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Integration or Interrogation? Franco-Maghrebi Rap and Hip-Hop Culture in Marseille

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FRANCO-MAGHREBI RAP AND HIP-HOP CULTURE IN MARSEILLE

by

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Abstract

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This paper focuses on rap and hip-hop music that is produced from Franco-Maghrebi communities living in Marseille. The discussion revolves around the question of how rap music helps these communities to assimilate into French culture. The conclusion is two-fold. Marseille, as a city whose urban planning promotes physical assimilation of immigrants with French-born citizens, performs as an integrative force for these communities. Additionally, rap simultaneously assists Franco-Maghrebis in integrating into and subverting from French society. Franco-Maghrebi rappers integrate by becoming a part of mainstream French culture. Yet, they also subvert by extraordinarily placing race and discrimination at the forefront of the French dialectic. The actions of Franco-Maghrebi rap artists can be termed as "acceptable deviance." They "acceptably" deviate from the normal without subverting completely outside of the boundaries that the French government sets for assimilating migrants. In conclusion, the paper examines the ways that popular culture acts as a forum for expression and allows many immigrants the chance to assimilate into French culture without completely conforming.

Table of Contents

"La vie est belle, le destin s'en écarte
Personne ne joue avec les mêmes cartes
Le berceau lève le voile, multiples sont les routes qu'il dévoile
Tant pis, on n'est pas nés sous la même étoile[1]"

<u>Introduction</u>

These lyrics, from the IAM song entitled, "Nés sous la même étoile," or "Born Under the Same Star," refer to the living conditions of men and women who are born or raised in France. Yet, the remainder of the song references the drugs and poverty that fill the lives of those born into disadvantaged circumstances. IAM, a French hip-hop group formed during the 1980's, is the reigning rap group in France from immigrant origins. Like other rappers from the city, they help to invent and re-invent both the arts and the space that is Marseille. As first and second-generation West and North African rap artists, the varied musical groups from Marseille claim to belong to a politicized cultural movement of outsiders but also proudly emphasize Marseille's contribution to their identity. In Marseille, as opposed to Paris, immigrants typically do not live in the outskirts, the *banlieues* (French word for suburbs) of the city, but instead are spatially integrated with Marseille's white French-born citizens in the centre of urban life. Rap as a movement, both musical and political, has drawn positive attention to the city and has abetted the integration of musicians into mainstream pop culture. Yet, their spatial integration raises the question of whether rap has also furthered the conditions of Algerian and Moroccan immigrants and *beurs* (children of immigrants from North Africa) in the rest of France's political and legal sphere. Drawing on studies of hip-hop in France, with a special focus on the works of Marseille-based rap artists IAM and L'Algerino, I argue that rap simultaneously forces the wider French

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[1] From the IAM song, "Nés sous la même étoile" and translated as "life is beautiful, destiny is in the cards, nobody plays with the same cards, the cradle lifts the veil, multiple routes are unveiled, too bad one is not born under the same star," Author's translation.

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population to confront issues of racism and permits Franco-Maghrebi immigrants to integrate in French society without completely assimilating. This demonstrates the power of popular culture not only to reflect social values but also to create space for new forms of expression. Integration policy in France requires migrants to shed their ethnic identities completely in order to fit in. IAM and L'Algerino resist total assimilation into French culture by celebrating the varied characteristics of their identities and of the city of Marseille. Yet, these rap artists also partially integrate because they consolidate into popular music culture and bring migrant issues into mainstream comprehension of politics through hip-hop. In essence, they perform a sense of "acceptable deviance" which allows them to play roles as both integrative and subversive actors in French society.

North African Migration to France: A History

The migration of Muslim Algerians and Moroccans to France since the mid-nineteenth century is a contentious cultural issue for both North African immigrants and the French government alike. Although France colonized Algeria in 1830, it was not until 1848 that a portion of Algeria had been declared as a *département* of France and around one hundred and ten thousand Europeans lived in the colony; in the 1880's, France began accepting workers from North Africa, Central Europe, and surrounding countries to fill factories because of the rise of industry.[2] Free movement was allowed between Algeria and the French metropole. This fluidity provided for a close and politically fragile relationship between the two nations. During this period, cultural groups developed such as the *pieds noirs*, or Europeans living in Algeria and

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[2] Richard Alba and Roxane Silberman, "Decolonization Immigrations and the Social Origins of The Second Generation: The Case of North Africans in France," *IMR: International Migration Review* 36, no. 4 (2002): 1173.

harkis, or Algerians who fought for the French in the War of Independence.[3] These divisions complicated the harkis' relationship to patriotism and the pieds noirs' position. This position was complicated because the pieds noirs were racially white Europeans residing in Algeria. Decolonization additionally raised important questions such as: where do these categories fit into a changing Algeria and a diversifying Europe? By the mid-1960s, France had large populations of Maghrebi harkis, Algerian workers, and Moroccan immigrants who became an important part of the country's cultural framework.

Moroccans moved to France under the terms of the French protectorate. In addition, worker programs that brought individuals from the Moroccan countryside to work in French factories during the late nineteenth century prompted migration to France. Migrant workers were expected to return to their homelands but many remained in France.[4] The majority worked in the coalmines in Northern France, in the automobile industry, or in construction.[5] In 1970, the French government put a stop to the migrant worker program by which time Moroccan expatriates were the second largest immigrant category by nationality; 36 percent of them settled in Paris in the banlieues.[6] The increased population of North Africans in France after decolonization forced the French government to create physical space for these newcomers as well as to establish policies that would maintain a balance between integrating immigrants and maintaining national standards of secularism and equality.

The population of ethnic North Africans in France remains high. In 2005, immigrants made up about 8.1 percent of the French population overall and amounted to 4.9 million

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[3] Alba, 1171.
[4] Alba, 1175.
[5] Virginie Guiraudon,"Moroccan Immigration in France: Do Migration Policies Matter?" *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies* 6, no. 3 (2008): 370.
[6] Guiraudon, 370.

individuals; aside from Algerians and Moroccans, the major immigrant populations are Tunisian, Sub-Saharan African, and European (Italy, Portugal, Spain and Turkey represent the majority).[7] The 2005 census reports that Algerian immigrants constituted 13.7 percent of the immigrant population and Moroccans amounted to 12.5 percent.[8] Many Algerians and Moroccans never changed from "immigrant" status to French citizen in accordance with the government's social standard for assimilation. Socially, when immigrants acquire "…the cultural attributes of the receiving country," they stop being considered a foreigner.[9] Moreover, high unemployment numbers among ethnic North Africans, segregated school districts and housing projects aggravate the lack of assimilation many first, second, and third-generation Maghrebis experience in France.

Who are the Beurs? A Brief Introduction to the Second-Generation

This thesis describes the conditions of three generations of Franco-Maghrebi rappers in France. Second-generation Franco-Maghrebis are essential to an understanding of Maghrebi movements in France because they undertook organized political activism involving Arab migrant groups and emerged as "collective actors" in the 1980s.[10] The beurs, a play on the word Arab, were defined by "La Marche des Beurs," a protest movement formed in 1983 that called for compromise between the integration of immigrants as practiced in France and policies of

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[7] *French Census, 2005,* Paris: Institut National de la Statistique et des études économiques, 2005, Insee.fr.
[8] *French Census,* 2005.
[9] Nabil Echchaibi, "We are French Too, but Different: Radio, Music and the Articulation of Difference Among Young North Africans in France," *International Communication Gazette* 63, no. 4 (2001): 295.
[10] Thomas Kirzbaum, Yael Brinbaum and Patrick Simon, "The Children of Immigrants in France: The Emergence of a Second Generation," (paper presented as a part of the UNICEF Innocenti Research Center, October 2009), 42.

multiculturalism as performed in the United States.[11] "La Marche des Beurs" was a short-lived movement. The group's main responsibility was to rally for policies that would celebrate ethnic minority culture while adhering to French customs; however, the movement soon became a series of small rallies, unable to remain organized and efficient, and to preserve a sense of common purpose.[12] Since then groups of beurs have unified, forming an amalgamated second-generation.

Statistical reports on the second-generation, its population, and related policy changes in France are imprecise. This is because of the following: the last systematic census collection on the second generation was in 1992; yet, it is neither clear how the census classifies second-generation immigrants nor by what racial category North Africans are racially ascertained as.[13] In 1999, 85.5 percent of Algerians and 87.1 percent of Moroccans were second-generation immigrants; moreover, North African second-generation children represented 38 percent of all classified children of immigrants.[14] This nomenclature can be misleading. Immigrants are categorized differently than children of immigrants; children born and raised in France of immigrant parents are classified as second or third-generation immigrants.[15] These strictures are intricate both ethnically and legally. The children are still classified as ethnic Algerians or Moroccans but are not necessarily considered French citizens via the *jus soli.* This law is as follows: children born of immigrant parents in France are eligible for citizenship at age 18.[16] Jus soli is a result of the Pasqua laws of 1993 that delineated the following policies on immigration:

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[11] Kirzbaum, 42.
[12] Kirzbaum, 42.
[13] Alba, 1172.
[14] Kirzbaum, 8.
[15] Kirzbaum, 9.
[16] Kirzbaum, 9.

they established a series of requirements for those seeking legalization difficult for many immigrants to attain such as proof of uninterrupted housing or employment; in addition, these laws enacted jus soli that took away the right to citizenship of those born on French soil to immigrant parents and made their national status contingent on an oath of loyalty and a clean criminal record.[17] This does not provide many children of immigrants a proper way to define themselves on the French census as well as in their social and cultural lives. The Pasqua laws and jus soli are examples of why the French system of immigration is controversial.

Provisions after 1962 affecting pieds noirs and harkis differed from current policies on nationality. Children of pieds noirs received citizenship because their parents were European by birth. Many harkis and Muslim Algerian children were also given this status because of *double droit de sol* or automatic citizenship for Algerians living in France before 1962; however, jus soli rules out this policy in the contemporary era.[18] More significant for its ideals rather than the legislation itself, jus soli suggests that children's national status is not consequential until adulthood. The issue is that children under 18, who are eligible for citizenship in any case, are still foreigners during their most developmental years. They are restricted from full social and political assimilation because of their continuing status as both foreign and French. The harkis in France are especially relevant to the debate on identity and the politics of immigration policy in France. They were castigated in Algeria for their disloyal past and in France for their status as outsider. There are inadequate numbers of works that address the issues around harkis.[19] An

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[17] Miriam Ticktin, *Casualities of Care: Immigration and the Politics of Humanitarianism in France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011): 33.
[18] Alba, 1176.
[19] One recent exception is: Vincent Crapanzano, *The Harkis: The Wound that Never Heals* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011). Refer to text for further inquiries on the harkis.

interesting inquiry would be to look at the way that harkis deal with these issues in a modern society through popular culture and through protest.

There have been minimal attempts by French policymakers to enact legislation regarding immigration since decolonization. In 2005, the French government sought a method of managed migration ("maitrise du flux d'immigration") to take account of its capacity to integrate migrants; the program was a compromise between zero migration and open borders.[20] Also in 2005, legislation on social cohesion ("loi de programmation pour la cohesion sociale") was passed which promoted positive discrimination in relation to socio-economic training and educational inequalities for the most disadvantaged migrant communities.[21] Positive discrimination insinuates that the employer would emphasize diversity alongside skill and education in the hiring process. Much of the legislation created around immigration was fragmentary and vague in its application.

The French government's philosophy on social assimilation of immigrants is an efficient legal integration. Yet, this has not improved the conditions of many immigrants and their children in material terms. Local ethnography as well as systemic evidence suggests that the second-generation "…is suffering from an unusually high level of social problems, such as early school dropout, unemployment, and deviance as in petty crimes, robberies, muggings and the use of drugs and alcohol."[22] While for some this statement is true, it is not to be taken as a generalization for the second-generation. Yet, for those who it does affect, the disregard by many policy makers of the shifting ethnic landscape of France is partially to blame for these issues.

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[20] Eleanore Kofman, Madalina Rogoz and Florence Levy, 2010, *Family Migration Policies in France,* International Centre for Migration Policy Development, 6.
[21] Kofman, 22.
[22] Alba, 1192.

North African migration to France in the mid-twentieth century led to social and racial conflicts. The expansion of Algerian and Moroccan cultural influence caused a traditionally Christian society to question its religious and ethnic identities. Integration, as opposed to the practice of multiculturalism, was promoted by most recently the Sarkozy government in France, as a way to assimilate growing ethnic minorities. However, the practice of integration preserves underlying discriminatory institutions, which in some ways have been in place in France since the revolution in 1789. This is because integration, much like policies around Republicanism, promotes the erasure of multicultural identities and iterates on the importance of one nation.[23] French society has changed significantly since the Declaration of the Rights of Man initiated civil equality as a right. The civil liberty defined in the eighteenth century advanced the equality of the rights of man in terms of social rank. Civil policies were not referring to racialization. Hesitant to address changes in their society, French policy makers have yet to illustrate how they can properly extend all civil liberties to immigrants and ethnic groups. The French model does not include provisions on ethnicity and assimilation with regards to freedom of religious expression.

Historically, the French government has resisted the inclusion of ethnic delineations in its annual census reports. This practice is believed to undermine the system of integration. Simon states that multiculturalism is rejected by the French government "…as a model relying on the recognition and valorization of ethnic communities and their cultural differences. It is strongly associated with foreign experiences, especially the British and US models, and perceived as the

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[23] Alba, 1171.

opposite of the French model of integration."[24] The French dialectic around foreigners is utilized as proof that integration or assimilation is encouraged more so than multiculturalism. Whereas multiculturalism celebrates cultural divides and differences, integration attempts to erase them. These models do not have legislative value. Instead, they are informally understood as methods to deal with immigrant populations. Integration disregards the difficulties that many immigrants face in their attempts to assimilate; French right-wing parties especially veil discriminatory and racist practices under the heading of "universalism."[25] Many immigrant populations wish to retain their culture and therefore are seen as challenging national authorities. Several North African communities are part of a system that fosters segregated housing and school districts, and blatant but legal profiling by the police force. Due to these difficulties, many immigrants look for ways to protest against this paradigm of integration. They do so through political mobilization as well as art and music.

Three major problems faced by many unassimilated immigrants include poor and segregated housing communities, inadequate schools, and high unemployment numbers. In 1986, the Front National radical right party in France presented a draft to the French nationality code that posited foreigners as a threat to national identity.[26] This idea has frequently affected the way that the government treats immigrants. Even pieds noirs, whose race has allowed them easier access to social institutions, bring the legacy of Algerian culture, food, music, and memory with them to France. The pieds noirs attempted to set up a museum to celebrate Algerian culture; this proposal that was quickly rejected by the French government and many right wing pieds noirs

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[24] Patrick Simon, 2012, *French National Identity and Integration: Who Belongs to the National Community?* Washington, D.C.: Migration Policy Institute, 14.
[25] Kirzbaum, 1.
[26] Kirzbaum, 12.

groups.[27] While pieds noirs integrate financially and socially, they face issues of cultural abandonment by Algerians and French society alike.

Apart from Marseille, a city whose specialized zoning of immigrant communities will be discussed, most immigrants and their children tend to be housed in banlieues or suburbs that were originally set up around large cities like Paris. Established to accommodate industrial workers in the mid-twentieth century, these communities remain underprivileged and segregated; North Africans tend to settle there, isolating them from individuals of wealthier origin.[28] The train that leads Parisians to the banlieues, known as the RER, is representative of the segregation that these ethnic communities face in terms of economic class and race. In the Parisian transportation network, race, space, and violence are linked; individuals taking the RER from the banlieues into Paris are prone to "uncivilized behavior and violence" according to the media.[29] Immigrant communities are not only physically separated, but they must bear the social stigmas associated with their neighborhoods and with their routes of transportation.

School segregation is an additional aspect of the integration paradigm in demand of development. The consolidated distribution of foreign students in the banlieues does not physically integrate them into the public school system; in priority education schools (or "zones d'éducation prioritaires ZEP's" – or "problem schools") 22 percent of the school's population is classified as foreign, whereas foreign students make up approximately 5 percent in average

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[27] Michael Kimmelman, "Footprints of pieds-noirs reach deep in France," *New York Times*, March 5th, 2009, accessed November 24th, 2013, www.nytimes.com/2009/03/05/world/europe/05iht-kimmel.4.20622745.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0.
[28] Kirzbaum, 40.
[29] Ticktin, 37.

public schools.[30] This program known as "ZEP," formulated in 1982, designated the regions and school districts in need of financial help; the schools were zoned by the Ministry of Education and were provided with extra resources.[31] Yet, the result of the ZEP designation was that many privileged students retreated from these districts; the ZEP schools then became fiscally and culturally segregated.[32] ZEP schools were re-purposed for a positive cause but resulted in the merging of immigrant children into homogenous communities and left them with minimal exposure to class and fiscal diversity. Many of these same issues arise when immigrants attempt to enter the workforce in France.

High numbers of foreign workers and immigrants remain unemployed in France; however, these figures are based on speculations of discrimination and do not account for age, number of applicants, and other factors that could hinder workers' chances for employment. In 1999, the national census reported that 22 percent of foreign-born workers were unemployed; this was in comparison to the national average of 13 percent and is also drawn from many immigrants' personal accounts in which they hypothesize that employers hire based on culture, religion, and race.[33] Unemployment among immigrant communities is one of the root issues confounding the integration system. Employment in France is vital to social, financial, and linguistic assimilation. Yet, French legislators have not provided ethnic communities with policies such as affirmative action in the workplace that would address these disparities. Possible solutions would be to implement enforced hiring based on principles of diversity, or racially blind recruitment.

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[30] Kirzbaum, 32.
[31] Roland Bénabou, Francis Kramarz and Corinne Post, "The French zones d'éducation prioritaire: Much Ado about Nothing?" *Economics of Education Review* 28 (2009): 346.
[32] Bénabou, 346.
[33] Guiraudon, 371.

An addition to the discussion on "integration" is the Muslim identification with the idea

of *l'intégrisme* in France. This is a notion that re-imagines the idea of assimilation. However, it

relates specifically to Muslim populations in Europe. L'Intégrisme is generally translated as

"fundamentalism" and is utilized by both the French government and Franco-Arabs in different

ways: Muslims use the idea of l'intégrisme to rebel against racism from the French right parties

and as a way to counteract integration through practicing orthodoxy; the French government uses

it as a reason to justify strict policies of assimilation.[34] The concept is important to mention as a

countermovement against assimilation. Muslims in France utilize l'intégrisme to defiantly state

that they have a right to religion; the French government however, sees l'intégrisme as direct

protest against French culture.[35] The word was created in 1910 in reaction to Catholic hard-liners

and the fundamental Catholic policies that were formulating in France.[36] Increased availability of

in-depth research in this field would allow for more transparency on the conflicting narratives

around l'intégrisme. These narratives include assimilation, multiculturalism, the utilization of

religion in public settings in Europe, and what fundamentalism is authoritatively defined as in

France. However, it is important to bring up l'intégrisme as a prelude to a discussion on Islam,

race, and immigration.

Islam and Race in France

Many North Africans living in France are cultural or practicing Muslims. Islam in France

is consequential to this discussion because of the manner in which the French government

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[34] William Safran, "State, Nation, National Identity, and Citizenship: France as a Test Case," *International Political Science Review* 12, no. 3 (1991): 229.

[35] John Bowen, *Why the French Don't Like Headscarves: Islam, the State, and Public Space* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2010): 193.

[36] Émile Poulat, "La Querelle de l'Intégrisme en France," *Social Compass* 32, no. 4 (1985): 344.

negotiates a religious identity that is controlled by and exclusive to the state. The European racial and religious imagination, intimately tied to Muslims, is defined by what it does not provide; it does not allow a space for religion and race to develop as individualized concepts within minority communities. [37] Effectively this has led to two things: the development of a rhetoric around "domesticated" or "uniquely French" Islam and second, within minority communities, a changing dialogue between Muslims that emphasizes a "cool Islam" and rebels against French nationalist ideals. The estimated population of Muslims in France today is about four to five million residents.[38] This large number illustrates the importance of a discussion on Islam in France.

A domesticated Islam is that which is controlled by the state rather than the individual. It is important, according to the state, to establish an Islam "of France" rather than an Islam "in France."[39] This means that Muslim immigrants would be completely integrated into what is deemed "appropriate Islam" by the French government. All *pratiquant* or practicing Muslims would be assigned to the category of "fanaticism," l'intégrisme, and "non-French."[40] The headscarf issue in France that rose to prominence in the 1980s and remains today is an example of the control that the state has over Islam in France. The late Sarkozy government and its recent predecessors insisted on controlled use of the headscarf by Muslim women in the public sphere as a way to maintain a sense of jurisdiction over what is deemed French Islam and what is not; many girls are banned now from wearing the scarf in public schools and in many government

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[37] Ronald Radano and Philip V. Bohlman, "Music and Race, Their Past, Their Presence," in *Music and the Racial Imagination*, ed. by Ronald Radano and Philip V. Bohlman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000): 27.
[38] John Bowen, "Does French Islam Have Borders? Dilemmas of Domestication in a Global Religious Field," *American Anthropologist* 106 (2008): 45.
[39] Bowen, "Does French Islam Have Borders?," 44.
[40] Bowen, "Does French Islam Have Borders?," 45.

owned institutions.[41] Wearing the veil is seen as a direct defiance of Republican values as the

state is obligated to maintain policies of female equality. Because of the social control that

France has over Islam, united forces of young Muslims in the country have stood up against this

nationalization of their religion. They have created European-wide movements that deem Islam

as "cool" and an "alternative" to Western lifestyles.

The movement to make Islam "cool" is pan-religious and a form of protest. It is a

widespread movement across the United Kingdom, Germany, and other European nations

experiencing the battles between Islam and the secular state. "Cool Islam" is the attempt to

display, mostly through art, dance, and hip-hop music, the ways that Muslims can be religious

and also western, liberal, and socially active.[42] Often based on the rap movements coming from

African American communities in the United States, the hip-hop and alternative movement of

"cool Islam" displays the liberal aspects of the religion and illustrates unconventional forms of

protest against state-controlled Islam. Muslim European youth have created their own hybrid

form of religion by demonstrating that they can practice Islam in a way that is not traditional or

fanatical. "Cool Islam" appeals to a Western society but is not controlled by the government. The

issues on Islam in France are related to the dissension between practicing Muslims and

Republican officials. The contention also reflects the clash between strict French integrationists

and second or third-generation Muslims who do not desire to practice a domesticated form of

religion. Islam in France and ethnic community issues are important to the development of

popular culture throughout Europe. Alternative musical genres such as rap and hip-hop have

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[41] Bowen, "Does French Islam Have Borders?," 45.
[42] David Drissel, "Hybridizing Hip-Hop in Diaspora: Young British South Asian Men Negotiating Black-inflected Identities," *The International Journal of Diversity in Organizations, Communities, and Nations* 10, no. 5 (2011): 213.

increased in popularity due to their style. However, they have also been publicized as a genre of protest.

Alternative Rap, Musical, and Artistic Movements in Europe

In Europe, protest movements involving immigrants that employ rap and other alternative art forms are present in many countries including Italy, Germany, and the United Kingdom. A formative look at case studies from these countries provides the following: in Europe, it imparts a glimpse of the variety of immigrant movements utilizing art and illustrates the success of this form of protest throughout the continent. Immigrant artistic movements throughout Italy, Germany, the United Kingdom, France, and Spain illustrate the ways that art functions as an accessory to cultural freedom and allows dominant minorities a forum for expression.

Italy

The presence of African immigrants living in Italy, as in France, resulted from colonization and worker programs. Africans in Italy originate from former colonies like Libya and Eritrea; today, immigrants from Algeria and Morocco have increased their presence in the country as well.[43] The draining of local capital from former colonies has led many migrants to move to Italy to work; additionally foreign employees have been recruited from their homelands for labor in the industrial sector.[44] Italy is a predominantly multicultural nation, emerging as a powerhouse of diversity in the 20th century; this implies a celebration rather than a degradation

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[43] Paola Monzini, "Sea-border Crossings: The Organization of Irregular Migration to Italy," *Mediterranean Politics* 12, no. 2 (2007): 178.
[44] Laura Harris, "Hybrid Italians, Diasporic Africans: Who's/Whose Meticcio?" *Callaloo* 31, no. 2 (2008): 603.

of cultural difference.[45] Yet, the Italian government views immigration as a cause for 'social

alarm'; the total number of recent immigrants can be calculated to 1.8 percent of the nation's

population which is less than in Germany and France, yet Italian legislators have informally

presented antipathy towards immigrants.[46] This is because the Italian policy makers naturalize

"…nationality in relation to biological race, and thus defines hybridity in terms of racial and

national essentialism."[47] Much like in France, artistic movements are utilized as a form of protest

against racism in Italian society. Examples where this takes place include Italian films and

literature, which will follow in this discussion.

Small but defined artistic movements have produced films and books that address the

need for education on diversity and culture in Italy. One of the major ways that immigrants enter

the country is clandestinely, by boat; this is due to restrictive immigration policies that limit visa

allowances.[48] A strict ruling by the Berlusconi government in 2009 claimed that entering the

country without proper identification is a crime.[49] At least 5 million immigrants reside in Italy

today and at least 366 Ethiopian immigrants have died crossing into Italy in October 2013

alone.[50] Many immigrants are paying a high price for smuggling services that do not necessarily

guarantee rights or entry into Italy.[51] The issues concerning strict immigration and policy-

induced racism in Italy have caused many Africans residing in the country to speak up through

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[45] Harris, 601.
[46] Harris, 601.
[47] Harris, 600.
[48] Monzini, 164.
[49] Steve Scherer, "Insight: African Immigrants Use Films and Books to Fight Italian Racism," *Reuters*, 22 December 2013, accessed, January 17, 2014, www.reuters.com/article/2012/12/22/us-italy-migrants-racism-insight-idUSBRE9BL02220131222, 2.
[50] Scherer, 2.
[51] Monzini, 181.

the arts. Komla-Ebri, an Italian-African author, mentions the racism he has experienced in Italy in his writings which address the many problems he has faced as a migrant; he describes a situation in which his white Italian wife was asked about the "African orphans" she was toting around the park.[52] Other figures like Komla-Ebri are starting to bring attention to these issues in Italy, starting with small gestures, but for important reasons.

In Italy, small artistic movements are being ignited to counteract racist attitudes towards immigrants. The "African October" festival was inaugurated in 2002 in Parma, Italy to showcase African artists, writers, musicians, and filmmakers.[53] This festival demonstrates the attempts by immigrants themselves to establish a more inflated sense of multiculturalism in Italy. Dagmawi Yimer, a Libyan who crossed into Italy many years ago, is a part of a growing movement of immigrants who want to change the face of the country. He has made several documentaries on the topic of immigrants crossing into Italy by sea and the perils that they face; through cultural initiatives such as books and films, he is attempting to change the racist views and institutions of the Italian government.[54] It is young migrants like Yimer who are striving to shift social institutions and implement policies of acceptance.

The case of Italy differs from that of France. Despite its multi-cultural values, the Italian government is not disposed to help its immigrants and many remain in the country without papers, status, or respect. Small alternative movements such as the documentaries by Dagmawi Yimer are attempting to create change in a country that is conservative in its treatment of immigrant rights. The movements are not attempting an overhaul of legislation but instead are bringing the problems of immigrants into the mainstream so that a burgeoning generation of

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[52] Scherer, 2.
[53] Scherer, 2.
[54] Scherer, 1.

lawmakers with little knowledge on the issues will understand and acknowledge the cultural dilemmas that are a part of their national dialogue.

Germany

The conflicts that have arisen between Turkish Muslim artists and the German government have perpetuated immigrant alternative movements in Germany. In the mid-twentieth century, large numbers of Turks moved to Germany on temporary visas to participate in a worker program known as *Gastarbeiterprogramm.*[55] Like in France, many workers remained past the expiration of their papers. Since then, marginality has been endless and in response to this, many modern day Turks have turned to rap to express their discontent. Considered a transnational movement, Turkish hip-hop originated among these worker communities in Germany in the cities of Berlin and Frankfurt.[56] The movement was created as a way for ethnic Turks to deal with the issues they experienced in Europe. The Turks "…are constantly reminded by the society in which they live as a minority that they are Turks and Muslims, even if they are not actually a practicing Muslim…."[57] The German government's issues with integration and assimilation are closely related to those in France and in Italy.

Turkish hip-hop was created as a reaction to the German government's lack of policies that address migrant issues as well as the socio-cultural marginality that has resulted from this disorganized legislation.[58] Rap acts as a ubiquitous form of global protest. Because of this, Turks

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[55] Thomas Solomon, "Hardcore Muslims: Islamic Themes in Turkish Rap Between Diaspora and Homeland," in *Muslim Rap, Halal Soaps, and Revolutionary Theatre*, ed. by Karin Van Nieuwkerk (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011): 28.
[56] Solomon, 28.
[57] Solomon, 37.
[58] Solomon, 28.

began to utilize hip-hop to unify; they did so first in English and German and then finally, in Turkish.[59] The idea of the unified Muslim nation throughout Europe began to gain prominence in Germany at this time. The Turks in Germany utilized secular and Muslim lyrics to unite as a culture and as religious Muslims.[60] Prominent rap groups in Turkey include Karakan, Da Crime Posse, and Erci-E; the most famous is Sert Muslumanlar, whose lyrics will be discussed for their importance to the movement against assimilation.[61]

One of the most dynamic ways that Turkish Germans assert their unique cultural identity is through religion. Sert Muslumanlar is popular because he refers to the conflicts between Muslims and German policy makers in his lyrics. He states, "Oh, living away from the homeland, oh you've ruined us, you've done us in what was our fault? Our being Muslim? Our being Turks?"[62] These lyrics express the marginalization he feels as a Muslim Turk in Germany. The association with the homeland is important for Turks in diaspora. This tie differentiates greatly from other immigrant connections in Europe. Turks request that their association with their homeland be maintained in their new country and hip-hop artists draw on rap as a platform for the expression of "oppositional identities."[63] Music is the way for these marginalized individuals to popularize ethnic and cultural dilemmas in Germany. The case of Turks in Germany is similar to that of North Africans in France. The German government has drawn immigrants to the country through worker programs and has over time, encouraged ongoing assimilation by these groups. Similar conditions arose in France as a result of decolonization and

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[59] Solomon, 29.
[60] Solomon, 34.
[61] Solomon, 29.
[62] Solomon, 30.
[63] Solomon, 46.

the worker programs that brought in North Africans. In both cases, music was utilized as an instrument not of change, but instead of protest.

The United Kingdom

In the United Kingdom, this discussion on alternative artistic movements will revolve around immigrants from South Asia. Living in what is termed the "desi diaspora," Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, and Sri Lankans are examples of the national groups that are socially detached from their homelands and embrace fully British culture and customs with some exceptions.[64] South Asians arrived to the United Kingdom after decolonization after independence from the British Empire but when Britain also needed workers.[65] Alongside the arrival of new ethnic populations came increased public discussion on Islam by the British government and media. The majority of South Asians arriving were Hindu, Sikh and lastly, Muslim; a Muslim identity is repeatedly tied to a unified religious state throughout the Islamic world.[66] South Asians have faced racist antagonism in Europe since British colonization.

Muslim immigrants in the United Kingdom are often clustered in inner-city ghettos, and have been the victims of hate crimes; the rate of unemployment among South Asians has remained around 21 percent, whereas for white British citizens it is about 9 percent.[67] Yet, the British government enunciates policies of multiculturalism. Much like immigrants who are forced to adhere to strict expectations around integration, South Asians resent multiculturalism for varied reasons. Multiculturalism means an embrace of cultural difference rather than a denial

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[64] Drissel, 201.
[65] Drissel, 203.
[66] Drissel, 204.
[67] Drissel, 205.

of it within the national context. South Asian immigrants find multiculturalism to be "patronizing" for the way that it implies that minorities and their "differences" are to be tolerated by British society unless these minorities are able to gain status economically or socially; in this case, they are to be immediately suppressed.[68] The idea is that British leaders, regardless of the customs of the immigrant minority, assert themselves as the dominant power "allowing" this minority group to practice their traditions; multiculturalism still does not afford South Asian immigrants status as equals to British-born citizens.[69] Because of this, hip-hop has emerged as an alternative movement with intent to counteract these attitudes and relationships.

South Asians in Britain first became involved with rap and hip-hop culture in the early 1980's and were originally graffiti artists and break-dancers.[70] Hip-hop defined many South Asians' position in British society. Rap was often seen as a way to utilize "frame alignments" that were defined as ways to re-assert the pyramid of power between minority and majority status in Britain; by protesting against what were deemed as "tolerance" policies in the United Kingdom, South Asian rap artists were asserting their own roles in Western society but were thus "framed" to associate with the "desi diaspora" as a whole.[71] Hustlers HC, founded in West London in 1991, is a hip-hop/rap group composed mainly of Sikhs.[72] In their lyrics they state, "Hey yo I see big trouble down in Little Asia, For an Asian growing up things get crazier and crazier for my culture does not fit in with yours, your corrupt culture makes my rich culture look poor."[73] These lyrics demonstrate varied ideas. One of these is the focus that many South Asian

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[68] Drissel, 205.
[69] Drissel, 205.
[70] Drissel, 210.
[71] Drissel, 202.
[72] Drissel, 210.
[73] Drissel, 210.

alternative groups have on pan-Asian unity as a way to fight racism in Britain. As well, Hustlers HC focuses on this re-assertion of power by defining British culture as "corrupt" and their culture as "rich" stating that in fact the power remains in the hands of immigrants whose culture is morally elevated.

Another aspect of immigrant movements in Britain is the focus by the government and policymakers on Islam. Islam is framed as a "cultural" rather than religious phenomenon. As in France, Islam is framed as "cool" and is linked to subversive and alternative musical cultures and values throughout Europe.[74] South Asian hip-hop in Britain has been a platform for immigrants to re-negotiate their identities.[75] However, immigrant rap in Britain differentiates itself from rap in other European nations. It is utilized as a way for South Asians to re-assert their power with reference to the British government after decolonization. Protesting against multi-culturalism through their lyrics is a way for South Asians to insinuate that a social practice that "forces" the British government to accept the traditions of South Asian immigrants is condescending. In this way, rap not only helps South Asians to protest in the United Kingdom, but also provides them with an apparatus for expression of their discontents.

A Different but Similar Movement: A Look at the Sans-Papiers *in France and Spain*

The *sans-papiers* ("without papers") movement in France is an example of immigrant protest that differs from the Franco-Maghrebi artistic movement. In August of 1996, French riot police stormed Saint Bernard Church in Paris; this location was chosen by illegal immigrants protesting their status as foreigners in France and many children, women, and men were dragged

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[74] Drissel, 213.
[75] Drissel, 219.

out of the church violently.[76] Unlike hip-hop in France, much of the focus of the sans-papiers

movement is centered on legal national status rather than culture. Individuals from West Africa,

North Africa, and even non-former colonies such as China were all subject to racial

discrimination in France and were a part of the sans-papiers movement.[77] Another unique aspect

of the movement is the attention that it received from non-immigrants, celebrities, and white

French born citizens. Due to media coverage and the police violence associated with the sans-

papiers, French individuals from all over the country united with the sans-papiers movement.[78]

The diversity of the individuals involved and attention the movement received were unique

factors of protests in France. The movement focused on those deprived of basic rights and was

known to be "remarkably heterogeneous," in both ethnicity and legal status.[79]

The sans-papiers, despite their focus on legalization and their diverse nature, have many

similarities to the Franco-Maghrebi hip-hop movement. Through hunger strikes and occupation,

many sans-papiers expressed their discontent at having to live in banlieues due to lack of papers;

they utilized the language of "human rights" and the tradition of equality that is present in French

vocabulary.[80] However, the sans-papiers unlike the Franco-Maghrebi artists, have achieved some

political success; this may be because of their intensive critical focus on law and language rather

than social standards. When Prime Minister Lionel Jospin's socialist government achieved

power, they granted the sans-papiers certain rights and gave citizenship to those who fulfilled

conditions set by the government.[81] The sans-papiers achieved success because of their focus on

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[76] Ticktin, 31.
[77] Ticktin, 50.
[78] Ticktin, 32.
[79] Ticktin, 33.
[80] Ticktin, 35.
[81] Ticktin, 34.

the way that "universalist" values are greatly misinterpreted in France; they held the French state

accountable for their rights.[82] Another reason the sans-papiers succeeded was their statement that

they were victims suffering from conservative laws around legalization; they established their

own power hegemony, which worked in their favor.[83] Franco-Maghrebi rappers in France have

yet to do the same but can utilize the sans-papiers as an example for how to succeed as a

legislative movement.

A brief mention of the sans-papiers equivalent movement in Spain allows for

juxtaposition between the movements in different national settings. Spain's immigrant

population is stereotypically associated with Islam because many North Africans settled in Al-

Andalus in the early periods of movement from the region and still retain their lifestyles in this

area of Southern Spain.[84] Whereas Muslims were once seen as an accepted part of Southern

Spanish society they are now viewed as a potential threat to Spain's unity with the Schengen

Zone. A 1985 law, *Ley Orgánica de Extranerjía,* was an attempt by the government to close the

Spanish border in order to retain Spain's position in the European Union.[85] Many immigrants,

Muslim and others, within Spain, began to suffer because of the stringent views on migration

that gained popularity during this period. A 1991 law attempted to address the issue of illegal

immigrants and promised to grant a number of immigrants their rightful status and papers.[86]

However, because of money and lack of connections, many immigrants remained without

papers. They protested against this by setting up Non-Governmental Organizations that

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[82] Ticktin, 48.
[83] Ticktin, 58.
[84] Liliana Suarez-Navaz, *Rebordering the Mediterranean: Boundaries and Citizenship in Southern Europe* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005): 2.
[85] Suarez-Navaz, 3.
[86] Suarez-Navaz, 120.

addressed the needs of the Spanish immigrants without papers. This included providing

resources as well as connections into the immigration realm in the country.[87] However, while

many immigrants were able to get their papers through these organizations, the movement still

left many immigrants without status in an increasingly multicultural nation. Movements

throughout Europe represent not only the ambitious nature of immigrant groups, but also draw

attention to the problems within these societies. Rap in France is a counter-movement against

assimilation that helps to demonstrate the resentment artists encounter with regards to the

treatment their communities historically experience.

Rap in France: A Brief History

Rap appeared in France in the 1980s. Since its arrival, it has developed from its American

origins, evolving into its own genre and becoming widely popular throughout the country.[88] The

beginning of the hip-hop movement began with the alternative anti-disco campaign of the early

1980's that was mostly supported by young Caribbean immigrants; hip-hop's popularity was

further prompted by Francois Mitterrand's promotion of free non-nationalized radio in France in

1981.[89] The first rap artists emerged during this time, and started recording. In 1985, Dee Nasty

produced the first rap record in France, and in 1990 the first rap anthology was composed titled

"rapattitudes."[90] A variety of musicians followed Dee Nasty's steps. They were immigrants and

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[87] Suarez-Navaz, 121.
[88] Alain-Philippe Durand, "Introduction," in *Black, Blanc, Beur: Rap Music and Hip-Hop Culture in the Francophone World,* ed. by Alain-Philippe Durand (Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, 2002): xiv.
[89] Andre J.M Prevos, "Two Decades of Rap in France: Emergence, Developments, Prospects," in *Black, Blanc, Beur: Rap Music and Hip-Hop Culture in the Francophone World,* ed. by Alain-Philippe Durand (Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, 2002): 1.
[90] Prevos, 4.

French citizens as well as political activists. Rap groups of immigrant origin include MC Solaar, who was the first African rapper, Suprême NTM, who were extreme rappers creating music for political causes, and Yazid, who was noted for his first album titled "Je suis l'Arab," or "I am the Arab."[91] During this time, Franco-Maghrebi rappers began to form an interest in hip-hop and gained popularity alongside other Arab and African-French artists of this time.

One of the original forms of Maghrebi music introduced into France was the Algerian genre called *raï*. It developed in Oran, Algeria in the 1920s as a resistance movement in favor of the Algerian Nationalist Party known as the National Liberation Front (FLN).[92] In France, immigrant communities embraced raï throughout the twentieth century. It became among the first genres of resistance music for Franco-Maghrebis. It was popularized in Algeria as a "…genre reflecting socio-cultural change from a passive to a more active position among the youth."[93] This was also the role that it took in France: giving youth a voice in a changing cultural society. Disaffected Algerian youth in France adopted it as a popular genre before the onset of rap. Artists such as Cheb Khaled gained popularity in the late twentieth century for their combination of raï and French pop music; many Maghrebis in France especially in Marseille, looked to this form of music and to Cheb Khaled for comfort in compliance with Maghrebi identity, and it influenced many Franco-Maghrebis to establish musical movements of their own.[94] Raï was itself an immigrant genre as "avec les immigres Algèriens, le raï traversa la mediterranee et s'installa dans les quartiers majorite maghrebine ou les artistes, dits cheb ou,

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[91] Prevos, 14.

[92] Joan Gross, David McMurray and Ted Swedenburg, "Raï, Rap, and Ramadan Nights: Franco-Maghrebi Cultural Identities," *Middle East Report* 178 (Sept.-Oct., 1992): 12.

[93] Marc Schade-Poulsen, *Men and Popular Music in Algeria: The Social Significance of Raï* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999): 20.

[94] Gross,14.

pour les femmes, chava, s'exhibaient dans les cabarets parisiens ou marseillais."[95] The

installation of raï in immigrant neighborhoods emphasized the importance of retaining cultural

attributes for the Algerian diaspora. Raï was also was a model for many artistic protest

movements in France. Groups, such as IAM formed during the early period of rap in France and

began to utilize the influence of raï and hip-hop as a cultural form of protest and expression.

IAM is one of the most popular rap groups in France of immigrant origins. The group

formed around 1989 and came out with their first hit, "Je Danse le MIA," to both mock but also

show affection for their hometown of Marseille.[96] The development of IAM, a group whose

name references "Alien Invasion of Mars" insinuating the large amount of "aliens" or

immigrants in Marseille (and a play on the word "Mars"), has allowed artists such as La Fonky

Family, Le Troisieme Oeil, and Faf Larage to produce their own music and to heighten

Marseillais cultural emphasis.[97] Rap in France and in Marseille developed from this period

onwards. It became an important part of the burgeoning music scene and also played a vital role

in developing political endeavors for immigrants in France.

Lastly, it is important in this introduction to rap in France, to contemplate the question of

why a genre mainly utilized by African-Americans in inner-city communities is now employed

universally as an outlet for minorities in Europe who face difficulties in relation to the

hierarchies around race and class in their societies. This discussion is complex and is a

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[95] "With the Algerian immigrants, Raï crossed the Mediterranean and installed itself in the majority Maghrebi neighborhoods or artists, called Cheb, or for women, Chava, were exhibited in the Cabarets in Paris and Marseille," Author's translation. Gabriele Marranci, "Le Raï Aujourd'hui: Entre metissage musical et world music moderne," *Cahiers de Musiques Traditionnelles* 13, no. 1 (2000): 139.

[96] Jean-Marie Jacono, "Musical Dimensions and Ways of Expressing Identity in French Rap: The Groups From Marseille," in *Black, Blanc, Beur: Rap Music and Hip-Hop Culture in the Francophone World,* ed. by Alain-Philippe Durand (Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, 2002): 25.

[97] Jacono, 22.

potentially engrossing topic of research. One hypothesis is that the two-fold dialectic around

African-Americans in American society influences other minorities. The discussion is as such:

African-Americans have historically been a marginalized group, and therefore their utilization of

rap as a form of ethnic representation has staying power. Secondly, while slight, African-

Americans have made strides in terms of hierarchy and hegemony in the United States. Other

minority groups throughout the world view these successes and utilize rap in hopes of gaining

their own legitimization in their home countries. The topic is complicated; however, the

utilization of rap by minority or persecuted groups is a ubiquitous concept not only in Europe but

also throughout South America, Asia, and the Middle East and beyond.

Rap in Marseille: A City Apart

The Stereotypes

Marseille is a city that is stereotypically associated with two concepts: immigrants and

crime. Due to its proximity to the coast, migrant workers from Algeria and Morocco flocked to

Marseille establishing its reputation as a hub of North African and immigrant activity and

culture. [98] However, Marseille is recognized as a rough city because of its high crime rates.

Many in France and abroad are known to flee to Marseille if they have financial or criminal

problems.[99] Its reputation is supported by statistics. In 2012, there were more than 24 murders in

the city and the average rate of crime, 5.3 per 100,000, is more than five times the national

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[98] Emile Temime, "The Maghrebin. Or North African Culture in Marseille, France: between the visible and the invisible; between acceptance and repression," *Museum International* 59, no. 1/2 (2007): 21.
[99] Christopher Dickey, "Marseille's Melting Pot," *National Geographic* 221, no. 3 (2012): 126.

figure.[100] Because of this, Marseille is viewed as predominantly poor as well as rampant with internal urban issues. It is a place where "…many young people of African origin…" live; because of racial stereotypes in France, poor academic performance, drugs, unemployment, and social tensions in Marseille are customarily seen as a result of the high population of immigrants.[101] Despite these prototypical associations, the alternative musical movements make Marseille a fascinating place to live and perform. Statistics support criminal stereotypes; however positive internal attitudes about the city negate the association that it is a bad place to live and work. The urban planning of Marseille as well as its relaxed attitude towards multi-culturalism allows space for immigrant alternative movements to thrive.

Marseille – An Integrated Space

The spatial outline of Marseille and the urban planning of the city integrate its inhabitants. Residents of Marseille live among one another and enjoy frequent cultural interactions. No matter where a resident hails from – Algeria, Morocco, Comoros Islands, or even France – when asked where they are from, they simply all state Marseille.[102] The multicultural neighborhoods help to inspire this feeling. Residential communities such as Noailles are poor, mainly inhabited by North Africans, and are under-funded; yet they are in the center of town.[103] Because of this placement, residents feel that they belong to Marseille. Unlike

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[100] Sam Ball, "Shootings reignite debate over 'crime capital' Marseille," *France 24,* September 6th, 2013, accessed 17th November 2013, www.france24.com/en/20130906-shootings-reignite-debate-over-france-crime-capital-marseille.
[101] Jacono, 23.
[102] Dickey, 1.
[103] Michael Kimmelman, "In Marseille, Rap Helps Keep the Peace," *The New York Times*, December 19th, 2007, accessed 15th November 2013, www.nytimes.com/2007/12/19/arts/music/19rap.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0, 1.

in Paris, where immigrants are physically segregated by the city's periphery, Marseille incorporates immigrants with Caucasian French neighborhoods to create a feeling of inclusion. Two additional cultural aspects of Marseille that bring the community together are soccer and the beach.

The shared pleasure at the beach and the enthusiasm for the "OM," ("Olympique de Marseille") the city's professional soccer team, keep the residents unified and at peace.[104] This tied urban identity is unique because it incorporates a claim to one city, rather than promoting national patriotism. Youssoufa, a young girl who works at a cultural center in Marseille, expresses the importance of the beach and states, "The new generation is much more of a mixture…there are a lot of different communities that mix, that mingle…with time, we've learned to live together."[105] The beach is a space that all residents utilize and enjoy. It promotes the commingling of ethnicities as well as classes. In addition, the soccer team from Marseille unites its residents. All inhabitants of the city, regardless of race or culture, attend the "OM" games to support one team. These qualities are what make Marseille such a great city for rappers to co-exist and produce art: they are better able to view the inequalities from afar to a certain extent. Yet, Marseille is not completely devoid of cultural disparity. Rappers are creating music that is influenced by injustices in their neighborhoods. Racial irregularity is still present in the city. Instead of determining its successes and failures, Marseille can be utilized as an example for how these problems could potentially be dispelled: through urban re-structuring and through the creation of multi-cultural spaces such as community centers or the soccer stadium.

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[104] Jacono, 24.
[105] Dickey, 1.

The Flavor of Marseille – a City Apart (Spatially and Socially)

The pivotal relationship that Marseille has with its musical movements is a result of both the social and urban structure of the city. The city stands apart because of the high population of immigrants, the specified urban planning of its neighborhoods, and because of the way that the residents interact. It is the anti-Paris. The rappers that produce music in Marseille claim that their city outdoes Paris in terms of its cultural stimulation and appreciation of diversity. The current mayor of Marseille, Jean-Claude Gaudin, is a stern defender of the Republican values touted by right wing parties in France. However he acknowledges the importance of working with both the immigrant and Muslim populations in his city; he chooses to socially integrate them rather than castigate them for their differences.[106] The plaza at Porte d'Aix where casbah merchants and shop owners sell tea, Moroccan sweets and Islamic veils occupies the center of Marseille.[107] It is a part of the city that celebrates the culture of the Moroccan population. Gaudin is a part of this inclusive feeling. Yet, a change in leadership in Marseille could lead the city in a different direction. Gaudin's positive attitudes on multi-culturalism display his liberalism. A change in mayoral candidacy could powerfully alter the attitudes of the urban and social space and allow room for ethnic bigotry and intolerance. More conservative leadership could limit the space that Franco-Maghrebis have for expression in Marseille.

Where Paris' violent riots in the banlieues are incited by financial inequality and racial discrimination, a part of Marseille's importance is the relative lack of violent protests. In 2005, riots tore apart Paris' suburbs. However, Marseille remained calm.[108] In 2007, in Marseille, a police car killed a young man named Nelson Lobry-Gazelle and four hundred people

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[106] Dickey, 2.
[107] Dickey, 2.
[108] Kimmelman, "In Marseille," 1.

demonstrated; yet, the protest was so peaceful that it didn't make headlines.[109] The explanations

for this are varied; one of the reasons is because of Marseille's attempts to appreciate diversity.

Marseille's history is not devoid of violent rioting. However, Marseille is politically different. It

refuses to accept the same social institutions; Parisian attitudes include relegating immigrants to

space outside the city and viewing culture as an enactment of rebellion against historical French

ideals. Scholar Seth Whidden states, "Like the planet which has resisted efforts of exploration

and settlement, Marseille has resisted integration into the Parisian sphere of influence."[110]

Marseille is characterized as a space for artistic and cultural expression. This is true for

immigrant groups as well. Marseille is a twin to Paris in terms of its size and importance but is a

fraternal relative with regards to its social influence.

Marseille – A Rapper's Paradise

The melting-pot construction of Marseille led to the development of a unique rap

movement. It is a musical phenomenon that is dissimilar to the ones in Paris because of its

adherence and dedication to the city and the socially conscious lyrics. In Marseille, hip-hop is

made for the neighborhoods and artists are popularized when they gain social and political

respect. DJ Sya Styles, a hip-hop artist living in Marseille states that rap is not the same business

in Marseille as it is in Paris; artists must first prove themselves by emphasizing a dedication to

their city.[111] Rap draws attention to residential problems. In 2005, French Parliament brought a

suit against seven rap groups for fostering hatred against whites and for anti-French sentiments;

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[109] Kimmelman, "In Marseille," 1.
[110] Seth Whidden, "French Rap Music Going Global: IAM, They Were, We Are," *The French Review* 80, no. 5 (Apr., 2007): 1012.
[111] Kimmelman, "In Marseille," 1.

none of these groups were from Marseille.[112] This is because the rap from Marseille is not a rebellion against political entities in France but instead brings positive attention to the city. Marseille presents hip-hop as a respected art form so that local and immigrant artists can achieve notoriety. As one young rapper from Marseille states, "Here there is a culture of respect…we're all Marseillais."[113] The artist iterates the purpose behind the hip-hop movements in Marseille: we are all one community that shares in its problems and we must bring attention to them in a respectable manner. Racism and cultural discrimination are problems to an extent in Marseille. North African and wealthier households remain relatively segregated. However, there is more mobility in Marseille to move between these communities both physically and fiscally.[114] Rappers draw attention to these negative and positive aspects of the city in their lyrics.

The communities of Marseille mix and mingle socially during their everyday activities and through art. It is evident that Marseille is a location performing integration. This is completed through the utilization of important social institutions in the city including the soccer field and the beach. Hip-hop artists in the region, especially those from North African backgrounds, draw attention to Marseille's importance and also assist in the performance of the city's assimilationist characteristics. Marseille cannot function alone without its immigrant generations. Marseille and Franco-Maghrebi rappers perform integration in a unified manner. Marseille fosters the expression of rap and hip-hop brings attention to Marseille's positive aspects. One group that represents and established the hip-hop movement in Marseille is IAM. They both initiated the political role rap has in France and also helped to bring attention to the importance of Marseille, a city previously ignored.

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[112] Kimmelman, "In Marseille," 1.
[113] Kimmelman, "In Marseille," 1.
[114] Kimmelman, "In Marseille," 1.

Les Rappeurs: IAM and L'Algerino

IAM

 IAM, one of the first popular rap groups in France, is famous for becoming one of the earliest groups to rap about the problems faced by immigrants in French society and emphasize Marseille's positive aspects. IAM was formed in 1989 and they were an instantaneous hit in Marseille.[115] The members are from various backgrounds and are either first or second-generation immigrants. Their ethnicities range from Malagasy, Senegalese, Spanish pied-noir, Algerian, to Italian; because of the groups' diversity they promote multi-racial multi-culturalism, and they characterize Marseille as such in their lyrics.[116] The focus on the group will include two rappers: Malek Sultan of Algerian origin who was raised in Marseille and Imhotep of Spanish origin who was born in Algiers as a pieds noirs. The identities of the two are important to the overall interpretation of the group's value. The discussion of IAM will center on firstly, their hit number, "Je Danse le MIA*"* and their songs, "Nés sous la même étoile*"* and "Pain au chocolat," all of which emphasize their performance as immigrants. Lastly, there will be a discussion on the ways that IAM performs both subversion and integration as residents of Marseille and as active players in the fields of music and politics.

Malek Sultan and Imhotep

 The immigrant identities of Malek Sultan and Imhotep are important to discuss because of the differentiating ways they are understood in France. Imhotep's name is associated with a

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[115] Ted Swedenburg, "Islamic Hip-Hop vs. Islamophobia: Aki Nawaz, Natacha Atlas, Akhenaton," in *Global Noise: Rap and Hip-Hop Outside the USA,* ed. by Tony Mitchell (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press 2001), 57.
[116] Swedenburg, 57.

period in which the members of IAM chose labels from ancient North African history. Dropped in their later years, IAM's choice of an affiliation with historical Egypt draws influence from American Afro-centrism and a focus on ancient African civilizations.[117] I analyze IAM as a whole group because of the importance of their image and their lyrics. They draw influence from colonialism and the complex identities of their members both as a group and individually. Sultan can be seen as integrating into mainstream popular culture but also subverting French values. Imhotep can be viewed as a traitor to his European origins, fighting for the subversive efforts of the ethnic Algerians around him. Both are attempting to integrate into French culture without shedding the characteristics of their ethnicities. Imhotep is European-born, but his childhood has been influenced by Algerian culture. Imhotep and Sultan have lived most of their lives in the challenging areas of Marseille. Therefore both are important to an understanding of North African identities in France.

Sultan and Imhotep's identities influence their music. They are attempting to "…construct cultural-political space for themselves as ethnicized 'Muslims' in Europe, and are actively involved in anti-racist movements."[118] Imhotep is not racially Algerian nor has immigrant status. Most pieds noirs families are easily integrated both culturally and financially into French society because of their race. However, Imhotep experienced a particular side of the culture. He moved into a predominantly immigrant neighborhood in Marseille and experienced the effects of integration that his fellow colleagues and friends encountered. Sultan experienced similar conditions in Marseille because he is a second-generation Algerian. Due to these

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[117] Jacono, 25.
[118] Swedenburg, 57.

circumstances, Imhotep and Malek Sultan from the group IAM, are exemplar for representing the complexities around integration and immigration.

"Je Danse le MIA": *How Marseille Became Magnifique*

IAM popularized the city of Marseille with their most famous hit, "Je Danse le MIA." "Je Danse le MIA" tells the story of the boys' experiences in Marseille nightclubs in the 1980's and puts a humorous spin on a place with a dark past. The song established Marseille as a "cool" city and residents were soon proud to be citizens of its boundaries.[119] The song depicts a scene in which the men are out in the club scene of Marseille. They drink, hit on women, speed in their vehicles, and there is a suggestion of drug use. The song sells Marseille as both a dangerous and suave city in an enticing way. It also displays the mistakes the members of IAM make as teenagers and gives audience members a way to recognize their own youth in the lyrics. Listeners envision Marseille as a "hip" city to go out in on a Saturday night. The song insinuates that race and ethnicity are not an important part of belonging in Marseille. Instead they emphasize an enjoyment of life as well as the characteristics of the city.

In "Je Danse le MIA," IAM states, "Nous sommes ensemble ce soir pour une soire de bonheur musical avec un grand concours de danse."[120] "The mia" is seen as a new and original dance move that is unique to Marseille. They state, "d'eux personne ne touchait une bille on dansait le mia."[121] IAM also recalls the memories of their favorite locales in Marseille. In the

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[119] Jacono, 25.
[120] "We're together tonight for an evening of good music with a big dance contest," Author's translation. IAM, "Je danse le mia," *Lyricsmode*, www.lyricsmode.com/lyrics/i/iam/je_danse_le_mia.html, (accessed November 12th, 2013).
[121] "Nobody touched a ball, they just danced the mia," Author's translation. IAM, "*Je Danse le MIA.*"

first refrain they state, "je te propose un voyage dans le temps, via plante Marseille."[122] The song became extremely popular in France. It was representative of the expansion of tolerance towards music created by immigrant groups. "Je danse le MIA" was not only a way for IAM to demonstrate its city, its integration into France, and its cultural expression. But at the time "Je Danse le MIA" performed Marseille into cool-ness. This was something viewed as virtually impossible before this period.

"Nés sous la même étoile"

In what follows, I analyze IAM's identity and their subversive and integrative ideologies by examining their songs: "Nés sous la même étoile," written and produced in 1998, and "Pain au chocolat," from 2013. While the differences between the songs are slight, the contrasts present IAM's protests of immigrant disparities in Marseille as well as their acceptance and social integration into French society. In 1998, they were gaining popularity but still faced the issues associated with immigration to France. By 2013, they were considered an important part of French mainstream musical culture and no longer as alternative.

In "Nés sous la même étoile," ("Born Under the Same Star"), IAM raps about the life of a Franco-Maghrebi in Marseille versus that of a white French citizen. The song states, "Lui a droit a des études poussées, pourquoi j'ai pas assez d'argent pour acheter, leurs livres et leurs cahiers, pourquoi j'ai du stopper les cours, pourquoi lui n'avait de frère á nourrir, pourqoi j'ai dealé

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[122] "I propose a trip in time, via the factories of Marseille," referring to the place of employment for many immigrants in Marseille when they first arrive, Author's translation. IAM," *Je Danse le MIA."*

chaque jour."[123] IAM is referring to the conditions of immigrants living in poor neighborhoods in Marseille. Franco-Maghrebis are suffering from disparate conditions in France including a perceived sense of social stagnation behind white French born citizens and general embarrassment in schools due to lack of resources. The song also states, "Pale de peur devant mon père, ma soeur portrait le voile je revois, à l'école les gosses qui la croisent, se poelent, c'est rien lea, si on étati moins scrupuleux, un peu de jeu du feu on serait comme eux."[124] Here, they are emphasizing the troubles that occur within their families. They are referencing the idea that French white citizens do not incur the same injustices in their families and that the nuclear family is something achievable. In "Pain au chocolat," IAM discusses unemployment and decrepit housing that affect most Franco-Maghrebi families in Marseille.

"Pain au chocolat"

Their 2013 song "Pain au Chocolat" and new album as a whole represent the way that IAM has been integrated into mainstream pop culture. The song mirrors the themes present in "Nés sous la même étoile," and references the juxtaposition of race present between white "pain" (bread) and African "chocolat." However, IAM is evidently more assimilated in the later song. This can be viewed in their sarcasm and ability to discuss the issues at hand. IAM's more contemporary pieces discuss issues around unemployment and housing but the group maintains a certain distance from these predicaments in their lyrics. This illustrates that they no longer

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[123] "He has the right to studies, why do I not have enough money for books and notebooks, why did I have to stop my studies, why doesn't he have a brother to feed, why must I deal with this everyday?" Author's translation. IAM, "Nés sous la même étoile," *Rapgenius,* http://rapgenius.com/Iam-nes-sous-la-meme-etoile-lyrics#lyric (accessed November 3rd, 2013).
[124] "Pale with fear before my father, my sister wears the veil, I revise, at school the guys who believe, it's never Lea, if I have less, a little game of fire, we liked them," Author's translation. IAM, "Nés sous la même étoile.*"*

experience these problems to the same extent that they once did. IAM do not bring attention to their problems, but instead re-emphasize the importance of diversity in a way that will reach wider audiences. This re-emphasis is possible because of their popularity. They speak of issues such as unemployment and racism when they state: "Eternels recales, on squatte le banc ou le chomage à l'année," and "Les mauvais noms sur le CV et voila le job qui s'en va."[125] The shift in tone between the songs displays their assimilation into society. IAM is more distanced from their past conditions. They still recognize the issues that affect immigrant communities.

Their earlier song discusses living in a bad neighborhood and the problems of youth. It takes on a serious and sad tone. Their lyrics emphasize the ways that IAM as a group is able to express its sentiments of anger and aggression towards the French government and society. "Pain au Chocolat," right down to the name, takes a sillier, sarcastic tone but discusses serious issues. These problems include unemployment and racial stereotyping. The group emphasizes less their inability to gain access to the rights that French citizens have. IAM is assimilated socially. Yet, they also do justice in drawing attention to immigrant issues in the mainstream. The respect they have gained in mass culture is evident. They have not been integrated according to French standards, but instead informally practice multi-culturalism through their lyrics.

The Simultaneous Performance of Integration and Subversion: "Acceptable Deviance"

IAM are non-traditionally assimilating into society. IAM do not shed their cultural characteristics to act completely "French." Instead, they create a space for "acceptable

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[125] "Eternally recalled, one squats on the bench or unemployment each year," Author's translation. Second quote: "The wrong name on the CV and voila, the job ceases to exist," Author's translation. IAM, "Pain au chocolat*," 13or-du-hiphop*, www.13or-du-hiphop.fr/parole/iam-pain-au-chocolat-14855.html (accessed November 3rd, 2013).

deviance."[126] This concept describes the manner in which they retain aspects of their ethnicity while integrating socially through popular culture and mass media. Performing "acceptable deviance" signifies that IAM acts as both an integrative and subversive force in France. By rapping about the problems that many ethnic citizens, North Africans, and other immigrants face in society, they are subverting their French-ness and drawing attention to their desire to retain ethnic traditions. However, the French government does not ban IAM unlike other groups such as Suprême NTM and similar Parisian hard-core rappers. Instead, it allows IAM to perform displaying French authority's concession to a limited sense of cultural diversity. The government is acquiescing to the ethnic groups who desire their own space for politics in the country. This allowance to perform concerts by the French police and government also gives IAM the chance to flourish in the popular culture scene and reveals their importance to modern French youth.

It is evident that IAM is establishing a compromise between the "re-creation" of the North African household and French-ness.[127] No concrete social policy changes have been made as a result of the popularity of rap. However, Marseille's performance of multi-culturalism and IAM's implementation of integration and subversion exemplify the potential these methods have for success in an increasingly diverse France. The idea of "acceptable deviance" can be utilized in many contexts in the country: by allowing the turban or the veil, celebrating the Arabic language, and in the acceptance that North Africans have inevitably become a force in the country that conservatives can no longer deny are present. IAM perpetuates the following illustrations: they demonstrate the increasing importance that immigrant groups have to the arts

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[126] Anne-Marie Green, "Social Stakes and New Musical Styles," in *Black, Blanc, Beur: Rap Music and Hip-Hop Culture in the Francophone World*, ed. by Alain-Philippe Durand (Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, 2002), 80.
[127] Echchaibi, 299.

and society in France, and they pressure the French government to critique outdated

revolutionary ideals that presently rule a new and increasingly contemporary cultural nation.

L'Algerino

L'Algerino, born in Marseille of Algerian descent, is an emblematic example of a modern

day second-generation rapper creating music that illuminates Franco-Maghrebi disparities in

France. He has gained notoriety in the French music world. This is evident by his Facebook and

Myspace pages with over 651,000 "likes" on his pages. He is very popular in France despite

lyrics that address issues of race and its intersection with economy, society, and politics. As a

beur, L'Algerino is defining his own path in French society and he utilizes his Facebook page as

a forum of expression for Franco-Maghrebis to discuss their tastes in both music and policy.[128]

Because of his status as a French citizen and ethnic Algerian, L'Algerino's music is creating a

space for hip-hop to be "French" but also politically constructive.

L'Algerino's music seeks "…to construct normative orientations for actions, combining

the values of a global society in which these youths would like to be integrated and recognized

for those values belonging to micro-societies."[129] L'Algerino also performs "acceptable

deviance." He does so by idealizing in his lyrics that Maghrebis can be a "normative" part of

French society in the public sphere; however, he also attempts to subvert French culture by

bringing attention to the issues of "micro-societies" in France. This term refers to minority and

immigrant groups but emphasizes the segregation these groups experience as their own

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[128] "L'Algerino," *Facebook*, www.facebook.com/lalgerinopageofficielle, (accessed January 15, 2014).
[129] Manuel Boucher, "Rap: The Combinational Logics of Rogues," in *Black, Blanc, Beur: Rap Music and Hip-Hop Culture in the Francophone World*, ed. by Alain-Philippe Durand (Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, 2002), 70.

"societies." Part of the goal of rap and hip-hop music is to create a new type of assimilation

through the acceptance of these micro-societies into the macro-society that is segregating them.

Much like other rappers in France and specifically, Marseille, L'Algerino draws attention to the

problems of housing, economics, and schooling that are present among Franco-Maghrebi

communities. Examining the songs "Enfant de Marseille" and "Marchand de Rêve," it is evident

the ways that L'Algerino both integrates with and subverts French societal norms. He is popular

and accepted by the majority culture; however his lyrics insinuate an activist stance because of

his stern representation of minority groups.

"Enfant de Marseille"

In "Enfant de Marseille," (2007) L'Algerino discusses the difficulties he and his family

faced as Franco-Maghrebis living in Marseille.[130] He states, "…une famille des plus modeste à la

rue Parmentiers on était 7 à vivre dans un pièce mon pére travaillait 15 heur par jours et j'le

voyait que le soir le regard marqué par le ciment et la routine bref après 4 ans passé dans se

taudis force de démenage vu que la famille c'est agrandit 143 rue Felix…."[131] Here, L'Algerino

touches upon the difficulties that his family faced in terms of employment, housing, and

economics. While his father did have a job, he was forced to work many hours in order to

support his large family. The lyrics insinuate that this is a repetitive complaint among Franco-

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[130] "Enfant de Marseille," *Parolesmania*,
www.parolesmania.com/paroles_lalgerino_14710/paroles_lenfant_de_marseille_472979.html
(accessed January 16, 2014).
[131] "A family the most modest at Parmentiers street, they lived 7 in one apartment, my father
worked 15 hours per day and I saw it, the evening look of cement and routine after four years
had passed, I was forced to move out because the family was large, to 143 Felix street," Author's
translation. L'Algerino, "Enfant de Marseille," *13or-du-hiphop,* www.13or-du-
hiphop.fr/parole/lalgerino-enfant-de-marseille-1387.html (accessed November 3rd, 2013).

Maghrebi families. As well, L'Algerino discusses the difficulty he faced when his family forced him to move away from home. His house was not large enough to accommodate the members of his household. The discussion of the size of his home emphasizes the inability of his family to find larger housing as well as to help their son when it was time for him to move out. The lyrics illustrate many difficulties in a short sentence: economic instability in terms of housing and work, the loss of childhood, and a feeling of injustice in French society. However, he also briefly touches upon race in his song.

L'Algerino also states in the song, "J'allais zappé mes origins Algerien c'est pour sa que j'ai la tête dur d'origine."[132] In these lyrics, he discuses the ideas of identity and race. He states that he has "origins" but that he is also a French citizen. Yet, his roots do not allow him full access to European society. Underlying themes of racism and ethnic discrimination are not often iterated within French songs. L'Algerino is famous for directly addressing inequality. He focuses on the social barriers such as employment and language that many Franco-Maghrebis experience. These barriers prevent them from gaining full assimilation into French culture even if these individuals are citizens.

Lastly, L'Algerino states, "Yeah, c'est sa ma vie l'Algerino Marseille du parc à la Savine."[133] While this last sentence does emphasize L'Algerino's conditions as a young boy from a bad neighborhood, it delineates the double meaning of his name "Algerino" meaning he is the Algerian from Marseille. He mentions this to remind listeners that while he raps in French and mentions the importance of his city, he is still ethnically Algerian and consistently draws

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[132] "I was zapping my Algerian or Maghrebi origins, it is hard, I have the head of the origin," Author's translation. L'Algerino, *"Enfant de Marseille."*
[133] "Yeah that's my life of Algerino of Marseille at the Park of Savine," Author's translation. L'Algerino, *"Enfant de Marseille."*

attention to this ethnicity. The important elements of the song are L'Algerino's discussions of his

childhood in Marseille. He is from "Parc à la Savine," a troublesome area of Marseille. He

emphasizes that he changed from a young Algerian struggling to a wealthy French musician. His

next song displays this change and how L'Algerino assimilated socially into French society. The

lyrics L'Algerino's conditions in the modern day and display how much has changed between

his life as a young man and as a popular media star today.

"Marchand de Rêve"

"Marchand de Rêve" illustrates the way that music has defined L'Algerino's assimilation

into society: the meaning is "dealer" or "merchant of dreams." [134] Whereas in his previous song,

"Enfant de Marseille," he felt unstable in a world that was against him both racially and socially,

this song discusses his rise to fame which has enabled him to socially assimilate into French

culture. He is comfortable in bringing attention to the issues that other Franco-Maghrebis have in

this context because of his accepted fame. He is irreplaceable as an artist and therefore is allowed

to perform even when his lyrics touch upon difficult truths.

In "Marchand de Rêve," L'Algerino states: "Entre l'Algerie et la France demande pas de

faire un choix citoyen du monde je me sens chez moi partout a l'aise dans mes baskets de traine

mon facies partout."[135] L'Algerino now feels he is a "citizen of the world"; this insinuates his

development from being entangled between his ethnicity and his citizenship. He now feels

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[134] "Marchand de Rêve*," Parolesmania*,
www.parolesmania.com/paroles_lalgerino_14710/paroles_marchand_de_reve_1388378.html
(accessed January 16, 2014).

[135] "Enter the Algerian and the French, don't ask me to make a choice, citizen of the world, I feel
at home anywhere at ease in my sneakers throughout," Author's translation. L'Algerino,
"Marchand de Rêve," 13or-du-hiphop, www.13or-du-hiphop.fr/parole/lalgerino-marchand-de-
reve-10048.html (accessed November 3rd, 2013).

confident in his national identity. The lyrics emphasize that he feels comfortable in his "sneakers" which can be interpreted as his own ethnic, cultural, or national shoes. He does not occupy himself with the problems of housing, economic instability, and his family and instead has time to "dream." L'Algerino is both assimilating into and at the same time subverting from society. He is subversive because he draws attention to his inability to make the choice between being Algerian and French. He does not state simply "I am French," but instead highlights the issues around the choice of identity that integration forces upon immigrants and second-generation individuals. In this very line, his subversion and integration are evident in the way that he uniquely navigates the two. He does so by stating that he feels "comfortable" in his skin and therefore is integrated into society, but also subverts from mainstream culture and French nationalism by stating that he will not shed his identity and that he feels that he is a citizen of many countries.

L'Algerino also states, "Je revais de parcourir le monde, mais on m'a dit que le soleil ne brillait pas pour tout le monde…ça fait longtemps que je n'ai plus de souhait, ressentu quand je change la gorge noué…."[136] This section illustrates L'Algerino's changes both in society and in his artistic life. He states that it has been a long time since he has not had any dreams. Now he is able to imagine a greater life. However, he does emphasize that dreaming is not possible for the entire population. Most North Africans living in France are limited from extending their lifestyle beyond their position as underprivileged. In this way, he is speaking both of his ability to integrate himself as a famous and wealthy individual into a better manner of living but also

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[136] "I dreamed of traveling the world, but they said the sun doesn't shine bright for all the world, it has been a long time that I have not had any wishes, felt when I had my throat tied," Author's translation. L'Algerino, "*Marchand de Rêve.*"

pointing out how many Franco-Maghrebis are unable to do the same under the conditions imposed by French society.

How does L'Algerino Perform Integration, Subversion, and "Acceptable Deviance?"

L'Algerino's lyrics are an example of the ways that he has performed integration, subversion, and "acceptable deviance." The significant shift in L'Algerino's words from his song about his childhood in Marseille to the point where he is a "dealer of dreams" shows how rap and fame have elevated him to the status of assimilation within French society. According to his Myspace page, L'Algerino performs quite frequently and is extremely popular in Marseille. He admits in his lyrics that he is, throughout time, able to accomplish greater things because of his status as a famed artist in France. This includes reaching out to fellow immigrant groups. In this way, he is integrated much like the other rap artists from Marseille. Unlike IAM, L'Algerino adheres to his Algerian community even if he was born French. In this way, he is subversive.

L'Algerino demonstrates subversive behavior because his lyrics draw attention to issues of race and poverty in France, and also because of his adherence and dedication to his Algerian ethnicity. He does not want to assimilate completely into French society. Instead, L'Algerino adheres to multi-culturalism and he desires to be a "citizen of the world." His Facebook page is encased with professions of love for Algeria. He sells t-shirts of the flag and posts advertisements about music coming out his home country. Yet, despite this, he is allowed to perform. In this way, he is a product of "acceptable deviance."

The French government utilizes L'Algerino in order to calm minorities on issues of discrimination. Yet, L'Algerino gives Franco-Maghrebis a space for expression. Much like the other rappers, he has not caused problems in society, yet has not professed his love for France.

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These artists are allowed to perform not because they provide a forum for change but instead, a forum for expression. L'Algerino and IAM utilize their music to demonstrate an expression of inequalities that is suppressed in French media and in policy. They are not changing legislation with their lyrics. They are providing a space for multi-culturalism and the expression of ethnicity.

Rap and the Performance of Nationalism, Race, and Integration

I argue that IAM and L'Algerino act as subversive and integrative forces simultaneously for Franco-Maghrebi culture in France and they perform a sense of "acceptable deviance." It is also necessary to look at the ways that they perform Islam, how they perform race and lastly, how these performances fit in with the discussion of integration. France deems any performance of a race other than "white" or patriotism towards any other nation than France as subversive, especially involving immigrants. IAM and L'Algerino do not intentionally perform Islam or race. This is not mentioned in their lyrics, on music blogs in France, on their Facebook or Myspace pages. However, their songs draw attention to the issues that affect North Africans in France and thus demonstrate in subtle ways a performance of their religion and culture.

The Performance of Islam as a Nation

Islam is seen globally as both a unifying power for alternative movements and as encroaching on the stability of a nation by European countries. In France, this "encroachment" is the case. Yet, most individuals coming from Algeria and Morocco are Muslim. Any manifestation of Islam by Muslim artists is seen and interpreted as a direct lack of assimilation

into the host country, whether the individual is a French citizen or not.[137] In the cases of IAM and L'Algerino, they do not directly discuss Islam often nor are they "Muslim rappers;" however in occasional songs they do discuss the "veil" and other culturally Muslim symbols that are often disregarded by French society. These references allow them to perform as subversive actors in European societies. Young hip-hop artists are, in addition, newly treating Islam as a "cool" and modernized phenomenon so that it gains respect among youth in Europe.[138] However, this re-assertion of Islam as hip has done little for their political motives.

One of the most important ways that IAM, L'Algerino and other artists throughout Europe perform Islam is with the common theme of "acceptable deviance." Muslim artists in Europe establish a balance between religious authority, morals, mission, and audience.[139] Franco-Maghrebi artists who are expressing their culture navigate their way into mainstream society with this "balance"; Muslim artists are allowed to perform in Europe, yet they are not considered assimilated. In this way, Islam as a national force in Europe is navigating the way that it should perform protest without being banned. The "nation of Islam" is not defined by governmental borders but instead by religious and cultural boundaries. They do not have to be close in proximity to unite for a common cause. IAM and L'Algerino are negotiating ways to mention their religion so as to remain a part of the united "nation" of Islam in Europe but also as a way to remain a part of the hip-hop public and popular scene in France.

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[137] Karin Van Nieuwkerk, "Artistic Developments in the Muslim Cultural Sphere: ethics, aesthetics, and the performing arts," in *Muslim Rap, Halal Soaps, and Revolutionary Theatre*, ed. by Karin Van Nieuwkerk (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011): 4.
[138] Van Nieuwkerk, 7.
[139] Van Nieuwkerk, 15.

In IAM's song "Nés sous la même étoile," the artists make a brief reference to Islam. The rapper states "ma soeur portait le voile."[140] This is the only allusion to religion within the piece, but its mention stands out among the other examples of suffering that the artist discusses. The mention of the veil touches upon two aspects of the performance of Islam. One is this idea that IAM is admitting to being part of a religious family so as to reach out to the suffering of other Muslims as a united force in Europe. Secondly, it illustrates the veil as a part of the protest against the encroachment of European and white privilege. The wearing of the veil is representative of a challenge of national authority in European societies because it is often banned in public places. For Muslims in France, it represents the retention of religious culture for those who wear it and for those who experience it as part of their family life.

IAM also refers to religion in their song "Pain au Chocolat" in which they state, "maintenant on est tous terrorists et maîtres artificers."[141] This refers to the common association of Muslims with terrorism. IAM is emphasizing an "us and them" theme again, illustrating their association with globalized Islam. All Franco-Maghrebis are seen as potential terrorists in France, according to their song. This association with violence sets them apart from French white citizens who are not automatically posited as threats to national safety. A subtle mention of the Islamic reference as the allusion to religion is implied within the statement. In this statement, IAM is referencing the lack of assimilation many Muslims experience because of their association with a minority religion.

L'Algerino also makes brief references to Islam within his songs. They hold importance as they are paralleled with negative factors about living as an ethnic Algerian in France.

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[140] "My sister wears the veil," Author's translation. IAM, *"Nés sous la même étoile."*
[141] "Now, one is always a terrorist or a bomber," Author's translation. IAM, *"Pain au Chocolat."*

L'Algerino states within "Enfant de Marseille," "après le foot c'était la mosquée."[142] L'Algerino is referring to the unified aspect for Muslims of going to mosque in Europe. However, he is also drawing upon the parallel between French football and a direct aspect of Islam, this being the mosque. L'Algerino is performing "acceptable deviance" with his lyrics. He is displaying his commitment to his religion as well as his ability to assimilate because he plays soccer. He is acknowledging the ways that these aspects can remain beside one another. L'Algerino and IAM both mention Islam briefly within their songs. Yet, their allusions to their religion emphasize their commitment to globalized Islam while also displaying the ways that they can express their culture while remaining French. In this way, performing Islam in France can be seen as performing a sense of "acceptable deviance."

Performance of Race

The performance of race, especially in Europe, is essential to this discussion because of the lack of discourse concerning this topic by the French government. "Racial discrimination" is evidently rampant in France according to reports by Franco-Maghrebis, by randomized policing studies, and through the lyrics of French rappers. Race is under-discussed by French policymakers as a sociological concept; the French government is establishing the discourse that they follow color blindness in terms of differing ethnicities and multiculturalism. However, Franco-Maghrebi hip-hop artists make up for this "color blindness" by bringing race into the forefront of artistic discussions.

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[142] "After football, it was the mosque," Author's translation. L'Algerino, *"Enfant de Marseille."*

Historically, race or anything "racialized" is that which is not European; there is a clear binary between Europe and all "others."[143] The "racial imagination" is generally defined as "…the shifting matrix of ideological constructions of difference associated with body type and color that have emerged as part of the discourse network of modernity."[144] An important aspect of race is the way that it fits into nationalist contexts especially in France. Nationalism, historically and today, does not allow a place for race in the definition of the French nation.[145] Many have instead claimed that race is "America's problem," not Europe's.[146] The ways that IAM and L'Algerino demonstrate race in their lyrics displays how race has become an important part of the protest dialogue for Franco-Maghrebis trying to bring attention to discrimination in France.

IAM and L'Algerino often reference race within their lyrics. They never explicitly use the word "race", yet they imply the problems they face because of their color including lack of appropriate housing, lack of resources for learning, and unemployment. The reference to race especially for Franco-Maghrebi artists in France creates room for "imagined transgressions linking peoples…" yet the French see this linked identity as a "danger" to their stability of the nation.[147] IAM and L'Algerino intend to keep space between French citizens and themselves even as they are demanding similar rights. The French believe that immigrants or second-generation ethnic North Africans living in Europe are closing a gap between the cultures and this "…intensifies fear."[148] However, many Franco-Maghrebis do not want to close the gap but

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[143] Radano, 2.
[144] Radano, 5.
[145] Radano, 26.
[146] Radano, 27.
[147] Radano, 15.
[148] Radano, 25.

instead retain aspects of their culture and race. An open dialogue on race allows them to express and retain the traditions of the cultures that they left behind. Closing the racial gap would not necessarily lead to equal rights for Franco-Maghrebi individuals. Yet, it would help issues of ethnicity and culture to be publicly discussed in the national context.

One of the most important ways that the French government utilizes the racial imagination is in its erasure. Denial of race means a denial of economic, cultural, and religious space for minority groups; the majority European culture forces a "hegemonic culture" on the minority and therefore denies them their expressive freedom.[149] Denying the existence of race makes the implementation of this power hegemony much easier for European nation states. It is evident that in some sense Franco-Maghrebi artists see this power hegemony and wish to face it with the proclamation of racial existence. IAM and L'Algerino openly discuss the problems they face because they are Maghrebis. Their lyrics are an essential way for race to become a part of the national discussion. This is completed through IAM and L'Algerino's "subversion" and also through their "integration" into mainstream and popular culture that allows them a voice to discuss and call attention to race.

In IAM's song "Pain au Chocolat," the group makes several references to the problems around race without directly referencing the color of their skin. In one important part they note, "Les mauvais noms sur le CV et…le job qui s'en va."[150] The "name" refers to the presence of a North African surname on the résumé that, because of racism in France, prevents many North Africans, both citizens and not, from employment. IAM's lack of direct reference to "color" alludes to the French government's way of denying the existence of race as a part of the "racial

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[149] Radano, 27.
[150] "The wrong name on the CV and…the job disappears," Author's translation. IAM, *"Pain au Chocolat."*

imagination." The song's title also references race. "Pain" or white bread on "Chocolat" or black emphasizes the famous French pastry in which the white bread part of the treat overtakes the chocolate portion. It also alludes to the way that the French deny racial differences to the point that the government shadows them under cultural references such as a pastry. IAM's discussion of race touches upon the hidden aspects of discrimination in France and they bring the illustration of race as a social problem into the mainstream through their lyrics.

L'Algerino is more direct in his approach to race. In one part of his song, "Enfant de Marseille," L'Algerino discusses the difficulties he faces because "j'ai la tête d'origine."[151] This makes a direct reference to the color of his skin. He has the head of the "origin" and therefore, even if he is a French citizen, his color prevents him from accessing rights he might otherwise have if he was white. L'Algerino's lyric is an example of the way that Franco-Maghrebis desire to bring race into public discussion. Yet they also display the ways that the French right wing parties see racial differences as a direct threat to their national identity. L'Algerino references his "head of the origin" alongside his commentary on his housing conditions and his schooling. Both IAM and L'Algerino desire to bring a discussion of race and identity into the forefront of their protests. Yet, IAM does so in subtle way as though to perform "acceptable deviance" and allow his lyrics to be heard by those who understand it. L'Algerino is more open but he also subtlety connects his ideas to the disadvantages his family faces in connection with their race and the problems of the "racial imagination" or lack thereof in France.

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[151] "The head of the origin," Author's translation. L'Algerino, *"Enfant de Marseille."*

Integration: Final Words

This thesis examines the ways that IAM and L'Algerino act as both integrative and subversive actors and perform a sense of "acceptable deviance." This is done by appealing to minority groups with their lyrics and addressing popular culture with their genre. Yet, have IAM and L'Algerino integrated to the point where they have been able to achieve concrete social policy for minorities? The answer is no. Thus far, this is not uncommon among artistic movements. Van Nieuwkerk argues, "popular culture can create sites for individual or collective freedom but is not in itself liberating."[152] These artists are creating space for deviance but do not change legislation. Rap "produisant ses propres vernaculaires, ses formes specifiques et systematiques ses registres identitaires; comme un laboratoire ou s'experiment formes d'integration de mise en reseau mais aussi de segregation des locuteurs et de communautes linguistiques heterogeness."[153] Rap both reiterates the positive qualities of immigrant communities while also highlighting the negative aspects of living in a cultural enclave. Yet, do IAM and L'Algerino want to "integrate" fully into French society? Although the idea of "us" and "them" has gained popularity throughout history in France, it is evident that Franco-Maghrebi artists do not want to achieve solely an "us."[154] Rather than creating space for change in policy, they are allowing room for expression. IAM and L'Algerino acknowledge the subversive "power relations" that are naturally built into artistic movements.[155] If they had desired to create a

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[152] Van Nieuwkerk, 6.

[153] Rap "produces a colloquial language, its own identity, and records systematic forms of registering identity; it is an experiement of the formal network of integration yet also segregates its users and heterogeneous communities," Author's translation. Michelle Auzanneau, "Identites Africaines: Le Rap comme lieu d'expression," *Cahiers D'Etudes Africaines* 14, no. 163 (2001): 712.

[154] Van Nieuwkerk, 4.

[155] Van Nieuwkerk, 5.

change in legislation, the protests of the sans-papiers movement would have appealed more than a musical movement with "alternative" and "off-beat" qualities built into its framework.

IAM and L'Algerino have helped to build space for minorities in France. The movement has brought Franco-Maghrebis into the mainstream and has helped bring attention to Arab issues; this is something the harkis could not have dreamed would have been possible in 1962, a time when cultural discrimination against Algerians and Moroccans was rampant. It is expected that future academic work on Franco-Maghrebi hip-hop and rap will address legislation on positive discrimination policies that are important to building a solid foundation for racial and cultural change in Europe. If Franco-Maghrebis continue to create music in the space of "acceptable deviance" that has been provided for them by the French government, their coordinated work will eventually lead to a contemporary society willing to accept its increasing diversity.

Conclusion

The history of immigration to France involves issues such as marginalization, discrimination, and decolonization. Paris and Marseille are the hubs of immigrant activity in France and represent different models of assimilation. An essential aspect of integration theory in France is recognizing the way that cities can perform as actors for public policy. Marseille is representative both of a city that performs assimilation, celebrating the mixing of ethnicities, but also exemplifies the ways that multi-culturalism can work in France. While Marseille does not formally practice multiculturalism in its legislation, it informally exercises multiculturalism to an extent. Regardless, immigrants still face issues of discrimination and exclusion in French and

Marseillais societies. Rap and hip-hop are alternative musical movements that have helped immigrants gain access to the public sphere.

IAM thrives in French society. L'Algerino expresses his love for Algeria freely. Both artists do so in a way that does not conform to the French government's standards for national expression. This is because IAM and L'Algerino compromise between integration and subversion: they are integrated in the way that they rose to fame, becoming an important part of French popular culture. But they also subvert by celebrating their ethnicities as well as politicizing French issues around race with their music. IAM and L'Algerino are examples of how essential popular culture has become to understanding immigrant movements in France and throughout Europe. These artists help draw attention to the political and legislative needs of foreigners on the continent. They are also changing culture as a whole, diversifying music, dance, and art in France. They do so utilizing the influences of genres such as raï, directly addressing issues of race, and through the popularization of Islamic culture.

IAM, L'Algerino, and other Franco-Maghrebi artists demonstrate the greater place that the performance of Islam, immigration, race, and culture is gaining in French society. These artists are a part of popular musical phenomena in France, and they protest direct legislation utilizing their lyrics. They illustrate the increasingly diversified direction that popular culture is taking in France. IAM and L'Algerino also draw attention to the precarious relationship between popular culture and French politics; political discussions of race, immigration, and religion are often disregarded in French society and therefore popular culture must take the role as docent. The embrace of this role shows both the flaw in French dialectics and also the importance that popular culture has in providing space for resistance in France. An interesting aspect to address in future research on this topic would be: what role, if any, do artists in France of immigrant

origin play in the direct change of legislation in France? As this has not occurred yet on a large-scale level, it would be important to look at the small-scale movements taking place such as those of the harkis. Another interesting potential research topic would be the study of the numerous films and literature that have been produced that reference the issues that immigrants face in France. A discussion could revolve around what role these forms of media have taken in this movement against integration in comparison to hip-hop.

One aspect of this thesis that hasn't been discussed yet is the title of the paper: integration or interrogation. In France, police officers are allowed to stop any "suspicious" individual to ask them for their papers and thus "interrogate" them.[156] The paper title suggests that "integrated" individuals do not get questioned. Yet, it also examines the way that IAM, L'Algerino and other rap artists "interrogate" the police officers, the French government, and their own societies on how best to "integrate" migrants into the national context. It promotes the ideal that if immigrants and French policy makers work together there does not have to be interrogation, just acceptance and celebration of diversity.

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[156] Ticktin, 33.

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