“Do you want to help them?”

Analyzing the representation of African Americans in *Expressen’s* news reports of 53 youths from Chicago visiting Stockholm in 1966.

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Abstract

This study is a qualitative content analysis, aiming to analyze the representation of African Americans in reports made by the Swedish newspaper Expressen, covering a journey with 53 youths from Chicago to Stockholm in 1966. This study has a critical approach to understanding how preferred meanings were reproduced in Expressen’s representation of the African American participants. Stuart Hall’s (2003) theory ‘the spectacle of the other’ and Homi Bhabha’s (1994) theory stemming from colonial discourse, ‘the process of subjectification’ are used to analyze the material. The material collected consists of text and images presented by Expressen which was an active reporter on the event, as well considered a co-partner of the project to travel from Chicago to Stockholm. This paper suggests the way in which the African Americans were represented is part of the representational practices of ‘racializing the othering’, significantly through the form known as stereotyping; which results in a clear distinction between them and Swedes on the basis of racial representations produced about the African Americans. The study is a modest contribution to expanding and developing the concept of how different races has been represented and perpetual to the history of differentiating people through racial and colonial discourse.

Keywords: Representation, African Americans, Swedes, Stereotype, Discourse
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1. Introduction

In 1966 fifty-three African American youth between the ages of fifteen and seventeen were invited to Sweden and Copenhagen for a two-week trip, organized by Ingrid Kostrubala, a Swedish American with the help of the Swedish news press *Expressen*. The trip can be described as an end goal of a project, which had a ‘community work’ approach to providing fifty-three youths from Chicago’s low-income area an opportunity to experience a country with apparently ‘no race prejudices’. (Twelvetrees, 2002) The project was called a social experiment, particularly targeting the children of the slums, with the hope of impacting their lives by showing them that there were white people who cared about them (Nilson, 1965).

The 1966 journey hailed as a newsworthy phenomenon—wide variety of media coverages from both the U.S. and Sweden press can be found1; however, this study focuses on *Expressen’s* writings, which was considered a co-establisher of the trip and the media that published the most content on this event. Through their partnership, *Expressen’s* role was to find host families in Stockholm for the youths from Chicago through reportage. Thereafter, *Expressen’s* continued reports follow the progression of the experiment.

In the process, *Expressen* arguably established the main discourse and representation of the African Americans, which is what this study focuses on. I analyze *Expressen’s* mode of representation from the main premise supported in the articles that “Sweden is a country with no race prejudices”. Through qualitative content analysis, this research paper is an analysis of extracted forms of racialized representations from the articles reporting on the Chicago-Stockholm trip. Considering theories around the concepts of representation and stereotyping such as those in Hall’s (2003) *Representation* as well as Bhabha’s (1994) *The location of culture* will be used to put the representations of African Americans into context.

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1 See news press: Chicago Daily News, Chicago Sun Times, Svenska dagbladet, Dagen Nyheter; magazines: Ebony, Jet, Life; TV/film: CBS, NBC, SVT
1.1 Aim of the study

The aim of this research is to examine how the African Americans were represented in the tabloid newspaper Expressen’s reports of the Chicago-Stockholm trip in 1966. This will be done through qualitative content analysis considering theories on representation, colonial and racial discourse and otherness.

1.2 Research Questions

This research seeks to examine the questions:

- How are the African Americans represented in Expressen’s news articles?
- How are the articles part in creating the ‘racialized other’?
- How is Expressen’s mode of representation constitutive of colonial discourse?

2. Background and Motivation of the Study

There are a couple of relevant areas that makes up the background and motivation of this study.

(1) Locating the position of the researcher of this study, as I am African American with roots in Southside Chicago and the fact that I have initiated a project with the aim of mobilizing African American youths, as well as I am currently living in Sweden and thus the relatedness is considered. (2) The historical aspects of the socio-political climate in Chicago in the 1960’s and the position of Sweden as a welfare country, as well as in correlation to the Civil Rights movement in the U.S. I will present those factors more in depth further down. Furthermore, the study is motivated by how the African Americans were represented and stereotyped in a racialized problematic manner, as the participants of the Chicago-Stockholm trip. Contrarily, Sweden was presented as a country presumably color-blind, and without race prejudices. Even though, practices and rhetoric of the times in which the articles are published were different, there is still a lack of sufficient knowledge on the topic and therefore a need for further research on the history as well as of contemporary phenomena, to create a better understanding of the problem of racialization. The fact that the times were different is not an argument nor can it be undermined as belonging to the history and not being a matter of sustaining today.
2.1 Positioning the researcher of the study

It is relevant to say, that my own experiences as an African American and community worker, has brought me to conducting this research, and in this section, I will elaborate on the significance of positioning myself in this study.

In 2011, whilst living in Chicago, together with a “Southside” collective of artists, residents, and friends, I organized a not for profit organization to engage people in the idea of obtaining passports. The idea emerged from the fact that only about 30% of U.S. citizens own passports, but also, it was considered, how the passport itself could be used as a tool, to get young African Americans to think critically about their collective, and self-identity as well as national identity, by deciding to apply for a passport (U.S. Department of State, 2018). The project would move on to travel to the arts festival, Documenta 13 with young African American participants, receiving their passports for the first time and thus their first international trip. (The Exchange, 2015)

On further inquiry, as the Passport Carriers organization—we were informed that a similar trip had taken place; however, in 1966 and to Stockholm, Sweden, whereby Ebony magazine had written an in-depth article on the journey, entitled Cold winter, warm hearts (Sanders, 1966, p. 27). As I began to learn more about the project what occurred to me was how the main difference of the Stockholm trip was rooted in the premises for establishing the journey; and as I will trace throughout this research. In most of the U.S. and Swedish press material available from this event, the topic is generally discussed through the perspective of Sweden and about the generosity of the Swedes and the poorness and tragedy of the African Americans. I have asked myself, what was the reason behind this way of representing them, what is this generosity, where does this Swedish generosity stem from and why is it so important to make known in an event which set out to help African Americans?

As an African American with roots in Chicago, as well as a person whom has resided in Sweden for the last five years, in a way, I write to understand my own unique position as a Black person in Sweden. As an extension of those labels, the questions of this study infer to the presence of migrated black bodies in Sweden but does not aim to focus on a comparison between the past and the contemporary phenomena, given the limitations of this study. However, the historicity of the Chicago-Stockholm event in 1966 perhaps reveal a pattern in structure and discourse.
2.2 Political and Social Climate of Black Chicago and Sweden in 1966

I want to briefly address two concurrent political contexts relatively significant and which play a role in the making of the 1966 Chicago to Stockholm trip, which is not mentioned in the reports, though play a significant role.

Firstly, as it relates to the social and political climate of Black Chicago and African Americans in general, there are two traditional paradigms belonging to the 1960’s era, the civil rights (nonviolence/reform) and Black Power (armed resistance/revolution). (Williams, 2013, p. 3) Realizing the real constraints and oppression that African Americans in Chicago were subjected to, civil rights activist, Dr. Martin Luther King organized the Chicago Freedom Festival in 1966. In his speech, he defines what is meant by slum, its conditions and the victimizing effects it has on the people who inhabit it.

“The purpose of the slum is to confine those who have no power and perpetuate their powerlessness. In the slum, the negro is forced to pay more for less, and the general economy of the slum is constantly drained without being replenished. In short, the slum is an invisible wall, which restricts the mobility of persons because of the color of their skin. The slum is little more than a domestic colony which leaves its inhabitants dominated politically, exploited economically, segregated and humiliated at every turn.” (King, 1966, p. 3)

According to Expressen’s articles, the inception of the trip and the actions that followed were mainly stimulated by the notion of despair, conceptualized as slum. Whilst, historically it is a fact that African Americans at large were excluded in American societies on the basis of racism and discrimination, the causations of such poverty and racial segregation are never articulated as a constitutive element of power and white supremacy. Although Kings definition of the slum is parallel with a widely conceived definition of the slum, the difference is in how King’s description of the slum points to the exploitation of the inhabitants who make up the slum. In other words, it is deliberate injustices which produces the slum. The slum is not merely a slum without the presence of force, inertia and violence.
Secondly, the project is rooted in the historical, social and political context of Sweden as well as the other Nordic countries, particularly its shift towards a progressive social welfare model, gender equality, and tolerance. Sweden, particularly from the mid 1950’s-70’s, underwent a transformation towards the Swedish “folkhemmet” or the peoples home giving rise to social democratic polity which invested in anti-racist, de-colonization movements and as well as saw itself as a color-blind and post racial society. (Hübinette & Lundström, 2011) “In a feat of national branding, “good Sweden” was promoted as more tolerant and liberal than any other (western) country and (white) people in the world.” (Hübinette & Lundström, 2011, p. 3) The Swedish self-image and national branding meant that among other humanitarian efforts, Sweden had been particularly interested and in support of the Black freedom struggles in the 1960’s (Hübinette & Lundström, 2011). The inception of this project can be seen as a merging of both political agendas and social attitudes of the era. The historical circumstances within the African American and Swedish context were concurrent at the time of its production.

3. Limitations

Limitations are made by choosing to focus exclusively on the Swedish newspaper Expressen; data was collected, only from its reports. While doing research, I became aware of the central role Expressen played in the Chicago-Stockholm trip. As a co-partner, Expressen was the primary news source for reporting on the Chicago-Stockholm trip in Sweden and responsible for finding short stay accommodations for the young participants (Nilson, 1965). Also, Expressen is the newspaper that has made the most reports on the trip and being the largest and most popular tabloid newspaper in Sweden at the time, I found it relevant to delimit the study to Expressen (Furhoff & Hederberg, 1965, p. 109). Another reason was due to the size of this research paper, if I were to consider multiple newspapers it would have not been possible to harness the depth of the study. I chose to limit the research in not focusing on how the Swedes were represented directly; although that often go hand in hand with how the African Americans were represented, as a mean to differentiate one from ‘the other’.

Furthermore, limitations have been made in terms of accessing other readily available sources of information. Such as, deciding not to conduct qualitative interviews with participants, organizers of the project etc. Even though, it would be useful data and relevant to the research question to have conducted interviews with participants, the boundaries of this study delimit such tasks and led to the deliberate reasoning to focus on Expressen.
4. Previous Research

Even though an extensive amount of empirical material on the Chicago-Stockholm trip can be assessed there are not any findings of previous research related specifically to the Chicago Stockholm trip and furthermore, on how the African Americans are represented in Expressen. I find it pertinent to mention that in 2015, SVT (Swedish Television) produced a film recapturing the year of 1966, one segment of the film covers the trip to Stockholm, and includes on-screen interviews of former participants from Chicago (Året Var 1966, 2015). Even though the historical event has never sustained critical analysis, and this research is the first and only; there are many scholars, from accounts of the Swedish institute for race biology, sterilization programs, to contemporary issues of race who reveal key elements to the varying levels of race consciousness in the historical, national and cultural contexts of Sweden (Lundberg et al., 2008; Mattson and Tesfahuney, 2002; Tydén, 2000).

Engaging with the notion race as (non)existing in the national context of Sweden through a feminist perspective, Lena Sawyer (2008) focuses on historically specific Swedish meanings of racialized femininities and the different forms of agency women of African heritage use to negotiate the gendered processes of racialization they encounter in a variety of settings and sources. Sawyer (2008) use interviews and fieldnotes conducted between 1994 and 2007, together with an analysis of popular culture and ethnographic material to reveal the complexities utilized by different generations of Swedish women of African heritage in a changing Swedish landscape of racial formation. Sawyer’s article has particularly informed aspects of this study, which suggests that the paradoxical occurrence of racialization is consistent with the paradoxes of the normative power of whiteness. Most pertinent to this study, Sawyer’s (2008) refers to first-generation Swedes of African heritage as a group of individuals born in the 1950s and 1960s who were most often the children of Swedish women and African American and/or Caribbean male musicians or sailors. In the analysis of an interview conducted with a first-generation Swede about experiences growing up in Sweden as a ‘mixed race’; Sawyer’s (2008) account suggests in some cases “while skin color and hair texture were remarked upon and evaluated in relation to whiteness, they were seldom used to designate a specific ‘racially mixed’ subjectivity.” Furthermore, as ‘mixed race’ did not mark difference to the extent of a distinctive category, it had functioned rather as a generationally inflected national discourse of color blindness, in which first-generation Swedes endured and emphatically had
to navigate in order to define and construct their experience of what it meant not to be white in Sweden, as well as the cultural fiction of racial neutrality. (Sawyer, 2008)

From the field of media studies, Teun A. Van Dijk’s (1993) focuses on how the media plays a role in shaping the social cognitions of the public at large. In it he addresses the question of why and how in ethnic related news affairs, the media reproduce racial inequality and discrimination. His use of discourse analysis focusing on news gathering, social cognition, news reports and news schemata, suggests that the construction of news on ethnic affairs are both ideological and structural (Dijk, 1993, p. 243). Arguing that the relevance of topics in news is specifically marked in the text, and is done so inter-subjectively, expressing the most important information of the cognitive model of journalist, that is how they see and define the news event. Unless readers have different knowledges and beliefs, they will generally adopt these subjective media definitions of what is important information about an event (Dijk, 1993, p. 248). Dijk (1993) is useful in the sense of how the media plays a role in reproducing elite discourse and racism. Furthermore Fair’s (1994) understanding to the question of representation related to images of people of color in news media is analyzed through the articulation of the phrase “Black on Black”. Jo Ellen Fair (1994) makes a comparative study, by use of textual analysis and argues that the employment of such words evokes a space and distance between black and white communities, by creating a racially bound category of violence. (Fair, 1994)

For a more in-depth perspective, and the post-colonial perspective Frantz Fanon’s (2000) “The Fact of Blackness” is relevant to visual representation, racial and colonial discourse all of which are fundamental to the question of how the African Americans were represented. Fanon (2002) describes blackness as a point of identification, whereby he states color is the most obvious outward manifestation of race it has been made the criterion by which men are judged, irrespective of their social or educational attainments. He describes the black person as one whom has been given two frames of reference metaphysics and his customs. (Fanon, 2000, pp. 257-258)

One of the most notable scholars in the field of representation, Cultural theorist Stuart Hall (2003) suggests these two frameworks are consistent with racial theory, applied culture/nature paradigm, and difference/other paradigm, in which collectively he calls the ‘regime of racialized representation’, whereby both paradigms depend on a degree of rigidity and
ambivalence. The perspective taken in this research draws from race theory related to the concept of representation as a regime of racial discourse.

5. Methodology and Methods

5.1 Qualitative Content Analysis

The research is a qualitative study that employs content analysis as a research method. The method was chosen because qualitative analysis of content allows an emphasizes on an integrated view of texts and their specific context. Content analysis is a way of understanding social reality through a process of extracting objective content from texts to examine meanings, themes, and patterns that may be manifest or latent in a particular text. (Neuendorf, 2002, pp. 10-12)

5.2 Social constructivism approach

Qualitative content analysis is consistent with the approaches to social research which understands our part in the society, thus allowing subjectivity within the scientific framework. Moses (2012) points to the diversity of our part in society arguing that we see different things, and that our view is determined by a complex variation of social and contextual influences and presuppositions. Thus, that which can be determined as knowledge and facts are based on that which is socially agreed on, true objectivity doesn’t exist because of our part in society. (Moses, 2012, p. 12) Indeed, to understand the social and ideological constructions, power relations, meanings, perspectives and effects of the way Expressen told the Chicago-Stockholm journey in 1996, I needed to have an approach which offered the flexibility, creativity, and space to approach the data in an inductive manner. According to Neuendorf (2002) the process of inductive reasoning is approaching the material with careful examination and constant comparison, in such a way the researcher is able to identify themes and categorizes. The researcher then generates concepts or variables from theory or previous research to analyze the data. This research relies on both an inductive reasoning, along with theory supported content to understand messages in Expressen’s publications.
5.3 Collecting and coding the Empirical Material

As mentioned earlier, the newspaper Expressen was seen as a co-partner of the project. Expressen is considered a tabloid newspaper in Sweden, with a social radical position. The tabloid newspaper was founded in 1944, and overtime it launched something new in Swedish daily press, rebelling against the tradition press. (Furhoff & Hederberg, 1965, p. 112) For instance, Furhoff & Hederberg (1965) states that Expressen was known for its use of the “candid camera technique”; overall the newspaper sought to have more pictures than the competitors, pictures would be drawn up in a larger format and bolder cropped. Expressen’s agenda was to rise to the top as a daily newspaper, in terms of being a profitable newspaper. All of which are typical for tabloid newspapers, as they are known for pandering, through sensationalism, emotionalism, and scandals. (Eaman, 2009) Furthermore, Dijk (1993) states that news reports have categories, usually hierarchical structures, headline and lead (together forming a summary category) others are: main event, backgrounds (history and context), verbal reactions (declarations) and comments (evaluations and prediction).

Given that Expressen is a tabloid newspaper, which means the representational work in their publications are bound to a particular nature and formatting; however, given the scope, this does not delimit the reliability of the research. I can only analyze how Expressen represented the African Americans through the modes on which the material presents itself. Expressen’s granted role is fundamental to understanding how power relations are operative, discursive and essential to the subjective sense of self (Foucault, 2003). In accordance with Foucault, who says as a methodological precaution, “not to analyze power at the intentions or decisions, and not to try to approach it from inside, the goal, on the contrary, to study power at the point where intentions are completely in real and effective practices, by looking as it were, at its external face, where it relates directly and immediately to what we might call its object, its target, its field of application, in other words, the places where it implants itself and produces its real effects.” (Foucault, 2003, p. 28) Therefore, in this study, Expressen’s central role as direct facilitator and between its representations of the African Americans are analyzed from the effects of its media practices, and the actions produced thereafter.

The articles for this research paper were accumulated in a systematic way. The articles were accessed at University Library of Lund where archives can be retrieved via microfilm and digitally through their National library of Sweden database. Within the online format there is a
search function whereby choosing the specific newspaper, desired dates, and inputting the keywords, one can search accordingly. The time frames searched were the entire year of 1965 as well as 1966. Although the trip took place in 1966, the first article was published in the year of 1965 in the month of December. By use of information gathered from the Ebony magazine (Sanders, 1966, pp. 27-38), the first article published by Expressen was found; from there, further notes of different key words, names of persons, and dates, were accumulated to continue the search for articles pertaining to the journey. The keyword which led me to the first article was the name of the Swedish organizer of the journey. The most useful results were obtained by searching for the keywords “Expressens Negerbarn”, which translates to “Expressens Negro Children”. Furthermore, I used the keywords “slum”, “hopeless”, “Chicago – “Stockholm trip”, “Chicago negerbarn”, “Negro youths”, “Negro ghetto”, “Chicago’s negro slum” Using other terms failed to return the same quality of results. Searching for the term “American Youths” found articles that were related to other cases related to more general news events.

Twenty-nine different articles were retrieved from the University database, which all included various details about the journey from Chicago to Sweden in 1966. Firstly, the articles were processed in a chronological order to grasp an overview of the representation of the African Americans comprehensively.

Through a process of rigorously rereading the articles, with-and-against the grain, common themes began to emerge. Such themes lead the choices in theories concerning the construction of the other, the concept of subjectification, By Stuart Hall and Homi Bhabha. With that said, the collection of the material, chosen theories, coding and organizing were processes which occurred simultaneously. The procedure of organizing the data was conducted in a very practical way aiming to lay the ground for facilitating the analysis. Bearing keywords, including the purpose of the study as well as its research questions, main themes and theories were prepared. It helped to create a big picture of the scope of the study and what the data actually was presenting. The main and guiding themes were created out of the material and used in order to guide the analysis. The main ones used were: Objectification, Hopelessness, Despair, Exclusion/Segregation, Image and Representation, Discriminating terminology, The image of Sweden. (see appendix B) The first article reported in Expressen played a big role in what I searched for in the other articles. It served as a guide to make visible the pattern of representations which reproduce racialized and stereotypical discourse as well as colonial discourse and subjectification.
Since the articles are published in Swedish, it was necessary to translate them to English, as my mother tongue is English, and Swedish is my second language. After I had gone through all the articles, getting an overall understanding of the content and messages, I sat down with a Native Swedish speaker and carefully read through all the articles again and picked out the most relevant parts for the aim of the study and translated them into English in a word document. They were printed and cut out in order to divide into categories and themes.

See a list of the articles below:

A table cataloguing all relevant articles reported by *Expressen*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1   | SW: Vill ni hjälpa dem?  
     EN: Can you help them? | Ulf Nilson | 12/23/1965 |
| 2   | SW: Hallå, Sverige, nu kommer vi!  
     EN: Hello, Sweden, now were coming! | Anon. | 1/11/1966 |
| 3   | SW: Våra unga negergäster på väg  
     EN: Our young negro guests are on the way | Ulf Nilson | 1/10/1966 |
| 4   | SW: “Chicagoslummens ängel” möts av stolta föräldrar  
     EN: “The Chicago Slum’s Angel” met by proud parents | Kurt Karlsson | 12/29/1965 |
| 5   | SW: Ingrid och……Negerbarnen  
     EN: Ingrid and…… the Negro children | Gunnar Västerberg | 1/16/1966 |
| 6   | SW: Negerledare blir granne med *Expressens* Chicagogäster  
     EN: Negro Leader becomes neighbor with *Expressens* Chicago guest | Kurt Karlsson | 1/23/1966 |
| 7   | SW: 500 Vill öppna sitt hem  
     EN: 500 want to open their home | Anon. | 12/30/1965 |
5.4 Ethical considerations

Qualitative research is highly based on interpretations done by the researcher. (Creswell, 2014, p. 185) The interpretations are naturally subjective and hence carries a risk of bias. From lived experience and being subject of stereotyping as a black man, I have created an interest in the problems this study focuses on. Therefore, it is of great importance that me as the researcher of the study, always keep that perspective in mind as well as awareness of my position in, or as well as outside the study. If not taken into consideration, my personal experiences can affect the results of the study. By giving an extensive background to the topic as well as giving a transparent description of how the study was conducted. (Neuendorf, 2002, pp. 11-12)

6. Theoretical Framework

6.1 Representation

In the common sense, ‘represent’ means to present, image, depict, and the general implication is that representation stands in for or taking the place of—re/presenting something which is already there (Representation and The Media, 2002). Furthermore, the ‘object’ of representational practices are described as meanings and messages in the form of sign vehicles; such as, representation is the way in which meaning is given to the things depicted. (Hall, 1997, p. 3) A representation is in part how we make sense of the image. The perplexing feat of understanding the process of representation from this perspective, deems meaning on the one hand a constitutive element of the representation and on the other hand, a negotiated and active process of determining what the image means on part of its recipients. I take from Hall’s theory of encoding/decoding as an overall understanding of how representation works in the circuits of producing meaning. (Hall, 1980) I use this theory on analyzing the articles on the whole, in accordance with Hall, I treat each sign in the representation as encoded with meaning that we then as viewers decode (Hall, 1980, p. 91).

Furthermore the theoretical framework of the study draws from Stuart Hall’s (2003) “the spectacle of the other” and Homi Bhabha’s (1994) “the other question” paradigms—which are interlinked through the concept of stereotyping as well as the effectiveness of stereotypical representations, based on racial and colonial discourse. This theoretical framework allows for
the analysis to move between both theories. Each theory will be explained separately in this section.

6.2 Stereotyping

When people of color do appear in the media they are often subject to the form of racialized representation known as stereotyping. The stereotyped can represent both positive and negative, reductionist and ideological meanings about persons or groups. However, misleading, media stereotypes influence the attitudes, actions, and behaviors towards members of the said group. (Ott & Mack, 2013, p. 152) Hall (2003) explains the four tenants stating that stereotyping first reduces, essentializes, naturalizes and fixes ‘difference’ and that this is done by a few ‘simple, vivid, memorable, easily grasped and widely recognized’ characteristics about the person, and reducing those traits, exaggerate and simplify them. Secondly, it deploys a strategy of ‘splitting’. Stereotyping divides the normal and the acceptable from the abnormal and the unacceptable, and then expels everything which does not fit, which is different. Thirdly, stereotyping tends to occur where there are gross inequalities of power. It classifies people according to a norm and constructs the excluded as ‘other’. Thus, there is power in representation, to mark, assign and classify, as well as symbolic power and expulsion. (Hall, 2003, p. 247)

Fetishism takes us into the realm where fantasy intervenes in representation; to the level where what is shown or seen, in representation, can only be understood in relation to what cannot be seen, what cannot be shown. (Hall, 2003, p. 253) Disavowal is the strategy by means of which a powerful fascination or desire is both indulged and at the same time denied. It is where what has been tabooed nevertheless manages to find a displaced form of representation. (Hall, 2003, p. 256)

6.2.1 “The spectacle of the other”

Stereotyping as a signifying practice is central to the representation of racial difference. The concept of ‘difference’ and the ‘Other’ are important tenets for analyzing the practice of racial representations. Hall (2003) states that ‘difference’ is ambivalent; it can be both positive and
negative. It is both necessary for the production of meaning, the formation of culture, social identities, and a subjective sense of the self as a sexed subject—at the same time it is threatening, a site of danger, of negative feelings, of splitting, hostility and aggression towards the ‘Other’. (Hall, 2003, p. 228) The establishing of ‘difference’ can constitute meaning through a relational, two-part structure, whereby meaning depends on the difference between opposites (Hall, 2003, p. 225). Furthermore, difference is bound to binary oppositions and its reductionist and over-simplified mode of establishing meaning (Hall, 2003, p. 225). Hall (2003) argues that we need difference because we can only construct meaning through a dialogue with the ‘Other’, therefore the ‘Other’ is essential to meaning. However, this renders meaning as something which cannot be fixed, it is always being negotiated in the dialog (Hall, 2003, p. 226). Hall (2003) states the marking of difference is the basis of symbolic order which we call culture. “Culture depends on giving things meaning by assigning them to different positions within a classificatory system.” (Hall, 2003, pg. 226) “Marking difference leads us, symbolically, to close ranks, shore up culture and to stigmatize and expel anything which is defined as impure, abnormal. However, paradoxically, it also makes ‘difference’ powerful, strangely attractive precisely because it is forbidden, taboo, threatening to culture order.” (Hall, 2003, pg. 226)

According to Hall (2003) historically, in racial discourse and thus racial representations there is a common practice of reducing the cultures of black people to naturalizing ‘difference’. “Naturalization is a representational strategy designed to fix difference, and attempt to halt the inevitable slide of meaning, to secure discursive or ideological ‘closure’” (Hall, 2003, pg. 234). The precepts of difference and otherness are imperative to examining more deeply the set of representational practices known as stereotyping. The key aspects theorized in Hall (2003) in regard to stereotype are; 1. the construction of ‘otherness’ and exclusion 2. Stereotyping and power 3. The role of fantasy 4. Fetishism and disavowal.

6.2.2 “The other question”

Homi Bhabha (1994) suggests that in order to recognize the stereotype as an ambivalent mode of knowledge and power, one must take the point of intervention, which shifts from the ready recognition of images as positive or negative, and towards an understanding of the processes of subjectification. He argues that making judgements about the stereotyped image, which tend to be the basis of pre-established norms, is to dismiss it, not to displace it, which he claims is only
possible by engaging with its effectivity. (Bhabha, 1994, p. 67) Bhabha’s (1994) ‘process of subjectification’ theory is about identifying the ‘other’ reproduced from the stereotyped within colonial discourse. Bhabha (1994) suggests that the construction of colonial subjects, both colonizer and colonized are constant with the repertoire of positions of power and resistance, domination and dependence. Bhabha’s (1994) theoretical perspective expands the concept of otherness, in which on the whole is analyzed from race discourse and then enabled to transgress those limits and reveals the boundaries of colonial discourse.

In this sense, the theory is used to analyze the representations, in accordance with Bhabha (1994), from colonial discourse, and take a post-colonial perspective. Colonial discourse produces the colonized as a social reality which is at once an ‘other’ and yet entirely knowable and visible. It is, on the one hand, a topic of learning, discovery, practice; on the other, it is the site of dreams, images, fantasies, myths, obsessions and requirements. (Bhabha, 1994, p. 71) Seeing the Chicago-Stockholm trip in this light, creates a space for both subjects of the trip and thereafter allows for an articulation of the two national cultures involved. To this effect, the concept of stereotyping is also a feature of the colonial discourse.

Bhabha (1993) states the subject in the stereotyped discourse of colonialism is either fixed in a consciousness of the body as a solely negating activity or as a new kind of man. This concept of stereotype reveals the masked aspects of the use of stereotyping; however, “what is denied is the colonial subject, both as colonizer and colonized, is the form of negation which gives access to the recognition of difference.” (Bhabha, 1994, p. 75) Similarly and parallel to racialized discourse, race is reproduced as the ineradicable sign of negative difference in colonial discourses, the stereotype impedes the circulation and articulation of the signifier of ‘race’ as anything other than its fixity as racism. (Bhabha, 1994, p. 75) The visibility of the African American youths, in the representations are at once a point of identity and at the same time a problem for the attempted closure within discourse, that Sweden has no race prejudices. “The recognition and disavowal of ‘difference’ is always disturbed by the question of its representation or construction.” (Bhabha, 1994, pg. 81) “Under certain conditions of colonial domination and control, the native is progressively reform able and on the other, however, it effectively displays the ‘separation’, makes it more visible.” (Bhabha, 1994, p. 83)
7. Empirical Analysis

As an introduction to the Analysis, a discussion follows concerning how the operationalization of Racialized terminology of commonly used expressions are being taken into consideration.

As in the process of dissembling terms, acknowledging the power in language, as a discursive tool which reproduces knowledges, histories, and disciplines, it is important to note that the term African American will primarily be used when referring to the youths represented in Expressen. However, at certain instances, the term Black will be used to connotate racialized representations of African Americans in Expressen, but also Black in the sense of racial pride and rejection of the status quo in other words to privilege the subordinate position of African Americans.

The 1966 Expressen articles referred to the African American youth as Negerbarn; when translated directly—Negro children. The racial epithet “Negro children” predominates throughout Expressen articles as the way to describe the youths. The racial connotations associated with its usage in Expressen may appear to be ‘neutral’ once considered that in the 1960’s the term Negro occupied the same place in Negro life as the words Black and Afro-American occupy today (Smith, 1992, p. 499). In the period between 1950-1966 the term Negro was secured as a commonly used self-referent, and was widely accepted by both Black and White media as the preferred standard over its former racial label—Colored. (Smith, 1992, p. 497) However, by the late 1960s, Negro had become a pejorative term and had been replaced with Black—a racial self-referent, which intended to redefine the people employing the term aiming to capture an ideology embodying political, cultural, aesthetic, and organizational components (Williamson, 2003, p. 35). While many different racial terms have been used throughout their history, each shift towards a new term can be seen as indicative of a developed self-consciousness (Smith, 1992, p. 503). Such as the termination of Negro and the emergence of Black as a self-referent belonging to the 1960’s black liberation movements. The shift from Negro to Black was common knowledge of an ideological desire to shed the remnants of slavery

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2 As defined by Swedish Academy’s Dictionaries; Neger: (male) person belonging to a human being with dark hair who is indigenous, including in most of Africa can be perceived as reduced; Negroes were for a long time a word that in no way was perceived as depriving. You spoke for example about the Negro leader Martin Luther King. Then, was the name was colored also usual. Now, however you should use the word black or—in the case of American conditions—African American. Although the use of the word negroes may be negligent, it should not be stamped as racist.
and racial serfdom; furthermore, Black was promoted as standing for racial pride, militancy, power, and rejection of the status quo. (Smith, 1992, pp. 499-501) The 1966 journey of young Black Americans to Sweden happens on the cusps of the endonym reform; and thus, engagements with the Black American label shift which did not promote the proper use in terminology, rather than neutral, are less than progressive with the people in question.

In this study, I consider the dual employability of the term Neger, as both exonym and endonym, and it’s ideological and fundamental nature in the process of representing black persons. I assume that Expressen’s article is referring to the term negro when using neger, as in the effectiveness of its self-referent definition; however, negro is acknowledged as a signifier in that it perpetuates a stereotypical discourse based on differences and distinguishes one group of people—racialized, from its readers.

### 7.1 Constructing the Image of the African American’s through Stereotyping

Throughout all the relevant articles considered for this research, there is a common theme: reducing the African American youths to characteristics, which are represented as fixed by nature—race and class.

### 7.2 The role of fantasy

The title of article 1 ‘Will you help them’ is attention grabbing because it resonates with the notion of being about us and them; however, rather repulsing or enticing, the attempt to conjoin the two binaries makes it powerful in establishing difference and otherness. By the nature of the inquiry, the African American youths are positioned as dependents in the field of operation, relying on the willingness of Swedes to give consent to hosting them in their homes. The opposing binary positions establishes a difference in the relations of power, as Hall (2003) point out.

The title can be described as binary, necessary in establishing meaning through difference, for instance, when applying the probability of the situation, imagine what the likelihood of a recipient of this representation saying ‘Yes! I will help them’! Furthermore, and if so, then on what conditions is it possible? The article offers details of the conditions, writing:
“If you have the desire or opportunity to show these poor and, in many cases, talented black youths between the ages of 15 and 17 hospitality write to Expressen” (Nilson, 1966, p. 16) Article 1

“10 dramatic days for youth because for the first time, they visit a country where there are no race prejudices- if so now?” (Nilson, 1966, p. 16) Article 1

“10 dramatic days for you because you meet new, fascinating humans and learn more about one of our times biggest problem than hundreds of news articles can tell you” (Nilson, 1966, p. 16) Article 1

The important point is that stereotypes refer as much to what is imagined in fantasy as to what is perceived as ‘real’, due to Hall (2003). The headline “will you help them” refers to an ethnic affair, which actively becomes partial with Swedes from the moment it is reproduced, hence creating a space for both subjects. The key words linked to the African Americans in the propositions described, are ambivalent, in that they are both negative and positive, but also read as fetishism that is a part of the fantasy. In the first quote they are poor/talented and in the third quote fascinating humans/biggest problem. Whilst, on the other hand, and in accordance with Bhabha (1994) colonial read the binary carry attributes described as having ‘desire’, ‘opportunity’ and ‘to learn’. The descriptions are objects of the meanings encoded in the articles, they represent both positive and negative, reductionist and ideological meanings (Hall, 2003).

7.3 The power and splitting strategy

“Everyone in Sweden would call this a social case, but this is a more difficult social case than we generally know, because racial discrimination and white rage are already a part of their lives.” (Nilson, 1966, p. 16) Article 1

Here the production of racialized knowledge is imported into the context of Sweden, making this representation a marker of symbolic order and establishing the difference between social
identities. Hall (2003) has suggested that symbolic order is significant to establishing a clear difference between things in order to classify them. The message imposes that Swedes are unaccustomed with the more difficult social cases; in doing so, it also expels what is abnormal, and establishes what does not belong as ‘racial discrimination and white rage’. The splitting discourse between everyone in Sweden, ‘the country where there is no race prejudice-if so now?’ and racial discrimination and white rage are fundamental to the splitting strategy in this message. At the same time, the African Americans youths who are characterized by the negating force and of the same forceful discrimination and violence and are re/presented as a fixed characteristic and feature of their embodied selves: because racial discrimination and white rage are already a part of their lives.

Thus, the construction of this representation has disavowal aspects, the ability to re-produce racial representation and knowledge about them, yet distance and deny the indulgence of race prejudices. It does so in an ambivalent and non-repressive way, making it possible to demonstrate that you are not prejudiced to race by accepting a young black/poor/talented victim of racial discrimination into your home.

There are properties in the lead of article 1 which expound more specifically on their existence.

“Friday, January 6th comes 50 young Americans to Sweden. They are all negro teenagers from Chicago’s South Side—a world of slum and hopelessness. The trip is a part of a unique experiment. It can be a turning point in their lives.” (Nilson, 1966, p. 16)

Article 1

In the lead above, African Americans are characterized as negro teenagers and from a world of slum and hopelessness as well as implying how the trip can be a turning point in their lives. Such notions occur as prescribing conditions, predicate to the operation, in which there is a need to be cultivated, on the part of the African Americans—the ‘Other’. Thus, the existence of fixity is a pretense in the stereotype, and production of knowledge, that is an apparatus to displace the representation of the African Americans and Swedes into a space of subjectivity, in other words to engage the possible mission of reforming what is seen as different. As Bhabha suggests, in this process of subjectivity, the ‘other’ can be identified as both racialized other hence negro from the world of slum, as well as the ‘other’ that is part of a reformable mission.
“They are all negro teenagers from Chicago’s South Side—a world of slum and hopelessness” (Nilson, 1966, p. 16)

Article 1

The Chicago-southside is classified as world of its own, beyond the normalcy, and their identities are reduced to them being from such a place. Describing the negro teens as coming from a world of slum and hopelessness, on the whole, essentially strips them of their identities as American citizens, as if the Chicago’s south side is not a constitutive element of the United States. The splitting strategy of stereotyping, which divides the normal from the abnormal, acceptable from the unaccepteable, can be observed in article 1, where it offers a background to the slum conditions and what is meant by hopelessness, the descriptions of slums, demonstrates the deploying tactics of stereotyping.

“It happens every day that rats bite toddlers”
“All the drug and street fights are so common that the police always patrol two and two”
“The unemployment rate is overwhelming”
“Bad schools provide bad jobs, which are badly paid. A vicious circle, which for most is impossible to break”
“The schools in many cases are substandard”
“Prostitution is widespread as well as drug abuse” (Nilson, 1966, pp. 16-17)

Article 1

“Chicago has a million negroes who not only live the worst, but have the hardest to get jobs and get the worst education” (Karsson, 1966, p. 13)

Article 6

In terms of Halls (2003) defining racialized representations, these statements reproduce and circulate knowledge about the ‘Other’ and his poor conditions to a naturalizing effect. The texts attempt to ‘fix’ meaning, establishes difference, particularly on how Negros lived in their slums of America. The power to represent someone or something in a certain way produces objects of knowledge as well as it shapes new practices. As Dr. Martin Luther King (1966) stated in his speech; “The purpose of the slum is to confine those who have no power and perpetuate their powerlessness”. The way of describing it maintains the differences and stereotyping the people living in the ‘slum’.
The relevance of the information is the matter of difference, to construct ‘a social reality which is at once an ‘other’ and yet entirely knowable and visible. The power in these representations attempts to win consent, it is a mode of representation for constituting help for the said—poor, black youth whom could not have help themselves. In article 1, the particularities of the slum condition, enter into the embodiment of the African Americans, as a manifestation an emotion.

In the following statements the slums are equated with hopelessness:

“What more than anything is meant by slum is that hope is missing” (Nilson, 1966, p. 17)  
Article 1

“It was said that you could not do much. It was also found that one could describe the slums social deficiency disease in one word: hopelessness” (Nilson, 1966, p. 17)  
Article 1

“The most serious consequences of hopelessness are school children, a school child that soon makes the choice to drop out are so far behind that he has to stop. People without schooling can no longer get jobs in the United States, and then hopelessness is preserved.” (Nilson, 1966, p. 17)  
Article 1

“What happens when talented youths grow up in such a world? Can they avail themselves of their opportunities? Do they get a chance to become what they should be?” (Nilson, 1966, p. 17)  
Article 1

“The groups next question was obvious: How do you care about giving young people hope? Discussions was made with the head of Chicago’s mental health care Dr. Thaddeus Kostrubala, and he proposed an experiment on the “help for self-help” track. It was simple and at the same time unique: Let us show the youth of the slum that there is truly a world outside the gray houses and the dirt—that there is something to strive for! Something that makes it easy to work hard at school, do extra jobs on the side and save money for the university. That there are white people who care about others.” (Nilson, 1966, pp. 16-17)  
Article 1
“A spiritual obscurity, a sense of the meaninglessness of everything, the sadness of hopelessness was the root of the children in Chicago’s negro slum.” (Västerberg, 1966, p. 33)

Article 5

Stereotyping tends to occur where there are gross inequalities of power. It classifies people according to a norm and constructs the excluded as ‘other’ due to Hall (2003). The quotes above point to a lack of hope, opportunity, meaning and spiritual obscurity as an effect of the slums. The effects of the stereotype make it possible to locate the origin of the African Americans, which not only lends a sense of one’s own position, but it’s also used for a deeper cause - to appropriate the reasoning for why one should host them. Their place of origin, recognized as a slum, reveals a need and at the same time it effectively displays a separation between the African Americans and the Swedes. According to Bhabha (1994) the separation is the point in which the stereotyped ‘other’ is represented as powerless, incapable of availing themselves to opportunity and the point of proposing and experiment on the “help for self-help”. By ‘knowing’ the African American population in these terms, discriminatory and authoritarian forms of political control are considered appropriate. In this form of representation, the African Americans are deemed to be both the cause and effect of the operation.

7.4 The ‘stereotype’ and the ‘race problem’

“We read in Expressen about the fifty negro children, and we would love to be host to one of them. Of course, he or she will be treated as a member of the family. We have a daughter who has been in the United States and who is involved in the racial problem” (“500 Vill Öppna sitt Hem,” 1966, [p.7])

Article 7

“What will be the biggest problem over there? To discuss the racial issues. I’m not sure you are rightly informed” (Nilson, 1966, p. 18)

Article 3

Bhabha’s (1994) process of subjectification, is the shifting from the recognition of images as positive or negative, to an understanding of what is made possible and plausible through
stereotypical discourse, what is visible is the emergence of two subjects—Swedes and Africana Americans. In the quote above, the writer to Expressen reaffirms the necessity and desire to host an African American youths. What follows the youths is the matter of racial problems, when the writer expresses her desire to host, she refers to her family’s recognition and disavowal. In the second quote, when an African American youth is asked the question, what will be the biggest problem in Sweden, she disturbs the fantasy of the previous writer, resisting and returning to the problem of racialized representations. In this sense the racialized ‘other’ is an impossible object.

![Figure 1 in article 1](image)

In the image above, (figure 1) the African American youths are smiling, and several are seemingly laughing as if someone said something funny before the camera flash. Collectively the group possess an ecstatic and natural mood. The image has a candid aspect which captures a sense of aesthetic pleasure. The people who are depicted seem effortless, comfortable, and joyous. There are a few people looking away or in different directions, while some people’s faces are entirely or partially obstructed by other people in the photo. Saved for approximately 30 persons from the total—53 total participants—there are about 20 uncounted African Americans in the image. The young people whom are present, barely fit into the shot. In the lower right corner, there is a sense of the youth being stacked on top of one another as they lean forward in a playful, child-like and clumsy way. The image depicts a casual setting and yet lacking order, as if there had not been any preparations made before taking the shot. However,
the youth are neatly dressed in leather, pea, and double-breasted coats, as well as hats and
dresses. Their poses are almost aligned with some wooden boards leaning up against the
remains of a burnt apartment building in the background. The photo seems to have been taken
in a vacant lot, perhaps between apartment buildings or in the alley. Because the image does
not capture the full-body length of the group, their faces are close-up, as the background
underlay their heads, a contrast, creating a horizon in the plane, dividing the upper and lower
halves of the image.

In article 1, figure 1 is featured, the caption reads:

“Here are some of the youth who are coming here on January 6th. See the houses in the
background, this type of home is their house. They come from a gray, decayed, dirty ghetto.
Do you want to help them?” (Nilson, 1966, pp. 16-17)

Given the caption, the image is deliberately a shot of the views beyond them as much as the
image is about them. The image and caption denote the particulars of the background, and the
youth in the foreground, therefore both can be considered focal points. Although the youth
themselves do not actually look poor, to whatever extent this is possible, the youth are framed
as poor on the premises of the comment: They come from a gray, decayed, dirty ghetto. In other
words, saying look at where they live, its poor and by way of linking them to their environment,
they become characterized by poverty.

The expressions “Here are some of the youth” and “See the houses in the background”, both
indicate how the youth and their environment become essential objects in the representation.
In the statement “They come from a gray, decayed dirty ghetto” their environmental conditions
are conceptualized as a blight, and their place of origin. The representation of the image is
attempting to make known a real condition.

“Chicago southside is a giant negro ghetto, much grayer, dirtier, and more worn than Harlem.
The houses are overdue, the unemployment rate is overwhelming, the schools in many cases
are substandard.” (Nilson, 1966, p. 17)

Article 1
An intersection of discourses pertaining to race, culture, and poverty, emerged as *figure 1* is introduced. A mode which naturalize, essentialize and reduce the characteristics of African Americans through their association with poverty. This mode of representation, constructs a subject, being synonymous and interchangeable with the conditions of poverty.

All of these stereotypical articulations in article 1 attempts to fix and establish closure, whereby the participants embody a recognizable ‘other’. These measures are essential to colonial discourse, in that it produces the African Americans social reality as a means to exercise its power and legitimacy, furthermore creating the subject of the colonizer.

*Figure 2 in Article 2*

The ambiguity is amplified when one considers the marking of difference in *figure (2)* from a later publication in article 2, issued on the same day the youth are traveling to Stockholm. The photo seems to have been taken in the same vacant lot as the previous location in *figure (1)*; however, the youth are centered in the photo, and rather are more visible to the extent of being possible to seeing their whole bodies (*figure 2*). There are many noticeable differences between the first image and the second image.
7.5 “Civilizing Mission”

The most noticeable, in figure (2), is that Swedish born American, Ingrid Kostrubala has entered the image and is centered in the middle of the group, blending in, and outnumbered by the surrounding African American youth. The youths are all standing upright, and almost everyone in the photo are made visible. The youths are not the same smiling faces as in figure (1) although a few youths maintain a smile in both images. The overall image looks neater, more symmetrical and planned. As if the photographer had arranged each person before snapping the photo. The image is colored, bringing to life the scene from its black and white setting in the previous image. The marking of difference in this image is signified by the presence of the organizer, the link between the racially-segregated, poor African Americans and Sweden. She stands in as a signifier, a contrast to the general identification of whites, who never enter black communities.

![Image of Ingrid and children](image_url)

*Figure 3 in Article 5*

Her rare position, deemed her “The Chicago slum’s Angel”. (Karlsson, 1966, p. 13) In article 5, the construction of the title Ingrid and… …Negro children can be seen as metaphorically, for the marking of differences between them, whereby her name is in all caps and distanced from the racialized term ‘Negro children’. Although, she is in fact close to them in image; although in contradiction the organizer’s identification is disassociated with the identification of those who are outside, hence the construction of the headline.
The splitting nature of difference is something in which, in accordance with Homi Bhabha (1994) who states, “What is visible is the necessity of such rule which is justified by those moralistic and normative ideologies of amelioration recognized as the Civilizing Mission or the White Man’s Burden”. Through the images above, their inter-textuality implies the feat of their well-being is contingent on a moralistic proposition, their positions are modified through the participation of the trip as well as being accompanied with the organizer who is represented as angelical. To capture this dimension, consider *figure 2* when organizer Ingrid Kostrubala is accompanied in the photo with the youth and when compared with *figure 1*. One plausible, effective feature between both representations is how, despite their varying, different signifiers—the two images seems to capture the same moment, possibly two images from the same photo session. After all, the African Americans have not changed, if one looks at the details of both images, they are wearing the same clothes and they are at the same location. The main differences between *figure 1* and *2* is that the organizer is not included in the former, and the times of publications (see table 1). Furthermore, there are relevant modifications of the narration of the article associated with *figure 2*, the lead of the article states:

“Hello Stockholm and Sweden, here we come! Today the 50 negro youths from Chicago board Pan Americans Boeing 707 to fly over the Atlantic to us. They come directly from the slums. You see them in the picture gathered in their dirty, cold, poor environment--ready for a break, ready for 14 days to live like a Swedish youth in a Swedish family.”

*Article 2*

The premise of this article maintains the same tone as the previous article, they are still coming directly from the dirty, cold, poor environment—slum. However, the narration shifts towards the symbolic meanings associated with being a Swede. The African American youths from the slums are *imagined* as living as a Swedish youth normally lives in a Swedish family. Hence an invitation to partake in a civilizing mission or experiment.
8. Conclusion

Even though in this field of research many questions are still to be asked and answered, the key findings discovered within this particular research study were: the way in which the African Americans were represented is part of the representational practices of racializing the othering, significantly through the form known as stereotyping which results in a clear distinction between them and Swedes on the basis of racial representations produced about the African Americans. In most of the representations of the African Americans, it was possible to discover elements of racial discourse in accordance to Hall’s (2003) ‘the spectacle of the other’. In addition, the representations of the African American were inclusive of and partial with Swedes. How they were represented reflected the Swedes who agreed to host them, the representations were visible, stereotyped, objectifying and simultaneously, the point of subjectification.

Thus, another finding, however is to the effects of mode of the representation of African Americans. How the African Americans were represented relates to the effectivity of Expressen’s power to stage an opportunity to call on Swedes who prescribed to the self-image, of being free of race-prejudices. Whereby a proclaimed modern, progressive, western society steps into a foreign space with a civilizing mission. In this sense, the representations of the African Americans reflect Homi Bhabha’s ‘the question of the other’ relating to colonial discourse.

Even though the research questions were examined and answered there is still room for further research. This study can be seen as a starting point for further research including other sources of material, mentioned in the limitations section. The study has also touched the field of representation in regard to how Sweden as well as Swedes were represented, in relation to the findings about ‘the racialized other’ in the analysis. It would be of interest to expand the research, focusing on how Swedes are particularly ambivalent to concept of race and furthermore how the country with no race prejudices, contrarily deals in race, at the level of whiteness, its norms, and hegemony.
9. References


The Exchange. 2015. [Film] Directed by Cameron Burkett. USA: Camovement.


Året Var 1966 [The Year was 1966]. 2015. [Film] Regi av Johan Fohlin, Kjell Tunegård. Sweden: Sveriges Television AB.
10. Appendices

Appendix A

Photographs showing the process of translating the articles and pick out relevant parts and quotations, relevant to the research scope.
Appendix B

Photographs showing the process of coding and organizing the data. Serving as a ground for the construction of the Empirical Analysis.