ISR Italian Sociological Review
University of Verona, Italy
ISSN 2239-8589 | Editor in Chief Paola Di Nicola
Managing Editor Debora Viviani

Urban Youth in Transformation: Considerations for a Sociology of *Trap* Subculture

Uliano Conti

How to cite
Conti, U. (2020). Urban Youth in Transformation: Considerations for a Sociology of *Trap* Subculture. [Italian Sociological Review, 10 (2), 257-270]
Retrieved from [http://dx.doi.org/10.13136/isr.v10i2.339]

[DOI: 10.13136/isr.v10i2.339]

1. Author information
Uliano Conti
Department of Philosophy, Social Sciences and Education, University of Perugia, Italy

2. Author e-mail address
Uliano Conti
E-mail: uliano.conti@unipg.it

3. Article accepted for publication
Date: March 2020

Urban Youth in Transformation: Considerations for a Sociology of Trap Subculture

Uliano Conti*

Corresponding author:
Uliano Conti
E-mail: uliano.conti@uni.it

Abstract

The article considers the theme of urban subcultures and focuses on the evolution of hip hop subculture. Hip hop subculture is made up of elements such as writing, break-dance, djing and rap. Rap as a musical genre changes over time, with the affirmation, for example, of Gangsta-rap. Recently, the *Trap* music genre has also emerged. The main features of *Trap* are identifiable in the rhetorical *topoi* of violence, individualism, references to drugs and urban suburbs. The paper analyses these characteristics and relates them to traditional rap, highlighting what the *Trap* genre communicates about urban suburbs and marginal young people.

Keywords: subculture, *Trap*; sociology.

1. Introduction

This paper considers some transformations in the field of urban youth culture; in particular, it analyzes the *Trap* subculture. The studies of urban subcultures have evolved over the last few decades, considering different emerging groups, ranging from *emo-punks* to *goths*, from *straightedge* to *hypster*. In particular, the sociological debate on subcultures has focused on the role of disadvantaged socio-economic conditions and social position in peripheral urban areas in favoring adherence to subcultural groups: on the one hand, some scholars argue that these factors influence the young in their choice of paths of affiliation to subcultural groups; on the other hand, other researchers note that

* Department of Philosophy, Social Sciences and Education, University of Perugia, Italy.

class and territorial memberships are no longer considered causal factors (Ferrarotti, 2009; Corchia, 2017; Torkelson, 2010; Hodkinson, 2002; 2016; Muggleton, 2000).

The point on which scholars agree is that the element unifying the members of a subculture is a common normative cultural code. They have peculiar cultural norms that differ from the mainstream ones as their reference point for action (Anderson, 1990; 1999; Kubrin, 2005). In this perspective, subcultural studies have been attentive to the evolution of the youth universe (Hodkinson, 2003; 2016; Kidder, 2012; Muggleton, 2007; Corchia, 2017), but an urban trend not yet taken into proper consideration is that of the *Trap* subculture, an evolution of *hip hop*. Considering how widespread it has become and the growing success of this musical genre, it is important to consider it in depth.

Initially, this paper examines *hip-hop* subculture and the influence of violent street code – which is a normative cultural code influencing ways of interaction and social relations – on young people in disadvantaged urban areas. Street code is manifested through elements such as clothing, expressiveness and a code of conduct that is experienced even beyond the tangible bounds of everyday life in the slums (Clear, 2009). The lyrics and videos of rap music, the biographical representation of the singers and the portrayal of the slums, in fact, define the normative cultural street code and put violence in the foreground as a fundamental element of this code. After having reviewed the history of *hip-hop* and rap music, the article focuses on *Trap* and highlights its normative cultural code, emphasizing the differences between *Trap* and rap. *Trap* is a violent normative code as well and consists of its own ingredients, such as biographical representation, particular clothing and means of expression. These elements, however, take shape differently in rap and in *Trap* and enable us to read Trap as a subculture that is emerging along with contemporary social transformations.

2. *Hip-hop* and street code

Hip-hop culture originated in the United States in the 1970s and evolved over time, to the point of being one of the most important references for cultural norms and expressions of urban youth identity. Strictly speaking, the *hip-hop* subculture includes four different areas of activity, also called disciplines: *MCing* (*rap*) for songs, *DJing* for composition and musical mixing, *writing* (*graffiti*) for graphic-artistic representation, *B-boying* (*break-dance*) for dancing. The origins of *hip-hop* are rooted in slums and ghettos, areas such as the Bronx, Brooklyn and other US metropolitan neighborhoods, where young African Americans and Latin Americans have originated particular ways of not only singing,

dancing, painting or mixing records, but in a broader sense particular ways of living. The founding fathers of *hip-hop* include Run DMC and KRS One for *rap*, Grandmaster Flash and Kool Herc for *DJing*, Phase2, Cay 161, Baby Face 86 and Rican 619 for *writing*. Between the seventies and eighties, the New York subway cars were painted by Phase2 and Lee 163d, there were parties in disadvantaged neighborhoods, and streets and discos were animated by artists such as Afrika Bambaataa (Shabazz, 2001, 2005; George, 1998; Bennett, 1999).

The cultural norms of *hip-hop* correspond in many respects to those of the youth subcultures of urban neighborhoods: loyalty to the peer group (the *crew*), hatred for the police, rejection of mainstream cultural norms, and affirmation of cultural identity through distinctive signs counteracting mainstream values in clothing and language (Hebdige, 1979, 1988; Corchia, 2017).

Over the course of time, from the 1970s on, sub-genres such as Conscious-rap, G-funk or Gangsta-rap have established themselves in rap. In Conscious-rap the contents extol an existential experience with a sense of responsibility towards society and peers. Commitment to work, cultural and moral evolution, responsibility towards family and community, enhancement of education and individual skills as tools of social emancipation, the awareness of the original bond with Africa, were frequent themes in the texts. In the case of Gangsta-rap, on the other hand, the contents looked at a semantic universe made up of criminal life paths that led to the music and entertainment business. Life in the ghetto, joining criminal gangs, drug dealing, theft, robbery, gang clashes, hatred of the police, represent the past of so many Gangsta-rappers (Shabazz, 2001, 2005; George, 1998; Kitwana, 2002). In musical representations biographical paths emerge between legality and lawlessness: for some criminals there is a turning point in life with the opportunity to devote themselves to music production abandoning illicit activities while still feeling connected to them from the standpoint of their world view. Not surprisingly, many Gangsta-rappers have maintained their criminal activities, so much so as to be considered representative examples of success both in the music industry and in illegal businesses, establishing a continuity between the two areas (Kubrin, 2005; Rehn, Sköld, 2003; Bennett, 1999).

Recent studies on social identities and the culture of young people in disadvantaged American areas show that the normative cultural code of the street, the so-called street code, influences adolescent behavior, especially violent behavior. The normative street code is based on violence, which is not merely socially accepted, but is intended as a normative element in interactions and social relations (Anderson, 1990, 1999).

For example, being a young person with a reputation of being violent is not a defect, but something that makes someone worthy of respect in their own neighborhood. These findings emerge above all from ethnographic studies

(Anderson, 1990, 1999) conducted in deprived urban areas, mainly inhabited by African Americans. According to some scholars, it is not just daily life with its interactions and social relations that play a role in the establishment of an environment where violence is normative (Kubrin, 2005; Kitwana, 2002). Rap music, and in particular the Gangsta-rap genre, have, in fact, a role in the glorification of a violent normative climate. Rap lyrics offer detailed instructions on how to interpret and how to act out violence. An analysis of the content of the 130 rap albums that, between 1992 and 2000, achieved the status of becoming platinum records and the 1922 songs contained in them, confirms that violence is a fundamental element of rap and the way of interrelating that it endorses. Violence is not merely glorified, but it is proposed as a manual for interactions and relationships. About 65% of the songs taken into consideration refer to acts of violence, fights, clashes between gangs, arms, various forms of committed or suffered violence (Kubrin, 2005).

A change in rap lyrics begins to take shape in the early years of the new millennium, thanks to the musical evolution that took place in the Atlanta area, in Georgia. A transformation occurs in the texts and in the musical characteristics. The sounds begin to change: the rhythm is more syncopated than in the past, the voice is modified through the use of Auto-tune, made metallic and thin, the combined use of sounds like strings and instruments like the Roland *drum machine* TR-808 make the sound innovative. *Hip-hop* subculture and *rap* music change from an aesthetic point of view. The musical genre *Trap* appears on the scene, different from the rap music that preceded it. Like the *rap* subgenres mentioned above, *Trap* is characterized not only by its sonority, but also by its contents which refer to an innovative semantic world (Kaluža, 2018; Zhang, 2017).

3. *Trap* normative cultural codes

The main American and European artists were taken into consideration to analyze the *Trap* semantic universe. In particular, the main *Trap* albums by American, European and Italian artists produced between 2010 and 2018 were examined. In the United States, artists such as Future and Rick Ross have based their success on Trap. Celebrities with a past of crimes and violence, such as the 6IX9INE trapper, have attained success thanks to hundreds of millions of fans. In France, trappers like MHD or Booba are considered by many young people from the *banlieues* to be successful. In Italy, very young artists have emerged, some in their early twenties, like Sferaebbasta, Achille L., Frank Il Profeta, Dark Side, Moderup, Capo Plaza and Enzo Dong, musicians whose songs have had millions of views on Youtube and whose concerts enjoy

enormous successes. The American, French, English and Italian trappers can be distinguished from the rappers by some peculiar characteristics, that is, by an original configuration of the violent normative code. These different territorial and sociocultural contexts are naturally different; in this sense, *Trap* music and subculture are placed, at the same time, on a local production dimension and on a local and a global reception dimension. In this perspective, the local rhetorical *topoi* show a delocalized reception and thematization (Kaluža, 2018; Fonseca, 2019).

Trap also has a normative street code based on violence, a regulating element of social relations. The American *trapper* Gucci Mane, for example, sings in *Blessing*:

> To wake up in the morning is a motherfuckin' blessin'
> Grab my AK I ain't motherfuckin' stressin'
> Standing in the kitchen and I'm whippin' up the babies
> Only thing on my mind is how to buy me a Mercedes
> Scrapin' up the pot, tryna come up with the extra
> Young niggas rob and I heard that they finesse ya
> Ain't no pressure, get the .38 special
> Only thing on my mind is how to put you on a stretcher

While the rappers reached success as adults after years of work, in the case of *Trap* success in the music business comes relatively early and having money leads them to become all the more ostentatious, the shorter the road traveled to reach it. This sudden enrichment and availability of money are elements that often occur in *Trap* texts. The young artists put forth their own disadvantaged origins and devote them to success, often reached suddenly.

These are individual successes, of individual *Trap* artists, not of groups composed of several members as in rap (think of groups like the Wu-Tang Clan, the N.W.A or the Geto Boys). *Trappers* are individualistic artists. They do not represent the cohesion of the rap group or disadvantaged neighborhoods. They portray themselves as superior individuals who consume over the top luxury goods, from Lamborghinis to the most expensive champagnes. For example, Capo Plaza in *Giovane Fuoriclasse* sings:

> Sì 'sto blocco mi ha fatto così, yah
> Non toccare me e la mia famiglia
> Sto tranquillo che fumo vaniglia
> Corro forte siamo i primi in pista
> [Ritornello]
> Giovane, giovane, giovane fuoriclasse
> Giovane, giovane, giovane fuoriclasse

Giovane, giovane, giovane fuoriclasse (Fuori)
Ayy, giovane fuoriclasse

The texts of *rap* music, especially Gangsta-rap, and *Trap* contain references to drugs. In *Trap* the references to 'traditional' drugs such as hashish, marijuana, crack and cocaine, or 'new' drugs such as MDMA and Metakussin syrup, are of a recreational nature, as well as referring to dealing.

In *Trap* lyrics, as in rap, the artists achieve success, coming from a socio-economic background where young people can either devote themselves to drug trafficking or change the course of their lives through the music business. *Trap* music portrays the biographical paths of young drug traffickers who have dedicated themselves to the music business. In *Trap*, as in *rap*, there are many references to everyday life in disadvantaged neighborhoods, to families of non-native origin, to lack of interest in school and work, as happened in rap texts.

The *projects*, the *banlieues*, the neighborhoods surrounding the trappers are disadvantaged areas like the ghettos of the rappers, but they are also spaces that are open for semantic distortion and coloring. For example, Achille L. in *Coca Cola Light*

I raga di qua so' diversi
I raga di qua so' di qua
Come quel giorno che un mio amico
Uccise un mio amico co' 'na coltellata
Dimmi non sono lo stesso
Questi si fanno nel cesso
Questo mi muore qua dentro
Non c'è più nessuno al muretto

Per quelli rimasti qua giù
Per quelli rimasti qua giù
Per quelli rimasti qua giù
Per quelli rimasti qua giù
Per quelli rimasti
Per quelli rimasti qua giù

[Ritornello]
Coca-Cola Light
Boxer Calvin Klein
Wild For The Night
La roba nelle Nike
Voglio la giacca Givenchy
Sciarpa Burberry
Yves Saint Laurent

Christian Louboutin

The buildings in the video clips are depicted with brightly colored special effects, they are distorted along imaginative geometric lines, inhabited by *trappers* that move as if they were cartoons. A Trapper's fantastic hallucination is not just a theme that refers to the use of drugs, a constant subject in rap, but it is also a way of expression that immerses the music protagonists and their peers in a fantastic show and takes them away from their circumstances.

For example, the *trapper* Sferaebbasta pays a tribute to Cinisello Balsamo:

[Ritornello]
La C con la mano è da dove veniamo
Ciny, Ciny
La C con la mano è da dove veniamo
Ciny, Ciny
La C con la mano è da dove veniamo
Ciny, Ciny
La C con la mano è da dove veniamo
Ciny, Ciny

Vogliono rappare come quello di Ciny
Vogliono fumare come quelli di Ciny
Vogliono parlare come quelli di Ciny
Senza stare a Ciny, solo qua vicini

[Strofa]
Nati e morti a Ciny, nati e morti a Ciny
Sognavo un futuro diverso da questo, sognavo diversi destini
Ma siamo affini a crimini infimi
Prima di vendere dischi in Fimi
Vendevamo chili, giri su giri
Come i ragazzi, come i ragazzi di Ciny
Come i ragazzi di Ciny, come i ragazzi di Ciny

In *Trap* lyrics, violence as a tool to regulate social relations is the prerogative of those who have certain physical characteristics. These characteristics are exhibited clearly, more so than was the case in *rap*. For example, as regards physical appearance, there are frequent face tattoos. Facial tattooing is a distinctive practice of many Latin American gangs, such as the MS13 Mara Salvatrucha. Clothing is also distinctive. While the *rappers* stood out due to their baggy pants, those extra-large low-waisted ones, the *trappers* wear jackets, hoodies and sports t-shirts, but not as large as the ones worn in the past. *Trapper* 6IX9INE is an emblematic case: he looks more like a Japanese manga with the

sounds of the US ghettos added in than an American rapper of the nineties. A member of the SCUM gang (Society can't understand me) he at one time dealt in extortion and drug trafficking, but then while very young he redirected his energies into *Trap* (Kaluža, 2018; Zhang, 2017).

In *rap*, violence was portrayed through *story-telling*. In other words, the song was a story, a rhyming narrative of violent events that had occurred or were imagined but represented in a plausible way. The rhymes of *Trap* are, generally, less elaborate and more essential if compared with those of *rap*. The vocabulary sounds poorer and the commitment and effort in linguistic research are seemingly inferior. In *Trap*, there is much less *story-telling*, which was a recurring motif in *rap*, and the stanzas follow one another in a syncopated way, without an explicit thematic link, they are evocative rather than narrative, they propose suggestions of meanings and semantic references without telling a story. Often one word is followed by another, linked to the previous by a semantic association, without there being a complete sentence that unites them. However, when the *Trap* texts are listened to it emerges that they are parts of a rich stylistic design, albeit based on a more limited vocabulary compared to the traditional linguistic pursuit of *rap*.

Repetition is an element that characterizes *Trap* music pieces: words are repeated in stanzas, they are a semantic circle. In *rap* only the refrains were repetitive. In *Trap* the heart is often in the repetitive refrain, with respect to which the verses made of rhymes represent an accessory element. For example, 6IX9INE, using repetition and alliteration, represents the moments of a shooting (in 'Billy'):

> Sending shots, shots, shots, shots, shots, nigga
> Everybody gettin' pop, pop, poppped, nigga
> The thing go rrrah, rrrah, rrrah, rrrah, rrrah, nigga,
> We send shots, shots, shots, shots, shots, nigga.

Or Rick Ross and Future sing ('Ring, ring'):

> I won't let my phone ring, ring, ring, ring,
> ring, ring, ring,
> ring, ring, ring, ring, ring. I won't let my phone ring, ring, ring, ring,
> ring, ring, ring,
> ring, ring, ring, ring, ring.

The repetition of words distinguishes this musical genre from *rap*. The *Trap* chant, the repetitiveness, focuses attention on emotional and intellectual interiority.

The change in the meanings and character of the music also emerges from the *trappers*' video clips. Compared to 'traditional' *rap* video clips, the *Trap* video clips do not aim to tell stories, do not represent a coherent narrative universe made up of urban slums, hatred for the police, gangs and arrests like in Gangsta-rap nor do they speak of social redemption like in conscious-rap.

Trap proposes *flash*, it evokes mixes of meanings, through bright colors and tribal references. The video clips combine the dark atmospheres of night and dark rooms with the fluorescent colors of the trapper outfits. In addition, the parts of the text that are superimposed over the video images are also colorful and visually striking. This graphic expedient uses the communication of the web and advertising, the below-the-line communication forms that combine images and text. The fusion of *Trap* music and video outlines a product of musical design, an architecture of sounds and images.

4. Street-code evolution: social meanings and identity

Studying the changes in lifestyles, habits, fashions, musical preferences and consumption behaviors of the young is a heuristic way to deal with social transformations that do not merely concern one area of social life or one particular age group of the population. The characteristics of *Trap* music co-evolve with the youth subculture transformations of disadvantaged urban areas, of the peripheries of European cities, from French *banlieues* to American *project*s and the traits of *Trap* subculture can be analyzed thanks to sociological concepts.

The cultural normative code of *Trap* consists of elements such as violence, young age, exaggerated individuality and exteriority, drugs, urban peripheries, and semantic repetition in music. It has a link with American urban social transformations and with the dynamics of failed ethnic integration (Anderson, 1990; 1999; Kubrin, 2005). *Trap* is an area of development of the normative street code, which however in comparison to *rap* has some new and original characteristics (Anderson, 1990; 1999; Kubrin, 2005; Rehn, Sköld, 2003). As in rap, violence is a key element of the normative street code. However, it is a violence committed by very young people and almost playfully exhibited. The *trappers*' young age helps to ensure that violence is a pedagogy, rooted in disadvantaged urban areas, where the few possibilities for improving the socio-economic condition consist in illegal activities. In this light, the reputation of being someone violent derives from the *trappers*' past filled with drug trafficking and consumption. The very young age of *trappers* is one of the original elements emerging in the texts. Young adolescents represent the life of the periphery, proposing universes of meanings intended for teenagers or pre-teens. The

juxtaposition of the very young ages and economic success celebrated in many *Trap* songs is also original. The consumption of extra-luxury goods is contextualized within liminal spaces between the ghetto and the city.

In this context, it is the individual who emerges with respect to the group. The change in the way of expressing a social condition of marginality represents an unprecedented functional response on the part of social groups located in the slums (Ferrarotti, 2009; Corchia, 2017). The biographical portrayals of *trappers* celebrate the achievement of individual success, in the face of the social phenomenon of the mass incarceration of African Americans (Clear, 2009). On the one hand, in American disadvantaged urban areas, for a growing share of young people the only opportunities for improving their socio-economic conditions are represented by illegal businesses, especially drug trafficking (Clear, 2009; Kaluža, 2018). On the other hand, the achievement of economic success on the part of a few, in the face of an increasingly significant proportion of African-American youth held behind bars, delineates a radical scenario of worsening inequalities, even within the very group of African Americans.

Urban ecology and topography have been redesigned thanks to the economic success of trappers: they continue living in the outskirts, but wearing expensive clothes and driving luxury cars. The tangible physical location of the trappers in the urban fringes is tinged with lively connotations, as shown by the lyrics of the songs and the music videos. The urban periphery is no longer a place considered apart from the city, but becomes the propulsive center of economic success. It is central, despite being peripheral. The slums are extolled as the original root of the rules of the street code thanks to which trappers have been able to reach destinations that are beyond the wildest dreams for most of their peers.

It is no longer a question of social marginality imposed by the outside, by *mainstream* social groups (Ferrarotti, 2009; Corchia, 2017; Dawn Goldsmith, Fonseca, 2018), but it is rather a chosen condition, albeit modified due to the economic resources available thanks to the music business. The language barriers that separate peripheral social groups from mainstream culture become the recurring motif of verbal expressions and are creatively repeated in *trap* lyrics.

Rap proposed songs in rhyme, as if they were cries of denunciation from inside the ghetto to the outside; *Trap* does not project meaning to a semantic elsewhere: it brings creativity back to the residential hives of the outskirts. Its use of repetitive expression amounts to a reaction to the communicative intrusiveness of society: it is a synthetic expression of concepts immersed in the noise of contemporary media communication. The more people are surrounded by noise, the more they react with the constant repetition of words and sentences. To avoid being crushed under the weight of unsolicited

communication, the only way is to repeat words and concepts so that they pose as a semantic and perceptive barrier. The absence of storytelling and repetitions are a youthful reaction to the dominant communicative culture. As early as in the subcultural perspective of the 1970s, subcultural expressions and norms are reactive towards cultural hegemony (Rehn, Sköld 2003). The authentic meaning of style was the reaction conducted by working-class youths to the hegemonic mainstream culture. The only way to resist cultural domination was through the expressions of identity in style and language (Hebidge, 1979, 1988; Hall, Jefferson, 1976). The expressions of identity and the style of groups such as mods, punks, skinheads or Rastafarians did not have a meaning in themselves, rather they could be interpreted as reactions to the dominant bourgeois culture. Just as the members of English subcultural groups reacted to the dominant culture by redefining mainstream signs and assigning new meanings to cultural signs and expressions, so trappers react to the communicative atmosphere by repeating words and sentences. In this sense, disadvantaged economic conditions and peripheral location are still significant elements in delineating the characteristics of a subculture, *Trap*, which presents itself in a dialogic relationship with the *rap* subculture. The thread that links the two subcultural areas just mentioned together is the street normative code; it changes, but remains violent, dictating behavioral norms towards others and peers.

Violence, in this perspective, is a constant rhetorical *topos* that marks the transition from *hip-hop* to Trap. However, brand new elements also emerge, with new social meanings. These elements are related to: style (Hebdige, 1979); age of members of subculture; suburbs as an identity place; drugs and crime that take playful connotations. Subcultural marginality, in this sense, remains characterized by the concepts of homology and bricolage; at the same time, however, the themes above mentioned – which concern masses of excluded and the transformations, such as gentrification, of the western metropolis – characterize suburban neighbourhoods throughout new meanings: the middle and petty bourgeois classes, in fact, are progressively pushed to the margins of the city. They move away from historical centers and their resources, in terms of social and economic capital, move with them. The urban areas change and where previously only highly disadvantaged classes were present. Old and new margins, so, flow into peripheral areas. This combination is reflected in the emergence – in the United States from the early 2000s and in Europe towards the end of the first decade of the third millennium – of the *Trap* subculture. This fusion between social identities, cultural norms, origins, incomes helps to make suburban areas attractive, more than they used to be.

In this sense, the social redemption originated by the music is not only an opportunity for the traditionally disadvantaged classes, but it also involves classes that, up until a decade ago, were not characterized by a social retreat and

from a worsening of his socio-economic condition. In this perspective, a double interpretative dimension emerges: the first dimension is placed on the global production and reception plan; the second dimension consists in the Italian local modalities of receiving and processing the *Trap* subculture and its American origins. On the one hand, the *Trap* subculture shows characteristics and specificities on a global level: the rhetorical elements of *Trap* – such as drugs, economic success, suburbs, violence and semantic repetition – are common to different social, cultural and territorial contexts and characterize in a similar way the European and American contexts (Kaluža, 2018). On the other hand, the specificities of the Italian context also emerge: for example, when referring to crime, *Trap* subculture shows, as discursive and rhetoric horizon, organized crime and mafias. Similarly, when, in the Italian case, conspicuous lifestyles and consumption are represented, the musical examples cite Italian fashion and luxury brands as a sign of identity. Therefore, *Trap* is outlined as a dialogue between global homologation and local characters, enriching the development of subcultural scenarios.

References

Anderson, E. (1999), *Code of the Street: Decency, Violence and the Moral Life of the Inner City*, New York: W.W. Norton.

Anderson, E. (1990), *Streetwise: Race, Class, and Change in an Urban Community*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bennett, A. (1999), Hip hop am Main: The Localisation of Rap Music and Hip Hop Culture, *Media, Culture and Society*, XXI, 1, 77-91.

Berard, T.J. (2007), *Deviant Subcultures*, in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*. Blackwell Publishing, USA, UK, Australia, pp. 4880-4885.

Bourdieu, P. (1984), *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Clear, T.R. (2009), *Imprisoning Communities: How Mass Incarceration Makes Disadvantaged Neighborhoods Worse*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Corchia, L. (2017), I Post-Subcultural Studies e le identità giovanili. Retrospettiva di un dibattito, *Studi Culturali*, XIV, 2, 293-320.

Dawn Goldsmith, M.U., Fonseca, A.J. (2018), *HIP HOP AROUND THE WORLD: An Encyclopedia*, Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.

Ferrarotti, F. (2009), *Spazio e convivenza. Come nasce la marginalità urbana*, Roma: Armando.

Fonseca, A.J. (2019), *Listen to Rap! Exploring a Musical Genre*, Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Publishing Group.

George, N. (1998), *Hip-hop Americ*, New York: Penguin.

Hall, S., Jefferson, T. (1976) (Eds.), *Resistance through Rituals: Youth Subculture in Post-War Britain*, London: Routledge.
Hebdige, D. (1979), *Subculture. The Meaning of Style*, London: Methuen & Company.
Hebdige, D. (1988), *Hiding in the Light: on Images and Things*, London: Routledge.
Hebdige, D. (2012), Contemporizing 'subculture': 30 years to life. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 15 (3), 399-424.
Hodkinson, P. (2002), *Goth: Identity, Style and Subculture*, Oxford: Berg.
Hodkinson, P. (2003), 'Net.goth': Internet communication and (sub)cultural boundaries, in D. Muggleton, R. Weinzierl (Eds.), *The Post-subcultures Reader*, Oxford: Berg, pp. 285-298.
Hodkinson, P. (2016), Youth cultures and the Rest of Life: Subcultures, Post-subcultures and Beyond, *Journal of Youth Studies*, XIX, 5, 629-645.
Kaluža, J. (2018), Reality of Trap: Trap Music and its Emancipatory Potential. *IAFOR Journal of Media, Communication & Film*, 5, 1, 23-42.
Kidder, J.L. (2012), Parkour, The Affective Appropriation of Urban Space, and the Real/Virtual Dialectic, *City & Community*, 11 (3), 229-253.
Kitwana, B. (2002), *The hip-hop generation: young blacks and the crisis in African American culture*, New York: Basic Civitas Books.
Kubrin, C. (2005), Gangstas, Thugs, and Hustlas: Identity and the Code of the Street in Rap Music, *Social Problems*, 52, pp. 360-378.
McArthur, J.A. (2009), Digital Subculture: A Geek Meaning of Style. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 33 (1), 58-70.
McLuhan, M. (1964), *Understanding Media: the Extension of Man*, New York: McGraw Hill.
Merton, R.K. (1938), Social Structure and Anomie, *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 3, Issue 5: 672-682.
Merton, R.K. (1957), *Social Theory and Social Structure*. London: Collier-Macmillan.
Miles, S. (2000), *Youth lifestyles in a changing world*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.
Muggleton, D. (2000), *Inside Subculture. The Postmodern Meaning of Style*, Oxford: Berg.
Muggleton, D. (2005), From classlessness to clubculture: a genealogy of post-war British youth cultural analysis, Young, 13, 2: 205-219.
Muggleton, D. (2007), Subculture, in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*. Blackwell Publishing, USA, UK, Australia, op. 4877-4880.
Rehn, A., Sköld, D., (2003), BLING-BLING. The Economic Discourses of Hip-Hop. *PM working papers*, 11, 2, 1-33.
Sellin, T. (1938), *Culture conflict and crime*, New York: Social Science Research Council.

Shabazz, J. (2001), *Back in the Days*, New York: powerHouse Books.
Shabazz, J. (2005), *A Time Before Crack*, New York: powerHouse Books.
Simmel, G. (1905), *Philosophie der Mode Moderne Zeitfragen*, Nr. 11, hg. von Hans Landsberg, Berlin o .J. (1905), 5-41 Unter dem Titel 'Die Mode' wieder abgedruckt in: Simmel, G., *Philosophische Kultur. Gesammelte Essais*, Leipzig 1911, 29-64.
Torkelson, J. (2010), Life After (Straightedge) Subculture, *Qualitative Sociology*, 33, 257-274.
Veblen, T. (2007), *La teoria della classe agiata*, Torino: Einaudi.
Zhang, C. (2017), *Bad and boujee: A history from Marx to Migos*, Available at: http://harvardpolitics.com/culture/bad-and-boujee/ [Accessed 19 December 2019].
Whyte, W.F. (1943), *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
Western, B., Wildeman, C. (2009), *The Black Family and Mass Incarceration,* Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 621, 1, 221-242, https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716208324850.