

The imaginary of racist discourse (re)exploited

- An examination of the events at the EU-summit in Gothenburg 2001 and their racialisation by Swedish news media

Seattle, Prag, Gothenburg, Nice and Genua. These cities may form a chain of meaning, not only commenting their geographically location, but representing a force of potentiality for making another kind of world possible. Alternative conferences at these locations are one kind of possibility. Humans discussing environmental issues, privatisation, commute possibilities and demonstrate their void against the various problems they recognise in our contemporary world. But mainstream media have not been that interested in representing the cities, the events and the symbolic imaginary around them in that way. Instead, they have been interested in focusing on the clashes between the police and demonstrators.

Introduction

The aim with this paper is to discuss the construction in media of the discourse around the movement for making another world possible.¹ I shall call this movement *The movement for global equity*. More specific, this paper looks at how demonstrations and other events were displayed by media the week that the EU-summit in Gothenburg took place in June 2001. It was a week filled with large demonstrations for doing another Europe possible, alternative conferences and clashes between the police and demonstrators. I will try to analyse and show in which possible way the event was constructed, how this is present in pictures and texts, and which consequences might follow from this representation.² The aim of my paper is to expand how to think about the construction of ‘the other’. Following Robert Miles, that it is a mistake to limit the parameters of racism by reference to skin colour because various ‘white’ groups have been the object of forms of racism, the article tries to understand under which circumstances racism can be understood.

My thesis is that mass media’s representation of the events in Gothenburg function as a example of how included people, white, Swedish and political might become racialised as a specific ‘other’ when that ‘otherness’ has a function. It has the function of reformulating a political struggle of global equity into a animalised biologism. I use the term racialisation because I think that Robert Miles has come up with a useful term to understand how racism works and how it is used. Miles says – and I make a long quote because I think it is so wisely written – that:

¹ Another, shorter, not as theoretical advanced, version of this paper has been published at <http://www.ismproject.net> I have to thank commentators at Linköping university and the conference “The city and the state” in Norrköping for very useful critique.

² The analysis includes over 800 texts and pictures from six of the largest Swedish newspaper and this paper is a condensed version of my MA-thesis in Cultural Studies at Linköping University. In my MA-thesis I used a method of triangulation drawing from semiotics, linguistics and discourse theory as my theoretical framework.

Racialisation refers to any circumstances where the idea of 'race' is employed in discourse. A process of delineation of a group boundaries and of allocation of persons within those boundaries by primary reference to (supposedly) inherent and/or biological (usually phenotypical) characteristics. [...] The concept of racialisation is employed to refer to those instances where social relation between people have been structured by the signification of human biological characteristics in such way as to define and construct differentiated social collectivities (Miles 1993:74-5).

Examples of racialisation is for example how sexuality and 'uncivilised' behaviour were written onto and therefore be amongst the inherit characteristic of the African 'race'.

In this essay I try to show how the movement for a democratic and social globalisation is racialised by the Swedish news media. I suggest that this racialisation is done in the same manner and with the same object as the colonial form of racialisation. And this racialisation of different people at different events is important to understand today when the media seems to have more power over our socialisation than ever before. After a presentation of contemporary theory about media which include a discussion of the theoretical framework of 'the other', I will present my conclusions. At the end of the paper I will discuss how media constructed 'the other' as a rapist, which have many similarities with how the colonial discourse constructed – and constructs! – the picture of 'the other'.

Media as a editor of discursive order

During the transition to modern industrial capitalism, newspapers – and the consumption of them – created the everyday social world together with other institutions (Ekecrantz & Olsson 1998:96). This consumption of mass media products could be characterised – according to Norman Fairclough – by being consumed in a private sphere and produced by very few outside this private space (Fairclough 1995:42). In our contemporary time, whether characterised as late modernity, the network society or Empire, mass media plays an increasing role in individuals' identity processes and the construction of the social world (Beck 1999; Castells 1998; Hardt & Negri 2000). According to Manuel Castells, the family plays a less important role in the identity process and the space of socialisation. That certain space, which was earlier occupied mainly by the family, has been taken over by mass media (Castells 1998:336).

The development of mass media, is under the last couple of decades, characterised by more and more privatisation and fragmentation into different forms of media, at the same time as the power of media has been concentrated, through criss-cross ownership including both printed and digital media (Wadborg & Weibull 2000:15). The society that developed during the 1970s and advanced under the pressure of the commercialised journalism is called 'the edited society' by the Swedish media professors Jan Ekecrantz and Tom Olsson. In this form of society ownership of media is closely connected to the elite. With this expression they argue, that in a historical comparison, the earlier journalism was – qualitative – more transparent than now because the journalist gave the reader information about their function and that the style of writing resembled the form of a telegram, concentrated the text. The concept of 'edited society' suggests that the discursive order to perceive the world is edited by a rather autonomy journalistic institution with a discursive hegemony of defining phenomenon. Phenomena that more and more are descriptions of events or actions that have not

occurred, which indicate that our society, and the possibility of understanding an event, is 'edited' before they occur (Ekecrantz & Olsson 1998:129ff).

In this 'edited society' the picture, because of digital media expansion, occupies a larger space than before in newspapers. Therefore an analysis of newspapers has to take into account the part the visual representation plays in the articles. The interplay between text and pictures has to be analysed simultaneously. According to Kress & van Leeuwen the discourse that these representations provide, could anchor each other in different ways. In any case the picture has to be understood in its discourse (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996).

Many researchers claim that news media of today have an increasing power in defining our society. Jacob Torfing, for example, writes that mass media both has won and lost war through their promulgation of certain discourses (Torfing 1999:210). Media's importance builds on the 'regime of telling the truth' that they have conquered, using a Foucauldian language to explain their power. The institution of journalism might be more skilled than any other institution to act without being understood as powerful. Its way of describing phenomena with a language that construct their 'objectivity' is accepted by most of the people in the society today (Ekecrantz & Olsson 1998: 83). Though the understanding that becomes the result of media's descriptions and the readers reading are produced both by the reader and the paper, the reader does not have the same position as the newspaper in the negotiation about the status of a certain piece of language. The reader is depending of how the text is presented (Fowler 1991: 60). In this essay I will try to explore how the discourse of *the global equality movement* appears in Swedish mass media from the EU-summit and which possibilities this negotiation and understanding about certain pieces of text are controlled by the newspapers.

The construction of 'otherness' in media

In our contemporary society the text of 'the other' has been widely researched both in digital and printed media. It has been researched mostly as a field that includes the representation of immigrants both in newspaper and television programmes. Even if Sweden is not commonly thought of as a colonial power, our participation in the discourse of the West – and by that our moral and imaginary horizon – is now highlighted more and more by various researchers. (McEachrane & Faye 2000:9). It is a representation that has been intimately connected to modernisation including slavery, colonialism and imperialism (McEachrane & Faye 2000:196). 'The other' was the 'dark' side of the Enlightenment – forgotten repressed and denied. Because the Enlightenment justified the extinction of indigenous people both in America and Africa, those people had to be presented as the reverse image of enlightenment and modernity. Indigenous people were therefore represented as 'barbarians', uncivilised, war-like and cannibals (Hall & Bram 1992:303f, Eriksen 1999:58). Describing this phenomenon Rune Johnsson writes that 'the other' is not someone other, it is ourselves and our own projections that is needed for constructing our own identity (Olsson 1994:102).

As media researchers in Sweden demonstrate, the media – in general – (re)produce a negative and largely stereotypic image of immigrants, which follows the colonial and modern way of representing

‘the other’. In her anthology, *Mörk magi i vita medier* (Dark magic in white media), the Swedish media researcher Ylva Brune – with inspiration from Edward Saids *Orientalism* – discusses how ‘the other’ becomes the container of the not ‘recognised’ side of ourselves. ‘We’ become by this way of constructing ‘the other’ in a relation where the ‘We’ becomes the norm(al) (Brune 1998:30ff). In the terminology of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe ‘the other’ becomes a constitutive outside which is “*The excluded relational identity against which a privileged social identity is defined and distinguished - a projection of otherness which at the same time establishes their self-identification as legitimate*” (Laclau & Mouffe 1985:115ff). Brune continues with the conclusion that immigrants are represented by media as a threat because refugees are collectively named as an invading force, cost or a wave, a threat that in its purest form, and most narrow core construction, is an evil ‘other’ who can not control its sexuality (Brune 1998:37-53 and 117, Hall & Bram 1992: 302, McEachrane & Faye 2000:209). An example of this might be how the Swedish media professor Elisabeth Stür (2000), recognises the close development between tabloidisation and the construction of ‘otherness’ in the Austrian newspaper täglich Alles. In this newspaper she finds that the whole construction of newsstories are based upon the signification of an ‘us’ and a ‘them’.

In an attempt to change who is the researched ‘object’, Richard Dyer explores how the discourse of whiteness is constructed. He claims that white, as a symbolic and moral concept, is associated with order, law and caring in a dichotomy against black anarchy. White does most often symbolise morally and spiritually pure. An example that Dyer presents is Star Wars (Dyer 1997:35-70). Dyer also, as Brune, recognises how sexuality is important in the construction of ‘otherness’, in this case white in relation to other symbolic colours. He writes that the “[...] *projection of sexuality on to dark races was a mean for whites to represent yet dissociate themselves from their own desires. The whiteness of white men resides in the tragic quality of their giving way to darkness and the heroism of their channelling or resisting it*” (Dyer 1997:28).

Racism as biological appearance

The understanding of racism in biological terms was formed intimately with the Enlightenment and the raise of the modern capitalistic production mode and power relation. Even if there are traces of racism in for example the Greco-Roman culture it did not cohere to sustain either a negative stereotype or to constitute a legitimisation of slavery (Miles 1993:15). Paul Gilroy continues on the same path and writes that “*Race as we comprehend it now simply did not exist until the nineteenth century*” (Gilroy 2000:57). The notion of ‘race’ was in leading scholars from Enlightenment, for example Kant, formed as a physical morphology. And by this time the physical morphology was not explicitly connected to a specific colour scheme. It was used as order people into inferior and low class people determined by ‘natural’ differences. As for example the ‘blue blood’ of aristocrats and the working class as inherited with unstoppable sexuality, dirty and drug problems (Wallerstein & Balibar 2002). It was more explicit as the colonialism developed into slavery and a trade of bare life, that the function of the barbarian black ‘other’ was needed. It was needed to justify how the slaves were treated as commodity and thereby mystify the exploitation of them as workers. This means that the deterministic form of racism is historically specific. Miles says that: *The socially determined process of class formation was racialised* (Miles 1993:100). The language that was constructed around the slave trade

included a scientific language from various disciplines and it underlined that slave relations was presented as a step forward to civilisation (Gilroy 2000:45; Miles 1993:30) In the terminology of Robert Miles he says that:

The settlers racialised the African populations that they came to civilise and they necessarily racialised themselves as agents of civilisation (Miles 1993:104)

The complexity of European representations was hierarchically ordered around the view that Europeans were superior by virtue of their 'civilisation'. By this thought from the Enlightenment the 'west' was constituted as a distinction between the 'civilised' Europeans and 'the others' (Hall & Bram 1992:303f, Eriksen 1999:58, Eriksson, Eriksson-Baaz & Thörn 1999:29). The wild man was for example attributed with an aggressive and untamed sexuality. As Robert Miles puts it: "*One of striking continuity in British representation of the colonised other is the attribution of excessive and unrestrained sexuality to a number of different colonised populations*". (Miles 1993:27). Nira Yuval-Davis continues on this theme and writes that:

The embodiment dimension of the racialized 'other' puts sexuality at the heart of the racialized imagery which projects dreams onto 'the other' of forbidden pleasures and fears of impotency onto 'the other'. The myth of the other as a rapist is a common tale in many racialized contexts. (Yuval-Davis 2000:51).

The postcolonial turn

The postcolonial turn can not really be seen in time and space. It is, according to Stuart Hall, more a way of visualising how hegemony in society has been constructed in terms of biology. By this, the researches writing from the postcolonial perspective tries to show how an 'us' and 'them' dichotomy was – during the colonial period – presented as biological fact, not as politics (Hall in Eriksson, Eriksson-Baaz & Thörn 1999:86). The theoretical framework of postcolonial theory can thereby be recognised as a critique against those who analyse contemporary cultural processes as outside and apart from the history of colonialism. It can also be seen as a critique against those who claim that there is no racism, or no unequal possibilities depending on racialisation, anymore.

The exposure and interpretation of racism as a destructive doctrine has changed the social context with the result that explicit assertions that 'race' determines culture either cannot be sustained or are not articulated in the public domain because they are beyond the boundaries of acceptable arguments. In other words the understanding of Hitler's final solution made it impossible to talk about 'race'. Even if racism after the post-colonial turn, or the New Racism as Gilroy says, has turned into a crisis for racialogy, it might just have been dressed differently. Thomas Hylland Eriksen has developed the term of "culture terrorism" as an analytic term to think about how culture has become a concept of essentialism in this era of New Racism. The recognition of different cultures become another way of excluding 'the other' (Eriksen 1999:31; Wallerstein & Balibar 2002). And in his book *Between camps*, Gilroy propose something even more frightening. He suggests that the biology explanation of human behaviour is on its way back in the contemporary discussion about genetic therapy (2000). In media's

descriptions from the EU-summit there are some very interesting similarities between the articulating processes of biologically and culturally expressed racism.

Media's construction of the active, black rapist(s)

The joint memory from the EU-summit as presented in the newspapers was mainly constructed in and around the metaphor of war.³ Through media's use of war as a metaphor, this metaphor defined most of the representation. The metaphor includes at least two subjects that are active – or at least could be active. In the representation these two subjects are the police and the demonstrators though in the actual representation the demonstrators are active and the police are mostly passive. But in the end of media's description from Gothenburg, the representation changes towards a metaphor that has only one active subject, and that subject is a rapist. In this paper I try to elaborate on this particular metaphor because it is a very strong metaphor which imply some sort of closure to the debate. It also shows how powerful media's representation is.

The active rapist and feminisation of the victim

Many headlines talk about rape and being raped at the end of the week that I have studied. GP writes for example "*Raped Gothenburg*" and GT construct the headline "*They succeeded in raping the town*".⁴ As well as in the headlines as in the article this metaphor is constructed. When DN describes how the police worked on Saturday it is presented as a consequent of a rape. "*Lines of containers were placed at strategic places in centre. The police did all it could to prevent a new rape*".⁵ The rape is described by media as a fact, and as a 'objective' description of the events. GT writes in a headline: "*They raped the town*" and continues in the article with pointing out an active subject and an object: "*They raped Gothenburg. With masked faces and fist with stones they succeeded in raping Gothenburg*".⁶ The newspapers present the reader with a clear active subject and an object for its actions. The description of Gothenburg as a raped object, and thereby feminised object, that was invaded by rapists is also constructed and represented with words as "*outrage, violate, ravaged and eliminated*".⁷ According to Nina Yuval-Davis this is a common role for femininity. She writes that "*A figure of a woman symbolise in many cultures the spirit of the collectivity (mother Russia, mother Svea)*" (Yuval-Davis 2000:45). In the case of media's representation of Gothenburg the metaphor of a rape are filtered through a construction of Gothenburg as a woman. The narrative of 'rape' is at the root of the representation from Gothenburg as an feminised space, a spatialised womanification that takes the shape of a specific territory – the city of Gothenburg.

Through repeating who is the active subject, the newspapers construct a metaphor of a rapist and a victim. The victim is Gothenburg according to media. Aftonbladet writes: "*The inhabitants in Gothenburg cries because of its raped town*".⁸ And NT continues on the Monday after the meeting:

³ The translations are done by the author of this paper

⁴ GP, 16 June, page 1 and GT, 17 June page 12-13

⁵ DN, 17 June, page A6

⁶ GT, 17 June, page 12-13

⁷ For example: GP, 18 June page 6, NT, 19 June, page 12

⁸ Aftonbladet, 16 June page 10-11

*Hundreds of militant activists, who destroyed the city, Gothenburg was lying on Saturday as an outspread and violated city.*⁹ Racist discourse often use the feminine as the symbol of the white space. Sexual loaded imaginations about protecting the feminine from invasion from another race is central in the constructed picture of threat. By feminising the town of Gothenburg and its inhabitants, and describe the event as a rape, ‘the other’ is constructed as a untamed sexual ‘Other’ and at the same time the victim is feminised as an innocent woman.

Black imaginary (re)used

As said above the newspapers represent the events in the metaphor of rape. GP write for example that the virginity is lost: *“The virginity is lost. The open politic was met by a fist from 200-300 youths in black masks”*.¹⁰ In another text GT writes that: *“I am thinking that the black violence also has to do with a longing to be a wolf, lost in the crowd [...]”*.¹¹ The descriptions of the events are in these excerpts written in the dichotomy of black/white, as described by Dyer. Black, as a symbolic and moral concept, is associated with anarchy in a binary opposition against white order and law. ‘White’ does most often symbolise something morally and spiritually pure when it is described because other desires are projected on to ‘the other’ (Dyer 1997:35-70). In an article from DN, the colour black is used several times to describe the persons in one article: *“demonstrates dressed in black[...] a mixture of hooligans dressed in black[...] A couple of hundred masked demonstrates dressed in black[...] The violent gist – most of them call themselves autonomy – is dressed in black[...] screamed a black dressed girl”*.¹² The demonstrators are reduced to their clothes and its imaginary symbolic of blackness. Blackness is thereby used in the newspapers representation as connecting the demonstrators to an already constructed imaginary of sexuality and anarchy. The racialisation of the activist are done in biological terms and connected to already fixed stereotypes. Here we can ask ourselves why the police not are represented as the ‘blue block’?

The racialised ‘other’ as a rapist

As presented above immigrants are represented as invaders, cost or a wave by media and therefore a threat. In the representation from Gothenburg the same vocabulary is used to describe the people that are represented as rapists. The activists are by Aftonbladet described as an army of animals: *“At the Avenyn the summit is forgotten. The hate is directed at the city’s proud commercial street. As a army of animals, hundreds of activists rush down the Avenyn”*.¹³ Another example of many of this ‘animal’ representation of is in GT: *“I am thinking that the black violence also has to do with a longing to be a wolf, lost in the crowd, become a muscle larger than my own, feel the crowds power in my blood, circle against the victim together with all the other wolves, tear up the throat of the victim and bare the neck in front of the leader”*.¹⁴

⁹ NT, 19 June, s.12

¹⁰ GP, 16 June, page 39

¹¹ GT, 17 June page17

¹² DN, 16 June page A5

¹³ Aftonbladet, 16 June page 10-11

In this way of representing ‘the other’ we find important connections with how the colonialist and racist discourse constructed identities of indigenous people, both in America and Africa, as the reverse image of enlightenment and modernity (Eriksen 1999:58). Another example is in GP: “*It went as it did because Gothenburg municipality invited the wolf to the sheep house*”.¹⁵ Racialised people were – in colonial racism discourse – represented as ‘barbarians’, uncivilised, war-like and cannibals attributed with an aggressive and untamed sexuality because of white bourgeoisies’ need of justify their exploitation. Swedish news media are exploiting the same articulating processes and attributes when trying to fixate the stereotype of ‘the other’ at the EU-summit in Gothenburg. In foucauldian terms we may understand these stereotypes not as the same barbarians but it is the same power structure that make use of the metaphor possible in the same manner as in colonial imaginary.

Conclusions

The flow of pictures and texts from the EU-summit in Gothenburg was extensive. The flow follows the development in media that is called tabloidisation. One major part of this tabloidisation is that different events are defined and represented as violence. Mass media’s articulation from Gothenburg is not unique in how events like these are represented. Violence is in the ‘edited society’, according to Ester Pollack, such important way of describing events that it seems to define a lot of the journalistic institution work as such. This happens because of mass media’s strong connection to a power structure that do not want to recognise the clashes between the police and demonstrators as politics (2000:259). The frame of violence is present already in the beginning of the week, way before the ‘actual’ violence, which indicates that media have decided how they will represent the events before they ‘actually’ occur. In the rest of the representation bridging assumptions are used to construct other events, for example demonstration, as connected with violence (Hultman 2003; Granström 2002; Enbom 2002; Parsmo 2003). In this paper I have focused on a specific floating significant, rape, and how that significant may be transformed as having certain function as a nodal point in the discourse of the global equity movement.

Political (non)space and bare life

As discussed above the events before, during and after the EU-summit are represented as violence in a frame of war. In the war, two possible active actors are visible. Both actors can be agents of action and different meaning are possible to detect from the metaphor or nodal point following Laclau and Mouffes terminology. The antagonistic field is at this time still fairly open for interpretation even if the mass media is trying to partially fixate the discourse and accuse the demonstrators of starting the war and be the active part. But in the end of the representation this possibility almost disappear when the discourse about the events in Gothenburg becomes partially stabilized because of the powerful metaphor of rape. The events are described as a rape, committed by ‘the other’ who is constructed similar to the colonial discourse, as an uncivilised barbarian. As a conclusion the newspapers’ hegemonic edited representation of the events in Gothenburg framed a picture of violence, war and rape. Media’s description of the events seems to draw from a specific set of metaphors used in

¹⁴ GT, 17 June page17

¹⁵ GP, 17 June page 35

modernity, enlightenment and colonial tradition, which fixates 'the other' as an sexualised animal and makes it hard to discuss the events in other aspects than what media suggested it to be. This partial fixation and its power might be recognised both in how Swedish people understood the event as violence disconnected from politics but at the same time one attack against democracy (Olausson 2002; Emilsson & Lind 2002; Weibull & Nilsson 2002) as well as the verdicts against the people who media claim to be 'rapists' (Wijk 2003).

As well as the colonial thinking about the 'other' excluded s/he from the political, s/he he became – by Giorgio Agambens term – *bare life*, the demonstrators and activists in Gothenburg was represented as pure sexuality by media (Agamben 1998). The same way that the prisoners at Guantanamo Bay are placed outside the political space, the demonstrators at Gothenburg is stripped of their political possibilities according to mass medias articulation (Zizek 2002:91). What media's racialisation does in its representation of the demonstrators at the EU-summit – I suggest – is excluding them from politics by using the same imaginary as the racist discourse. By doing this the newspaper repress the possibility of understanding the protests as happening inside a society where ownership has become more unequal. As Gilroy puts it "*The space in which 'race' comes to life are a field from which political interaction has been banished*" (Gilroy 2000:41).

Racialised politics

My conclusion from this paper is that the representation of the EU-summit in Gothenburg as a rape is trying to fixate the meaning of the events and make media's description and the discourse from the events very hard to criticise. While the metaphor of war might be interpreted differently even if the discourse try to partially fixate with certain moments and subjectivity drawn to it, the metaphor of a rape is more unquestionable. By inscribing an active barbarian into the metaphor of rape and by using bridging assumptions to connect this sexualised 'other' to the act of protest, media reuse the same imaginary as the colonial discourse. Even though it is not the same subjects the discourse function in a similar way. It stimulates a change in the understanding of the demonstrators from political activists, to rapists just as the colonial discourse racialised a process of class formation. By connecting certain elements in the antagonistic field of meaning that make up the global equity movement and turn them into moments bound to the nodal point rape, mass media's articulation partially fixate the discourse in similar way as the colonial discourse. It is not only one part that becomes racialised in the rape metaphor. Also the victim of the rape becomes inscribed in this relation and thereby makes it impossible to discuss its participation in the events. The police, Gothenburg and in the end democracy becomes the victim and has no responsibility when the discourse partially fixate the active and passive subjects as a rape.

The change from culture terrorism to racism occurred the first time as the need for the capitalistic imaginary to justify its use of the slaves treated as commodity. The second change from racism to culture terrorism came about as the welfare state developed in the aftermath of our understanding of the final solution. Is it today the same form of formation system as before and during the world war two that now is trying to justify its exploitation on a global scale in describing its opponent in terms of barbarians?

Media's description of the events seems to draw from a imaginary from modernity, racial and colonial tradition, which fixate 'the other' as an sexualised animal and make it hard to discuss the events in political aspects different from how it appeared in media. Could even the racialised political activists be understood as a way of bridging the assumptions between the critics of the EU-project and neoliberal globalisation and those who are outside fortress Europe? Is it a discourse, which aim is to close Europe, even a scream for the conservation of white male sexual security? Or is it even worse, drawing from Gilroy's thoughts, one example of how the imaginary from the biological racism discourse is reexploited in the need of preserve the socio-political power hierarchies who discipline people in the capitalistic production mode?

Literature

- Andén-Papadopoulos, Kari (2000), *Kameran i krig*, Stockholm: B. Östlings bokförlag. Symposion
- Balibar, Etienne & Wallerstein, Immanuel (2002), *Ras, Nation, Klass: Mångtydiga identiteter*, Göteborg:Daidalos
- Beck, Ulrich (1999), *World risk society*, Cambridge:Blackwell Publishers Ltd
- Becker, Karin, Ekekrantz, Jan, Olsson, Tom (red) (2000), *Picturing politics*, Stockholm: Universitetet, Institutionen för journalistik, medier och kommunikation
- Björk, Micael & Petersson, Abby (red.) (2002), *Vid politikens yttersta gräns*, Stockholm:Symposion
- Brune, Ylva (2000) *Stereotyper i förändring*, Utrikesdepartementet: Nordstedts förlag
- Brune, Ylva (red) (1998), *Mörk magi i vita medier*, Bjärnum: Carlssons bokförlag
- Castells, Manuel (1998), *The rise of the network society*, Cambridge, Ma. : Blackwell Publications
- Chouliaraki, Lilie, Fairclough, Norman (1999), *Discourse in late modernity*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press
- Dyer, Richard (1997) *White*, Routledge:London
- Ekekrantz, Jan, Olsson, Tom (1998), *Det redigerade samhället*, Stockholm: Carlsson
- Emilsson, Karin & Lind, Maria (2002) *Pressens bild av EU-toppmötet i Göteborg*, D:uppsats, Psykologiiinstitutionen, Linköpings Universitet
- Enbom, Jesper (2002) "A struggle on Who is Who" (opublicerat paper)
- Enbom, Jesper "Vår stad har våldtagits" i Lilieqvist, Marianne & Lundälv, Jörgen (red) (2002), *Gatans politik*, Meyers förlag
- Eriksen, Tomas Hylland (1999), *Kulturterrorismen*, Fagernes:Nya doxa
- Fairclough, Norman (1988), *Discourse and social change*, Cambridge: Polity
- Fairclough, Norman (1995), *Media Discourse*, London: Edward Arnold
- Findahl, Olle, "Våldsfiltret- om mediernas rapportering av demonstrationer från Vietnam till WTO och EU" i Lilieqvist, Marianne & Lundälv, Jörgen (red) (2002), *Gatans politik*, Meyers förlag
- Fowler, Roger (1991), *Language in the news*, London: Routledge
- Granström, Kjell (red) (2002), *Göteborgskravallerna*, Stockholm:Styrelsen för psykologiskt försvar
- Gilroy, Paul (2000), *Between camps. Nations, Culture and the Allure of Race*. Allen Lane
- Hall, Stuart & Bram, Gieben (1992) *Formations of modernity*, Cambridge: Open university
- Hardt, Michael & Negri, Antonio (2000), *Empire*, London:Harvard University Press

- Hellström, Anders & Åkerström, Maja (2001) *Spegel eller vrångbild?*, Stockholm:Institutet för mediastudier
- Hultman, Martin (2003), *Kriget, skotten och våldtäkten - En studie av den svenska pressens representation av händelserna i samband med EU-toppmötet i Göteborg*, D-uppsats, ITUF, Linköpings Universitet
- Jonsson, Stefan (1993), *De andra*, Stockholm: Nordstedts förlag
- Kress, Gunther, Leeuwen, Theo van (1996), *Reading images*, London, New York: Routledge
- Laclau, Ernesto, Mouffe, Chantal (1985), *Hegemony and socialist strategy*, London: Verso
- Lakoff, George, Johnson, Mark, (1980), *Metaphors we live by*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Liljeqvist, Marianne & Lundälv, Jörgen (red) (2002), *Gatans politik*, Meyers förlag
- McEachrane, Michael & Faye, Louis (red) (2000) *Sverige och de Andra- postkoloniala perspektiv*, Natur och kultur: Falun
- Olausson, Ulrika (2002), *Vi kommer bara ihåg oroligheterna*, Stockholm:Styrelsen för psykologiskt försvar
- Olsson, Erik (red) (1999), *Etnicitetens mångfald och gränser*, Bjärnum: Carlssons bokförlag
- Parsmo, Jonas "Representativa representationer" i Björk, Micael & Petersson, Abby (red.) (2002), *Vid politikens yttersta gräns*, Stockholm:Symposion
- Pollack, Ester (2001), *En studie i medier och brott*, Stockholm: Institutionen för journalistik, medier och kommunikation, Universitetet
- Torring, Jacob (1999), *New theories of discourse*, Oxford: Blackwell
- Weibull, Lennart & Nilsson, Lennart "EU-toppmötet i svensk opinion" i Björk, Micael & Petersson, Abby (red.) (2002), *Vid politikens yttersta gräns*, Stockholm:Symposion
- Wijk, Erik (2003), *Orätt*, Smedjebacken:Ordfront
- Zizek, Slavoj (2002), *Welcome to the desert of the real*, London:Verso