

Human Rights 21-40
Faculty of Theology
Lund University
Tutor: Dan-Erik Andersson

Media and Minority Rights

The role of media in promoting social cohesion and enforcing
human rights of ethnic minorities in nation states

Behrang Kianzad
790808-3772

Abstract

The aim of this essay is to investigate the role of media in shaping national identity, analyzed through the media practices on ethnic minorities and the medias portrayal of these minorities. The thesis is that since the rise of the modern nation state, a false, imagined, homogenous picture of the nation has been disseminated, first through the printing process and books, and in our days, through massmedia outlets. If media would disseminate a more heterogenous picture of the nation and change its discourse on ethnic minorities and the identity of the nation, it would ultimately lead to a more diversified society where the ethnic minorities would be subjected to a lesser degree of discrimination and prejudices.

Table of contents

Abstract

1. Introduction

1.1 Thesis

2. Method, material and theoretical framework

2.1 Disposition

2.2 Limitations

2.2 Theoretical framework

3. The Rise of Nation State – Peace of Westphalia

3.1 Problems related to geographic defined state

3.2 Nation building and minorities – the identity of nation

3.3 The role of media in shaping the national identity

4. Assimilation, multiculturalism and integration – different policies

4.1 Migrants in Europe – Example of Sweden, Germany and Netherlands

4.2 Discrimination, Racism and Xenophobia

4.3 Discriminatory elements of Media and Journalists – The case of Sweden

5. The Defining Power of Media – Unity or Segregation

5.1 Media, everyday practice and ethics

5.2 Minority Reporting and Social Cohesion

6. Concluding Discussion

Sources & References

Introduction

It has been more than 50 years since the international debate on human rights took form in institutionalized international human rights documents and an intercomparable human rights regime saw the daylight. In these 50 years that have passed ever since, the human society has undergone tremendous changes, and so have many forms of the violations of universal human rights. Although human rights may well be universal and eternal, their exercise will remain an ever-changing process and that is also truth of the threats or violations of those same rights. Today the violations of human rights in most Western, democratic nation states have by large taken a sublime and physically non-aggressive form, best understood in a discursive and institutionalized perspective; when talking about racism and minority rights, that is. Media has become the most important actor in the information age, with an almost unlimited power to define and communicate messages throughout the society and different lines made up from ethnicity, religion, class, territorial borders etc. This essay focuses therefore upon the role of media when talking about ethnic minorities, human rights and discrimination.

The violation of human rights of ethnic and religious minorities in Western nations can be defined as “new racism” where discriminatory elements justify themselves not by referring to the inferiority of the “race” of those subjected to discrimination, but to their culture, religion, ethnic traditions etc¹. Edward Said, citing Gramsci, in his concept of Orientalism reaffirms the idea of hegemony of thought regarding “the other” and the historical, political and sociological aspects of Orientalism as a dominating idea forming the basis for the argument of West’s supremacy over East, of rationality over irrationality, of Enlightenment over traditionalism, etc². Some of these ideas date back to the formation of the nation state and its need for creating a bipolar “us” and “them”, where Peace of Westphalia is widely regarded as the starting point for the modern nation state with predefined territorial borders, language, culture and so on.

Theorist such as Benedict Anderson and Eric Hobsbawn have elaborated on the superficiality of the “homogenous” nation state and challenged the idea of a homogenous culture and language as the basis requirement for nation states. Academic, governmental and non-

¹ Barker; 1981; referred in Ethnic Minorities and Media; p. 33

² Said, Edward; Orientalism (1976; Ordfront 2004) p. 112-113

governmental research and statistics show that the ethnic minorities in their new societies are subject to – institutionalized and not-institutionalized - discriminatory practices that hinders these groups from enjoying their full range of human rights as guaranteed both in international conventions as well as in national constitutions and therefore turns them into “second class citizens”³. The process of globalization has rendered the old idea of homogenous nation states obsolete in terms of religions, languages spoken and ethnic minorities populating the country, but most western countries are yet to come to terms with the new, altered national identity in light of the multiculturalism caused by the flow of immigration post WWII.

1.1 Scope and Thesis

This essay focuses on the role of media in forming the identity of nation states, its storytelling about foreigners and ethnic minorities, and how media through its different practices can at the same promote and/or halt minority rights and social cohesion. Granted that ethnic minorities are being discriminated against, and their human rights violated in different western nation states, it will further be assumed that this discrimination is in part a direct or indirect effect of the biased media portrayals of ethnic minorities. The abovementioned assumptions will be proved through use of different reports and statistics and also some case studies of media practices in Sweden.

The question that this essay will answer can therefore be formulated as: How can media in western nation states facilitate the full enjoyment of human rights for ethnic minorities through promoting a heterogeneous national identity and altered media practice?

³ De Los Reyes, Paulina & Wingborg, Mats; Vardagsdiskriminering I Sverige – En kunskapsöversikt; Integrationsverkets Rapportserie 2002:13; p. 9-11

2. Method and material and theoretical framework

2. 1 Disposition

This analysis is built upon the presumption that the ethnic minorities of today's western societies are not fully capable of enjoying their rights guaranteed both in national and international legislations. The reason is the discrimination based on ethnic or religious background of the persons belonging to these minorities. This hypothesis is proved through usage of statistics, reports and other official sources. Further on is assumed that ethnic minorities are hindered from doing so through "racist discourse" according to Said, Van Dijk, Gramsci, Brune et alia, and focus is specially on how media occupies a central roll in this discriminatory process by its racist discourse and description of a (false) homogenous national identity which excludes ethnic minorities and at the same time portraying ethnic minorities as a threat to the majority society. Some examples from Swedish press coverage is used to proved the cited relation between media practices and prejudices towards ethnic minorities.

It will further be argued that if media would change its discourse and practices from its homogenic, nation state centred scope of today, it would have as effect that a more pluralistic and heterogeneous national identity would be promoted, and ethnic minorities would consequently be subjected to less negative stereotyping and prejudices, hence coming closer to realisation of their guaranteed human rights in an equal society, which is the goal of the both national as well international legal documents. Examples and arguments from such successful practices from different countries with a longer tradition of migration and hence a more heterogeneous national identity and media practices are used to prove the above.

The material in this essay is divided in four categories. First follow the international and national human rights documents, which make up the juridical basis for the arguments that follow. Second are the different academic theories on racism, new racism, critical discourse analysis, minority reporting, and minority rights. Third category is made up from different reports and statistics proving the actual discrimination of ethnic minorities in the case of Sweden. Finally there follow examples from media practices in Sweden, used as case studies

where the theoretical parts are set to test, and also media practices from other countries where a more balanced reporting and hence more balanced and non-discriminatory picture of ethnic minorities are given. The thesis itself is based upon theories on nation state and media, delivered by Benedict Anderson, Edward Said, Teun A. Dijk, Ylva Brune et alia. These are dealt with in next chapter. Furthermore news articles and media practices from around Europe have been used to concretize the theoretical discussion. These are referred to individually in the notes. The essay is normative in its disposition and approach and tries to establish a new interpretation within the field of minority rights, discursive racism and media analysis.

2.2 Limitation

Some limitations are to be made here as the above grasps over a vast area of theoretical and normative schools of thought. This essay tries to connect some dots on a huge map of classic human rights theory, nation states theory, rights of minorities' theories and media analysis. Any of these areas are worth an essay of their own, and comparing them in a brief space as given here have its limitations as of scope, depth, examples given etc. The task gets all the more complicated since applying theories of multiculturalism, human rights and social cohesion on media and ethnic minorities is a fairly new academic field where more research is desperately needed. This essay tries to shed light on some of the theories and the debate in general and argues for social cohesion and formation of a heterogeneous national identity through enlightened media practices. Although media in itself is not party to different conventions and human rights instruments, it is the responsibility of the states who are party to the same conventions to ensure that media functions in the desirable way through legislation and other government tools such as directives, positive/negative sanctions etc. So this makes it even more difficult to establish a clear line of accountability between media practices and enforcement of human rights. Media is also subject to numerous legislation in their line of practice, and here emphasis is on coordination of international human rights documents, national legislation and ethic code of the Journalist Federation of Sweden, but the space limitation doesn't not allow a thorough investigation of all different laws that can be applicable in this situation, such as the Swedish Penal Code and so on.

2.3 Theoretical framework

The human rights agenda has been centred on the different theories of rights of humans originating in both moral and judicial doctrines. Concerning racism, discrimination and rights of minorities this discussion needs a review since most theories dealing with racism focus on the visible discriminatory – often aggressive – results for those subjected to it. So was the case with the early conventions prohibiting racism and xenophobia, and looking at the preambles of the UN documents it stands clear that they are written for a time long gone, when colonies, apartheid and slavery were still in effect. Today the racism, negative stereotypes underlying it and the discrimination resulting from those are more expressed in a subtle way, and here media has a central role as the single most important carrier of messages and values in the information society. Expressed with the words of Teun Van Dijk “Media discourse is the main source of peoples’ knowledge, attitudes and ideologies, both of other elites and or ordinary citizens”⁴. The discourse surrounding these issues is essential to how we understand various phenomenons and their respective impact on the society as media, bound by its editorial limits in time and space, tells us stories with many underlying assumption about our understanding and values of the matters. Since this essay heavily relies on theories on discourse and especially racist discourses in the media it is important to define it early on.

Discourse in this essay refers to racist discourse, and specifically racist discourse in the media as described by Teun A. Van Dijk and Ylva Brune, and also Edward Said’s reading of Gramsci’s theory of “hegemony of thought”. According to Van Dijk, if racism is understood as a social system of ethnic inequality, then we can examine these social practices by analyzing the various forms of their appearance in society - in this case, in media practices⁵. Using a discourse analytical approach towards media practices on minorities, it stands clear that the result of those practices leads to inequality and negative attitudes towards minorities, or put simple: media uses a racist discourse when talking about ethnic minorities – something that has been empirically proved in many cases, for example through the extensive work of the scholar Ylva Brune who has examined the writings of Swedish Press on ethnic minorities, refugees and migrants within a timeline of over three decades.

⁴ Teun A. Van Dijk; in *Ethnic Minorities and the Media*; ed. Cottle, Simon; 2000; p. 36ff

⁵ Teun A. Van Dijk; in *Ethnic Minorities and the Media*; ed. Cottle, Simon; 2000; p. 35

According to Brune “...news media puts up or fortifies the discursive borders between Sweden and refugees, between “Swede” and “Immigrant”...at the same time, ideas of good community are expressed”⁶. Media in its practice of reporting news on far-flung societies, people and cultures, uses pre-understanding and discursive integration of alien elements when trying to disseminate news to “ordinary people” and “supposed audience”. In many cases media relies on the theory of a homogenic nation state with predefinitions such as common language and values, cultural heritage and history. Put in Brune’s words “One – i.e. The Media - take its point of departure in a national “us” that is decided by the frontier authorities; refugees are portrayed in every meaningful sense as a concern or a threat”⁷. In her examination of Swedish Press coverage about migrants and refugees in the 90’s she analyses two different “story types” – one of the “flood of migrants” and the threat they pose, the other being “the victimized hero”, that is an individual refugee who is threatened by deportation and whose case is endorsed by the media in a populist way. “None of the story types allows an examination of the asylum policies from humanitarian principles”⁸ she writes and criticizes the way media portrays Sweden as a tolerant society with official policy actually going towards a more harsh asylum system for every year that goes by. This is also why racist crimes goes by far unnoticed, and when reported on, they represent an anomaly to the “enlightened and tolerant Sweden” that builds the discursive status quo in the media stories – “the basis in a supposed “we” that stands for tolerance and reason leads, with news-logical consistency, to a coverage where the usual hierarchy of sources in the media need not to be questioned”⁹.

Media uses stereotypes and generalizations in order to fulfil its task of everyday news reporting limited by time and space, that means media simplifies and make general assumptions on how certain phenomena are constructed and linked together¹⁰. Although not fundamentally wrong, this practice when used without rime, reason and knowledge, will lead to marginalization of certain depicted groups or phenomena¹¹. For example, if Muslims are always portrayed as violent, angry crowd in TV-coverage, it is fairly possible

⁶ Brune, Ylva; News from the Border; Gothenburg University, 2004; p. 385

⁷ Ibid; p. 387

⁸ Ibid; p. 388

⁹ Ibid; p. 390

¹⁰ Ibid; p. 253ff

¹¹ Pettersson, Bo; Stories About Strangers; University Press of America; 2006; p.26

that the public opinion will be formed in that direction, leaning towards the assumption that all Muslims act that way, or that Islam as a religion is a violent one.

The idea of a firmly defined nation state regarding above cited categories (language, culture etc.) is a rather new, but extremely important one, looking back at human history. The rise of nation state after the Peace of Westphalia required building of a national identity, an identity that was different from “others” not belonging to “us”. Globalization, information age, migrant movements, to name a few elements, have radically challenged the idea of a sovereign, territorial defined nation state, with a single cultural/social identity and a common language and history. In this “new world of nations” or popularly called global village, it is a heavy blow to those ethnic minorities living in western nation states when media does not take their ethno-religious-specific life conditions into account, and further more, through negative stereotyping worsen their possibilities to an equal enjoyment of basic human rights such as housing, job, equal treatment before law, public recognition etc.¹²

According to Edward Said, Western nation states, although conscious of their role in the old worlds racism through colonization and imperialism, have yet not fully integrated these wisdoms in their every day understanding and practices of their institutions and the process of “Orientalism” or “othering” of “Orientals” still continues. Negative stereotypes towards ethnic minorities in Western societies find their origin in these societies’ historical background of colonization and its justification through racist and biologist theories.¹³ By making general assertions about people from other nations and cultures – the category race has since long been discredited, why it is not appropriate to refer to in official discourse – it is possible to separate “us” from “them”. Not only it is important to make a division, but to uphold it through control of the discourse, the debate climate surrounding our understanding of the world and its currents. Said refers to Gramsci and his idea about hegemony of thought, that can be expressed as “In acquiring one’s conception of the world one always belong to a particular grouping which is that of all the social elements which share the same mode of thinking and acting.”¹⁴

¹² Albert, Mathias; *Identities, Borders, Orders, Rethinking International Relations Theory*; 2001

¹³ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (1976, Oxford 2004), p. 132

¹⁴ Gramsci, Antonio; *Selections from Prison Notebooks*; University Printing House 1971; p. 324

In this process, “us” and “we” are described as good, rational, modern, law-abiding, gender-conscious, tolerant and at the same time “them” and “others” are described as backward, traditionalist, criminal and so on.¹⁵ This essay will examine different shapes of this complex problem – namely ethnic minorities, media and human rights and tries to weave together this net of theory and practice. The focus is on what role media plays in the discrimination and violation of ethnic minorities’ human rights catalogue.

I have selected a set of national and international legal documents which in one way or another grant different rights and protection of rights of minorities and used these as comparison points with different violations of these rights in society and in the media. A thorough examination of all legal sources that can be referred to exceeds the scope and proportion of this brief essay by large, why a subjective selection of some of the major legal documents governing the rights of minorities and conduct of Press have been gathered and attached¹⁶.

¹⁵ Ylva Brune; *News from the Border*; Gothenburg University, 2004; p. 394

¹⁶ See Attachement 1

3. The rise of modern nation state – Peace of Westphalia

3.1 Problems related to geographic defined state

Although nations always have been represented throughout human history, the modern sovereign nation state is defined by its territorial and ethno-cultural significances instead of monarchical and religious preferences. The peace of Westphalia in 1648 is widely regarded as the starting point of a new political Europe and the rise of nation states.¹⁷ This dividing came to last into our days, creating a new leadership for many ethnic groups living in border-areas and some of the problems – such as the division of Poland – echo even in our days. The homogenic states – which never were all that homogenic and the national identity was not so fixed as it seems¹⁸ – have through the mass migration in the later part of 20-century metamorphosed totally and rapidly. Many religions, languages and cultural customs now inhabit the countries such as Sweden, Germany, Netherlands etc. and its becoming more and more difficult to define “Swedish” or “German”. The European Union and Globalization process has further led to a weakening of the Westphalian System.

3.2 Nation building and minorities – the identity of nation

Once the borders that dominate the European Map of today were set, the work started to form a national identity corresponding no longer to the religious or monarchical fixtures, but to the territorial and ethno cultural boundaries of the specific nation state. Sweden experienced this through a massive campaign after the southern region of Skåne was turned from Denmark to Sweden in 1658. With brutal force Skåne and its freedom fighters that would rather be a part of Denmark was forced to accept the Swedish leadership. Still today the wounds from that massacre years have not healed, and several regionalist parties – although marginalized – strive to once again return Skåne to Denmark.¹⁹ The identity building was administrated through the church, the universities and the war propaganda against the Danish. The citizens of Skåne were restricted in their contacts with Denmark – for example it was forbidden for students from Skåne to enrol at Copenhagen University until the 19th century.²⁰

¹⁷ Albert, Mathias; Identities, Borders, Orders, Rethinking International Relations Theory; University of Minnesota Press; 2001

¹⁸ Spencer, Philip and Wollman, Howard; Nationalism, A Critical Introduction, 2002; p.61ff

¹⁹ Svensson, Sixten; Sanningen om Snapphanelögnen; 2005

²⁰ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Skåneland> 2008-01-07

The idea of an ethno-cultural homogenous state where people speak the same language, share the same religion and have similar ethnic background is by closer examination only an illusion. At the time of French Revolution there were only 50% of the population in “France” who understood French and only 12-13 % spoke French well, according to Eric Hobsbawm.²¹ Another important academic in the field of the identity and nation state is Benedict Anderson, and his thesis about “the Imagined Community”. Anderson refers to the abstract idea of national cooperation and identity, something that in fact is very vague and not easy for the members of the community to access and therefore is only real in a dreamy, abstract way which only serves to create a common identity, history and context for the members of the nation.²²

The British scholar Carolyn Vogler has explained the dangers with these process as “Because national citizenship is an exclusive club based on social closure against those not seen as belonging to the nation (whether inside or outside the state) national boundaries provide a very powerful basis for the play of unconscious paranoid processes in which members of a nation are able to rid themselves of bad objects and destructive impulses by projecting them into commonly shared and accepted external enemies”²³. Put in these words, it becomes clear that the identity of nation or “us” is closely intertwined with the creation of “the Other”. What is a “Swede” after all? A tall, blond, blue-eyed person working at Ikea or Volvo, voting for the social democrats, have about 2,5 children, a dog, a Volvo and travels abroad often? How many Swedes do actually look and live like that? And how about the 300.000 Muslims living in Sweden today? What will this homogenic national tale have for effect and consequences for their enjoyment of their rights?

3.3 The role of media in shaping the national identity

The role of media and printed literature in shaping the public opinion and disseminating official policies among the population is of great importance, and especially so when talking about shaping the identity of a nation. Something that Benedict Anderson also refers to, namely the role of printed literature and its dissemination in how a common national identity and an Imagined Community are formed. The rise of nationalism is thus connected with the growth of printed books and with technical development of print on the whole. Once a new

²¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_French#_note-1 2007-01-07

²² Anderson, Benedict; Imagined Communities, 2006; p. 204ff

²³ Vogler, Carolyn; in Nationalism, A Critical Introduction, 2002; p. 62

nation is taking form, it becomes essential for it to locate its roots, something that becomes more and more important the older the nation gets and new threats to its identity arises.²⁴ The role of the media as national messenger in definition of ethnic minorities and the identity of nation is therefore crucial.

The tendency has been that media defines “Us” against “them”. “Them” are those who do not belong to “our” community, they might be of another ethnic origin – visible minorities in case of skin or hair colour – or share another religion and cultural heritage – non-visible minorities. This defining is normal in media practices in order to be able to tell a story. But the problem arises when different attributes are prescribed to these different groups of “we” and “them”, where “we” are always defined as good, law-abiding, modern, non-criminal, non-prejudice etc. and “them” are always defined as bad, criminal, backward/traditional etc.²⁵

My point in this essay is that by changing the substance and content of these attribute media can change the way people from different communities view each other. Media portrays not only minorities who have since long been around the majority society, but also new minorities who are being formed through migration and therefore a new, inclusive definition of national identity is required.

²⁴ Anderson, Benedict; *Imagined Communities*, 2006; p. 41ff

²⁵ Brune, Ylva; *News from the Border*; Gothenburg University, 2004; s. 392

4. Assimilation, multiculturalism and integration

4.1 Migrants in Europe – Example of Sweden, Germany and Netherlands

In the aftermath of the WWII Europe faced the first waves of migrants. The sixties opened up for migrants from former European colonies, and in the seventies the political refugees found their way to Europe, only to be followed by war-refugees in the eighties and nineties. But in the same period a massive migration by guest workers – Gastarbeiter – changed the demographic of many European countries for – as we have seen – ever. The view on migrant and integration policy is closely interlinked with the self-image of the countries. When the refugees and guest workers did not returned to their home countries as expected, but stayed and gave birth to children in their new home country, it started a demographic change that is still continuing. The different eras of migration and integration policy has meant different situations for the life of migrants in Europe and for the media practices towards them²⁶.

Countries such as Great Britain, Netherlands and Spain has been much more exposed to immigration and multinational policies throughout the history since these countries were former colonial powers and the citizens of former colonies were allowed to migrate to these countries in large scale. Also the variety of religious groups has affected the self-image of above-mentioned countries. In these countries the migrants were seen as a justified part of the society with the right to preserving their own culture, language and practices.²⁷ Other countries such as Sweden, Denmark and Norway but also Germany to some extent were keen on integrating the migrants into the society as soon as possible. These have meant that the legislation of integration policies and migrant rights have differed a lot between the countries. Since the emergence of European Union and the heavy refugee-waves of early 90:s, this has changed and now more and more harmonization is taking place.

4.2 Discrimination, Racism and Xenophobia

An important fact affecting the minority situation around Europe is the history of Europe itself. Throughout its history, Europe have been deeply struck by Racism and Xenophobia, with its culmination in Nazi Germany and the ethnic cleansing of former Yugoslavia. The

²⁶ Brune, Ylva; News from the Border; Gothenburg University, 2004; p.388

²⁷ Kianzad, Behrang and Sandström, Lasse; Sanningens Många Nyanser, Carlssons Bokförlag 2008; p. 12

age of colonization and imperialization also contributed to forming an unfair and unbalanced view of the non-european people and cultures. Edward Said has expressed this as Orientalism, i.e. the doctrine of an “oriental” race, culture and life, that was actually only to be found in books and reports about “The Orient”. Although the people who inhabited the areas referred to as the Orient expressed huge differences in culture, language, religion and traditions, they were reduced to an anonymous group, not much different as the group of “Muslims” today. The West was described to be rational, modern and good, whereas the Orient was described as barbaric, backward, traditional and basically evil²⁸. This is also what causes so much debate about the inclusion of Turkey into the European Union, to name a recent example.

Although racism in Europe mostly is associated with the Nazi Germany and the Holocaust, Sweden was one of the leading countries in ethno racism through the establishment of a race biologic institute in Uppsala in 1922, with the purpose of research on the purity of race. Although the end of the WWII and the fall of Nazi Germany led to a strong opposition to racism in Europe, the migrant waves of 60s throughout the 90s paved the way for rightwing, populist parties such as Le Pen in France, Deutsche Volks Union in Germany, Jörg Haider in Austria and Pim Fortyn in Netherlands, but also Ny Demokrati and NSF, and more recently, Sweden Democrats, in Sweden. Various research materials show that the European societies still suffer from structural discrimination regarding both visible and non-visible minorities in all field of society, such as labour market, education, housing etc. The European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC)²⁹ annually publishes reports on the situation of minorities across Europe, and these reports often make grim reading regarding the attitudes of majority towards minorities.

As for the case of Sweden, there is a substantial part of academic, governmental and non-governmental sources and statistics that clearly establish an institutional, structural racism in many areas of the public life. The Ombudsman against Discrimination received more than 700 reports of discrimination in areas such as employment, housing and entertainment during 2006³⁰, with only a marginal percent leading to prosecution, and it is also supposed that only

²⁸ Edward Said; *Orientalism* (1976, Ordfront 2004) p. 90

²⁹ <http://eumc.europa.eu/eumc/index.php>

³⁰ <http://do.se/t/Platina.aspx?id=886> Ombudsman against Ethnic Discrimination

around 4% of all the discriminatory cases are reported, which is an awful knowledge for the “tolerant and enlightened Sweden”³¹. This is also why the United Nations Association of Sweden in its Alternative Report to CERD-Committee criticized the official picture as being far too polished and racism and xenophobia ignored. The Association cites some areas where the ethnic minorities are being discriminated against and their rights ergo violated which I chose to summarize below:

“5.a The Right to Equality Before the Law

The Ombudsman against Ethnic Discrimination has pointed out that there are tendencies within the Swedish justice system to stereotype persons due to their background. In the long run this might have devastating consequences and could undermine the confidence in the justice system. The Ombudsman receives around 40 complaints against the justice system every year, and the number of filed complaints increases for each year. Research shows that only 4 % of experienced discrimination is reported.

5.c The Right to Electoral Participation

People with a foreign background go to the polls to a less extent than those born in Sweden. Sixty seven per cent of the foreign born voted compared to 83 % of the Swedish born, being a non-significant change since 1998. The electoral participation of foreign citizens who have become Swedish citizens has decreased by 3 % since the election in 1998. Another interesting fact is that the length of time a person has been a Swedish citizen seems to have some correlation with the participation. Out of those who have changed to Swedish citizenship before 1970, the participation rate is 80 % but only 61 % for those who became Swedish citizens after 1990.

5.d The Right to Work

Both immigrants and people born in Sweden with a foreign background are more frequently unemployed than people born in Sweden with a Swedish background. Discrimination on the grounds of ethnic origin certainly occurs on the Swedish labour market. The probability of unemployment is 6% higher for persons with “non-Swedish” appearance. Add a foreign name, a foreign degree and an accent to this and the risk will increase. Especially people of African origin encounter difficulties finding a job in Sweden...The number of complaints

³¹ United Nations Association of Sweden; Alternative Report submitted to the CERD-Committee with respect to Sweden’s commitments according to CERD; Feb. 2004; p.3

concerning labour market discrimination filed at the Ombudsman against Ethnic Discrimination, has increased from 164 complaints in 2000, to 273 in 2001 and to 306 in 2002. Of those filing a complaint of cultural discrimination on the labour market, one third also admit to having been subjected to harassment due to their background...A study of the average level of education between 1990-95 shows that people not born in Sweden to a higher extent continued to university level education than persons born in Sweden, and the achievement of university degrees was equal between these two groups. In spite of this, only 39 % of the immigrants have a job that corresponds to their level of education, compared to 85 % of the native born Swedes.”³²

In addition to the above cited facts, two major governmental funded investigations – so called Statens Offentliga Utredningar – have established the fact that Sweden in most areas of public life is overwhelmed with elements of racism and discrimination with regard to ethnic background, religion and so on. For example, a thorough study of this subject called Integrationens Svarta Bok – The Blackbook of Integration – were comprised by some 100 researchers and studied different areas of public life³³. Another report, called Det Blågula Glashuset³⁴ – The Blue & Yellow Glasshouse, referring to the colours of the Swedish Flag – concentrated on the existence of institutional racism in the Swedish society and could show that migrants are being discriminated against in sectors such as work force, housing, education, legal system and so on. Another report stated that “In Sweden, the structural racism is at the harshest against the Muslims”³⁵ and goes on to cite another report stating that “Unemployment among Muslims, depending on their countries of origin, are between four to ten times higher than the non-migrating Swedes”³⁶.

Although these reports have been subject to much debate and criticism – ranging from the scope of the reports, to definition of structural racism to the trustworthiness of the reports of discrimination submitted to the Ombudsman against Ethnic Discrimination – it stands clear, that Sweden, like all other Western countries, is hardly struck by racism, and the criticism put forward can be seen in the light of the – glorified - national identity and the long-lasting idea

³² United Nations Association of Sweden; Alternative Report submitted to the CERD-Committee with respect to Sweden’s commitments according to CERD; Feb. 2004; p. 20ff

³³ Kamali, Massoud et alia; Integrationens svarta bok; SOU 2006:79; p. 11ff

³⁴ Lappalainen, Paul ed; Det blågula glashuset, SOU 2005:56;

³⁵ Rasism och Främlingsfientlighet i Sverige; Integrationsverkets Rapportserie 2006:02; p.18

³⁶ Sander, Larsson, Kos-Dienes; 2004:29 in ibid; p. 18

of Sweden as tolerant and non-racist country. In next chapter I will show how racism finds its way to the editorial boards and news headlines.

4.3 Discriminatory elements of Media and Journalists

“Media, with its power of definition, is among the most important actors in creating problem images in society.”³⁷

Given the fact that the existence of racism and xenophobia in multinational European societies are undoubted³⁸, how does this hidden racism come to expression in different media houses? If we assume that the society in general is sceptic and ignorant about ethnic minorities – simply because they are not a part of “us”, the “imagined community” or “national identity” - then it is logical to assume that also the media is affected by these structures. This thesis can be proven both in terms of quantity and quality. With quantity, I mean the number of people of ethnic minorities active in the media as journalists, producers, managers etc. This percentage varies from country to country in European Union, but in general about 2-5 % of media workers do have a visible ethnic minority background, this being in societies where ethnic minorities comprise 15-20 % of the total population³⁹.

Although many media houses when confronted with this fact tend to blame the lack of ethnic journalist to the fact that there is simply no qualified applicant among the ethnic minorities (language barriers, different press ethics etc. is also cited as contributing factors), this is simply not true. According to a study undertaken by the Board of Employment and Central Bureau of Statistics there were some 340 unemployed journalists who were born outside Sweden⁴⁰. Add to that all those with ethnic background who are born, raised and educated in Sweden who are unemployed, and the argument that “there are no qualified applicants” crumbles. This is also something that the governmental investigation on Structural Racism cites and adds some more categories to how the media is affected by the structural racism:

³⁷ Kamali, Massoud ed; Den segregerade integrationen, SOU 2006:73; p.67

³⁸ See different year reports published by EUMC on Racism and Xenophobia throughout EU

³⁹ Kianzad, Behrang and Sandström, Lasse; Sanningens Många Nyanser; Carlsson Bokförlag, 2008; p.

⁴⁰ Frilansbyrån; 2003

1. An overrepresentation of elites in terms of sources who talk about migrants
2. The term “Invandrare” – i.e. migrant – is unclear and problematic
3. Ethnic unbalance caused by the “whiteness” of majority of active journalists
4. The overall picture of migrants and foreigners is “threat” and “problem”
5. The explanation of social, structural problems with cultural ditto, with focus being on the individual “migrant” instead of the structural discrimination
6. Abstract division in “us” and “them” which seeks to define the former as positive and the latter as negative
7. The migrants experience of racism and discrimination is excluded from the debate although modern research points to widespread discrimination⁴¹

Not only ethnic minorities are discriminated through unnecessary stress on importance of language perfection, the whole application process is discriminatory since it does not take the multicultural experience of the ethnic applicants into account. Furthermore, old prejudices against minorities keep being repeated in the media discourses until they take the form of unofficial truth, for example that the women are oppressed in Muslim families or that criminality is much higher among ethnic minorities than general population⁴². Also the use of language and terms by the media reflects the point of view of the media workers and the general public, this being discriminatory to most ethnic minorities who do not feel represented in a fair way in media outlets. The sum of this will of course lead the public opinion not closer to a feeling of belonging and solidarity with migrants, but to alarmist and populist waves washing over the general mentality and attitudes towards migrants. If Muslims are always portrayed as violent and criminal in various media reports, then it is fair to suppose that the general attitudes towards them will get harsher, and they therefore will have harder times when looking for jobs, or try to realise themselves in other aspects of social life – effectively hindering them from enjoyment of their rights as guaranteed in both national and international documents – thus an indirect case of discrimination caused by the structural racism in the media outlets.

⁴¹ Lappalainen, Paul ed; Det blågula glashuset, SOU 2005:56; p. 157pp

⁴² Brune, Ylva; News from the Border; Gothenburg University, 2004; p.300pp

Around Europe much has been debated on this matter and Sweden has also begun to review its standard lately, now most of media organizations clearly state that they look for people from ethnic minorities when looking for new staff. But according to a survey conducted by the Swedish Radio in 2005⁴³, most media houses have not implemented the law on Measures to Counteract Ethnic Discrimination in Working Life Act from 1999, which states

“Section 4 “The employer shall within the framework of her or his business conduct goal-orientated work to actively promote ethnic diversity in working life”.

Section 6 “The employer shall implement measures to prevent and stop any employee being subjected to ethnic harassment or for reprisals as a result of a report of ethnic discrimination”.

Although a clear violation of the above mentioned law, around 2/3 of the media houses interviewed in the survey defended themselves by stating that they did not have any problems which needed to be fixed through different measures. An attitude sending the message that the question of ethnic minorities in the media is one of low priority, bridging to total ignorance.

One example of how unfortunate media practices can increase Xenophobia and have negative effect on ethnic minorities' enjoyment of their human rights, is the way the local Swedish news daily Landskrona Posten portrayed the young Kosovo-Albans in the city⁴⁴. The background was a series of petty crimes – larceny, assault – was taken as the starting point for a series of articles drawing a connecting line between ethnic background and criminality. Two reporters from the paper endorsed this area and went at it with great diligence – something that resulted in a nomination for best “Local Report of the Year” award, although among massive criticism. The thesis that drove the journalists were the simple, but populist, view that the war torn background of some youth with ethnic background in Landskrona led them into the path of criminality more often than their fellow ethnic Swedish comrades. Although both police records and statistics from the Board for Prevention of Crime pointed to a decrease of the total amount of crime over time in Landskrona, the paper dramatized the petty crimes committed in the town centre to gigantic proportions – it worked out from the theory that there were criminal “gangs” and “criminal migrant gangs” working out the town

⁴³ Kianzad, Behrang and Gaunitz, Victoria; SR Ekot 2005; see also <http://www.uppmanna.nu/content/view/3464/9/>

⁴⁴ Landskrona Posten; Vi har våldet i blodet; 2006-03-12

centre in a systematic way. Although there is a lot of research on youth criminality and what might be its causes, no expert on gang criminality were interviewed, the police denied the actual size of the problem, the local Youth House – a gathering and activities place funded by the city of Landskrona - also denied the proportions and the angle chosen by the paper, the journalists did not revise their stance. The grand final came when the small town of Landskrona – some 40000⁴⁵ inhabitants in the county – were met with the headline “We carry the violence in our blood” all over town. The headline referred to an interview the paper had conducted with a youngster from Albanian origin, who had described his criminal activities – after a series of question from the journalist – with the fact that he descends from a war torn country and hence have a larger tendency toward and acceptance of violence. The headline was heavily criticized⁴⁶, because it is scapegoating, and plus it targets an entire ethnic group, namely the Kosovo-Albans, as having tendency toward criminality. Because if the criminality of Alban Youth could be explained through their ethnic background, then we would probably have to expect that from other members of that ethnic community as well.

This is of course nonsense and follows well what above have been said about the racist discourses and explanation models used in the media that increase intolerance and prejudices towards ethnic minorities. But the article and the widespread headline were in no way an isolated event. A reading of different articles on the issue of ethnic minorities in the city reveals that the problem is rooted deeply within the editorial board and the routines of Landskrona Posten. In 2005, a large article started “The Families X and Y are Palestinians from Lebanon”⁴⁷ and it went on to describe a neighbourhood feud between two families that had nothing to do with their ethnic background, or the fact that they were Palestinians from Lebanon. Why the ethnic background and names of the families in question was of so great importance to the story is a question worth posing. Both cases referred above are in my opinion violations of the following articles and regulations:

Universal Declaration of Human Right

⁴⁵ http://www.scb.se/templates/Publikation_167871.asp Central Bureau of Statistics

⁴⁶ Leandro Schclarek Mulinari in Mana <http://www.uppmana.nu/content/view/4418/32/>

⁴⁷ The Family Feud continued at the Hospital, Landskrona Posten; 2005-05-25; I have left out the names of the families with respect to their integrity

“Article 12 “No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to protection of the law against such interference or attacks”.

Article 20(2) “Any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence shall be prohibited by law”.

International Declaration on the Rights of Persons belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities

Article 1(1) “States shall protect the existence and the national or ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic identity of minorities within their respective territories and shall encourage conditions for the promotion of that identity”.

**Code of Ethics for Press, Radio and Television in Sweden
Issued by Pressens Samarbetsnämnd; 2001**

Article 10 “Do not emphasize ethnic origin, sex, nationality, occupation, political affiliation, religious persuasion or sexual disposition in the case of the persons concerned if such particulars are not important in the specific context and demeaning”.

Most importantly, it is the Code of Ethics that has been violated and one can ask it self how the Kosovo-Albans living in Landskrona county felt, being portrayed as Natural Born Criminals.

5. The Defining Power of Media – Unity or Segregation

Although in the age of Internet and new media such as blogs, for most citizens old media still works as the main source of information about far-flung places, people and cultures. These far flung cultures can now be found next door in your neighbourhood, and the way media portrays migrants and ethnic minorities is essential for understanding and social cohesion in the society at large. A fair, balanced and diligent reporting with emphasis on the identity of the migrants will help bridging the gap between the different ethnic enclaves, at the same time a biased, inconsequent and short-sighted reporting will lead to prejudices flourishing and xenophobia gaining in power.⁴⁸ Media has a choice, in either reporting about “the others” in a fair and balanced way that seeks to eliminate the prejudices among the population or contribute to further cementation of named prejudices. Although media cannot be entirely blamed for the rise of populist parties with a racist agenda, theirs is the task to portray the whole nation in all its colours and shapes and by not doing so, they pave the way for populist elements, as shown with the case of Landskrona Posten and Sydsvenska Dagbladet. By its use of language and words media can choose many different ways to report on subjects such as the cost of migration, criminality among ethnic minorities etc. Media also have the choice of reporting more extensively on ethnic discrimination, of which there are hundreds of reported cases every year⁴⁹ The Anglo Saxon journalist tradition of objectivity is also in need of change – are there any objective journalists? The need for a distinction between impartial reporting and objective reporting is necessary.

5.1 Media, its everyday practice and human rights

The day-to-day logic of journalism is often contradicting the moral and social responsibility of the media. Like the old saying goes, news is defined by a man biting the dog, not the dog biting the man. Therefore, it is more common that media tends to report on negative issues and problems rather than sunshine stories, that would probably make a poor reading. But it is not so simple, as many media houses around Europe have shown.

⁴⁸ Shohat, Ella and Stam, Robert; *Unthinking Multiculturalism*, 1994; p 341pp

⁴⁹ Ombudsman Against Ethnic Discrimination official statistic – in 2006 some 715 cases of discrimination on basis of ethnic background were reported to the agency

It is possible to maintain high quality journalism and still be mindful of portraying ethnic minorities in a fair and balanced way – actually you tend to get better stories when you apply elements of minority reporting in every day journalism. The basic for minority reporting in accordance to human rights law is to reverse the angle, and instead of reporting on minorities in an excluding way, instead moving to an inclusive way where dialog and respect is fundamental for practicing the journalism.⁵⁰

Knowledge about and network among minorities that are being portrayed is therefore essential. Many cases of poor and biased journalism on minorities depend on either poor knowledge of the culture, religion and traditions of the group, and/or prejudices among those who report on these issues. If there is a commonly spread opinion that ethnic minorities are more often engaged in criminal activities than the majority population, it is easier that some stories about unjust justice system or abuse by police force goes unreported. Therefore, these acts against ethnic minorities do not get due process. This is in clear violence of articles 1(1) of International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination and 1(1), 2(1) and 4(2) of International Covenant on the Rights of Persons belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities.

Also, media works in a social context where the existence of racism and discrimination has been proven many times over, without leading to significant change in attitudes towards minorities.⁵¹ For example in the case of Mohammed-Cartoons published by the Danish paper Jyllandsposten it was not only the cartoons, but also the whole debate and medial discourse about Muslims in Denmark and Western world that lead to such dramatic consequences. Looking back at Jyllandsposten previous actions and press practice, it stands clear that the paper has long had a bias against Muslims living in Denmark, and furthermore, there were clear bands to the rightwing and populist party of Danske Folkeparti⁵². Those who wrote to the paper criticizing migrants and ethnic minorities where later offered a membership in Danske Folkeparty, this being possible through cooperation between the paper and some party officials. Something that has been proven by the Danish scholar Peter Hervik.

⁵⁰ Kianzad, Behrang and Sandström, Lasse; Sanningens Många Nyanser, Carlssons Bokförlag, 2008; p. 178pp

⁵¹ De Los Reyes, Paulina & Wingborg, Mats; Vardagsdiskriminering I Sverige – En kunskapsöversikt; Integrationsverkets Rapportserie 2002:13; p. 74

⁵² Peter Hervik; Malmö University; 2005

5.2 Minority Reporting and Social Cohesion

The city of Leicester in Great Britain will probably be the first European city where the percentage of non-ethnic citizens soon will exceed the number of ethnic citizens. This is a new situation that is emerging all around Europe, also in Sweden. The city of Malmö in southern Sweden gathers some 171 different countries or origin among its population that make up a third of the population⁵³. Among children below 18 years the percentage is almost 50%! In this context the local media has an important role to play in social cohesion. Social cohesion is best described as opposite to inciting prejudice and hatred among the audience, and instead contributes to a meaningful development of the whole community. The local newspaper, *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, provided us with an unfortunate example of poor journalism in 2001⁵⁴.

The much debated article in the local Swedish paper *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* was based upon a highly dubious interpretation of statistics regarding what reasons lie behind peoples decision to leave the city of Malmö. The most important reason – without any support in the statistics - was identified by the paper as the high percentage of ethnic minorities and (their) criminality, often caused by the ethnic minorities according to those who had written the comments in the statistics. The headline read “ Malmö citizens move away from the migrants”. In a city where 27 percent descend from ethnic minorities it is not fruitful to incite ethnic tension by making a distinction between “Malmö citizens” and “Migrants”, between an imagined “us” and an imagined “them”. Who is the migrant/foreigner, really? And what consequences does such an article lead to, regarding ethnic minorities and their enjoyment of their civil, social, cultural and political rights, in accordance to the different UN documents cited in the beginning of this essay?

This article could be done with much more delicacy if it was combined with statistics about ethnic migrants and criminality that will clearly show that the percentage and representation of those groups in criminal statistics are not of great importance as it was suggested by the commentaries made in conjunction with the survey. Another reason for leaving Malmö mentioned by those questioned in the survey was the chaotic school situation, and both those questioned as well the paper referring comments blamed the ethnic migrants for the poor school situation. This also could be done with regard to the cutbacks on education that have

⁵³ Statistics gathered from official records of Malmö City; www.malmo.se

⁵⁴ *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*; Malmöbor flyttar bort från invandrarna; 2001-11-20

crippled the education system, instead of blaming the ethnic minorities, or by targeting the structural racism in educational system as shown in the different reports⁵⁵. And how many of those who moved away were foreigners/migrants themselves? Probably a lot of people, maybe up to 30%, in according to the general demographics of the rest of the Malmö. We do not know, because media did not care to find out. The story fitted well into the racist discourse of media where the “law-abiding citizens” flee away from “criminal migrants”, and it had acceptance in the negative attitudes and stereotypes among general public and the imagined “white” reader of the paper.

In Leicester, the local paper chose another path. The Leicester Mercury News have gathered a panel of religious and cultural leaders from different ethnic communities inhabiting the city, and concurs with them before reporting on sensitive issues. This is not to censor the paper, but to increase the fairness in reporting. More often than not the stories get printed anyways, but with much more precision. Also a great databank of different religions and cultures in Leicester have been established at the paper, and a solid network among communities where it is often hard for journalist to enter in a single day, because they are neither familiar to the language nor to the culture. The Leicester Mercury News opted to stop a rightwing, Nazi-march through the city, because they found it to be contradictory to the idea of social cohesion and their responsibility to assure that. So they called to meeting with the representatives of ethnic communities to hear their meaning, and once it was confirmed that the Nazis were not welcomed, they went all the way to Home Office to stop the march. This is a unique situation for the paper acting so vigorously for ethnic diversity and social cohesion⁵⁶.

⁵⁵ For example SOU 2005:56 as referred to before

⁵⁶ Kianzad, Behrang and Sandström, Lasse; Sanningens Många Nyanser, Carlssons Bokförlag 2008; p. 16pp

6. Concluding Discussion

“It is not only politicians, governmental bodies and governmental officers who execute symbolic violence that reproduces racism, but the media also plays a very important roll.”⁵⁷

Today media is the central carrier of and channel of disseminating information on various parts of society and its members, their culture and life situations. Which discursive approach media uses when it comes to the national identity, minority rights and the national self-image is crucial for ethnic minorities and their respective human rights. Media is of vital importance in the process of “othering” that occurs as a result of negative stereotypes in the society. Most people in western societies don’t personally know a member of say, Muslim community, but they have already a prejudicial view that finds its root both in the colonialist and racist history of the country, as well as the discursive framework delivered by media about this minority. These negative attitudes lead to social gap, which in turn leads to disadvantage in full enjoyment of the rights and opportunities, for example in housing, employment, education etc⁵⁸. Again in direct conflict with the legal framework cited above, and in many cases, also in conflict with the national constitution.

According to different understandings of equality, there are three forms of equality. First we have formal equality which is guaranteed by the national and international law, second we have equality in practice, which can be measured and is dependant on institutional practices and finally equal rights, which means everyone have equal opportunities that somehow are guaranteed by a combination of laws and practices. Media can help facilitate equal opportunities through a fair and balanced reporting on minorities, their life conditions, their human rights and violations towards these rights. Formal equality is something much debated and not so easy to hold account of, since although formal equality is guaranteed in the different constitutions, the racist practices of institutions such as judiciary, the police, media and other organs make it difficult if not impossible for ethnic minorities to achieve those guaranteed rights. Equality in result can be measured through an evaluation of ethnic minorities representation in various field of public life. Finally, equal opportunities which is a combination of the two perspective above, focuses on the actual possibilities and opportunities for the disadvantaged to achieve same level of standard of rights as the other

⁵⁷ Kamali, Massoud et alia; Den segregerade integrationen, SOU 2006:73; p.15

⁵⁸ Makkonen, Timo; Ett rättvisare Samhälle; International Organization for Migration, 2003

members of the society. This essay have been circled around the two first categories, i.e. what formal rights apply to ethnic minorities in comparison to the majority population, and how the results from different processes – in this essay referred to as discourses – affect the outcome for the disadvantaged when talking about realisation of rights, recognition by the majority society etc. The discussions above have been normative in their nature, hence no direct measures have been presented. Although states party to the different legal documents have since long ratified and recognized the rights guaranteed therein, the full enjoyment of those meets many obstacles. One of these being the racist discourse in media, which reflects the larger problem, that being new racism in western countries towards the ethnic minorities living there.

Ylva Brune among others has made a close examination of how Swedish media reaffirms and spreads negative stereotypes about migrants and ethnic minorities through its everyday – many time unconscious - practices and how these reports later take form of overall “truth” upon which official policies are based, which in turn further limit the enjoyment of human rights of the ethnic minorities. Something that is prohibited in the different legal documents cited above. Media can as shown help minorities be recognized as a full grown member of the rights society – such as the case in Leicester – and to voice their concerns and ambitions. The discursive approach that media uses is crucially important for the later results, by focusing on the negative sides of the ethnic minorities and often negative stereotypes, the prejudices towards this group gets more vitality. Later on in policymaking or everyday attitudes towards the disadvantaged group, these media reports are in a cognitive process transformed to truths that help justify the injustices laid upon members of ethnic minority. The conclusion is hence to advocate awareness of legal rights of ethnic minorities and the racist discourse in the media. This way we can help establish a new media discourse that is inclusive and acknowledges the rights guaranteed in the legal documents cited in the beginning of this essay.

References:

- Albert, Mathias; Identities, Borders, Orders, Rethinking International Relations Theory; University of Minnesota Press; 2001
- Anderson, Benedict; Imagined Communities; 2006
- Brune, Ylva; News from the Border; Gothenburg University; 2004
- De Los Reyes, Paulina & Wingborg, Mats; Vardagsdiskriminering I Sverige – En kunskapsöversikt; Integrationsverkets Rapportserie 2002:13; 2002
- Hervik, Peter; Malmö University; 2005
- Gramsci, Antonio; Selections from Prison Notebooks; University Printing House; 1971
- Kamali, Massoud et alia; Den segregerade integrationen, SOU 2006:73; 2006
- Kamali, Massoud et alia; Integrationens svarta bok; SOU 2006:79; 2006
- Kianzad, Behrang & Sandström, Lasse; Sanningens Många Nyanser, Carlssons Bokförlag; 2008
- Kianzad, Behrang and Gaunitz, Victoria; SR Ekot 2005
- Landskrona Posten; Vi har våldet i blodet; 2006-03-12
- Lappalainen, Paul ed; Det blågula glashuset, SOU 2005:56; 2005
- Makkonen, Timo; Ett rättvisare Samhälle; International Organization for Migration; 2003
- Ombudsman Against Ethnic Discrimination (DO)
- Pettersson, Bo; Stories About Strangers; University Press of America; 2006
- Rasism och Främlingsfientlighet i Sverige; Integrationsverkets Rapportserie 2006:02; 2006
- Said, Edward; Orientalism (1976; Ordfront 2004)
- Shohat, Ella and Stam, Robert; Unthinking Multiculturalism; 1994
- Spencer, Philip and Wollman, Howard; Nationalism, A Critical Introduction; 2002
- Svensson, Sixten; Sanningen om Snapphanelögnen; 2005
- Sydsvenska Dagbladet; Malmöbor flyttar bort från invandrarna; 2001-11-20
- Teun A. Van Dijk; in Ethnic Minorities and the Media; ed. Cottle, Simon; 2000
- United Nations Association of Sweden; Alternative Report submitted to the CERD-Committee with respect to Sweden's commitments according to CERD; Feb. 2004
- <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Skåneland> 2008-01-07
- http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_French_note-1 2008-01-07
- <http://eumc.europa.eu/eumc/index.php>
- <http://www.uppmana.nu/content/view/3464/9/>
- www.do.se
- www.malmo.se

Attachement 1

Universal Declaration of Human Right

Article 2(1) “Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status”.

Article 12 “No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to protection of the law against such interference or attacks”.

International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination

Article 1(1) “In this Convention, the term “racial discrimination” shall mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life”.

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

Article 2(1) “Each State Party to the present Covenant undertakes to respect and to ensure to all individuals within its territory and subject to its jurisdiction the rights recognized in the present Covenant, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status”.

Article 20(2) “Any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence shall be prohibited by law”.

Article 26 “All persons all equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law. In this respect, the law shall prohibit any discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any grounds such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status”.

International Declaration on the Rights of Persons belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities

Article 1(1) “States shall protect the existence and the national or ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic identity of minorities within their respective territories and shall encourage conditions for the promotion of that identity”.

Article 1(2) “States shall adopt appropriate legislative and other measures to achieve those ends”.

Article 2(2) “Persons belonging to minorities have the right to participate effectively in cultural, religious, social, economic and public life”.

Article 3(1) “Persons belonging to minorities may exercise their rights, including those set forth in the present Declaration, individually as well as in community with other members of their group, without any discrimination”.

Article 3(2) “No disadvantage shall result for any person belonging to a minority as the consequence of the exercise or non-exercise of the rights set forth in the present Declaration”.

Article 4(2) “States shall take measures to create favourable conditions to enable persons belonging to minorities to express their characteristics and to develop their culture, language, religion, traditions and customs, except where specific practices are in violation of national law and contrary to international standards”.

Swedish Instrument of Government

Chapter 2(15) “No act of law or other provision may imply the unfavourable treatment of a citizen because he belongs to a minority group by reason of race, colour, or ethnic origin”.

Swedish Law SFS 1999:130

Measures to Counteract Ethnic Discrimination in Working Life Act

Section 4 “The employer shall within the framework of her or his business conduct goal-orientated work to actively promote ethnic diversity in working life”.

Section 6 “The employer shall implement measures to prevent and stop any employee being subjected to ethnic harassment or for reprisals as a result of a report of ethnic discrimination”.

Code of Ethics for Press, Radio and Television in Sweden

Issued by Pressens Samarbetsnämnd; 2001

Article 10 “Do not emphasize ethnic origin, sex, nationality, occupation, political affiliation, religious persuasion or sexual disposition in the case of the persons concerned if such particulars are not important in the specific context and demeaning”.