en techi
Menottes serrée j'gagne la vie d'un flic
Les p'tits veulent tous aller virser
Avoir une grosse discute à notre bile

Le canon il frotte mon pénis
J'dois prier pour effacer mes péchés
La beuh est lourde donc j'la fais sécher
Esquive la caméra ou c'est fichu
Attends, tu ramasses la puche-ra
Les condés sont passés m'ont fait chier chier
Place à la caille pour prendre ta salade

Salia Beida
dans la straat on parle pas chinois
Jusqu'en Hollanda, c'est chez moi
42 la puce est active
On s'habille tout en Nike pas d'factice
Polo team ça fume le cactus
Ralph Lauren le cheval est en bas
Pull-up en AMC comme si j'connais pas mon alphabet
Elle range toutes mes sap après qu'j'la baise
J'traîne toujours là où t'es pas à l'aise
Onze ok pour moins danger
Aujourd'hui tu peux t'faire allumer
Des ratpi des Audi mal lunées
Drive by sur l'pe-ra en classe G

Cocaïne carla 42 shab Hollanda
Trouve une dale au fil planta
La nourrice prend 6000 par mois

Salia beida 42 shab Hollanda
trouve une dale au fil planta à la recherche d'la recette comme Plankton
la nourrice prend 6000 par mois

Parle pas aux phone-tel
C'est délicat
J'ai la puce
J'ai la carte lika
Salope j'te biffle avec la kichta, hein

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C'est délicat
J'ai la puce
J'ai la carte lika
Salope j'te biffle avec la kichta, hein

