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The everyday life of gangster rap

- *An analysis of how artists describe their reality through music*

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Master's Thesis SOCM04 30 credits

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ABSTRACT

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Rap music has been controversial ever since the music genre took off. Themes such as violence, drugs and aggression have been themes portrayed in the genre since a long time ago. The purpose of this study was to study How do Swedish rap artists within the gangster rap scene describe their everyday life through their lyrics? By analyzing ten different artists and a total of 76 songs through a thematic analysis, patterns have been found in the music. The focus has been on themes that include crime, weapons, drugs, sex, violence, dissatisfaction with the state and women. Based on these themes, sub-themes have also been presented. Theories that are applied are Travis Hirschi's theory of social bonds, Howard Becker's theory of the branding theory, Henri Tajfel and John Turner's theory of social identity theory, Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social, economic, cultural capital and habitus and finally gangster rap as a subculture. The results of the study show that the Swedish rap genre is characterized by descriptions of crime, violence, sex, drugs and weapons. A result that is not surprising as it largely goes hand in hand with the study's previous research. The rappers describe a reality of what crime and gang culture can look like in Stockholm's suburbs. Graphic descriptions of violence, drugs and other criminal acts characterize Swedish gangster rap music.

Keywords: *Rap, Gangster rap, young people, social bond theory, labeling theory, social identity theory, social capital, cultural capital, economical capital, subculture, crime, violence, weapons, drugs, sex, we & them.*

POPULAR SCIENCE SUMMARY

Gangster music is taking more and more place in the Swedish music industry, in recent years the genre has grown and taken over top charts around Europe. People of all ages listen and engage with the genre even though the lyrics and message of gangster music are controversial. A very popular genre with many controversial messages has raised concerns among some. Research on the subject of gangster rap and criminality is common internationally and has become increasingly common at the national level following several artists' public membership in criminal networks. The artists mean that they describe their everyday life in injustice and poverty, while the media and others argue otherwise. I ask myself the question; *How do Swedish rap artists within the gangster rap scene describe their everyday life through their lyrics?* I answered this question by analyzing the artists' own songs that they published during a certain time span. I analyzed a total of 76 songs by 10 different Swedish artists who were from the Stockholm area. From the lyrics I looked for similarities and differences between the different artists, what they had in common and what could set them apart. The main findings that were found were that there was disappointment from the artists towards the state and other various authorities. The artists described an anger that they and their families did not receive the help they needed to get by in the Swedish suburbs. Themes such as weapons and drugs were also present and normalized in the texts. My findings from this study were matched with the previous research that was included in the study.

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Teodora Saveska

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1. BACKGROUND

Since rap is a broad genre, the background of this study is divided into three subcategories. The first chapter consists of the history of the rise of rap, the second subchapter contains the history of gangster rap in Sweden and the last category contains the rise of the rap genre globally.

1.1. Gangster rap's rise and influence

Hip-hop sprang to prominence in the late 1970s. It was founded by young African Americans in a socioeconomically challenged neighborhood of New York, USA, in an effort to prevent conflict between several gangs in the suburbs (Nielson, 2019). The emergence of the music coincided with the black civil rights movement of the 1960s, when more and more African Americans began to participate in more activities where they could show off their creativity, which had previously been difficult for them. Rose (1994) investigated rap and determined that it arose on the outside of rich, post-industrialized American culture. Regrettably, African Americans living in America's suburbs found it impossible to exhibit the inventiveness that the civil rights movement allowed other African Americans to display. Because of suburban segregation, gang-related crimes became more widespread, and these, along with drug usage, grew in impoverished communities dominated by African Americans (Keyes, 2002).

Rather than fighting, the gangs would disparage each other in so-called rap fights. Instead of focusing on the violence, the emphasis was shifted to rhymes, resulting in the creation of the new music genre Hip Hop. When hip-hop became popular, it evolved into text material that represented the rappers' own suburban lifestyle (Nielson, 2019). The evolution also resulted in the emergence of subgenres, such as gangster rap. The lyrics of gangster rap were tougher and consisted of verbal attacks on authorities such as the police, penal services, and society (ibid). According to Kubrin (2005), gangster rap originated in Los Angeles in the 1980s. Kubrin (2005) also present west coast rap flourished as performers like Ice cube, Dr. Dre, Tupac took the stage in what would later be labeled "the golden period". These musicians performed songs with lyrics that drew media attention as highly contentious, such as "Fuck the cops," which was explicitly addressed at the LAPD when they failed to provide protection at a performance. In New York, a conflict arose between two rappers, Tupac Shakur and The Notorious BIG (Big), who were previously buddies who turned to foes and became enemies when Tupac was shot six times and it was Big who had seen him up. Tupac then recorded a

“diss tune” called "hit em up" directed at Big and his record label, causing the West Coast and East Coast scene to split out, a diss tune meaning a song whose primary purpose is to verbally attack someone else. Both rappers were later shot dead.

Keyes (2004) believes that by using this music genre, young people would be able to communicate their experiences with drugs, crime, racism, and gang culture. The more conventional elements of hip hop who wanted to halt gangster rap did not approve of its attitude to violent topics.

1.2. Rap's rise globally - Sweden

Despite the fact that rap music originated in the 1970s in the United States, it has spread globally. Rap music's popularity in Europe provided a platform for immigrants living in European countries to speak out about societal injustices. Swedish rap music has been around for a long time, but not to the level of what it is now. Hip hop became popular in Sweden throughout the 1980s, but it really took off in the late 1990s when performers like Petter began rapping in Swedish. The music flourished mostly in the suburbs, as the lyrics frequently conveyed isolation and disillusionment with society (Sernhede, 2002). Hip-hop has evolved through several stages since then, and it is now a kind of music that depicts the difficulties that occur on society's outskirts. The difficulties that exist on the outskirts of society where alcohol and drugs being normalized among young individuals. Because of the rawness of the lyrics, which deal with segregation, assaults on police, misogyny, drugs, guns, and unhappiness with the way society was constructed, this kind of hip-hop has come to be known as gangster rap also in Sweden (ibid). Formerly, the genre relied on record labels to sell their music, but this changed in the mid-2000s when the rap group Labyrinth began posting their own songs on the internet site YouTube. It was also in this vein that the so-called gangster rap, a subgenre of Swedish rap, was established (Viita, 2019, Sarnecki, 2020).

Hip-hop garnered a lot of attention in the media, and it was mainly non-whites in the Swedish suburbs who could relate to the lyrics and hip-hop culture since it validated the social inequities that existed in economically disadvantaged places (Sernhede, 2002). The living circumstances of the citizens in the suburbs, as well as how the songs show a love for their own locality. Around the same time as Labyrinth was gaining popularity in the mid-2000s,

the Swedish gangster rap group Kartellen rose to fame, and many claim that this group established the groundwork for the Swedish gangster rap that exists today (Sarnecki, 2020).

Swedish rap, particularly gangster rap, is a new genre that has risen dramatically on a national scale in the last four years. Because the genre is young, it is difficult to foresee its implications, and Swedish research on gangster rap is sparse. Rap music was introduced to the rest of the globe in the late 1970s, following its popularity in the United States (Epps & Dixon, 2017). The genre has subsequently developed and now dominates Sweden's music charts, receiving prominence and winning multiple music prizes, including P3 Guld and Grammis (Sveriges radio, 2020; Musikindustrin, 2020).

1.3. Rap's rise globally

Rap and gangster rap have made an impact not just in Sweden, but also in countries like Germany and the United Kingdom to mention some. According to Kautny (2013), gangster rap has played a significant role in the German hip hop community since many young immigrant listeners of hip hop music can identify with the lyrics. In the United Kingdom, hip hop is a significant element of the music business; nevertheless, the United Kingdom has a long history of police brutality, poverty, and suburbs with a large proportion of immigrant populations. Many rappers from the United Kingdom have emerged, rapping about their everyday lives and frustration with society. One of them, Stormzy, a British rapper, is one such example. During the BRIT Awards 2018, the rapper performed a freestyle (rap and hip hop is an improvised technique with or without accompaniment in which creative lyrics are both composed and delivered in real time) about black and brown victims being burned alive in London's Grenfell Tower under the Tory government's callous gaze (Szatan, 2020). Rap is viewed as a method to convey the reality that occurs in the suburbs and may initiate a political discourse in the United States, Sweden, Germany, and the United Kingdom.

1.4. Aim and research questions

The purpose of the present thesis work is to study gangster rap artists' description of its reality by analyzing their lyrics.

To achieve the aim of this thesis, the following question has been constructed:

- *How do Swedish rap artists within the gangster rap scene describe their everyday life through their lyrics?*

2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Before I began seeking data for this master's thesis, it was critical for me as a researcher to take things from studies and scientific publications in order to construct my own study in the best way feasible. Upcoming chapter will go deeper into the subject of gangster rap and gangster culture.

Today's populace perceives music as harsh and rebellious due to its creation of meaning and use of language, which has piqued people's curiosity (Arbetet, 2019). Although rap music and pop culture are similar, they vary in that rap frequently transmits contentious lyrics that are disputed due to the terminology used throughout the song. Rap and gangster rap frequently reflect socioeconomic changes, inequality, and criminal behavior (Herd, 2009). According to Sernhede (2002), a sense of insecurity and social vulnerability are elements that many people face in society, with certain locations being more susceptible than others. Sernhede (2002) discovered in his research that young people's residency may play an important role in their sense of belonging in society, and that this can be mediated via the culture that pervades hip-hop. As a result, messages that rhyme about their daily lives and situations might help young people feel more at home. According to Epps and Dixon (2017), the desire to communicate displeasure with what is going on in the rapper's society, as well as class differences, was the beginning point for rap music.

Rap music has been controversial since its inception; those who primarily criticize the genre believe that it promotes controversial anti-social messages dealing with sex, drugs, violence, and materialism, both Epps & Dixon, 2017 and Herd, 2009 believe this can be psychologically harmful to the listener. Sernhede and Söderman (2010) agree with this and choose to focus on how youth groups living in marginalized areas across the country are associated with problems such as crime. For example, being a young man with an immigrant background and residing in a suburb at the same time as the youth wearing expensive jewelry should not be able to afford it, and thus the environment concludes that the youth must be criminal. There is also widespread dissatisfaction in society with the prevalence of gangster rap, particularly among young people in recent decades (Harakeh & Ter Bogt, 2018).

Harakeh and Ter Bogt (2018) continue by emphasizing the issue that gangster rap might have a negative influence on individuals who listen to it. The researchers claim to have seen behavioral and attitudinal changes as a result of gangster rap's references to violence and narcotics (ibid). According to Herd (2009), violence among young people is a huge and serious health and social concern. In contrast, the theory that music from gangster rap artists would be seen as more antisocial or make the individual more likely to be inspired to engage in antisocial behavior such as crime is not substantiated by a study conducted by the researchers Ballard et al. (1999). Epps and Dixon (2017) also feel and add that, rather than rap music leading to anything terrible, the lyrics in the genre may be perceived positively, especially when political knowledge and community participation are involved.

2.1. Gangster rap as a youth- and subculture

Sernhede (2002) did research on youth cultures in one of the million program's suburbs (Angered, Gothenburg). The study lasted two years in which he followed two groups during that time. The researcher focused on and emphasized the living situations and cultural manifestations that pervade Sweden's then new class society's division. Sernhede (2002) investigated and focused on how hip-hop as a subculture for young people might contribute to identity formation, as well as how hip-hop as a lived culture varies from the way that the media portrays it. The study found that young people's residency may have a substantial role in their sense of belonging in society, and that this can be mediated through the culture that pervades hip-hop. The young people in the survey took great pride and prestige in their own neighborhood (ibid). The strong sense of belonging to their local area may also be related to young people not feeling or considering themselves as at home in Swedish society; hence, the area obtains meaning through family, friends, and where daily living takes place (ibid). Sernhede and Söderman (2010) discovered that youth groups residing in disadvantaged regions are associated with problems such as criminality. Being a young man of foreign origin who lives in the suburbs has become associated with being dangerous. According to Sernhede and Söderman (2010), this strengthens stereotypes towards youthful inhabitants of Sweden's suburbs. This has an impact not just on the person, but also on the reputation of the community from which these young people are drawn.

To go deeper into youth culture, Sernhede (2002) shows in his study how young people are frequently characterized as disruptive and difficult to manage. This applies to both the social

discourse and the collective. Furthermore, according to the researcher, the working-class primarily seek to find meaning in their exclusion as well as to analyze the social, cultural, and existential circumstances placed on them (ibid). The researcher goes into detail on how the cultural manifestations adopted by the youth might be a response to the parent generations' as well as a response to their own life patterns and situations. According to Sernhede (2002), this also implies that young people seek a feeling of belonging through various kinds of cultural expression and identification. Cultures are not created simply by individuals, but also via the influence of external factors such as the media and institutions. As a consequence, the interaction between external views and their own creativity affects young people dependent on the situations that each individual has (ibid). Clothing trends, musical tastes, and how they interact with one's own values are all examples of cultural manifestations. To be more specific, cultural expressions can take shape through rap music and how an individual relates with what is transmitted (ibid). Furthermore, Sernhede and Söderman (2010) emphasize that hip-hop, as a young subculture, may act against the geographical stigmatization that is typified in millions of low socioeconomic regions. By establishing a community with common clothing rules, musical interests, linguistic words, and customs within hip-hop, the subculture that may be articulated is also shaped. It is vital to note that these elements work together to generate a sense of community within these groups (Sernhede, 2002; Sernhede & Söderman, 2010). In his book "why music matters" from 2013, Hesmondhalgh (2013) agrees with Sernhede (2002) and Sernhede & Söderman (2010) that music is not good for establishing facts without books, journalism and other different types of writing are much better for this, but Hesmondhalgh (2013) believes that music can, especially when combined with other forms of communication, be a very powerful thing when it comes to creating feelings. Hesmondhalgh (2013) argues that subculture is a notion that helps to comprehend what is deemed aberrant, particularly among young people, when contrasted to the norm. Furthermore, Baker (2018) defines the gangster app as music that incorporates vivid stories about gangs, firearms, drugs, sex, violence, and mayhem that are rarely portrayed in popular society. However, the Swedish gangster app has risen in popularity in recent years to the point that it may now be regarded as part of popular culture due to its financial viability.

2.2. "Swedish" hip hop in the Suburbs

Dimitriadis (2009) conducted research with adolescents from low socioeconomic areas in Sweden, focusing on rap and lyrics. According to the researcher, the issue of gangster rap and

its cultural ramifications is at the core of suburban life. The lyrics may be used to better comprehend oneself, one's environment, and one's social interactions. Dimitriadis (2009) analyzes realism as well, arguing that our senses see our own world, and hence how artists view their own reality through the lyrics. Sernhede (2002) analyzed rap and lyrics and agrees with Dimitriadis (2009) on the perception of reality, arguing that Swedish rap is related with life in the suburbs and the living circumstances that prevail in these places. This involves affection and the defense of one's own territory, whether wealthy or impoverished. Sernhede (2002) stated that rap has become a language for many groups of young people living on the outskirts of society, with a sense of protection against their surroundings and control. The continual argument between us and them is at the heart of the suburban culture that has emerged in modern hip hop.

2.3. Research gap

During the course of this study, it was easier to find international research (Hesmondhalgh, 2013; Epps and Dixon, 2017; Herd, 2009) on the topic of rap and gangster rap as a subculture. This could be due to a number of factors, one of which is that the genre's international expansion occurred before the genre's expansion in Sweden. Some of the earlier studies (Sernhede & Söderman, 2010; Dimitriadis, 2009) is from the past decade, which may be attributable to the fact that crime and rappers were not previously covered as often in the media. According to research from 2021 by the Crime Prevention Council (BRÅ), Sweden stands out in Europe when it comes to lethal violence with weapons. Brå (2021) feels that the illicit drug trade and gang criminality that occurs in Sweden today may be one of the causes for the growing usage of guns. Weapons have symbolic importance within these societies and play an important offensive and defensive function (ibid).

Most of the research that has been discovered has not been carried out in the present, since popular culture is always changing, especially with the expansion of rap music since 2018. It is thus vital to examine the existence of gangster culture inside the rap genre. By critically studying the content of texts and music videos by Sweden's most prominent gangster rappers in the Stockholm region, this study is intended to contribute to filling a research vacuum surrounding gangster culture in the Swedish rap business in Sweden.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In the following section, various theoretical standing points on which the study is based are described.

3.1. The theory of the social bond

According to scholar Travis Hirschi's book *Causes of Delinquency*, social bonds can include both relationships with parents and relationships with institutions in society. Hirschi chooses to view all persons as equal, regardless of whether they are criminals or law-abiding citizens. Hirschi (2002) investigated the subject of why not all persons perform illegal crimes. The study identified four main social link factors that explain why some people are inclined to commit crime while others are not. The prototypical non-deviant individual is constructed by integrating the four traits (ibid).

Hirschi (2002) believes that the social tie contains four aspects, which indicates that there are four distinct methods for social relationships to be formed. Hirschi (2002) refers to them as *Attachment*, *Commitment*, *Involvement* and *Belief*, and they can be connected to how crime originates alone or in combination.

Attachment - We form social bonds through connection, which causes us to be concerned about the needs and expectations of others. Individuals who lack this social tie are not bound by norms and hence free to diverge from them.

Commitment - We form social bonds by spending our time, energy, and ourselves in obtaining, for example, an education, a successful business, or a good reputation. If these investments are not made, one has nothing to lose by unlawful behavior.

Involvement - By participating in society, we form social bonds. Those who are preoccupied with other things, such as work, meetings, deadlines, or significant and traditional leisure activities, do not have time to commit crimes.

Belief - We form a social tie with society by accepting its laws and regulations as binding. People who do not believe they are required to evaluate and observe these rules and regulations are more likely to break them.

Hirschi (2002) identifies four components that might strengthen the social tie between a single person and society and other persons, both individually and in combination. However, when social ties are weakened in various ways or disappear completely, such as when you lack security for your parents, are unable to invest in any education, have no meaningful leisure interests, and do not feel like a part of society and that society's rules do not apply to you, there is a risk that you will begin committing crimes, according to social bond theory.

3.2. Labeling theory

According to the Labeling theory, an individual might be labeled as a deviant depending on how other people behave and treat someone. The deviation is neither a trait of the individual or directly related to the conduct until others apply norms and consequences to this deviator. A deviant becomes the one who the label deviant has been placed on (Becker, 1963).

Becker (1963) describes a so-called deviant career. A deviant career begins with a single deviant act that violates rules or standards. Much of the abnormal behavior involves socially acquired motivations. Before the individual who conducts deviant behavior learns what meaning these activities may have, the person is ignorant of the gratification he / she might achieve via them. The individual discovers this through social engagement with an experienced deviant. What began as a curiosity or spontaneous inclination to try something new has now become the deviant's accepted taste, which can be heard in the way the deviant talks about his deviant behavior and explanations for it (ibid). What is most important in the process of developing a deviant behavior pattern is not so much what the person does as how the environment reacts to the behavior. Being labeled a deviant has serious implications for an individual's self-image and public identity. The individual will earn a new standing in the public realm as a result of their aberrant behavior. The individual is given a stamp and is treated appropriately (ibid).

Becker (1963) distinguishes between superior and subordinate status when discussing deviant status. Superior status traits are defined as a key attribute of the position held by the

individual; for example, a doctor's identity to practice medicine is a crucial characteristic. The subordinate status features are that the doctor is expected to have other informal characteristics, such as coming from the middle class. This indicates that if the individual committed a burglary, both the public and the police will regard and treat the individual as someone who is prone to breaking into other people's homes, both by the public and by the police. The individual will also be considered more likely to conduct other sorts of crime if he demonstrated a disregard for the law (ibid). Being perceived as a deviant in one setting might have ramifications in other circumstances. Deviant status becomes superior, and the individual is predominantly perceived as deviant. This might lead to the individual seeking out organizations whose members share the deviation, and thus the deviant identity is strengthened (ibid). This entry into an organized deviant organization is a last phase in the deviant's career. Once an individual has completed that step, it has a significant impact on their self-image. A deviant who joins an organized and institutionalized deviant organization is more likely to remain on their deviant path (ibid:14).

3.3. Social identity theory

Henri Tajfel and John Turner, British psychologists, did extensive study in the 1970s on how people's self-concepts are founded in the social groups in which they engage or have contact (Tajfel & Turner, 2004). Social identity theory seeks to comprehend "the group in the individual" by focusing on how the group might contribute to the individual's identity. When humans categorize individuals, we regard our own group as an ingroup and others as outgroups. According to social identity theory, the ingroup might discriminate against the outgroup in order to improve its own self-image, which is why prejudiced attitudes exist. This fosters a "us and them" mentality (Ibid).

Tajfel and Turner (2004) proposed that evaluating "us" versus "them" involves three mental processes, *Social classification*, *Social identification* and *Social comparison*.

Social classification - Categorization is the process through which we divide groups, cultures, and people into a few categories that we can manage fairly well. This technique not only helps us understand others, but it also helps us understand ourselves.

Social identification - When we reason about ourselves in relation to others, we achieve a social identity through self-categorization, a personal identity by focusing on how we differ from others in the same category, and an identity in relation to others that takes shape through greater or lesser emphasis.

Social comparison - The last procedure is known as social comparison. When we realize we are part of a group, we prefer to compare our own group (by reinforcing a favorable picture of our group) with others in order to sustain the group's self-image. According to social identity theory, social comparisons between one's own group, as well as favoring it, are motivated by an underlying desire for self-confidence.

3.4. Social, economic, cultural capital and habitus

The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (born 1930) has demonstrated how society's elites exploit education to strengthen their own status. Bourdieu (1984) distinguishes three categories of symbolic capital: social, economic, and cultural capital. Bourdieu's (1984) definition of capital refers to an individual's symbolic and tangible assets. Furthermore, Bourdieu (1986) developed detailed theories about how socialization shapes us as individuals. Individuals' values, lifestyle, behavior, and, of course, how they express themselves are all influenced by their social parents and circumstances.

Bourdieu (1986) defines ***social capital*** as a network-based resource that is available in connection and so accrues to the individual. Social capital explains where people stand in social life in comparison to others, depending on things including clothes, style, and hobbies. The phrase exists in several variations, but it mainly refers to the traits in social connections that cause individuals to engage with one another. Simply said, social capital refers to the assets you have in life, such as friendships, family ties, and so on. This capital is a significant component of a person's life (ibid)

Economic capital includes the individual's material assets and money. This capital reflects on people's socioeconomic position, particularly in those who live in areas of vulnerability with a lack of material assets, high unemployment, and a higher level of criminality (Bourdieu, 1986).

Cultural capital is defined as knowledge, experience, methods of speaking, thinking, and seeing things that contribute to one's social standing. In other words, cultural capital encompasses an individual's capacity to talk, conduct, and be well-oriented in culture and society (Bourdieu, 1986). According to Bourdieu (1986), the most important measure of cultural capital possession is one's degree of schooling. Cultural capital, according to Bourdieu (1986), is extremely important in an individual's existence.

Bourdieu (1986) also addresses the topic of *habitus* as well. Bourdieu (1986) describes habitus as a person's collection of habits, attitudes, and tastes influenced by their social surroundings and experiences. Thus, habitus is a socialization product that influences how an individual acts and sees the world around them. The actor's habitus will impact his ideas, behavior patterns, and how he orients himself in the field. The notion of habitus may be utilized to explain why certain people prefer to participate in gangster culture and sing in the gangster rap genre (ibid).

3.5. Gangster rap as a subculture

Hip-hop culture has arisen as a subculture of popular culture in general. It involves and engages people all across the world, particularly especially in Sweden. There are several subgenres of hip-hop, one of which is gangster rap. According to Machin (2010), music can be linked to subcultures. Subcultures develop a way of life by merging specific components. Furthermore, Machin (2010) believes that many young people use subcultures to separate themselves from others and create identities, which can be done by dressing in a specific way or listening to a specific type of music.

Starting from the beginning, subculture as a concept emerged within sociology as an attempt to explain what was deemed "abnormal" behavior, particularly among young people. Previous subcultural studies sought to comprehend the relationships between generation and social class (Hesmondhalgh, 2013). This was a highly politicized form of analysis: popular culture, including music, was deemed most interesting when it was most associated with resistance and discrimination against social groups, which is a large part of the core of the gangster rap music genre as the songs are gritty tales of a tough life in the suburbs (ibid).

The scholars Sernhede, Fornäs, and Lindberg (1984) describes a subculture as having the following components in their book *Ungdomskultur: identitet och motstånd* (English: Youth Culture: Identity and Resistance),

1. Subculture members clearly indicate their point of view, and:
2. Members have a distinct style that comprises imitation, plastic, speech, clothes and spirit appearance associated traits, as well as capital items. Style becomes a technique for demonstrating that they are not like everyone else, that they belong to a group, and therefore distinguish themselves from popular culture (ibid).

4. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, the method selection process used throughout the study is discussed in order to address the study's questions. The chapter is organized with explanation and reasoning centered on data collection, selection, data analysis, pre-understanding, and ethical issues. A qualitative content analysis was performed in order to address the research question.

4.1. Data collection

As previously mentioned, the study was conducted using a qualitative content analysis, with the empirical data collected based on Swedish gangster rap and its associated song lyrics from 2018 to 2022. A qualitative method, such as content analysis, places a strong emphasis on the fact that social reality is flexible and can change over time, allowing the researcher to examine interpretations of the environment and social reality (Bryman, 2018). Understanding a phenomenon (gangster rap) was vital for the study, thus qualitative content analysis was chosen as the best way to address the research question.

The data collection began by organizing which artists were within my criteria for this study. It turned out that there were quite a few artists who shared the same criteria. I settled on ten different artists, all within the framework of selection criteria. The next step was to select songs from these ten artists, the goal was to get between 5-10 songs per artist. Song numbers varied between artists, but roughly 7 - 9 songs per artist make up the data for this study. Some of the songs that make up the selection I already know and some I don't. The choice for this is more justified in the next chapter *4.2 Sample*. Once I had my selection, it was time to get the lyrics for these songs. The data collection continued by obtaining lyrics from the selected songs, this was done using the website Genius.com (Lyrics website). All songs were available

through the website. These song lyrics were printed out to facilitate the analysis as I had the opportunity to underline quotes, concepts and sentences with the help of a pen while reading. Only the lyrics were used for the analysis, so not the music video or sound effects. For the reason that I did not listen to any of the songs, I cannot speak about the sound effects and emphasis of various expressions in the result. A more detailed data collection process will be described below.

4.2. Sample

In the selection of the study, a targeted selection was applied where rappers and associated songs were selected with relevance to the research question formulated, where the focus concerned the gangster rap genre (Bryman, 2018). Being classified as a gangster rapper means that the music and lyrics usually contain graphic stories about gangs, violence, drugs, weapons and sex told in a first-person perspective (Baker, 2018).

The first step in the selection process was to search for artists who fit in the study's selection requirements. The selection requirements for this study are that the artist comes from the Stockholm area, was active between the years 2018-2022, have released songs in the gangster rap genre and was active or had a previous criminal career.

The targeted selection resulted in ten Swedish rap artists, all ten artists are classified in the music genre, gangster rap. Out of these ten artists, seven to nine lyrics have been analyzed. The following artists included in the selection are presented in a table below for exact songs where the lyrics have been analyzed are presented in *Appendix 1*.

<i>Artist</i>	<i>Songs</i>
Yasin	7
Jaffar Byn	7
Einar	8
Dree Low	7
Haval	8
Adel	7

Owen	9
1.Cuz	7
Z.E	8
Macky	8

The second phase in the selection process was to identify which songs from these 10 artists that should be included in the selection. The songs featured were chosen using the music platform Spotify by searching for the artist and the year range 2018-2022. The songs were then chosen at random since I am familiar with some of the songs that these artists have released, so it was vital for me to have both songs that I am familiar with and songs that I am not as familiar with in order to provide a broader data. This research contained and analyzed 76 songs in total. The music portal Spotify was used to choose all 76 tracks. All 76 tracks were available on the website Genius.com. All artists, songs and publication years included in the selection can be found under *Appendix 1*.

4.3. Analysis of data

Following the selection procedure, in which the researcher chose both artists and songs (see *Appendix 1*) that would represent the data for this study, all song lyrics were printed out to aid in the analytic process. Thematic analysis applies this type of analysis to analyze the content. A thematic analysis is a type of analysis in which the researcher actively and carefully finds, analyses, and reports patterns or themes that are methodically organized and described based on obtained data (Bryman, 2018). Bryman (2018) considers this form of analysis to be one of the most prevalent methods of researching and analyzing textual content. The thematic analysis forced the researcher to concentrate on identifying topics.

The first step in the analysis process was to become familiar with the data material, this gave me an overview of the content which led to the initiation of codes. Actively reading the data contributed to the identification of themes taking place in an adequate way. In the next step, the coding takes place, which aims to find relevant aspects that are linked to the question. Often its aspects are larger and therefore need to be broken down to simplify the analysis. Furthermore, themes begin to be identified and categorized. Here I drew conclusions about whether certain themes can form an overarching theme. The next step is to review the themes

and discern. The final step in the analysis process is to name and define themes. This entire analysis process is inspired by Braun and Clarke's (2006) template of thematic analysis.

4.4. Pre-understanding

Thurén (2018) describes pre-understanding and how it affects research. According to Thurén (2018), prior experiences and events impact how people see reality. My vision of reality is influenced by my interactions with the natural world and my personal experiences. Because of my existence in connection to the rest of the world, I am able to have a different view of reality. Furthermore, the researcher states that all of this occurs unknowingly (ibid).

I recognize that I have a prior understanding of the issue from the start. I listen to rap music, and thus also to gangster rap. My prior knowledge led me to believe that the majority of the songs would include content that encouraged and glorified violence, criminality, and drug use. I've listened to the artists included in the selection multiple times. As a result, I attempted to deliver the content as objectively as possible. I also recognise that not all readers will have the same grasp of the topic as I do, therefore I have attempted to clarify terms and slang.

Appendix 2 contains all of the slang and phrases that have been described.

4.5. Ethical consideration

Ethical considerations have also been important in this study. Bryman (2018) highlights four basic ethical principles that apply to research. These are the information requirement, the consent requirement, the confidentiality requirement and the utilization requirement.

The information requirement means that the researcher must inform the participant about the aim and purpose of the research. The consent requirement means that the participants in the research have the right to decide for themselves about their participation. The confidentiality requirement means that the participants' data must be treated with confidentiality and finally the utilization requirement speaks about the data collected, and may only be used for the purpose of the research (Bryman, 2018).

Since this study does not include any interviews but only data from public songs published independently from all of the artists, it has not been relevant to inform the artists about the existence of the study.

5. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

The following chapters present and analyze the data collected in order to answer the study's purpose and research question. Several slang words will be mentioned in the chapter. It is recommended to review Appendix 2 for a clearer explanation of various slang words.

I want to emphasize the difficulty of translating Swedish gangster rap lyrics into English and am thus aware that the English translation is not always one hundred percent correct.

Therefore, the original Swedish lyrics have been kept in the result to make it easier for the reader to do their own translation if needed.

5.1. “We and them”

A clear theme among all the songs that have been analyzed is the sense of "us and them" that the artists experience in their everyday lives. In order to go deeper into this theme, sub themes have been created. These subthemes are the judiciary and dissatisfaction with the state.

5.1.1. The legal system

One of the more common themes throughout many of the lyrics is the references to the legal system. The references to the justice system are an ongoing theme in many of the lyrics. The majority of the writings, apply to the pigs or aina, which is a slang term for the police or the police force. When the cops are referenced in the lyrics, they are always in a bad light, and many of the songs poke fun at them. In the song “Kontrollzon” by the artist Haval describes how he makes fun of the police: “*Vi gör narr av grisen när de kommer med pistoler*” (*We make fun of the pigs then they come with guns*, Translated by Author). In this song, Haval describes his daily life in his suburb; the song can be interpreted as a complicated love story to the suburb he comes from, and thus his suburb is his area; and they can be interpreted as if Haval and his gang have a higher status in the area than the police, but they can also be interpreted as guns and body armor, which are often associated with the police, being common among those living in the suburbs. Even in the song “PA PA” by the artist Macky, the texts read as follows “*fintar bort aina som mbappe*” (*feints away aina as mbappe*, Translated by Author). In this piece of text, Macky defines himself as wiser than the police and that he can get away with everything he does in the same way as the football player Mbappe gets away with the ball on the pitch, as if he is smarter than the cops.

Furthermore, they have shown in the lyrics that a culture of silence among the rappers is important. It is possible to find a distrust of the police even in song lyrics. In the song “Frank Lucas” by the artist Einar, the artist sings “*Svarar nada på förhör*” (*Responds nada on interrogation*, Translated by Author), which is about Einars relationship with his “brothers” but also about his mistrust to the police. The same disbelief comes from the rapper Dree Low in the song "PIPPI" where the rapper says:

“Och aina bara letar, de vill sätta dit. Startar, planterar, ljuger med bevisning” (*And aina just looking, they want to nail me down. Starts, plants, lies with evidence*, Translated by Author).

Dree Low sings that the cops are attempting to frame him by planting evidence that might lead to his arrest and imprisonment. Even the artist Yasin sings about the mistrust he feels against the legal system and the culture of silence in the song “Chicago” with the following text:

“FTP, prata nada, rest in peace Indiana. Allting snurrar, hjärnan känns som en tornado, känns som om snuten memorerar mina vanor” (*FTP, talk nada, rest in peace Indiana. Everything is spinning, the brain feels like a tornado, feels like the cop is memorizing my habits*, Translated by Author)

Like Einar and Dree Low the artist Yasin believes he can not trust the police and builds a more us-them attitude by choosing not to talk or cooperate with the police. The artists describe in their songs how they (the artist and his friend) have been labeled not only by society, but also by law enforcement - the police for the clothes they wear and the message they strive to communicate in their lyrics. The artist’s despise for the police is shown in their music, which might generate an "us and them" mentality in which the judiciary is portrayed as a villain. This transpires in accordance with the branding idea, in which the environment treats these individuals depending on their previous assumptions about them. This is evident in Dree Low's remark from the above-mentioned song “PIPPI”. The police are seeking for evidence to throw the artist in prison because they feel he did something, but instead of believing the facts, they have a preconceived assumption that the artist Dree Low did something because of who he is.

It can also be seen here that the culture of silence that exists among these artists and within the gangster rap genre is a type of indication of within the subculture, The theory holds that by combining certain elements, subcultures create a certain way of life, and through the way the artists describe their reality and their resistance against the police, you can see how the culture of silence is their way of life and thus how they differ from other "normal" people in society where it is common to help the police if you have information that can facilitate the work of the police. The artists collectively differ from other groups by refraining from talking to the police, which the theory of subcultures says creates their own identity.

To sum everything that has been stated so far about subculture, the concept of habitus can be used to understand why certain individuals choose to engage in gangster culture and gangster rap. If a person has grown up in a social environment where this subculture is strongly present, something that all the artists sing about living in these subcultures, it may have shaped their habitus so that they identify with the values and norms expressed within this subculture. For example, all of the artists live and stand by the idea that the culture of silence and not talking or collaborating with the police is ethically correct; the artists' habits have been developed in this manner. When it comes to the relationship between habitus and gangster rap / gangster culture, it can be stated that habitus plays a significant part in how individuals in these subcultures act and perceive their environment. There is frequently a strong tendency in gangster rap of displaying one's strength and authority by being rough and rude towards others. This might be a manifestation of a habit formed by a social setting in which it is vital to demonstrate control and authority over one's own circumstances and life. Many of the musicians sing of having to take the law into their own hands and selling narcotics to survive. This might be interpreted as the artist's attempt to gain control and influence over his own life. Habitus will alter cognitive patterns and taste preferences, which will affect how they arrange themselves in the field as they grow and link to lines of text. The actors' capacity to rise through the ranks is determined by the capital they bring in and gain from the battlefield. The artist Yasin sings in his song "Chicago" as follows: "*Programmerats sen barn, gatubarn sen barn*", (*Programmed since children, street children since children*, Translated by Author). The lines may be read as a manner of indicating deviation while also demonstrating examples of the artist Yasin amassing talents and skills that propel Yasin to a high position in the profession. A person's habitus is formed by the more or less unconscious habits that are adopted via the social connections that the individual experiences as he or she grows up. Apart from the artist Yasin, the rest of the artists might be linked to Habitus as

well. The members' habitus is central to the analysis because the new hip-hop culture is based on being stigmatized. They rap about their suburban reality, and if that's not your reality, you don't have the right to sing about it. You must have fought for your success in the field and the rap scene, have done and seen things related to violence and criminality to be recognized. This goes hand in hand with the findings of the researcher Sernhede (2002) about subculture. Artist 1.Cuz sings about being real and fighting for your success with the lyrics:

“Jag och Isse, vi är äkta, Alla guzzar, de vill festa, knulla orrar, måste beckna, stasha pengar”, (*Me and Isse, we're real, All girls, they want to party, fuck hoes, have to sell, stash money*, Translated by Author).

It is crucial to note, however, that not everyone who listens to gangster rap or identifies with gangster culture acts violently or disrespectfully. It is also vital to recognise that habitus is not static or constant, but can change through time as a result of new experiences or socialization. This is evident in some of the artists' songs, where they sing that when they were younger, they did things they weren't proud of, but now that they're older, they don't stand by them for long.

5.1.2. Dissatisfaction to the system

Another theme that was consistently seen in the texts was the dissatisfaction with the system. The rappers show their dissatisfaction with the system by stating that the state does not act when needed. This is evident in the lyrics when the rappers highlight the integration difficulties that they and their families faced; the system was meant to assist them, but they did not. For example, in the song “GANG GANG” by Haval, the artist sing:

“Krig i vårt land men hon vill stanna, hon kan inte språket och lagarna, inga vänner, det är tråkigt på dagarna” (*War in our country but she wants to stay, she doesn't know the language and the laws, no friends, it's boring during the day*, Translated by Author).

The lyrics can be seen as if the lyrics talk about the rapper's own mother and the integration problems they have gone through. Even in the song “Kontrollzon” from the same artist, the lyrics follows *“Var fattig inte lätt, det är ni som har gjort oss fel”* (*Was poor not easy, it is you that have done us wrong*, Translated by Author), In this section too, you can sense the rapper's frustration with all of the authorities that failed to support him and his family when

they were in need. The dissatisfaction and mistrust of the authorities can be related to the social bond hypothesis, which states that rappers dislike the system because they have never had a genuine relationship with them.

Many of the artists have a foreign background, and in a world where the artists believe the society around them is increasingly driven to more radical views on immigration, it is possible to consider whether distrust of the system is a factor. When the artists rap about their skepticism of the state, they convey disillusionment, hostility, and maltreatment from different social institutions in society (police, social services, and other authorities). On the other hand, it is important to reflect how the state and the public bodies look like, if the artists live with an attitude that the police are so-called pigs, which is a degrading description of the police, why would they be receptive to help even if the police really want to help them. They may be disappointed and angry with the justice system for being punished for committing a crime that they believed was necessary for survival, but that does not mean that the individual cannot escape legal consequences for their actions. The reflection will thus be different depending on which side you look from.

To go deeper into the artists' reservations of the judicial system. According to Bourdieu, our social origins and social status have a tremendous impact on our vision of the world and our behavior in it. In addition, Bourdieu argues that cultural phenomena, such as music, may be utilized to express and reinforce social identities and limits. Gangster rap and gangster culture may be understood as representations of a subculture that emerges in response to rappers' marginalized status in society. These subcultures can also be viewed as a form of resistance to dominant societal structures and institutions, such as the court. Many of the artists sing, as evidenced by many of the quotes in the analysis, that they are dissatisfied with their position in life, that the artists have had to fight on their own in this allegedly unfair world that they allegedly live in because, among other things, the state and the judiciary have chosen not to help them but have instead increased their vulnerable position in society. According to Bourdieu, an individual's cultural capital grows when he or she advances in society. In Swedish culture, an education is typically, but not always, essential to gain a decent job and advance in society. Many of the artists in this research openly admit that they failed in school in order to sell drugs to support their families, and as a result, the artists have not been able to develop their cultural capital, which Bourdieu argues is crucial to social development.

However, in order to connect this further, Since Bourdieu (1986) considers education level to be one of the most important aspects of cultural capital, it can be concluded that Haval has low cultural capital because Haval chose to spend their time and energy on the streets rather than in school. It is also feasible to relate to other musicians in this research since many of them sing about having to choose street life and crime over the so-called proper road, which can be understood as education and job. The artists live in a separate social milieu, one dominated by criminality. Education does not have the same societal importance as it did before the criminal environment. To flourish on the street, the artists require "education" inside their cultural capital. Knowledge on how to act in front of police officers, fire guns, sell narcotics without being caught, and so forth. All of this is knowledge, and it may be viewed as education, which according to Bourdieu has a high cultural value in the criminal context but not in other social domains. Artists can advance into the criminal hierarchy and thereby improve their cultural capital by developing and training.

It is possible to investigate how artists represent and relate to the police, courts, and jail by analyzing how subcultures show disdain of the legal system. When the artists come to these actors and sing continually and set up a portrait that the cops are pigs and want to approach the artists to put them there, they express themselves equally. The artists sing and construct an image of the police as their adversaries by singing about how they evade and avoid them. The artists also explain why they chose to be disrespectful to the police since the police do not treat them with the respect they believe they deserve. "*FTP, prata nada*", (*FTP, speak nothing*, Translated by Author) by the artist Yasin in the song "Chicago".

The artists also express themselves on symbolic and aesthetic elements in gangster rap that express a feeling of being marginalized and excluded from society. Many of the artists sing that they are judged for the clothes they wear, not only by the police but also without society, which may have caused them to create a subculture with their own affiliation because they did not fit in with the rest of society. These results have also been seen in the previous research from Sernhede and Söderman (2010). Furthermore, the artists use symbolic elements to express themselves as marginalized and excluded from society. By describing which area in Stockholm they belong to, the area creates some kind of symbolic element for the artists. The artists Einar and Dree Low, for example, choose to mention their residential area already in the first verse of their song "Min nivå", "*Husby, Dalen*" (*Husby, Dalen*, Translated by

Author). The artist Dree Low comes from the Husby area, while the artist Einar was from the Dalen area.

Subcultures build their own moral code to explain the artists' reality and skepticism of society. These moral codes demonstrate how subcultures, such as gangster rap, reflect a sense that the legal system does not represent their interests or ideals, and how they have formed their own moral code and hierarchy as a result. Kubrin (2005) based his street code on Elijah Anderson's (1999) research. Anderson's (1999) defines it as a system of social standards that are ethically imposed and formed in an impoverished region rather than legally established by society. As a result, this set governs and produces a parallel code of behavior, which spreads and is "made" through rap music. However, according to Kubrin (2005), rap and even street culture are not origins of violence or criminality. "Neither code nor culture in general is deterministic," on the opposite. "Code and rap music do not cause violence; violent behavior is much more complex than that" (Kubrin, 2005:366). According to Kubrin (2005:376), "rap music does not exist in a cultural vacuum". Furthermore, Kurbrin (2005:376) considers gangster rap to be "a manifestation of the culture of violence that pervades American society as a whole." The painters depict moral values by emphasizing, for example, the culture of silence. Breaking the culture of silence, such as speaking to the police, contradicts the subculture's own moral code. 1.Cuz sings about this in his song "Akta mannen" with the lines "Varför spela g om du ska gola" (*Why play a G if you are going to snitch*, Translated by Author). The artist clearly sings about one of the moral codes created within the subculture by questioning the people who choose to talk to the police. Also the artist Yasin in his song "Chicago" the artist sings about the consequences that can happen if you break the moral codes of the culture by talking to the police in the lyrics "Prata fel och du är gone" (*Speak wrong and you're gone*, Translated by Author).

From the text out of Haval's song "Kontrollzon" it is possible to connect to the theory of social bond. The artist's difficult upbringing, which he describes as "*survival*," has drawn them into criminal circles because the artist was unable to invest his time and energy in school and instead focused on criminal behavior, which has gotten them into trouble with various authorities. Artists have described the same things in various texts analyzed as the artist Haval did in the previous quote, that the authorities did not put the resources necessary to support the artists during their difficult upbringing in the suburbs, resulting in the artists'

lack of trust in the authorities or the justice system. This can be connected to the Social bond theory element of "belief".

5.2. Description of their everyday life

Further in the analysis, yet another new theme emerged, which was the artists' way of describing its everyday life; this theme has also been divided into sub-themes to facilitate the analysis. These sub-themes are crime, brotherhood and romanticizing the hard life - Glorification.

5.2.1. Crime

A major theme in the lyrics has been the theme of crime, the artists have often described crime as part of their everyday life in the lyrics. Yasin sings in the song "Spiderman" as follows: "*Jag fyller lägenheterna med glocks och granater, inget märkvärdigt, mamma, det är bara leksaker*" (*I fill the apartment with glocks and grenades, nothing fancy mom, they're just toys*, Translated by Author). Where the artist Yasin normalizes that it is normal to have guns and bombs at home in his apartment and therefore his mother does not need to worry about it. Even the artist 1.Cuz feat Einar in the song "Räkna mina dagar" they sings "*Jag må va ung men jag tar ändå vara på tiden*" (*I may be young but i still take advantage of the time*, Translated by Author), which describes the artists' perception that their life can any day be ended by someone else, tomorrow is not given for the reason that anything can happen in their life and reality with criminality. Even the artist Dree Low describes his reality by questioning it in the song "PIPPi" with the lyrics "*Vad är det här för livsstil? Get smoked som i sisi*" (*What kind of lifestyle is this? Get smoked as in sisi*, Translated by Author), where Dree Low questions what lifestyle he lives in and how this lifestyle can get him smoked which means getting shot. It is possible to draw parallels between the lines of lyrics between Dree Low and the lines of lyrics in Owen's song "Djupa sår" where the lines of lyrics read

"Lätt att hata, svårt att älska häromkring, har en vän som brukar döda för att försörja sin familj. Jag gör det här för para, ska köpa hus till mama" (*Easy to hate, hard to love around here, has a friend who usually kills to provide for his family. I'm doing this for the money, going to buy a house for mama*, Translated by Author).

The everyday life that the artist Owen describes is the criminal life that some individuals are forced into in order to survive and help their families. It is also this compulsion and desperation that causes some individuals to create hatred towards the system, as the artists and the young criminals see it as if the state does not help and thus they have no choice but to resort to criminal acts in order to support their family. In the second sentence, Owen refers to himself that he himself is doing this for para (money) to be able to buy a house for his mother himself.

The artist Macky also sings about the culture of silence that exists among people in criminal circles, but also how nowadays people die all the time around him and how stressful it is for him,

“Munnen är stängd under aina förhör. Nuförtiden svår det är många som dör, det är många som dör. Livet är keft. Så mycket skit man har sett” (The mouth is closed during police interrogation. These days it's difficult, there are many who die, there are many who die. Life is crazy. So much crap you've seen, Translated by Author) from the song “Vinterdepress”

In Dree Low's song "PIPPI", the artist sings about the death of many brothers in the suburbs and goes on to sing: *“alla leker nått tills döden kommer”* (Everyone plays something until death comes, Translated by Author). The line of text can be interpreted as saying that violence is inevitable and strong in the suburbs, which, as it is repeatedly mentioned, can be seen as part of what the researchers Forsnäs, Lindeberg and Sernhede (1984) describe as belonging to the image of the subculture. "Playing" can also represent that life is not something to be taken seriously, like a game. Like the seriousness of things you do doesn't exist, until that day's man dies. Also the artist Z.E's song “74 Bars”, the artist sing that the violence is something that has existed since a very early age in the suburb he comes from *“Höll i metallen innan jag höll i en text”* (I held the metal before I held a text, Translated by Author). The lyric line may represent that artist Z.E was holding a gun before he could read or write the music. This can symbolize that crime is always present.

5.2.1. Brotherhood

An "us and them" mentality was not only seen between the artists and the judiciary or the state, but the concept of "us and them" also appeared among the artists when they referred to their so-called brothers and their enemies who belong to other gangs.

“Öga för öga, tand för tand, livet i ghyttot är knas, det är sant, det är jag och min broder, vi måste hålla band” (An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, life in the ghetto is tough, it’s true, it’s me and my brother, we have to stick together, Translated by Author).

From Dree Low’s song PIPPI, where you can clearly draw parallels between brotherhood and how important it is for artist Dree Low to keep the loyalty and friendship with his brothers. It is also possible to draw parallels between the text lines in the song "PIPPI" and the artist Owen's song “Djupa sår” where the artist sings *“Jag tar smällen för min bror” (I take the hit for my brother, Translated by Author).* where both artists place great emphasis on the loyalty and brotherhood they have with their friends, that they would have done anything to help or protect their friends. The artist Macky sings twice in the song "Vinterdepress" about what is called brotherhood,

“Många i gamet är falska så akta dig. Trodde han va din bror men han fucka dig. Finns bara en vän som bakka dig. Lita inte på nån så passa dig” (Many in the game are fake so beware. thought he was your brother but he fucked you. There is only one friend who will back you. Don’t trust anyone so take care, Translated by Author).

Where Macky sings about the so-called brotherhood not always being perfect as expected, instead Macky sings in these lyrics about how even the person you thought was your brother can turn out to be an enemy so he has to be careful. Macky also sings *“Free min bror utan han det är keft” (Free my bother without him it’s keft, Translated by Author).* Which is a reference to his friend who is in prison, because without his so-called brother, little is not funny anymore.

Furthermore, Bourdieu's (1986) social capital suggests that friendships are an important component of this type of capital. Many of the artists sing about how important their loyalty to their criminal network and so-called brothers is, and how they would rather die than betray a friend or brother. Thus, connections can be made between what Bourdieu (1986) discussed and how strong the bonds of friendship are between the artists and their brothers.

5.2.4. Romanticizing the hard lives - Glorification

Pride over criminality was a less frequent theme in the texts that have been analyzed. Of the artists analyzed, they were a small percentage who demonstrate any specific glorification of their criminal career or criminality in general. But it is possible to see some textual material where artists proudly romanticize their lifestyle of expensive cars, money, watches, guns, clothes and cars and how this lifestyle is financed with the help of drug sales or other criminal acts. Einar raps about his extreme lifestyle in the song "Första klass" with lines as: "*Vi shoppar vad du vill er, det bara säga till mig, vi hämtar in en mill ey, och sen vi hämtar in en till ey*", (*We'll shop what you want, just tell me, we'll pick up a mill ey, and then we'll pick up another ey*, Translated by Author), which means he and his girl can spend as much money as they want because it's no problem for him to pick up another million and then pick up another million after that. Even the artist 1.Cuz brags about his lifestyle which is financed by criminal acts,

"AP, Rolex, Patek Philippe, Drömmarna är höga när jag sitter i min Jeep, I want stars in the roof like me, Bedrägeri, DJ överför en mil, om det inte fryser då jag hämtar en till" (*AP, Rolex, Patek Philippe, Dreams are high when I sit in my Jeep, I want stars in the roof like me, Fraud, DJ transfer a mile, if it doesn't freeze then I'll pick up another*, Translated by Author).

In the same way, the artist Yasin in the song "Spiderman" romanticizes the hard life of the artist through the lyrics "*Han är gangster, han har inkomst, han är dripping*" (*He's gangster, he's got income, he's dripping*, Translated by Author), which symbolizes a criminal person who has an income from criminal acts and thus can afford to wear expensive designer clothes. Serenade and Söderman (2010) also found in their study that being an immigrant and having expensive clothes and jewelry can lead to a conclusion that one is a criminal because the income and quick money probably come from criminal acts. Their results (Sernhede & Söderman, 2010) are equivalent results from this subtheme.

Yasin also sings "*Jag kollar alltid min rygg, jag kan inte bli chockad*". *Stockholms finest, känd som top shottaz*" (*I always check my back, I can't be shocked*". *Stockholm's finest, known as top shottaz*, Translated by Author) in the song "Young and heartless" where, Yasin shows clear pride in either belonging to or having connections to the criminal network Shottaz by naming the criminal network as "Stockholm's finest", i.e. one of the finest gangs.

According to Bourdieu (1986), economic capital encompasses financial assets and money. When artists depict their daily lives with expensive watches, clothing, vehicles, and travel, it might be considered economic capital. However, it is critical to understand that these financial assets can be viewed as economic capital in some rooms and for some people. A good automobile may be a significant financial asset in the suburbs, but it may be an ordinary item in a middle-class neighborhood. As a result, economic capital might be strong in certain areas (the suburbs) but medium / poor in others.

5.3. Violence

Furthermore, violence is a recurring theme in the texts, in order to further analyze the theme of violence, the chapter has been divided into two subthemes, Weapons and threats.

5.3.1. Weapons

Rappers describe weapons by different terms. In the song “Kapabel 3” by Dree Low and Adel sing the raps as follows:

“.45 min bralla, man kan tro jag tar kamagra. 7.62, sen på med balaclava. 3.57, vi får aldrig nånsin nakna. Nio mill, ruger om någon jävel här vill smaka” (.45 min bralla, you'd think I'm taking kamagra. 7.62, then on with a balaclava. 3.57, we must never ever be naked. Nine mill, brooding if any bastard here wants to taste, Translated by Author).

In the quote, weapons are described with the form of caliber that the weapons have (.45 = colt 45, 7.62 = AK 47, 3.56 = Rifle and nine mill = 9 mm firearm). The artists also state how they are never without weapons. Even the rapper Haval mentions in his song "Vice" that he carries a weapon daily and lives a life outside the law: *“Vi gillar leva livet utanför lagen, planerar och vi kliver, vi har skjutvapen, vi jagade kaninen, bara kör ta en” (We like to live life outside the law, plan and we step, we got guns, we chased the rabbit, just run take one, Translated by Author).* Jaffar Byn also mentions in the song "Ett paradys ut änglar" , *“Staten gav mig fyra år för vapenbrott” (The state gave me four years for weapons offences, Translated by Author),* also here Jaffar Byn describes that he carries a weapon. To go more graphically into the subject of weapons, many rappers sing about shooting deaths. Adel, for example in his song "Sci-fi" sings:

“Förlåt gud att jag varit en syndare, många av dem äldre blivit fimpade, såklart våra yngre blev dom vildare, på min gata alla likasinnade” (Forgive God that I have been a sinner, many of them older people have been pimped, of course our younger ones have become wilder, on my street everyone is like-minded, Translated by Author).

The text may be Adel's view of realizing reality, the older who found and controlled the area have been darkened with weapons, shootings, the younger ones are more risky than the older ones. Adel also continues with *“När jag lämnar porten, kan bli klippta” (When I leave the gate, can be shot down, Translated by Author)*, which can be seen as if someone is out to shoot him.

Jaffar byn in the song "Oppsblock" sings *“Döden, bröd och vatten, här de skjuter hål i hatten”*, (*Death, bread and water, here they shoot holes in the hat, Translated by Author*), which refers to shootings that happen in the suburb he lives in. Jaffar Byn sings *“Lyssna, jag är inte samma kille som du mobbade i gården. Släcker jag den lampa, du kan aldrig sätta på den”*, (*Listen, I'm not the same guy as you bullied in the yard. If I turn off your lamp, you can never turn it on, Translated by Author*). This line of text also refers to shooting that takes place in the suburbs, but here Jaffar Byn refers to his own participation in the shooting, which was common among the texts analyzed.

Again from Dree Low's song "PIPPI" with the lyric line *“Öga för öga, tand för tand”*, (*Eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth, Translated by Author*) shows that guns can be seen as a symbol of security for the artists, because it is what you protect yourself with. Through the course of the analysis, it has become clear that weapons can also be seen as a symbolic capital that is represented in many songs as something prestigious to have in one's possession.

The texts show that an individual must be violent and successful, where violence corresponds to the use of weapons and success corresponds to money. Although this goes against societal norms, these aspects are presented in a positive sense. This contributes to a neutralized and glorified image that can encourage these types of behaviors. Success is shown in the form of money and this money can come from the drug trade. The drug trade can generate quick money that can lead to the individual having the opportunity to buy expensive clothes, accessories and cars. The choice of clothing can be perceived to have a symbolic value

because the clothes can show some form of belonging and a result of success. The result is a developed subculture that is fundamentally based on a sense of belonging, underpinned by the social and cultural relationships of the societal structure.

5.2.5. Threat

Threats of criminal acts appeared among some of the texts. The threats that occurred were primarily about threats with weapons. “*Flashar du för mycket, vi gör stick-up och vi gör godnatt mitt på dagen, jag menar du blir jappt av mitt vapen*”, (*You flash too much, we'll do stick-up" and "we'll say good night in the middle of the day, I mean you'll get zapped by my weapon*, Translated by Author). These lines are in addition to Einar's power and threat, as he is the one who decides if someone flashes too much, and then makes a so-called "stick-up" against the individual, which means an armed robbery. Even Jaffar Byn in the song "Allting har sitt pris - del 1" makes threats of murder if he were to see his enemies with the lines “*Jag är trött på platstgangstrar, kukhoppare får jag syn på er jag kommer droppa er*”, (*I'm tired of local thugs, cow hoppers, if I see you I'll drop you*, Translated by Author).

“*Släcker jag din lampa, du kan aldrig sätta på den*” (*If I turn off your lamp, you can never turn it on*, Translated by Author),

“*Gräv din egen grop för när jag ser dig du är död. Om jag knackar på din dörr mannen du är så körd*”, (*Dig your own hole because when I see you you're dead. If I knock on your door man you are so fucked*, Translated by Author) and:

“*Stänger din mun om jag känner mig tvungen, Shut the fuck up!, Tar de lugnt, ey annars skjuter i munnen*”, (*Shut your mouth if I feel compelled, Shut the fuck up!, They take it easy, ey otherwise shoot in the mouth*, Translated by Author) av artists Jaffar Byn, 1.Cuz and Z.E all describe threats and power in the form of weapons and shooting at an enemy.

5.4. Drugs

The topic of drugs is something that appeared regularly in the data. It is common for the artists to name drugs in the form of slang words and then the artist explains the reason for using the drugs. In the texts there should have been texts about drugs for personal use but also drug distribution.

You can see a theme of the artists - pride and drugs. When pride appears in the lyrics, rappers sing about the subject in a subtle way. It is possible to find the message in, for example, the artist Dree Low's song "OJ OJ OJ" where the artist says "*Finns hasch, koks, i omlopp, bakk, broder här; han är top*" (*Hashish, coke, in circulation, back, brother here, he's top*, Translated by Author). Dree Low writes with pride to leave his brother (friend) alone because his friend is too high.

The drugs mentioned in the texts above can be linked both to economic capital but also to cultural capital. The drugs can symbolize an economic capital because they are a value in society, although the value can vary, it has an economic capital for gang criminals and for these rappers. Many of the artists sing that their drug distribution is going so well that they have gone from poor to rich, in other words the drugs (the economic chapter) have taken the artists out of a low socio-economic status in the suburbs to a higher socio-economic status either abroad or in a more exclusive area in Stockholm. But in addition to the economic chapter, drugs can also be linked to cultural capital. As previously written, cultural capital means how a person behaves in society. Drugs are normalized with these artists and can thus be seen as a way for these artists to move in society.

5.4.2. Self-medication

There is also some kind of theme where the artists sing about using drugs as some form of self-medication. In the song "Bilzerian" of the artist Owen, reads the text

"Här vi gillar ej problem så vi löser dem med kallen och jag meckar på en hasch för att lugna ner min skalle", (*Here we don't like problems so we solve them with the kalle and i smoke some hash to calm my skull*, translated by Author).

In the text the artist Owen describes in the text how he has to consume pot to calm his skull, which he uses as a synonym for head / nerves. Patterns may also be seen in two of Owen's other compositions, for example, in the song "Mango lassi," where the rappers imply that narcotics are used as a kind of self-medication. The text reads as follows "*Dämpar all stress med att hålla mig hög*" (*Relieves all stress by keeping me high*, Translated by Author) and in "Musik eller metall" where the text reads as follows "*Traumatiserad så jag måste vara*

stenad röker cheese”, (*Traumatized so I must be stoned smoking cheese*, Translated by Author) where cheese symbolizes marijuana.

The inclusion of drugs in these musicians' lyrics implies that they support the use of illegal substances (hashish, marijuana, cocaine, etc.). Because it is associated with problematic social conditions such as crime and alcoholism in some cases, the practice can be linked to hip-hop as a subculture. The lyrics freely mention drug use, conveying a sense that it is normalized inside the group, which is a distinction in subculture theory. It enhances the bond between hip-hop and subcultures since it is built on the discovery of a community and a context.

5.4.3. Drug distribution

When it comes to drug distribution, Einar mentions in his song “Katten i trakten” repeatedly “*cuttar kakan till femmor*” (*cutting the cookie into fives*, Translated by Author) A five represents five grammes of marijuana / hash and is a slang term for distributing or diluting narcotics, commonly in powder form. Furthermore, multiple texts transmit the same idea, drug distribution, but in different wording. Dree Low ft Greekazo in the song “Ice Cream” the artist sings “*Skickar box efter box som det boxning*” (*Sending box after box like it's boxing*, Translated by Author), which also here refers to some form of drug distribution where the artists mean that they package and send on drugs at high speed. Also texts like following “*Gatan här karriär, folk dom frågar mig om snö, mannen jag är en glaciär*” (*Street here career, people they ask me about snow, man i'm a glacier*, Translated by Author), from Yasin's song “Chicago” and the lyrics “*Drogerna knuffas, pengarna dubblas, brudarna pussas*” (*The Drug pushes, money doubles, chicks kisses*, Translated by Author) from Z.E's song “Sverige vet” uses different ways to describe the distribution and sale of drugs on the street, Yasin they say like he is full of drugs because he is a glacier which is a big block of snow while the artist Z.E mentions that the money doubles, they want to say that his sales go like this good enough that his money is doubled.

It is impossible to say whether the artists' lyrics encourage or discourage their listeners from using drugs, but it is possible to say that the artists want to educate people more about how drug use can affect people, rather than normalize drug use as something that happens in their everyday lives.

5.5. Objectification of women

The final theme that appeared in the results is the theme of women. This main theme has two sub-themes and these are sex and mothers.

5.5.1. Sex

Sex and females are recurring themes in gangster rap. The theme appears in almost every song examined. According to the findings, gangster rap culture is highly heteronormative. There are no songs in this collection that deal with homoaffectiveness. Instead, a male who is figuratively positioned in the lyrics with a feminine aspect is believed to be denigrated within gangster rap and the lyrics. Dree Low and Adel's song "No Cap" provides a clear example of how a feminine quality is devalued. The lines of text read as follows: "*Mannen, är du en man eller har du en punani?*", (*Man, are you a man or do you have a punani*, Translated by Author). In addition, the analyzed songs reinforce a view that a woman being attractive means that she is untrustworthy. Owen and Dree Low's song "DIP DIP" with the lines: "*Den här guzzen, hon är sick, den här guzzen hon är bad, hon vill suga på min dick, hon vill röka på mitt gräs*", (*This guzz, she's sick, this guzz she's bad, she wanna suck on my dick, she wanna smoke on my weed*, Translated by Author) where "hon är sick, she is sick" referred to that a woman is incredibly beautiful or good-looking and there "guzzen, hon är bad, "Guzz, she is bad" refers to the woman being bad, she just wants to have sex and smoke their weed.

But women are not only described as a sexual object, some songs describe a type of woman who is not interested in money or fame, but is instead described as a woman the artist can trust. Yasin's song "Love N RnB" with the text:

"Ey, får jag bjuda dig på middag eller nått? Det blir alltid bra stämning när man äter något gott, eller vi kan bara promenera mellan husen, fan lite frisk luft skulle göra susen", (*Hey, can I take you to dinner or something? There's always a good atmosphere when you eat something good, or we can just walk between the houses, hell a little fresh air would do the trick*, Translated by Author).

The theory of cultural capital and field developed by Pierre Bourdieu (1986) may be utilized to examine the relationship between women and gangster rap/gangster culture. Bourdieu considers cultural capital to be a resource that confers power and position within a certain

cultural domain. Cultural capital in the domain to which gangster rap belongs, namely the music industry, might include knowledge about music production, music genres, and music history, as well as relationships between and within the industry. When it comes to gangster rap as a genre, it is frequently connected with machismo and violence. As a result, the musicians frequently sing about how amazing they are at sex with different women and how they always have the upper hand in their relationship with other women. Everything to strengthen this masculinity and violence.

Antisocial messages mentioned in several of the upper headings such as sex, drugs, violence and materialism go hand in hand with what previous research says characterizes the hip-hop genre. This goes hand in hand with what researchers Epps and Dixon (2017) and researcher Herd (2009) reported. This strengthens the results of the analysis.

5.5.2. Raps to their mothers

Some lyrics explore familial relationships, particularly the artist's relationship with their mothers. Some of the lyrics express sorrow and anguish as the rap about their mothers. In the song “Nu vi skiner” with the singer Einar, he talks to his mother about how his life has been difficult and how his life has turned after music, and how grateful he is for his mother who has always supported him despite the difficulties. *“Men oavsett vad, du har aldrig varit en bluff” (But no matter what, you’ve never been a fraud, Translated by Author)* Einar sings. But beyond gratitude for one’s support from your mother, the artist Jaffar Byn sings about how the gangster life and his own drug problem has affected his personal relationship with his own family, the artist also sings about what he has exposed his own family to in the lyrics from the song “Allting har sitt pris - del 1” with the following lines:

“Abiat-ruscherne dom släckte mina drömmar om miljoner Drabbades av intensiva hallucinationer Kom hem fem på morgonen helt bäng Moster hitta två kallar under hennes säng” (The Abiat rushes they extinguished my dreams of millions Suffered from intense hallucinations Came home at five in the morning totally pissed Aunty found two kallar under her bed, Translated by Author).

Social capital includes family relationships an individual has with his family. The artists sing that they regret letting their mothers go through what they did to them. Something I interpret may have affected their relationship with their mothers, perhaps even damaged their

relationship with their mothers. The social capital among the artists can thus vary among the artists as many of them sing that they do not have a good relationship with their mothers because of the events they were exposed to. Social capital also affects the relationship the individual has with their fathers. In the lyrics, the rappers have not once mentioned their fathers. It can be interpreted that the artists' relationship with their fathers is very low or non-existent, which affects the social capital.

6. CONCLUSIONS

The goal of this research was to look at how Swedish singers in the gangster rap genre express their reality in their songs. Using the study's question, which is as follows: *How do Swedish rap artists within the gangster rap scene describe their everyday life through their lyrics?* I accomplished this by picking ten artists from the Stockholm region with a documented criminal history who were active between 2018 and 2022. I then analyzed 76 various songs by these artists by reading their lyrics over and over again. I used a thematic analysis to uncover themes and subthemes in the material that helped me answer the study's questions. With the method's assistance, I was able to not only handle all of these songs in depth, but also to locate a common thread among the songs in order to provide a fair analysis that I, as a researcher, could be proud of. By looking at the topics, as previously indicated, it was able to gain a good image of what the songs are truly about, which was the aim of the essay with the help of the research question. I was able to dive even deeper to find the solution to the study issue by combining multiple different theories (social bond theory, branding theory, social identity theory, social, economic, cultural capital, habitus & sist gangster rap as a subculture). However, it is vital to note that, while a deeper interpretation became feasible, the answer also became interpretations rather than a fact. According to the findings, the topic of crime predominated among the Swedish artists whose songs were examined in this study. Violence, drugs, sex, and guns are also frequently featured in the musicians' lyrics. All of the topics mentioned in one and the same song present in a lot of songs that have been analyzed. The presentation is told in the form of a story, with specifics and concrete pictures describing violence, weapons, and narcotics.

The Swedish rap scene, as previously said, is characterized by violence, firearms, and drugs. However, I am unable to discuss the influence of these gangster rap songs on the individual

who listens to them, or if they can lead to the individual themselves beginning to commit crimes. However, this was not the study's purpose, but it was important highlighting because much of the background and earlier research had speculated on this (Kubrin, 2005). It is hardly unexpected that gangster rap music is associated with crime, violence, sex, firearms, and narcotics. This might be because prior studies mentioned it. Despite the fact that crime was a key issue in the songs studied, it was not the only item that attracted attention. There is a strong emphasis on the "us and them" mindset. This social involvement is compatible with the social critique expressed openly by the musicians in their songs about their displeasure with the legal system. The cops are referred to as pigs and are frequently portrayed as the villains in the situation. The artists sing about how the police judge them based on what they wear, how they speak, and where they live. They also sing about how the justice system does not provide them or their families with the resources they need to avoid poverty, and thus the artists would not have had to resort to criminal acts, which strengthens the idea of "us and them." This occurs in accordance with branding theory, in which the environment treats these persons depending on their preexisting views about them (Becker, 1963).

Even if the singers sing about ethically questionable things, they continue to release music that addresses these issues. This relates to the social identity hypothesis. Rap culture may be viewed as a subculture in which each artist decides to adapt and preserve a certain social identity. As they find themselves in a so-called "*dimension*" where they actively breach society's conventional standards in their music lyrics, the musicians employ their social creativity in their identity formation. However, it can be extrapolated from the artists' songs that they feel obligated to keep a specific character in order to fit into the rap business because it is a popular storyline nowadays. Another finding in this study was the performers' dissatisfaction with their female role models, which they sang about. The prominent presence of the artists' moms might be connected to the social bond theory's *attachment* element. This factor can be linked to the artists' powerful presence, which stems from their relationships with their social group, friends, and, most importantly, their moms. Attachment to others, in principle, can prevent crime if they are dissatisfied that one has gone astray and made the incorrect decision in life (Hirschi, 1969). According to the findings of this study, moms are dissatisfied with the illegal lifestyle of the artists, but not dissatisfied enough to prohibit the action and modify the lifestyle.

As previously said, mistrust in the judiciary was a significant finding, mistrust being one of the variables that supports the lack of belief under social bond theory (Hirschi, 1969). The outcome revealed that they had a difficult upbringing in which criminality was always prevalent. Because the artists did not have the option to engage their time and energy in education, they instead focused on illegal behavior, resulting in conflicts with numerous authorities. The rappers claim that the government did not spend enough resources to help them throughout their difficult childhood, which led to their lack of trust in the authorities and the legal system.

Money is a recurring subject in all of the songs and consequently one of the study's key results. Economic capital is depicted not just in the way they talk about money as something that gives one power and girls, but also in the way they discuss costly brands and how much money they make from drug sales. The cultural capital is not as substantial as the other chapters, but it is evident since they name rare goods and prominent personalities such as artist Frida Kahlo, football star Mbappe, Dag Hammarskjöld, and the Mona Lisa artwork. The social capital is reflected in the textual expression of the strong brotherhood. The allegiance that the "brothers" hold for one another is a social field norm. The status and power that come with a strong economic and violent capital are viewed as symbolic capital. The artists' habits are reflected in the way they all rap about a life in the suburbs that is considered as difficult to live.

Finally, the gangster rap genre may be considered as a subculture based on the texts investigated in this study because of their obvious message about what is genuine and significant in the criminal lifestyles they live in the suburbs. The message pervades all song lyrics and is represented through slang terms, which also serve to create a community within the culture. This is consistent with the subculture hypothesis of gangster rap (Hesmondhalgh, 2013; Machin, 2010). It is not altogether unproblematic in terms of the Bourdiean idea of habitus. The idea of habitus can be difficult to define since it comprises portions of a person that are subconscious and impossible for others to know; it also unifies numerous aspects of a person's existence. Because a person's habitus is dynamic and impressionable, determining a habitus in relation to an entire community based on texts can be challenging. It may, however, give insight into how a group is seen, which the idea of subculture has helped to define. By identifying the genre as a subculture based on the texts, one can then position it in the Bourdiean setting as a social field; hence, the two notions are intertwined in the study. It

should be noted, however, that framing the subject in the analysis with the help of theory and in relation to previous research has been difficult because Swedish gangster rap is so new and changing that it has been difficult to refer only to research because research to the extent that was required does not exist. However, it is not anything that has hampered the study, but rather something that must be considered. The starting point of the analysis was to enter, not in a critical way, into the texts, but to look more deeply at the culture that stands behind the lines of text. This can also be problematic because the texts are not factual texts, but nevertheless they are texts that have many listeners, which means that many people hear them and in this way they become part of society.

Further research on the influence of gangster rap music on the growth of crime would have been intriguing, however this study did not address that question. Given how much gangster rap has been contested in connection to crime and criminal growth, and the repercussions discourses in the field might have, there is still room and need to increase the state of knowledge. The study's final conclusions are that it was successfully done in terms of time, space, and health. The study could have been more comprehensive if I, as a researcher, had included interviews with the artists themselves to learn how they chose to express their world. Interviews with the artists about their creativity and descriptions of reality may have yielded a more nuanced response. As a researcher, this sort of criticism may have provided me with more perspectives, insights, and nuanced responses on the issue of gangster rap's depiction of reality among Stockholm's musicians.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1. Table of sample

ARTIST	SONG TITLE	RELEASE YEAR
Einar	Katten i trakten	2019
Einar	Sätter dom på plats	2021
Einar	Nu vi skiner	2019
Einar, Dree low	Min nivå	2019
Einar	Frank Lucas	2020
Einar	Rymden och tillbaka	2020
Einar, ADAAM	Dansa	2021
Einar	Första klass	2019
Dree Low	PIPPI	2020
Dree Low	Oj Oj Oj	2018
Dree Low, Einar	Dag Hammarskjöld	2019
Dree Low, Owen	Mango lassi	2020
Dree Low, Greekazo	Ice cream	2020
Dree Low, Adel	På oss	2019
Dree Low, Adel	No Cap	2019
Haval, Manny Flaco	Kontrollzon	2020
Haval	HAYATI	2020
Haval	Klass ett	2021

Haval	GANG GANG	2021
Haval	Kandahar	2020
Haval	.357	2020
Haval	Vice	2020
Haval	Kalash	2022
Yasin, Dree low	XO	2019
Yasin	Chicago	2018
Yasin	Bon Voyage	2018
Yasin	Workin	2020
Yasin	DSGIS	2019
Yasin	Spiderman	2020
Yasin	Talk 2 me	2020
Z.E	74 bars	2019
Z.E	Allt e mitt	2018
Z.E, Jiggz	Sverige vet	2018
Z.E, Thrife, Nigma	Klick	2019
Z.E	Gflow	2020
Z.E, Nigma	Superstar	2020
Z.E	Kaxig	2018
Z.E	Papper&bläck	2022
Macky	PA PA	2020

Macky	Solvalla	2021
Macky	Vinterdepress	2018
Macky, Thrife, Abidaz, Haval	Lagen	2018
Macky	Valide	2021
Macky	Vacay	2018
Macky, Einar	Tesla	2020
Macky	Advokat	2020
Jaffar byn	Pistol Whip	2020
Jaffar byn, IMAN	Ett paradis utan änglar	2021
Jaffar byn	SPECIAL ONE	2022
Jaffar byn	Allting har sitt pris	2022
Jaffar byn, Yasin	Oppblock	2021
Jaffar byn	Die young	2022
Jaffar byn	REA	2021
Owen, Dree low	Dip Dip	2020
Owen	Musik eller metall	2022
Owen, Kevln	Sanna mina ord	2022
Owen	Bilzerian	2021
Owen	Kan ej med mig	2019
Owen	Djupa sår	2021
Owen	Murda	2021

Owen	Vilsna själar	2020
Owen	Dansa	2022
1.CUZ, Greekazo	Försent	2019
1.CUZ	Police	2022
1.CUZ, Einar	Fiendes fiende	2020
1.CUZ, Einar	Räkna mina dagar	2019
1.CUZ, Yasin	I jakt på kaniner	2020
1.CUZ, Dree low, Einar	Akta mannen	2019
1.CUZ	Salsa	2020
Adel	Narcos	2019
Adel, P.J	Sci-fi	2020
Adel, Dree low	Kapabel 3	2020
Adel, Einar	Show	2020
Adel	Flex	2018
Adel	La Marie	2020
Adel	NBA	2020

Appendix 2. Slang words table

Abiat = Cocaine

Aina = Police

Balaclava = Hood / mask

Bralla = An extension of the after party

Broder = Brother, Loyal friend

Bäng = Drunk / pissed

Cuttar kakan till femmor = Five grams marijuana / Hasch

Dripping = Wearing expensive clothes

Fimpa / Fimpade = Turn off but also to kill

FTP = Fuck the police

Glocks & Granater = Gun and bomb

Gris = Police

Han är top = Someone is high

Hasch = Drugs

Japp = Having sex

Kallen = Automatic carbine, automatic rifle

Kaliber = When something or someone has a number of positive attributes. This can be food, objects and even people etc.

Kamagra = Pills for sex

Kaninen / Kanin = million kroner

Keft = Bad, Stupid, Ugly, Weird

Klippt / Klippta = Shot dead

Koks = Cocaine

Mecka / Meckar = Prepare to smoke weed

Nada = Nothing

Para = Money

Punani = Female genitalia

Smoked = Shot dead

Snuten = Police

Stick up = Robbery

Systemet = Authority