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SECTION: Intersectionality, Citizenship
and Multiculturalism

PANEL: Media, Democracy and Politics
in a Perspective of Intersectionality

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Intersectionality during 20 years in the Swedish media buzz¹

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Abstract

The media both produce and reproduce ideas of living and citizenship. They can contribute to stereotyping and discrimination as well as challenge the dominant power structures in society. As the media society develops with more publication platforms, the visual culture has become more important.

This paper explores how national media contributes to exclusion/inclusion and feelings of belonging in a transnational world. The focus is on how gender and other grounds for discrimination intersects and creates power structures of visibility, in all genres and on a meta level. A basis for the study is that all types of media matters and stereotypes can have a function as a power instrument, which is manifest in all genres.

The empirical study investigates the dominant images of women and men in Swedish mainstream media by analysing content (including fact, fiction and advertising in broadcast and print) from 1994, 2004 and 2014. It contains two levels. The first level is quantitative and examines representation in the largest media outlets in all genres (a total of 34 products) in Sweden during one day. Added to that is the most popular movie, rented film and advertising and public advertising (billboards). (Included variables are social class, age, sexuality, functionality, ethnic background, religious background, minority/majority, etc.)

The second level extracts patterns from the representation study and use a qualitative analysis to pinpoint what can be considered gender traits in the media. Hence, we identify stereotypes and visibility structures that we then relate to political discourses/policies concerning diversity and discrimination. The stereotypes are a possible way to combine representation categories and intersectional perspectives. Another dimension is to relate media representation to population statistics.

The first report in this project was published in 1994 by University of Gothenburg:

Massmediernas enfaldiga typer: Kvinnor och män i mediebruset.

The current material is a work in progress.

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Introduction

What kind of images and ideas of women and men are delivered by mainstream media? That was the fundamental question we asked ourselves in 1994 when we first started investigating the Swedish media buzz. With the buzz we mean the constant flow of images that surround us from advertisements, news, fiction and factual stories. In the buzz all images contribute to create the current ideas of gender.

At that point – 1994 – women were scarce in the news but abundant in advertising. We wanted to grasp both presence and stereotypes and used both quantitative and qualitative methods in our content analysis in order to make patterns of representation visible. Our main focus was on gender and how age, class and ethnicity influenced the visibility of women and men. Our main result in the 1994 study was that women and men were equally present in numbers but their doings were distinctly different and often stereotyped. While men could have many roles, both in the private and public sphere women were mostly private, young and engaged in their personal needs.

This paper contributes to emphasise that all genres matter, by updating the study from 1994 and by exploring new data from content analysis made in the same way 2004 and 2014. The idea is still the same, to reveal the visual patterns of representation of the media. By connecting the gendered media patterns to population statistics, political goals on gender equality and the current Swedish Discrimination Act it is also possible to discuss possible democracy deficits that exist in the visual representation of gender, citizenship and feeling of belonging. Since our first study the theories of intersectionality have emerged with feminist theory, theories that claim that women's (people's) lives are constructed by multiple intersecting systems of oppressions. We realize that we used similar analytical perspectives in our first work, without having a name for it. Here we try to explore if these theories can advance the analysis.

Points of departures

We understand the media as primarily a non-state actor that can both hinder and accelerate progress towards human rights and equality. They can mirror, distort or develop ideas of citizenship and representations; they may also contribute to produce counter stereotypes. Stereotypes as a hindrance for gender equality was addressed already in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW 1979). The importance of the media for gender equality is emphasised in the Beijing Platform for Action, by UNESCO, the Council of Europe and other international bodies (see UN 1996, COE 2013, UNESCO 2014).

Media images and texts contribute to shape people's ideas and opinions and that is why it is important to investigate all types of media content. Today the media is a globalised phenomenon that is produced, used and contextualised in different cultural and social settings. The relationship with the media is life long, contrary to some other arenas like the school or the university. We can use the media for a number of purposes. It is a source for knowledge, information, raising opinion and spreading hate, as well as for entertaining social contacts, gets amused and excited. In that sense all type of media is important to study.

The media buzz, independent of genres, is a point of reference for the individual and the collective about how to perform, be a person and a citizen. The media buzz in that sense is normative and prescriptive. In our study, which aims to catch the media buzz during one day, no special media genre or type of imagery is more important than the other. Together they contribute to create a preferred reading of representation (Hall 1973/1980).

The Swedish context:

The value of representation according to the State

Media representation can be placed within the ideal of the democracy model, the *representative* democracy. In a representative democracy, such as Sweden, one could say that the idea of representationalism is embedded in the nation's statutes and accepted as truthful to the concept of a people's democracy.

Art. 1. All public power in Sweden proceeds from the people. Swedish democracy is founded on the free formation of opinion and on universal and equal suffrage. It is realised through a *representative* and parliamentary form of government and through local self-government. Public power is exercised under the law (Ch.1, Art.1, The Instrument of Government, our italics).

This model could be an expression of the notion that feminist theorist Karen Barad makes: "Representationalism is so deeply entrenched within Western culture that it has taken on a common-sense appeal" (Barad 2007 p. 48). However, in the Swedish Instrument of Government and The Riksdag Act the representational parameters are limited to representation of political parties and geographic representation.

The statutes tell us that representation is highly valued within the Swedish democracy model, why, we argue, it seems logical and reasonable to implement this value in societal entities, for example the media, within the democracy according to the following:

The public institutions shall promote the opportunity for all to attain participation and equality in society and for the rights of the child to be safeguarded. The public institutions shall combat discrimination of persons on grounds of gender, colour, national or ethnic origin, linguistic or religious affiliation, functional disability, sexual orientation, age or other circumstance affecting the individual. The opportunities of the Sami people and ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities to preserve and develop a cultural and social life of their own shall be promoted (Ch.1, Art.2, The Instrument of Government).

The phrasing about diversity and grounds of discrimination implies that Sweden is a pluralist state. Pluralism is not so visible in the media buzz, which tends to be more uniform when it comes to representation. Rather, the media buzz tends to create and visualise power structures that on a meta level coincides with patterns of structural discrimination in society at large. One could consider media as a public sphere although it is not a public institution according to the Instrument of government, However, the Swedish Radio and Television Act demands of all broadcasters, private or public service, to "reflect the fundamental concepts of a democratic society, the principle that all persons are of equal value, and the freedom and dignity of the individual." (Radio and Television Act, Chapter 4, section 1). The broadcasting charter for the public service broadcasters goes further, for the permit 2014-2019, all programming should, as a whole, be conducted with a gender equality and diversity perspective (Broadcasting Charter SVT § 6, SR § 6, UR § 7).

The Swedish context:

Gender equality and non-discrimination

The Nordic countries are used to be in the top positions of the World Bank Gender Gap index. Over the last decades there have been several achievements concerning gender equality, particularly with regard to political representation, salaries, and shared parental leave. There is

a general political agreement on the gender equality goals for the Swedish society that are divided into four sub goals: (1) Equal distribution of power and influence (2) Economic equality between the sexes (3) Equal distribution of unpaid care and household work (4) Men's violence against women must stop (SOU 2005:66, Prop. 2005/06:155).

Gender mainstreaming as an equality instrument has been encouraged by the UN and EU and since the mid 90-ies. The parallel processes towards joint legislation on discrimination are based on the insight that there are layers of discrimination that demand to be addressed. This is also what feminist theories on intersectionality is emphasising when they argue that different power structures such as age, class and ethnicity interact with gender. Intersectionality could be a way of increase gender equality and strengthening gender mainstreaming which is also part of the current Swedish politics. (SOU 2014:34).

Sweden can be described as a diverse and multicultural society with a complex situation of segregation and lately also with a nationalist and anti-immigration party, which is now the third largest in Parliament (Hübinette & Lundström 2014, Valmyndigheten 2014). The right to be treated equal is a fundamental right stated in the UN Universal human Rights from 1948.

However, whereas the Swedish legislation on gender equality goes back to 1980, other Acts on discrimination came later. It was not until 2009 there was a joint legislation for equal opportunities through the Discrimination Act and a joint Discrimination Ombudsman encompassing all specifically defined seven grounds of discrimination. The Discrimination Act (Swedish Code of Statutes SFS 2008: 567) prohibits discrimination related to a person's sex, transgender identity or expression, ethnicity, religion or other belief, disability, sexual orientation or age. The purpose of the act is to combat discrimination and in other ways promote equal rights and opportunities (Swedish Code of Statutes 2008: 567: Ch.1). The Discrimination Act is also part of a harmonization to EU legislation on these matters. Ethnical discrimination is the most common ground for complaints in Sweden, followed by disability, sexual and discrimination (DO 2015).

The Discrimination Act is applicable for the media as a work place; therefore one might expect it to also affect media content in the sense that all legislation is normative. Another legislative change that might impact the media is a legislation from 2009 that grants minority groups in Sweden a larger protection by the Act on protection of national minorities and minority languages (Swedish Code of Statutes 2009:724).² With these political and legal goals in mind we attempt to sort out what the media buzz says about gender and who is visible in terms of other power structures that in some cases also as ground for discrimination. In order to do so, we begin with a short contextualisation of the current media situation in Sweden.

The Swedish context:

The media

In Sweden there is a strong legal protection for freedom of expression that goes back to 1766, and today there is a strong protection for both press and broadcast media as a part of safeguarding democracy. Sweden has a high level of subscribed newspapers, a large public service broadcasting (radio and television) several commercial TV-channels.

² Sweden's national minorities are the Jews, Roma, Saami, Swedish Finns and Tornedalers. The minority languages are Yiddish, Romani Chib, Saami, Finnish and Meänkieli.

Whereas the labour market in Sweden is very gender segregated, the media sector is an exception, with balance in terms of numbers, however on the executive level there is still a male dominance in all areas (Facht 2014). Compared with other countries Sweden has higher number of female news subjects (32 percent versus global mean of 24 percent [GMMP 2010]), but a Swedish Official Report (SOU 2007:102) points out the problem of male norms in the news and the lack of human rights perspectives in the reporting. Other research as also pointed out media's role in creating otherness (Roosvall 2005, SOU 2005:56, SOU 2006:21) as well as the "imagined immigrant" and the tendencies to stereotype immigrant girls and boys (Brune 2004).

Although news media are the most studied research fields, it seems that the film industry, advertising agencies and the growing gaming industry are facing similar problems with their media content and organisation (Edström & Mølster eds. 2014).

Political commitments on gender and media

Sweden as a State party has committed itself to meet the goals of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW 1979), such as modifying gender stereotypes; and to the Beijing Platform for Action from 1995 with its two targets related to women and the media: to increase women's participation and access to expression and decision-making in and through the media and new communication technologies; and to promote a balanced and non-stereotyped portrayal of women and men in the media.

However, the Swedish democracy model (like many other states) is built on the notion that the media is a separate entity in relation to the state, it is seen as the third or fourth estate.

Therefore, in Sweden self-regulation has been the main political strategy for dealing with the media industry. The state have been reluctant to take action concerning gender equality in the media because there is a risk that it could be seen as a form of censorship or a way of limiting freedom of expression, if the media industry becomes more regulated by the state (SOU 2008:5). It is not only in Sweden there is an unwillingness to apply gender equality politics to the media sector. Since 2010 the EU strategy for gender equality no longer mentions any specific goals for the media (Svensson & Edström 2014).

Throughout the years there have been different initiatives to improve representation in the media. Gender and diversity has been the main focus for some initiatives regarding content and organisation, both in the newsrooms and in the film industry, but many efforts have been temporary and not so well documented. (For examples of initiatives, see Edström & Mølster eds. 2014, *Räkna med kvinnor* 2011). In general, it seems that the Swedish media industry does not go further than what the legislation demands them to do. It was not until that the Gender Equality Act was introduced that the media industry started with gender equality plans, similarly there were no diversity plans before the legislation demanded that (Edström 2013). With the new Discrimination Act the focus for Swedish media is on diversity in general.

Theoretical perspectives

All visual representations, whether filtered away or not, have an impact in building a frame for the view and understanding of reality and the world. This study is inspired by the late George Gerbner as well as the Cultural Indicators research that claims that television cultivates long-term attitudes towards the world we live in (Gerbner 1973). Similarly, all visual media images have a long-term impact on our beliefs and attitudes. Our definition of the media buzz includes all visual, audio and text messages that meet the eye and ear every day, in the morning news in

press, radio, Internet and television, in the bus stop and elsewhere in the private and public sphere.

In this paper we attempt to combine multiple theoretical approaches to discuss structural patterns of visibility: representation perspective, stereotyping perspective and intersectional perspective.

Representation

The media is often regarded as part of the third dimension of power, a symbolic and discursive power (Lukes 2005). The sociologist Thomas Mathiesen describes it as covert disciplining, containing existing power structures and systems confirming dominant norms, life styles, behaviours and mindsets (Mathiesen 1978). The media is both part of the symbolic power and an arena for exercising symbolic power. Visibility is a currency on that market. On a structural level visibility is an asset for all, both for those in power and for reaching policy makers and delivering ideas and messages to society. Social representation – inclusion – in decision-making on different levels, is considered important for ensuring democracy, equality and human rights. This concept is also applicable on media representation. Different groups in society feel marginalised by the media as well as socially, culturally and politically marginalised. The notion that only the elite has media access is still valid for news, but this is being challenged when other parts of the population, for instance migrant women, demand media access. This demand is somewhat met in entertainment media, where “ordinary people” now can become celebrities by participating in reality-shows, followed by extensive reporting about the shows in tabloids and magazines. In a way one can say that celebrity as a construction is undergoing a democratisation (Jacobson 2005). Different media genres can themselves be more inclusive than others, while news is more white, male and elite oriented, feature stories opens up for a more diverse representation. These more open genres are however less studied (Edström & Nordberg 2005).

Over the years visibility has grown in importance also for the individual. Media culture is accused of maintaining the phenomena of narcissism by stressing continuous improvement of the self in general and appearance in particular. The debate around what social media means for narcissistic traits on the individual and the structural level is quite lively (Aboujaode 2011).

Often the self-representations in the social media tend to be staged as and inspired by mainstream media representations (Hirdman 2010). To be seen or mirrored appears to be important both on individual and structural levels. Media theorists as well as psychologists include media as a given co-operator among others when forming identities (Goffman 1976, Woodward 1997, Giddens 1991, Hirdman 2010, Kellner 2013).

The individual filter away a lot of information and steer her way to the content she is interested in. The mainstream media still has a big normative impact that influences the way media representations are being developed in social media.

Stereotyping

Stereotyping is oversimplification after a certain pattern. It can be defined as pictures in our heads that we use to interpret and understand the world (Lippman 1922). Stereotypes usually emanates from preconceptions about population groups. They operate on an individual level as well on a macro level within a population, corresponding with the cultural and symbolic level, creating and upholding senses of difference (Michel 1986, Hall 1997). Usually they are very stable and give the user a kind of security and a barrier against fear and having to deal with new facts that might threaten your life choices (Lippman 1922). They can be positive or negative and are part of general discrimination patterns in society. They can also be seen as an invitation

to a mutual understanding, difficult to reject (Rosello 1997). Stereotypes can be subtle or more blunt. Negative stereotypes contain prejudice and can be discriminating, dangerous and even lethal (Gilman 1988). Also stereotyping that is considered positive can contain elements of for example exoticification that carries preconceptions of “otherness” or they can be minimising in a “well meant” way.

Sociologically stereotyping is considered a categorisation process that triggers scripts or schemata. For instance the category “women” is associated with a cluster of behaviours, values, looks and personality traits (Bicchieri 2006, Turner 1987). Gender stereotyping means shared ideas of what it means to be a man or a woman. It includes information about appearance, attitude, interests, behaviour, psychological characteristics, relationships and occupation. According to Michel stereotyping is a power tool to keep discriminated and oppressed groups in subordination as well as degrades traits in these groups. For example the feminine is degraded in relation to the masculine and blackness is degraded in relation to whiteness. (Michel 1986).

The media needs to simplify and use stereotypes as a tool in storytelling to describe reality and the world. Not all media, and not always, but often enough to give a clear impression that the media buzz is made out of prescribed templates. News assessment, dramaturgy, choice of topics, texts and photos, all modes of expression are formatted into certain templates. Generally stereotyping in the media follow patterns of power in diminishing those with little power and influence in society. Racism and sexism are extreme forms of stereotyping.

Intersectionality

In this study, gender is used as an initial value from where we use various intersectional perspectives; sharing the feminist idea that women’s lives are constructed by multiple intersecting systems of oppressions (Crenshaw 1989, Carastathis 2014). Intersectionality is a theoretical approach that is still not fixed or agreed upon. Carastathis, referring back to Crenshaw, refers to the concept as a possibly promising concept, but there is a risk of just adding on different perspectives instead of being able to address the interwoven and interacting of power dimensions. Intersectionality can be a way of deepening knowledge about media representations (Roosvall & Widestedt 2015). This paper can be seen as contribution to knowledge about what Crenshaw calls “representational intersectionality” (Crenshaw 1993:1282). With the specific case of Swedish mainstream media and its visual representations it reveals the intersection of gender, age and ethnicity, Further, it can be seen as an exploration of how to combine/merge the concepts of representation, stereotypes and intersectionality.

Method and material

Data selection

To select media we created an imagined, fictive family, the Mediastreams. It is a conventional nuclear family with two genders: mother, father, daughter and son. They have no other function than to be a frame for our choice of material in this study. What kind of images may they see during one day? From the preferences this imagined family, we have chosen the most popular newspapers and magazines, the televisions shows with the most viewers in the five major channels, the most watched film on cinema, the most rented film and the public advertising on the streets in the city of Gothenburg. The selection of products was made on Thursday, October

16, 2014. 31 different types of product categories were included in the 2014 study, compared with 30 in 2004 and 25 in 1994. The increased amount of media products has to do with that new types of media products have emerged, such as free dailies and health magazines as become a large group of magazines. We also included some more television products since over time the viewing has become more individualised and there are fewer people who watch the same programmes.

The study does not include social media or media products on the Internet. This can be seen as a weakness, but in order to be coherent with our previous studies 1994 and 2004 we wanted to keep the media selection fairly stable, meaning that we stayed with the traditional media products. The only exception is the tabloid *Aftonbladet* where we also included their website as a test, and to mirror the fact that even though *Aftonbladet* is the most read tabloid, its website is even more read.

The regulation and formatting of TV commercials have also changes during the years, which means that the selection has been slightly changed. In 1994 we coded the commercials before and after the programmes but in 2004 and 2014 we coded the commercials within a programme schedule.

To relate the media buzz population to "reality" we are using population statistics from Swedish statistics, SCB.

A changed media landscape

The selection of media is somewhat consistent; 9 titles are exactly the same 1994, 2004 and 2014, whereas others have changed. This is a result of the changing media landscape with more diverse and fragmented audience patterns as well as more specialised media. The fictional TV-series have declined in popularity, new titles have appeared and factual TV entertainment has become more popular, such as *Halvåtta hos mig*, a TV-show where people make dinner in each other's houses/apartments, *Lyxfällan*, a programme about people in economic distress and *Böda Camping*, series about people staying at a camping site.

Table 1: Number of analysed cases 1994, 2004 and 2014

	1994	2004	2014
Cases	1245	1919	2145
Media products	25	30	31

Comment: The number of cases does not include cases within trailers for other TV-programmes.

As mentioned earlier, the regulation concerning TV-commercials has changed, in 1994 the limit only 8 minutes per hour and could only be placed before and after the broadcasted programme. In 2014 it is 12 minutes per hour and can be screened every 6 minutes with a minimum of 30 seconds. The trailers for other programmes have also increased. Five per cent of the cases in 2004 were in trailers, whereas in 2014 almost 10 per cent of the investigated cases were from trailers. (For comparative reasons the trailers are not included in 2004 and 2014.)

Variables

The study use 15 variables to capture the media patterns of representation, some of them relate to the grounds of discrimination according to the Swedish Discrimination Act: gender identity or expression, sexuality, functionality, age, ethnicity/skin colour. For this paper we explore primarily the variables of age, gender and ethnicity, the latter having two sets of variables (a)

visual origin (Caucasian, Latin, African etc and b) minority/majority/visitor. For the qualitative analysis we draw of some of the other variables as well such as class, private/public and theme.

Quantitative method

Every person in the image is a unit of analysis. Different medium have different limitations. For newspapers and magazines the coded image must be at least one column wide. For television news and fiction you need to have voice. For commercial the presence in the image is enough. The text, voice and other content in connection with the image is used to establish the case profile.

19 different variables are used for all cases: product, genre, gender, age, looks, class, health, origin, sphere, environment, geography, issue, relationship, role, sexual orientation, position, origin, majority/minority, sexualisation. We also used string variables and a comment field in SPSS top to be able to track the material. In this paper we will primarily explore the social categories gender, age and ethnicity (origin minority/majority) in the quantitative analysis whereas the qualitative analysis is based on several variables.

Qualitative method

From the quantitative material we do a qualitative analysis by extracting gender-specific traits. The single image might not be a problem on its own. But it can create and recreate a stereotype in relationship to all other images. For example, it can be interesting to read about a top model while at the same time the piece could be an example of stereotype on women reaching the top because of looks. Similarly, an executive that fixes profit for the corporation is an example of how men get media attention because of action and competence. It is the repetitive pattern of certain representations that creates a stereotype. The intersectional analysis is then based on analysis of our multiple variables. Apart from extracting traits in the quantitative empiric we do an image analysis to establish which traits are enhanced in the representation units. Here we analyse poses, facial expression, colour, attributes, environment, language contextualisation, activity and themes and topics that frame the images.

Dilemma: Some categories are more certain than others

Linked to the quantification part of the study are dilemmas and problems with categorisation of persons in images. One could say that we shape our own population by categories, which serves as a media population statistic instrument. Population statistics has been, and is, a powerful tool for shaping national self-images as well as an instrument for population control in stratification for example. Statistics has the power to include as well as exclude populations groups (Jacobson 2014).

We argue that the media buzz has that same power to include and exclude. Generally in our study depend on definitions and categories from the population census and the Discrimination Act (SCB 2013, Diskrimineringslag 2008:567).

Visual markers of gender are fairly easy to establish, so is age. Ethnicity is more complex and problematic. We are aware of that we are a somewhat unclear in our theoretical and conceptual when using ethnicity. The media buzz minorities could be ethnic, national and racialised, something that we need to analyse and elaborate further. Here we have coded ethnic belonging, race and skin colour, using the categories from SCB: Caucasian (Europe, North America, Australia, Russia, the Balkans), African (Sub Sahara), Latin (Europe, Latin America), Asian (including China, India, Afghanistan) and Arabian (Israel, Middle East, North Africa). In 2004 and 2014 we also used the complementary variable (minority/majority/indigenous/visitor) in

order to mark the participation of for example Saami people. (Only one Saami person was present in the material, interviewed in the news about the first Sapmi Pride [Saami Pride].) Another example is our measure of social class, built on the socio-economic division by SCB. Our social class categories are:

0. Non-apparent
1. Working class, labour
2. Subordinate official
3. Superior official, middle class
4. Upper class, (high rank in government)
5. Classless
6. Marginalized
7. Celebrity

Image 1: Sample from 2014, ad for foundation

To help decide social class, apart from markers like clothes and other attributes, we read the headlines, the text or searched the Internet for specific persons or characters. If it is fictional content the context in which the person appear is helping our decision, for example a doctor in a TV-series. Here is an example from the 2014 study where it is not a clear-cut easy decision with this ad about make-up. There are arguments for a middle class code, a working class cod or a class less code. Arguments for middle class



can be: the persons are neat with soft skin, have an air of a newly showered freshness, and the image shows idealistically clean and well-kept young women. This ad could be about a middle class norm or ideal that presumes that women have the time and money to spend to look “perfect”. On the other hand one could argue that these persons could be categorised as working class or classless. The product itself is said to have 15 hours endurance to “make your skin look perfect from morning to night” “even when it is hot and during activity”. That implies that you actually could work and sweat with it. Also, it would be of interest for the producer to reach all social classes, to bring possibilities to climb a beauty ladder to all women. In our study the majority of classless persons are female and we found it fruitful to use Bourdieu’s theories about social stratification and concepts of habitus and cultural capital to describe how women are expected to change styles to adjust aesthetically to different social strata (Bourdieu 1986). Women traditionally in the West has been – are – dependable on beauty and looks as a capital for pair-bonding or a working career, while men traditionally rely on achievements

Results and analysis: Quantitative level

Gender by genres

The news, often considered the most important media genre, is a quite small share of the media buzz. In 1994 the cases in news were 8 percent of the total material, in 2004 it is 11 percent. Women have increased their visibility in the news, from 6 to 9 percent. Feature material and

advertising are the dominant visuals with a total share of 75 percent. Men are much more likely to be present in news and fiction, women are more likely to be found in feature and advertising.

Table 2: Share of women and men in different genres in the media buzz 2014

	Women	Men	Total
News	9	13	11
Feature	45	35	39
Fiction	5	13	9
Entertainment	3	5	4
Advertising	39	34	36
<i>Total (n)</i>	<i>943</i>	<i>1124</i>	<i>2067</i>

Men have increased their presence in advertising since 1994, from 26 to 34 percent, which is a significant change, that men and masculinity is increasingly a tool to sell products.

Gender by social categories

Age

Youthfulness has long been celebrated in media culture. In fact, media gives a clear signal that aging and older people, especially women, are not desirable. A study of television programmes in six northern European countries showed that only four per cent of those seen in prime time were 65+, (Who speaks on television 1998). In the news older people are also marginalised (GMMP 2010). Our study confirms these patterns. Age is clearly a factor in order to be visible in the media buzz. You are most interesting for the media if you are in the age of the possible force. Children and older people are clearly marginalised.

Table 3: Share of different age groups in the Swedish population and in the media buzz (percent)

	Population (SCB 2013)	Media buzz 1994	Media buzz 2004	Media buzz 2014
0-14 years	17	8	9	8
15-25 years	19	52	36	35
30-44 years	19	27	33	34
45-59 years	19	10	15	17
60 years +	25	3	4	5
SUM (n)		(1245)	(1919)	(1959)

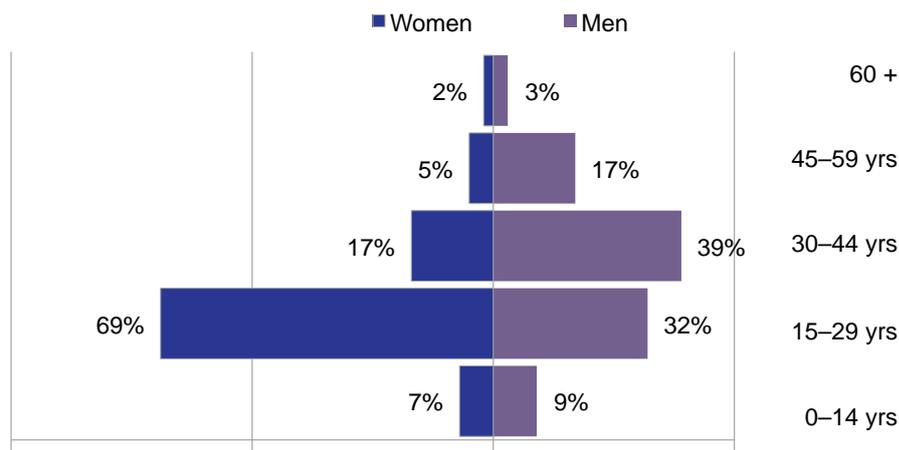
There is democratic deficit in terms of visibility for the older people. Media as a forum for information and debate seldom give older people a voice. This creates a limiting situation both for the public debate and knowledge about ageing and for the elder themselves, since their lived experiences and opinions are not heard. To make someone invisible is a form of symbolic annihilation (Tuchman 1978), and can be regarded as a stereotyping mode. It signals that the annihilated does not matter, or are very low valued. As discussed previously large population groups, or categories, are not visible, or under represented, in the Swedish media buzz. There is a parallel to the concept of epistemic injustice that Wylie uses to describe the academy and knowledge production (Wylie 2011).

Intersection: Age and gender 1994 and 2014

Age is one aspect that intersects with gender. Youth and youthfulness is an important capital, especially for femininity structures in the media. Not only are older people more invisible, women tend to disappear after the age of 30 in the media buzz. In 1994, young women between 15-29 years had their peak in media and then got more and more invisible the older that were, see figure 1.

Masculinity on the other hand is not that age dependent. It could be found in more age brackets. Children and older people were equally invisible, regardless of gender.

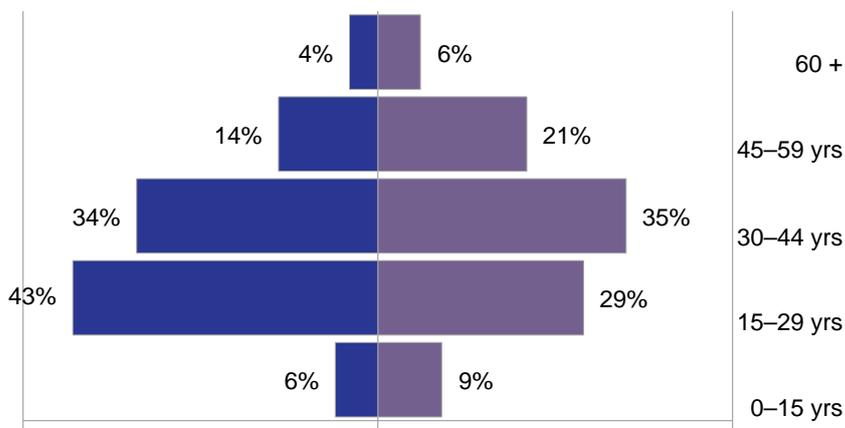
Figure 1: The gender and age ladder 1994 in the media buzz



Comment: Based on images of people during one day in 25 media products in the Media N=1245

The age pattern from 1994 remains 20 years later. The dominance of young women is still there, but more middle age women have taken the stage, see Figure 2. Already in 2004 we could see that change that women had increased their visibility in the older age groups, one contributing factor was that some of the news best-selling glossy magazines aimed for women in their middle ages.

Figure 2: The gender and age ladder in the media buzz 2014

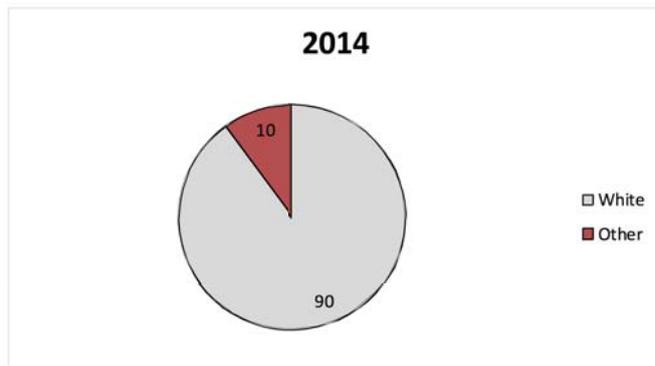


Comment: Based on images of people during one day in 34 media products in the Media N= 1959

Still, visibility for persons 60 years or older are very unlikely. Women are more likely to be visible the younger they are, whereas men have their prime time in the media as young middle-age 30-44 years. Children and older people are equally invisible.

Whiteness

The media buzz in Sweden is white. The majority, 90 percent, of all visible persons are Caucasian. That is in one way corresponding with the factual situation as large immigrant groups in Sweden are from a Nordic or from a Balkan/Eastern European origin. Since the second world war more than one million people have migrated to Sweden, one third from the Nordic countries, one third from Europe outside the Nordic Countries and one third from non-European countries. (Migrantinfo.se) While 16 percent of the Swedish population are born in another country the largest migrant group came from Finland, followed by former Balkan countries. Now Syrian and Somali people are large immigrant groups.



The white representation in the media buzz is almost identical 1994 and 2014, which in a sense is surprising since the largest migrant groups in the late years are often young and come from outside Europe. The media buzz in its content is also more global. Therefore one could have expected a lower share of Caucasians in the material.

Figure 4: Ethnic background and skin colour of the persons visible in the media buzz 2014.

Intersection: Whiteness and gender 2014

In the media buzz women other background than Caucasian are more visible than non-white males. Males with non-white skin colour or are more visible than their female counterparts. Again, as with age, it seems that visibility needs to be addressed in an intersectional way. Men who are not Caucasian are much more visible than their female counterparts, they are also more visible in different ages. These results are in line with earlier studies that show that migrant women are more invisible in the media, (SOU 2006:21, Edström 2006) Earlier studies also indicates that certain areas of the media are more likely to be more diverse, like popular culture (Edström & Nordberg 2005). News and fiction are those genres that have a slightly higher representation of other than Caucasians in the media buzz. This can partly be explained by the fact that many of the most popular TV-fiction in Sweden has American origins with a more diverse casting.

Table 4: Gender and whiteness in the media buzz 2014

	Women	Men	Total
White	93	88	90
Other	8	12	10
Total percent	101	100	100
No of cases	913	1065	1978

Gendered spheres and topics

In 1994 females were primarily placed in a private context. Three out of four women appeared in the private sphere. 20 years later women are more visible in the public sphere, but the traditional male dominance in the public sphere persists.

Table 5: Where femininity and masculinity is placed in the media buzz 2014

	Women	Men	Total
Public	39	55	6
Private	55	40	47
Unknown	6	5	48
Sum (n)	100 (943)	100 (1124)	100 (2067)

The private sphere is the most central sphere for the media. Noteworthy is also that there are so many images where you can't say whether the person is in the private or public sphere - or maybe both. Over the years it is clear that women are more present in the public sphere that was a pattern already in 2004. This is also due to new titles such as one of the biggest women's magazine Amelia already from the beginning included sections about work- related issues (Amelia started 1995, one year after our first study.)

Table 6: Themes and topics that contextualise gender in the media buzz 2014

Theme	Women	Men	Total
Politics/economy/environment	11	18	15
Social issues	4	2	3
Culture	7	10	9
Crime	5	7	6
Other societal issues	5	4	2
Personal needs	54	46	50
Private life/ human interest	13	9	11
Other private issues	1	3	2
Total	100 (939)	99 (1102)	99 (2041)

Results and analysis: Qualitative level

Representation is a concept with multiple dimensions. Discussed previously is representation as a value in visual culture, which can be understood as an including/excluding mechanism. Our focus earlier in this paper is representation in numbers and patterns of visibility due to a few intersections, such as gender, age and skin colour. To further the discussion about representation patterns we have extracted traits that are prevalent in the media buzz and organised them into gendered structures, or gendered stereotypes.

These stereotypes could be understood as structures where intersections meet, rather than actual persons with individual identities. It is an attempt to fixate dynamic intersections into temporary moments of stability for the sake of stereotype analysis. They depict preferred bodies, looks, shapes, expressions, attitudes, life styles and so on that interplays with dominant societal norms about gender, social class, functionality, sexuality, age and other axes of discrimination.

Some of the stereotypes extracted from the media buzz are: “the Fashion slave”, “the Beauty slave”, “the Love goddess”, “the Love god”, “the Executive” and “Prince Charming”. In describing them, we take the liberty to describe these stereotypes with our own interpretations of the underlying messages in images, inspired from years of media activism and research as well as art and literature.

Image 2: “The Fashion slave” 2014



The Fashion slave

Fashion and clothes is the largest topic in the media buzz, both in advertising and hybrid ad-editorial content. In 1994 and 2004 it was a strongly feminised domain – in 2014 it is becoming an increasingly masculinised one as well.

The images above (Image 2) are pretty typical in the buzz. Femininity and masculinity are two separate units that are enhanced with multiple gender codes. No viewer should be mistaken that female and male are different from each other. They envision the dominant binary system of two genders, the two-gender norm. The headlines are, to the left: *The pink thread*, and to the right *Good work*. The introductory line in the left image says: *We celebrate all wonderful femininity with the pink accessories of autumn*. The smaller bold to the right in the bottom in the right image says: *Powerlook*. The headline typography to the left is rather light while the one to left is quite bold.

A typical feminised facial expression is a smile, but it could also be a semi-open mouth, while the typical masculinised is a “stone face”, a serious facial expression. The body to the left is typically slender. Note the feet that points inwards, a rather common pose linked to media femininity, which can be associated to childishness or playfulness. The body is placed in a non-environment while in the image to the right the body is placed in a more obvious urban environment and next to a car, actually on its way to enter a car. Another gender code is colours; femininity is often presented in pastel and light colours, while masculinity is coded in more bright and/or dark colours. “The Fashion slave” stereotype is commonly aged 20 to 35 years. Usually it is white, but not always. All these components are structuring gender differences in the levels of context and activity in the two images. In our previous studies from 1994 and 2004 the feminine “Fashion slave” was more outspoken passive than the current, but still it is placed in a private sphere, while the masculine is linked to some sort of professional life.

The Beauty slave

Along with fashion and clothes, looks and fitness are important topics in the media buzz, 24 percent of all cases have this as their main issue. It is clear that this topic is dominated by females as 90 per cent of the cases in beauty topic is gender coded feminine. Beauty work is presented in the media as one way to transform into a powerful independent woman. When explicit language is used in young women's magazines and ads the key words are sometimes taken from liberating, emancipatory rhetoric; such as "daring", "bold", "freedom", "rights" and "free choice". However, feminist scholars argue that these definitions of liberation cover a symbolic control over women's bodies and instead "The Beauty slave" is a dominant female stereotype that fits into traditional femininity where disciplining the body is included. "The Beauty slave" is not only a common female stereotype; it has also become normative for the idea of how to be a "real women" (Jacobson 2005). "The Beauty slave" is composed by certain femininity values, such as youth. There are numerous advices on how to look youthful in the media; cosmetics, creams and surgery are big business. The same goes for the feminine skin. It is, according to the media, supposed to be fair, smooth and hairless. The razor blade, originally a masculine attribute, is now also a feminine fetish. The general media message is that facial and body hair must be removed. This skin ideal is often connected with the Western contemporary beauty standard but has since long also been a class and beauty marker in South and East Asia as well as in the European aristocracy (Johansson 1998). Tanned and rough skin was accordingly a sign of the hard labour performed by the working and farming classes. When outdoor activities became popular in Europe and North America tanned skin suddenly was included in the beauty standard. As skin cancer has become increasingly common tanned skin is downplayed and a lot of technologic fake methods is recommended.

Image 3: "The Beauty slave" 1994, 2004 and 2014



1994



2004



2014

Most of "the Beauty slaves" in our material have white skin, whereas whiteness is to be understood as a political and sociological concept, rather than a biological or essential one. Whiteness in the media context could be seen as created and recreated in a race- and status structuring process much alike gender structuring processes (Guess 2006).

Skin preservation is presented in different language modes. Threats from the environment and nature, wind, dry air, sun and age are popular themes. The solutions are often described in pseudo-scientific language. Evidently, the media idea of perfected femininity can be attained by various technical methods.

Most kinds of bodies do not make into the media at all and are certainly not becoming stereotypes. Excluded bodies are functional variations, trans- and intersex bodies as well as

bigger size bodies. These body types are symbolically annihilated (Tuchman 1978) or strongly under represented. The media buzz enhance preferred bodies when it comes to gender, age, skin colour, functionality, body size even if the stereotypes is understood as structuring and organising tools

Body size is one of the media obsessions. For a long time the message about thinness has been the core of normative femininity. But increasingly fitness is becoming also a sign of masculinity. Of course good looks have been a masculinity asset in media context before – but there has also been a generosity in definitions of masculine good looks. Advertisements and life style magazines for males heavily promote actions in front of the mirror – a traditional domain for girls and women. Smooth skin and hairlessness was trendy in our earlier studies while in 2014 beards are common. It is paradoxical that at the same time as masculine bodies undergo a symbolic feminization it is into the very classic masculine ideal, known from the antique era, they are supposed to transform (Dotson 1999). Messages about thinness and other beauty ideals are delivered in a pseudo-intimate style in magazines for young women, copying a chatty “girlie-friendly” tone. But underlying is an instruction for women to watch their bodies as men would watch them: “Men act, women appear” John Berger stated in *Ways of Seeing* (1972, p 47).

It has been a matter of discussion whether this is to be understood as a sign of gender equality, or of a more democratic than patriarchal gaze. Laura Mulvey’s (1975) concept implied that femininity is created from a hetero masculine point of view – through the male gaze. That way femininity is constructed as an object of male pleasure or desire. It could be discussed if objectifying, as a valuating and structuring process, could be a gender-neutral process within a patriarchal society, moving towards a gender equal society. Or if, which is more probable, both femininity and masculinity are constructed through a patriarchal gaze hidden with a gender equal rhetoric. In our material, there were no particular signs of any unsteady gender constructions, like queer or trans gender. Contrary, gender stereotypes seem to be pretty stable in the media buzz.

The Executive

“The Executive” as a stereotype hasn’t changed much over the years. Usually this type of masculinity is framed by power in one way or the other. It can be political or corporate power for instance. Gender codes are darker colours, often gray or conservative blue. Gestures are controlled and facial expression serious or vaguely optimistic. It is an elite type of power look, very uniform in style. These kinds of images are global images of masculinity, power and control and they fit well into the concept of *the transnational business masculinity*, a form of hegemonic masculinity, conceptualised by R. W Connell (1995, 2002, 2005)

Image 4: “The Executive” 1994, 2004 and 2014



Image 5: "The Executive" female 2014

We can see a tendency to an emerging feminine "Executive" although the frequency of these kinds of images is not large enough to qualify to be called a stereotype (Image 5). Rather, is breaking a traditional masculine coded power pose posing in a power pose, standing up with both feet on the ground. No toes point inwards on this image, but slightly outwards. The image is taken slightly from below and in this particular image the colours are clear and the environment could be associated to an office or a working space. This seems to be an image of traditional authority and power; one could say it is masculinised, but it could also be interpreted as a counter-stereotype, as it is also somewhat gender bending the norm about power and leadership.



The Love goddess

Still, sex and relationships are large topics in the media buzz. Since we started doing this study in 1994 there has overall been an increase of sexualised content in the media buzz. Sexualisation in this context means that content that is not about sexuality is framed sexually.³ Sexualised content could be for example eating, showering, or just posing. The Lolita-theme,³ popular in the porn scene, became mainstream in the West media content during the 1990s. During the 2000s the Girl Power concept in the USA and Europe became more sexualized with clear references to pornography. This trend now seems to gradually be down played in some content. Since around 2000 the Internet turned out, as predicted by the media industry, as a serious competitor to print and television, which are now called traditional media.

Image 6: "The Love goddess", sexualised version 1994, 2004 and 2014



This has bearing on especially pornography and sexual content. In our 2014 study we found that blunt sexualisation had been played down in traditional media. It was not as easy to find a

³ From *Lolita*, novel by Vladimir Nabokov, 1955

clear-cut Madonna-whore dichotomy as it was in previous studies. Maybe this is an indication that this dichotomy is in regress in traditional media and migrating to the Internet. A conclusion is that Internet generally has occupied the porn market and that traditional media doesn't regard sexualisation as selling as earlier. One can find some indicators, especially in imagery, of the dichotomy. While the sexualised "Love goddess" revolves around explicit sexual romance and sexual activity, mild colours surround the Madonna-like stereotype; bright light and pale make up which can be associated to purity and non-sexuality according to Christianity. The extremely skinny body ideal that has been current over the past 20 to 25 years could be seen as an ingredient in this media version of purity.

The Love god

Within the topic sex and relationships, however, there is almost parity of female and male cases. The "Love god" stereotype has a lot in common with the masculine "Beauty slave". Both have connotations of aesthetics and objectification. In the image below (Image 7), an ad for designer underwear the masculine body is corresponding to the art of sculpting. The word *muchachomalo* means "bad boy" in Spanish, which could have connotations to both sex and risk taking.

Image 7: "The Love god" 2014



2014

It has been discussed if this trend is influenced by the homosexual imagery culture, where males are clear objects of desire. The term *metro sexual* was coined to describe the phenomena and that it was connected to urban life styles. But it is also known that the male category as a commercial segment in advertising has been worked on for many years. Over the past twenty years we have noted that male beauty has becoming a standard or norm in defining heterosexual masculinity in the media context, in a similar way that beauty is a norm in the construction of femininity. It is not easy to decide whether the gaze through which "the Love god" is created is supposed to be feminine, masculine or unisex. It seems to pending due to context in the media buzz. The nudity in this image can be classified as *heroic*, opposite of *posing* nudity. There is movement and marks on the body that can be associated with physical struggle, but also a frozen physical power pose. This particular image can actually refer to a sophisticated and perfected version of physical hard labour masculinity.

Prince Charming

This stereotype is different from the other masculine ones, regarding that they pose for a female audience. One might say it is constructed through a female gaze, although this is happening within the patriarchal gender order paradigm. “Prince Charming” is an object of desire but not a sexualised one. The imagery associates to a more innocent romantic ideal of the successful youthful male that awakens a desire of a romantic, and maybe covert sexual, relationship.

Image 8: “Prince Charming” 1994, 2004 and 2014



Preferred bodies and dominant norms

Although not all of the stereotypes can be placed in an elite category it is hard to associate them with poverty, shift work or debt restructuring. Some of them could be labelled class less but most can be placed within a middle class category. All are well groomed, with skin well taken care of. They have able bodies, a body style and shape that conform to societal norms. Also they bring about an air of success. They produce and reproduce ideas of living, life styles and citizenship both on a local and global level. Or rather they constitute ideals and norms of living, lifestyles and citizenship to an almost iconic degree. They could all be placed in the two-gender binary and although sexuality is not outspoken in all of them the underlying context in which they are presented is hetero normative. When it comes to skin colour, race and ethnicity they are pre dominantly white, as the frequency of whiteness in general is high in our empiric. The stereotypes correspond with dominant social and cultural norms as well to a consumerist and urban life style. This bridges to an overall political/economical paradigm of growth as well to a market driven individualism. When these forces define the concept of citizenship it turns out to be a “customership”.

Discussion

This paper has explored how prime time/mainstream media contributes to exclusion /inclusion. We argue that all genres and all types of representations are important when analysing visual patterns in the media and that representation as a concept can be seen as an including or

excluding mechanism. Since 1994, the media landscape changed. The representation in the media has also changed even though many patterns remain. Some key results from 2014:

- There is a gender balance in the total media buzz, but not in genres, topics or sphere
- Still more men in the public sphere and more women in the private sphere – but women takes larger space in the public sphere
- The youngest and oldest still under represented
- Stereotypes are updated, but mostly stable over the 20 years
- Invisibility as a stereotype remains
- Gender intersects with age, ethnicity and class as well as other dimension such as private/public and hard/soft topics.

We attempt to address different approaches to media representation. One approach is to consider media representation in numbers as an including mechanism in a representative democratic society. In that respect we would like to describe the current mode of representation in for example Swedish media as unjust to large population categories as the media does not represent them, or misrepresent them (Edström & Jacobson 1994, 2014). As a suggestion this could be, from a standpoint theory perspective, seen as a form of epistemic injustice, applied in this case on media representation (Wylie 2011).

Wylie is discussing science and the scientific community but we suggest that the concept could be transcribed to media and the representations of people that form a media content population. In this case media would be seen as an entity in the same way as science is. There are some likenesses between the media and science as entities. Both produce knowledge, both are regarded as power institutions and both entities are crucial as components in a democratic society.

The epistemic injustice would occur when the media symbolically annihilate population categories. Scholars, when theorizing about invisibility, under representation and misrepresentation are rather commonly using the concept, or lens, of symbolic annihilation. It can be debated whether the epistemic injustice takes place as a result of symbolic annihilation or if symbolic annihilation could be described as a kind of epistemic injustice per se.

Wylie (2011) discusses specifically the category women in the academy but we argue that it's applicable on women, and other population categories, also in media content. As said, the media can be seen as a type of knowledge production as well as value production, which conform to dominant cultural norms. Not only are these categories competence in question but also their voices, views and bodies.

Roughly put, whiteness, masculinity, heterosexuality and ability, to mention a few categories, tend to be enhanced in the media. In other words the media buzz tend to be Eurocentric, androcentric, heterocentric and ablecentric. This might not be discrimination by intent, but rather discrimination as a consequence of remnants from historical ideas of "otherness".

Another approach of representation is on a meta level, in trying to stabilise dynamic intersections into fixed categories and so to say try to liberate them from representing individuals into representing power structures, power asymmetries, norms and values that can be discussed in relation to media, democracy and politics. In that way intersectionality could be useful to make a more complex analysis of stereotypes and the media buzz than we have accomplished here.

Gender and other different-making representation categories – or intersections – that are temporarily stabilised into stereotypes can contribute to a wider approach to media representation research as well as a tool in analysing images. Every image contains multiple intersections and an intersectional approach might highlight systems of privilege and of

oppression. To see the bigger picture categorisation and representation as tools can help reveal these systems and show the scale of power asymmetries.

Finally, a more political reflection is that the media buzz is not citizen oriented, but customer oriented. It stipulates that feelings of belonging in a transnational world means that conformity to dominating social norms and values are necessary. Rather, a feeling of non-belonging comes to mind when living in the media buzz. The buzz can be a place for renegotiation of identities but it can also be a place for fixating old stereotypes in new settings. In our material we can see that both patterns of representation changes even if it is a slow process (middle age women are becoming more visible). Some groups are still marginalised such as older people and the Saami population, but the one (man) who do appear talks in the TV-news about the importance of the first Sapmi Pride festival. This would not have been possible in 1994; this a sign that the society is developing and that the media's agenda can change, but it can if course be a sign of exotification, the one Saami person in the media buzz also gets to talk about queer issues.

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Appendix: Selection of media

Selection Media Images Limited			
	1994	2004	2014
Newspapers	DN	DN	DN
	Di	Di	Di
	Expressen	Aftonbladet (tabloid)	Aftonbladet (tabloid)
			Aftonbladet webb
		Metro (Free daily)	Metro (Free daily)
Magazines	Året Runt	Allers	Allers
	Damernas Värld	Amelia	Amelia
	Aktuell rapport	Slitz	Café
	Teknikens Värld	Bilsport	Illustrerad vetenskap
		Må Bra	Må Bra
	Frida	Frida	Frida
	Vecko-Revyn	Vecko-Revyn	Vecko-Revyn
	Kalle Anka	Kalle Anka	Kalle Anka
	Fantomen	Fantomen	Fantomen
Public Service television	Rapport SVT 2	Rapport SVT1	Rapport SVT 1
	Kommissarie Morse SVT 1	Mitt liv som död SVT 1	Landgång SVT
	Sportnytt SVT1	Sportnytt SVT 2	Sportnytt SVT2
	Rederiet	Gokväll SVT 2	Gokväll SVT 2
		Bolibompa SVT1	SVT Bolibompa
Commercial television	Barntrean med Skurt		
	Baywatch Tv 4	Farmen Skärgården TV4	Lyxfällan TV3
	Efterlyst TV3	Efterlyst TV3	NCIS Los Angeles (TV3)
	Glamour TV 5	Simple Life 2 TV 3	Böda camping TV 5
	Hunter TV 4	24 TV 4	Vikings TV4
	Tre minuter TV 3	Time Out TV4	Halvåtta hos mig TV4
		Vänner 18.00 TV5	Big Bang Theory TV5
		Dolce Vita TV 5	
	MTV	MTV	
Cinema	Schindler´s List	Så som i Himmelen	Dracula Untold
Rental film	Hots Shots 2	Day after Tomorrow	Frozen ground
Billboards	Reklampelare i Göteborg	Reklampelare i Göteborg	Reklampelare i Göteborg