

INTERNATIONAL
journal of
CULTURAL studies

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ics.sagepub.com
Volume 14(2): 209–227
DOI: 10.1177/1367877910382180



Directing diversity

Managing cultural diversity media policies in Finnish and Swedish public service broadcasting

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ABSTRACT ● This article sets out to examine and evaluate the Finnish and Swedish public service broadcasting companies' cultural diversity management and implementation. Diversity policies have been in place in Europe since the 1960s. At present, in the 2000s, there are a variety of strategies to increase the representation of minorities and the recruitment of journalists with minority backgrounds into mainstream media. European collaboration is both taking inspiration and ideas from national experiences and disseminating 'good practices'. This article analyses how and for what purposes diversity discourses are used, and how cultural/mission and economic/market arguments are articulated within the companies' cultural diversity media policies. Interviews with managers responsible for cultural diversity issues in both Finnish YLE and Swedish SVT broadcasters and policy documents are scrutinized using critical discourse and policy analysis. Both companies have replaced their multicultural policies aimed at providing specific services for minority groups with integrationist policies aimed at mainstreaming cultural diversity. This shift has led to a collapse of the opposition between 'public' and 'market' values, although this is articulated differently in the two companies. ●

KEYWORDS ● cultural diversity ● ethnic minorities ● media diversity
● media policy ● multiculturalism ● public service broadcasting

Public service broadcasters (PSBs) are currently retreating worldwide. They feel challenged by a duality of fragmentation and segmentation along with factors of globalization and synchronism (Wessberg, 2005: 9). They are struggling with market pressures to attract large audiences and to legitimize their licence fees on the one hand, and serve all populations and fulfil governmental and legal requirements on the other (Awad, 2008; Jauert and Lowe, 2005).

In this article, we examine and compare the cultural diversity policies and policy-making in two Nordic public service broadcasters, SVT in Sweden and YLE in Finland, specifically how they are perceived and implemented by policy-makers at different levels. These issues have rarely been examined empirically within Europe, except within the context of Great Britain (Cottle, 1998; Malik, 2002) Ireland (Titley et al., 2010), and the Netherlands (Awad and Roth, 2009; Leurdijk, 2006). Those studies argue that in the 1980s multicultural and anti-racist policies replaced prior assimilationist and integrationist paradigms (Cottle, 1998). Cottle claims that efforts concerning cultural representations have increasingly become an issue of the politics of difference and diversity. This change also indicates a shift in institutional arrangements and production regimes. Among the shaping forces that he identifies are the intensified commercial imperatives and the changing politics of multiculturalism (Cottle, 1997: 6–8, see also Cottle, 2000). Leurdijk (2006) noted a policy shift in the late 1990s in the Netherlands towards cross-cultural forms that address general audiences instead of serving minority communities.

The turn of the century witnessed a more general discursive shift in Europe, with assertions that multicultural policies are in a state of crisis and calls for ‘social cohesion’ (Hervik, 2008; Joppke, 2004; Vasta, 2007). Katharine Sarikakis remarks that the concept of social cohesion has become the antonym of social exclusion and is vague and problematic in its use. She contends that social cohesion, media and cultural policy are connected to changing notions of citizenship and to citizens’ relationship to institutions as shaped through policy (Sarikakis, 2007: 68–9). Concurrent with this discursive shift, commercial interests have increased and competition with other national and global media distributors has become more intense, thus changing the media landscape within the Nordic countries.

Our analysis positions itself within this particular moment of those intersecting shifts in discourses on immigration and integration. We are specifically interested in how and for what purposes recent discourses that stress cultural diversity rather than multiculturalism and anti-racism (as described by Cottle, 1998 in a British context) are used in the Nordic context. Furthermore, we aim to analyse empirically how cultural and democratic arguments as well as economic and market arguments are articulated in Finnish and Swedish PSB diversity policies and by the policy-makers of the two companies. These issues

are particularly important to scrutinize in the given Nordic context, since this is an unexplored area of research and since there is no comparative empirical analysis of media diversity policies in Europe. Furthermore, in cultural diversity media policy-making Sweden has a reputation for being enlightened in Europe: it has won the highest number of prizes in the annually awarded European multicultural media prize, Prix Iris (Horsti, 2009).

Although they are neighbouring countries and share a long history, these two countries have taken somewhat different paths in terms of migration policy and practice. Sweden has the largest migrant population among the Nordic countries, whereas Finland has the smallest. At a European level, Sweden tends to stress human rights perspectives with regard to asylum seekers, whereas Finland takes national pride in border control (Horsti, 2008). In Sweden there are 1.3 million foreign-born persons, corresponding to 14 percent of the population, with 19 percent having migrant backgrounds.¹ The number of foreign residents living in Finland in 2006 was 121,739 (out of 5,276,955), amounting to 2.3 percent of the total population; 3 percent of the population had a mother tongue other than Finnish, Swedish or Sami.

Public service, nation building and the 'serve all' principle

Public service broadcasting involves two major principles: first, it attempts to support national cultural production and therefore assists in constructing national identity; second, it is intended to serve all populations equally. In today's multicultural societies, these principles not only demand that television participates in identity building, it must also 'teach difference' within the same population (Hartley, 1999: 159). Nationalism has been at the core of public service broadcasting, adhering to the early ideology referred to as Reithianism² – stemming from the famous quote of John Reith: 'Nation shall speak peace unto Nation.' Both Finland and Sweden started their public service broadcasting radio in the 1920s and their television service in the 1950s, with the intent of using broadcasting as an instrument for enlightenment and for educating the masses to become good citizens. John Hartley (1999: 158–61) argues that this 'golden age' broadcast television ideology understood audiences to have a common identity, but there has been a recent shift to a more 'do-it-yourself' citizenship and semiotic self-determination.

Both countries' media systems can be characterized as being democratic corporatist, since they share high levels of journalistic professionalization and a tradition of public sector involvement in the media landscape. In both countries, newspaper readership is among the highest in the world, and public service broadcasting still remains comparatively strong (Hallin and Mancini, 2004: 145).

Both public service broadcasting and migration are set in an increasingly commercialized and globalized context. Therefore these concerns are not just about social changes at a national level, but are also highly Europeanized

issues. The European Broadcasting Union (EBU), for instance, has been influential in promoting and creating multiculturally oriented policies and practices. The conditions for active membership of the EBU are laid down in Article 3, §3 of its statutes,³ which includes the following paragraph:

(b) they [members] are under an obligation to, and actually do, provide varied and balanced programming for all sections of the population, including programmes catering for special/minority interests of various sections of the public, irrespective of the ratio of programme cost to audience.

This statement requires a strong commitment from the broadcasters to include minority rights to communication ‘irrespective of the ratio of cost to audience’ (EBU, n.d. a). Certainly this policy commitment raises questions and negotiations at national and European levels because of cultural, linguistic and ethnic heterogeneity. How are minorities identified? How is difference defined? Who is eligible for special programming? To advance this policy, the EBU has a Eurovision Intercultural and Diversity Group that meets regularly. According to their brochure, producers ‘exchange programme items for programmes and magazines for and about the minorities living in their country, share contacts and experience, inform members on existing projects, and discuss, start-up and follow new co-productions’ (EBU n.d. b).

At the EBU conference held in Dublin in 2004, Ove Joanson, chairman of Sveriges Radio formulated the responsibility of PSB audience mandate like this:

We should never neglect minorities because they are minorities. But we should also never neglect majorities because they are majorities. And if we are relegated to a limited, minorities-only role, our instruments for influencing the values and attitudes of majorities will – by definition – disappear... Broadcasting to and about minority groups and their particular problems and special situations might well be a valid part of our mandate, but illustrating the normality of those who are perceived as unusual is the only effective way of changing attitudes. (Joanson, 2004)

In media policy, economic and cultural objectives are often seen competing (Napoli, 2007: 3) and within cultural diversity media policy, the pull between mission and market is central. However, as the public service companies strongly rely on licence revenues in both countries, the fulfilment of democratic principles is also an economic necessity. Public service broadcasters are operating in a commercial media environment, and therefore audience ratings are crucial to their legitimacy and survival as an institution. They also compete within a highly diversified market, including a multitude of media outlets and these new technologies also involve a change in the nature of journalistic work. Sonja Kretzschmar (2007: 230–1) notes a twofold media development. On the one hand, she observes that competitive media markets enhance mainstream content, which largely reflects ethnic majority opinions. On the other, she sees the rising problems of the lack of integration of ethnic minorities within Western European countries.

Public service broadcasters face difficulties in maintaining their audiences in both Sweden and in Finland due to declining shares of viewers, whereas the commercial channels have strengthened their position in recent years. In Finland, in 2007, the public service television market share was 44 percent and 35 percent in Sweden.⁴

The question of media diversity and recruitment has been intensely debated during the past few years in Sweden. Despite this, the proportion of foreign-born journalists in Swedish media was the same in 2005 as in 1999 (Djerf-Pierre, 2007: 29). Finland is to some extent following developments in other European countries, particularly in Sweden, and therefore the debate is more reactionary than progressive.

SVT and YLE: respective cultural diversity policies

Sveriges Television (SVT), Sveriges Radio (SR) and the YLE are the largest public service television and radio companies in their respective countries, and are financed by compulsory licence fees. The underlying principles of the Swedish broadcasting licence are formulated in the Radio and Television Act and the Finnish licence in the Act on YLE, which includes both radio and television programming. The acts stipulate some fundamental rules regarding the assertion of democratic values and the principle of all people's equal value. Moreover, SVT's and SR's broadcasting licences require the companies to provide a diverse array of programming that reflects the various cultures present in Sweden.

In Finland, the Act on YLE requires support for equality, multiculturalism and tolerance. It also requires the development of civic skills across the population, and programming services in the national minority languages of Sami, Romany and sign languages, as well as, 'where applicable, in those of other language groups'. These ideals follow the democratic corporatist tradition, which values high professional standards of conduct, commitment to a common public interest and autonomy from other social powers (Hallin and Mancini, 2004: 145).

SVT is required to submit an annual report to the Swedish Radio and Television Authority, stating that the content of the programmes conforms with the regulations of the Radio and Television Act. The Swedish Broadcasting Commission monitors whether programmes already broadcast are in compliance with the Act, as well as the terms of the licences the government has granted. SVT's public service report of 2007 (SVT, 2007a) includes an account of the programming in the national minority languages Finnish, Sami, Meänkieli and Romany. However, ethnic and/or cultural diversity in the programming is not monitored on a regular basis, and is not presented in the annual reports. Nor do the company's diversity policies contain strategies concerning the monitoring of diversity efforts.

In Finland the policy texts do not have concrete goals that can be quantitatively measured. YLE lists programmes that have dealt with immigration or

ethnic minorities for their internal briefings, but this is not a regular practice and has no monitoring function.

The company is accountable in the final instance to the Parliament, which appoints the Administrative Council that supervises the YLE. This means that these institutions are able to check that the company is fulfilling the requirements of the Act on YLE. In practice, however, the monitoring issue remains more or less open.

A shift from multiculturalism to cultural diversity

By using the term ‘multiculturalism’ in this article we refer to a general political approach used in various institutions within society to manage and govern ethnic and cultural difference. In this study, we understand multiculturalism as an orientation to manage difference in public service broadcasting companies at the levels of production, content and the target audience. Multiculturalism is understood here as a policy for recognizing the particular needs of ethnic minorities and the plural character of Nordic societies.

Both public service companies have shifted from multiculturalist policies to vaguer policies of mainstreaming cultural diversity. ‘Mainstreaming’ is a word that is often repeated in policy texts and interviews with policy-makers. We understand diversity as an ambiguous and elastic concept (see Freedman, 2008; Lentin and Titley, 2008). Media diversity policy generally refers to two interrelated notions. The first is based on the liberal idea of media freedom, and concerns pluralism in the marketplace aiming at a variety of opinions and outlets. The second centres on the representation and participation of ethnic minorities to enhance diversity in media content and staffing. Des Freedman (2008: 77) observes a shift in the discourse of diversity, from looking at diversity as a public good towards an understanding of diversity in terms of efficiency in the marketplace. In this article, we argue that the shift from multicultural to diversity policy has resulted in a collapse of the opposition between ‘public’ and ‘market’ values.

This shift is in line with more general discursive shifts taking place in Europe in the 2000s referred to at the beginning of the article. Multicultural policies that recognize minorities’ needs and aims to provide specific services for them and with them are no longer considered the best way to manage cultural difference. The non-integration of some minorities has become a major concern in the early 21st century after a number of events that seemed to create a polarization between ‘Muslim’ and ‘European’ values. The events related to the Mohammed cartoons were particularly important in a Nordic context; it became clear that this part of Northern Europe was also involved in this ‘crisis of multiculturalism’. Special needs would no longer be addressed. To the contrary, demands for integration began to appear.

This shift is explicit in the Swedish and Finnish public service broadcasting context in the manner in which they reorganized how they addressed

immigrants and minorities. Both companies cancelled their multicultural programmes (i.e. the television programmes *Mosaik*, *Språka*, and *Aktuellt för invandrare*⁵ in Sweden and *Basaari* in Finland). This shift first took place in Sweden in 2004. The change was seen later in Finland, where *Basaari* was cancelled in 2008. We will examine the arguments related to this shift later in the article.

Articulations of cultural diversity policies

In the next two sections, we will examine how these Nordic public service broadcasters define cultural diversity, and how they articulate the need for such policies. We are particularly interested in how cultural and democratic needs as well as economic and market needs are argued and positioned.

The analysis is based on diversity policy documents, websites, and on 10 interviews with people who have key roles in formulating and implementing diversity policies in SVT and YLE. When the interviews were conducted (August 2008 to October 2009), all respondents had or formerly had had managerial positions at different levels and within different divisions in the two companies. The selection of the interviewees was guided by the criteria that they should have major experience of and influence on policy-making. The method used was the semi-structured individual interview. The interviews were conducted in the respondents' workplace (except for one that was conducted over the telephone). The interviews were between 40 and 60 minutes long, and were recorded and transcribed in their entirety. The quotes given have been slightly edited.

The interviews focused on the following questions: What is the need within these PSB companies to create policies for cultural diversity? What objectives are articulated and how do different actors within the same institution deal with them? What types of negotiations take place within companies? Which factors most hamper diversity? How are mission and market discussed?

Media policy is an ambiguous concept used to describe a range of rules and regulations that are legally sanctioned and are designed to modify the structure and behaviour of media markets (Freedman, 2008: 10). In this article, 'diversity media policy' refers to the principles and guidelines that regulate ethnic and cultural diversity within YLE and SVT. Moreover, we limit ourselves to examining policies in writing, although we are fully aware that policies can be communicated orally (Andersson Odén, 2001: 28–36).

The analysis of the policy documents and interviews partially involves the methods of critical discourse analysis and policy analysis. The discourse analysis tradition regards language as a socially constitutive element, and critical discourse analysis particularly scrutinizes power relations. Norman Fairclough (1995: 56) defines discourse as a language used in representing a given social practice from a particular point of view. Multicultural discourses

are used as tools to make sense of a diverse and changing society. Critical discourse analysis focuses on the social, political and economic needs and interests implied by these discourses.

Critical policy analysis has developed methods to identify problems in policy within various fields such as education, health care, administration, and culture. The aim of this research field is not only to critically discuss the policies but also to improve policy design and implementation. Multiple research methods and data are generally used: including policy documents and interviews of policy actors (see e.g. McGuigan, 2002; Stevens, 2003).

The policy of YLE

The Finnish YLE 'Policy on Services for Minorities and Special Groups' (2005) is based on the Act on YLE (2005) and embraces three different categories of minorities: the disabled, national minorities (the Roma and the Sami) and immigrants. The three minority groups are addressed within one policy document for practical reasons. The managers at YLE say that policy drafting started in 2005 as a result of various networks, lobbying, and individual enthusiasm. First, the disabled were lobbying particularly for technical innovations during the period when the national broadcasters were moving over to digital. Second, gender equality projects had encouraged sensitivity to diversity issues. Third, the YLE was influenced by debates within the EBU and the example of other European countries, particularly when the Finnish Arne Wessberg held the EBU presidency from 2001 to 2006. Fourth, there was individual interest: people who had 'a strategic eye on these issues' (interview with Mauri Vakkilainen) and 'human rights fighters' (interview with Marita Rainbird). The Finns in the EBU wanted to 'benchmark' ethnic minority issues: 'We wanted to influence the way European media deals with immigration issues' (interview with Mauri Vakkilainen).

The YLE policy document begins with a reference to public service principles and the YLE Act. Similarly in an interview, a key manager Ismo Silvo starts to explain the foundations by stressing public service ethics:

To put it simply, the background lies in YLE's values, duties and commitments. It is quite a lot. Well. As it comes from this duty set by the law, to serve all with equal conditions. This not only means that everyone gets what the public service broadcaster offers, but also, and more importantly so, that people are able to feel that the public service broadcaster is their public service broadcaster. This unfolds as the main principle about public service: that it should serve minority groups. This has been the element of thinking for years. (Interview with Ismo Silvo)

This quote demonstrates how the basis of minority policy in the YLE is mission-oriented. The policy and the managers do not directly claim that minorities comprise important audiences. And when asked directly about this, the answer

is clear: 'I would say that within managerial understanding [market objectives do not influence policy] that much yet' (interview with Mauri Vakkilainen).

The situation is discussed differently by SVT managers. This is related to the different social structure of Swedish society: the number of foreign-born persons in Sweden is 14 percent, whereas in Finland the proportion of those with a 'foreign' mother-tongue is only 3 percent. The company finds itself in a highly competitive market situation with a variety of commercial channels and new media services in the industry.

The YLE policy distinguishes between national minorities and new immigrants. The needs of the former are identified as 'basic communications and development of civic skills', and in the case of new migrants as 'more visibility in entertainment and children's programmes' (YLE, 2005). The policy argues that, in particular, visibility in television is crucial for integration of the new immigrants. Seeing and hearing immigrants on screen would 'form the feeling of being accepted into the community' (YLE, 2005). Similarly, Ismo Silvo stresses visibility:

No one can say if that [an Ingrian⁶ Finn] is someone other than Finnish, because [he/she] speaks ordinary Finnish, looks just like a Finn. Do we count [him/her] as ethnic when [his/her] parents are Ingrian Russians? It is like this. We are not going to do this [define ethnicities and levels of differences]. Practically it means that one needs to be adequately dark-skinned. Someone who speaks in the news or hosts an entertainment programme or *Utisvuoto*,⁷ so that everyone can see that [this person] is ethnic. (Interview with Ismo Silvo)

This quote illustrates how one of the main concerns is to show cultural diversity and difference on screen. Skin colour becomes a marker of difference that provides an 'ethnic' component in the programme.

The weekly multicultural programme slot *Basaari* began in 1996 at YLE, with the aim of producing programming by and about ethnic minorities for both minority and majority audiences. From the beginning, the key idea of *Basaari* was to train media professionals of an ethnic minority background and serve as a stepping-stone within the profession. The major recruitment and training initiative was the Mundo project, largely funded by the European Commission's European Social Fund's EQUAL programme in 2004–7. However, as YLE has cut down its editorial staff, none of the *Basaari* professionals has actually received a permanent position at the YLE. A journalist who was part of the Mundo project, Samuel Abaijon-Nurmisuo comments: 'First I had suspicions of Mundo. I did not like the ghetto. Later I understood that this is now the only way to get into Finnish professional media for an immigrant' (quoted in Rainbird and Lappalainen, 2007: 38).

The editorial office of *Basaari* was a space where freelancers of an ethnic minority background were able to develop their programme ideas and use the media facilities. However, during the interviews Marita Rainbird and Elina Paloheimo from the *Basaari* team were concerned that the YLE managers did not recognize the culturally diverse editorial office as being

competent. The managers mainly understood *Basaari* as a programme format that had come to its end.

Most important, to bring multiculturalism out from its own sandbox – what *Basaari* necessarily is – no matter how nice it is. Sandbox might be too dismissive.... It [multiculturalism] needs to come out, crutches must be left, [one] needs to move on from the sandbox. (Interview with Ismo Silvo)

There were also mixed feelings about the *Basaari* concept among ethnic minority journalists themselves. The peer-support was considered a strength within the concept, but many had been disappointed by their lack of career opportunities. A manager who was responsible for the *Basaari* programme, Elina Paloheimo, expressed the following concerns:

Simultaneous [with the improvement of professional skills] many media-makers have experienced that their proposals elsewhere [than *Basaari*] do not get accepted because other editorial offices and producers think that it is *Basaari* that takes care of these issues, and since you are an immigrant and your topics fit *Basaari*.... The result has been a certain degree of ghettoization that has closed these media-makers too tightly into *Basaari*. Getting out of that has not been easy, even for those who have been here years.... Once a basarian, always basarian. It is a stamp of underachievement, and no one wants that. Good professionals want to show what they can do. (Interview with Elina Paloheimo)

However, Marita Rainbird and Elina Paloheimo were not convinced that closing down the programme would be an answer to the claimed ‘ghettoization’. They were also concerned that multiculturalism would not be addressed in the mainstreaming exercise if no-one was particularly responsible for it. Marita Rainbird, a freelance producer and former project manager at YLE, is concerned about mainstreaming and has a pragmatic argument from practitioner’s perspective:

Multiculturalism increases the media-makers’ workload when it is placed on top of daily routines and people are required to start thinking about things from another perspective. In Finland and elsewhere in Europe this diversity has become a swearword, it is like, do I now have to start thinking from this viewpoint as well? ... [Journalists with an immigrant background] can work as an opener since immigrants tend to speak to someone equal to them, someone they can trust rather than to a white journalist working for the major public service broadcaster. It is one of the privileges that should have been used during the [Mundo] project. (Interview with Marita Rainbird)

The policy of SVT

Diversity issues in SVT gained momentum when, in 2002, the company denied a woman wearing a headscarf a position as presenter of a show. The

DO (Ombudsman against ethnic discrimination) concluded that SVT's decision was against the law. As a result, SVT reconsidered and rephrased the diversity plan. Another consequence was that Christina Jutterström, former CEO of SVT, established the Multicultural Centre with the task of examining to what extent the programming complied with SVT's obligations. Inger Etzler⁸ had by then submitted a report in which she presented a proposal for a diversity policy. When she was recruited to head the new department, she was editor of the multicultural programme *Mosaik*. 'The formation of the Multicultural Centre was a decisive and strategic action taken by Christina Jutterström', Etzler observes (interview with Inger Etzler). One of Etzler's tasks was to develop SVT's diversity policy, which was implemented by the end of 2002. One of the main features was that diversity should permeate the content, programming and staffing of SVT. An immediate consequence of the new alignment was the cancellation of *Mosaik*, which first aired in 1987. The programme was targeted at a minority audience and the objective was to 'reflect on and examine multicultural and multilingual Sweden' (Andersson, 2000). A key word in the new policy was 'mainstreaming', signifying that ethnic and cultural diversity should be taken into account in SVT's programmes, and that they should target a broad audience.

From 2006, the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) department, managed by Johan Hartman, has dealt with diversity issues. His opinion is that the headscarf debate and the publicity that followed were crucial to SVT's increased interest in diversity issues.

It revealed that SVT had lagged behind and forced us into a useful process.... These types of questions are not always highly prioritized, but the headscarf debate placed diversity concerns into focus in a new way. The discussions SVT had with the DO opened the way to a new diversity policy. (Interview with Johan Hartman)

In SVT's 2002 annual report, the word 'diversity' is used to designate a variety of programme categories, voices, sources, etc., whereas the section that deals with ethnic and cultural diversity is labelled 'multicultural Sweden' and includes 'multicultural society' and the 'multicultural dimensions' of programming as well as 'multicultural programmes' and 'multicultural perspectives' (SVT, 2002: 33).

A new diversity policy was adopted in 2004 and then revised two years later. In the policy of 2006 the word 'multicultural' has been replaced by 'diversity'. The most common words are 'ethnic', 'cultural', 'diversity', 'backgrounds' and 'personnel'. The word 'multicultural' is only mentioned in one context, which concerns SVT's commitment 'to regard multicultural qualifications' in recruiting and staffing (SVT, 2006: 6).

In April 2008 SVT adopted a new diversity policy that replaced the considerably more detailed previous one. The word 'multicultural' is now not mentioned at all. The new document is less than a page in length; it states that SVT serves all and that 'SVT welcomes and respects differences regarding

gender, age, ethnicity, religion or faith, sexual orientation and disability'. It also declares that within its programming generalizations should be avoided and that the company will discourage all forms of discrimination within the workplace. Diversity aspects will be taken into account regarding both programme content and participants. The responsibility for implementing the policy is assigned to all managers at all levels.

Monika Sandberg, former editor of the news programme ABC and, at the time of the interview, deputy head of SVT's division of culture, points to the importance of a committed leadership and of goal-oriented efforts.

I think most managers believe that diversity is important so it is more a question of their mandate being clearly formulated.... Instructions are required, as well as clarity regarding their assignments and it must be known by the company that diversity is a prioritized issue. In addition, there must be tools to follow up the results. (Interview with Monika Sandberg)

Many news desks monitor diversity based on a gender perspective. It is fairly easy to keep track of males and females but other types of diversity are more difficult to handle. It's not self-evident how to monitor disability or ethnicity. But Monika Sandberg regards monitoring as an indispensable tool in order to increase diversity in programming and staffing.

The commercial values of diversity are not articulated in SVT's policy documents, but are openly discussed in the company. According to Johan Hartman, the business benefits can even be the driving force for enhancing diversity and the way to do it is by mainstreaming diversity in all programming.

We are entering a media landscape of an intensified competition where more and more people realize the business benefits of diversity. There are audiences that SVT can't disregard. In the monopoly situation it was different perhaps. We can't afford to not make our programming accessible to as many as possible.... In addition to that, we have our democratic mission of reflecting all dimensions of society. (Interview with Johan Hartman)

Monika Sandberg comments in a similar vein:

Of course there is a business value to diversity. The more people whose backgrounds are included in our programmes the more they are likely to watch them. So more diversity on the screen is also good from a commercial point of view. If large groups don't feel included, they make other choices since the range of channels and services is so vast. (Interview with Monika Sandberg)

Eva Landahl, head of news and current affairs, opposes the view that commercial values overshadow the serve-all principle of SVT.

To me that is a very odd way of arguing. It is self-evident that a program that doesn't have any viewers has no *raison d'être*. So yes, *Aktuellt*⁹ has a

mission, but must also be included in the discussions that go on in society. If we don't hit the target, we won't have any viewers. If we looked exactly the same as we did 15 years ago, when we were more dominant within the market, I don't think we would have had as many viewers as we have today. We must comply with our time. (Interview with Eva Landahl)

Eva Landahl recognizes the difficulties in building diversity in the news processes – 'we report on what has happened'. She is equally aware of the importance that people who participate in the programme should visually signal cultural diversity. Monica Åhlén, project manager of the children's programme *Bolibompa*, attaches vital significance to the visibility of diversity, referring to the fact that every fifth child in Sweden has a minority background. There are both female and male programme leaders, and they represent different ethnic backgrounds.

A large part of our mission is recognition and respect.... The kids must be able to identify with the programme leaders.... Diversity is not just about ethnic and cultural diversity, but is also very much about social class, and we hardly discuss that. (Interview with Monica Åhlén)

Her arguments centre on recognition, but in addition she also sees SVT's children's programming as a way of fostering future viewers.

The children of today are the grown-ups of tomorrow who will govern this country. They need to feel that SVT has something to offer them at this time. Otherwise they will never watch SVT in the future. (Interview with Monica Åhlén)

In the visionary document *Ditt SVT – Strategier mot 2009* [Your SVT – Strategies towards 2009] published in 2007, CEO Eva Hamilton firmly stresses the 'serve all principle' of public service broadcasting. The document emphasizes SVT's democratic mission, and states that the programming is 'inclusive and welcomes everybody' (SVT, 2008: 13) and that SVT 'shall consider the needs of ... language and ethnic minorities' (2008: 15). But the overall programming targeted at ethnic minorities and minority-language groups actually decreased during the period 1998–2006, from four hours to just under three hours per week (Asp, 2007: 60). As already mentioned, SVT programmes produced by SVT have been awarded the Prix Europa Iris, the European multicultural media prize, several times. Interviews with Swedish journalists with a migrant background reveal disappointment with their company's efforts to put diversity efforts into practice (Hultén 2009). The journalists often feel that much of the company's diversity efforts are mere window-dressing. Diversity policies are frequently regarded as empty words, and many express discontent and impatience with the pace of change.

Although the issues discussed in this article have not received much academic attention as yet, journalists with ethnic minority backgrounds have been interviewed in a few earlier studies, confirming that similar concerns are

experienced, for instance, in Great Britain (Cottle, 1998; Malik, 2002). Furthermore, the dilemma of addressing minority-relevant issues and viewpoints while simultaneously attracting large audiences is acknowledged among European producers dealing with minority issues (Leurdijk, 2006).

To Inger Etzler, it is of utmost importance to the public service companies to open themselves up to employees with varying backgrounds. But for the past few years SVT has instead reduced its staff. From 2005 to 2007, SVT took part in the FAIR project, which focuses on competence in the recruiting process.¹⁰ The company declares that it is SVT's responsibility to be in the forefront in changing the working climate so as not to lose essential competence (SVT, 2007a: 66). Monika Sandberg identifies the hiring freeze as the factor that most hampers diversity efforts. Thus the few appointments that SVT can make become even more important, she concludes, and adds that managers need to take risks.

As a manager, you need to have the courage to look for and judge new talents and see in what way they can contribute to the overall picture. The whole is a sort of boiling pot that always must be in motion, it must not come to a standstill. If it does, the pictures on the screen also stagnate. (Interview with Monika Sandberg)

Conclusions

In public service broadcasting, the current developments represent a more general social shift from multicultural policies to vaguer cultural diversity policies. Multicultural policies here indicate a more specific treatment of minorities, such as offering special programming for immigrant groups. The argumentation for policy-making is based on rules and laws regulating public service broadcasting, from both national and European perspectives.

In the 1990s a study of media managers in SVT assumed that minority programming was 'typical public service', but it was instead largely the result of strict policies and regulations, rather than progressive ideologies. Christensen (2001: 97) argues that minority and multicultural divisions and programmes existed because they had to, not necessarily because they should. However, in Sweden both demographic changes and challenges from commercial competitors have prompted PSB to raise questions about the relationship between media and citizens. The 'serve all' argument prevails, but its interpretation also has a commercial flavour. PSBs adhere to equal treatment of all people, regardless of ethnicity, faith, gender or disability, and these values should be made visible in public service programming. Furthermore, in Sweden it is quite clear that adhering to these basic values is not only seen as the morally right thing to do, but also as beneficial to the company in economic terms.

In Finland the basic idea within its PSB is to envision multicultural policies as democratic requirements set by the law. The management expects to fulfil these

requirements through mainstreaming ‘cultural diversity’, particularly through displaying ‘difference’ on screen. The YLE believes that previous multicultural ‘mission’ policies ghettoized minorities. However, as minorities are not yet perceived as relevant audiences in Finland, unlike in Sweden, economic principles are not likely to compensate for the retreat from multicultural policies.

Although public service intervention has been important in recent years in developing a multiculturally oriented journalism, and although the fundamental principle of the Nordic public service systems is to embrace the entire population, it seems that in both countries market logic is becoming more important, following the general trends from cultural to economic emphasis in broadcasting (Feintuck, 1999: 208). We see this in Sweden, where business benefits are closely linked to the notion of a ‘service for all’ – not in the rhetoric of the policy documents, but in the managers’ interpretations of cultural diversity policies. In Finland, the first step towards market logic is that specific programming has come to an end, and ethnic minority journalists are equal to any other journalist.

In the discourse and policies of cultural diversity, mission and market perspectives are not opposites but have come together. Both companies have replaced their multicultural policies, aiming at providing specific services for minority groups, with integrationist policies designed to mainstream cultural diversity. The PSBs’ policy of recognition has merged with the recognition of their commercial values.

The democratic principle of ensuring a diverse range of programming, which is available to all citizens seeks to avoid social exclusion, and thus justify PSBs. However, the policies of cultural diversity tend to depoliticize and dilute issues of difference and redistribution of resources. Although multiculturalism had a number of limitations, it recognized group rights and the right of self-representation. Our contestation is that PSBs need to redefine their goals in an age of diversity in response to the pluralistic citizenry of contemporary societies. Decisions founded on an exclusively economic rationale are unlikely to satisfy citizens’ expectations.

Appendix: Transcribed personal interviews

Åhlén, M. Project manager for Bolibompa, Children’s programming. Interviewed 12 October 2009 by Gunilla Hultén.

Etzler, I. Former editor of the programme *Mosaik* and member of the Multicultural Centre, SVT. Drafted SVT’s diversity policy of 2004. Interviewed 8 October 2008 by Gunilla Hultén.

Hartman, J. Head of Cooperate Social Responsibility, SVT. Interviewed 3 October 2008 by Gunilla Hultén.

Jääsaari, J. Former researcher at YLE Research and Development. Drafted the YLE Policy on Services for Minorities and Special Groups. Interviewed 2 April 2008 by Karina Horsti.

- Landahl, E. Head of News and Current Affairs, SVT. Interviewed 30 September 2009 by Gunilla Hultén.
- Paloheimo, E. Corresponding producer, Current affairs television, YLE. Retired from YLE in 2008. Interviewed 3 June 2008 by Karina Horsti.
- Rainbird, M. Former project manager for Mundo, YLE., 2004–2007. Freelance producer, YLE. Interviewed 25 June 2008 by Karina Horsti.
- Sandberg, M. Former editor of the news programme ABC, deputy head of the division for culture, SVT. Interviewed 29 August 2008 by Gunilla Hultén.
- Silvo, I. Director of Strategy and Development, Strategic planning, Executive group, YLE. Interviewed 25 June 2008 by Karina Horsti.
- Vakkilainen, M. Departmental manager, Strategic planning, YLE. Retired. Interviewed 3 June 2008 by Karina Horsti.

Notes

- 1 Migrant background, as used here, implies a person born abroad or whose parents were both born abroad. This is the definition used by Statistics Sweden.
- 2 John Reith was the first director general of the BBC in 1922. He is also later referred to as the father of public service radio, and was later also criticized as the father of public service paternalism.
- 3 EBU membership conditions; URL (consulted September 2008): http://www.ebu.ch/departments/legal/activities/leg_membership.php
- 4 Data include five YLE channels (YLE TV1, YLE TV2, YLE Teema, YLE Extra, FST5) and five SVT channels (SVT1, SVT2, Barnkanalen, Kunskapskanalen, SVT24), from Nordicom (n.d.).
- 5 *Mosaik* was cancelled in 2003, *Språka* in 1998 and *Aktuellt för invandrare* was cancelled in 1995 (Andersson, 2000).
- 6 Ingrian Finns have Finnish roots and speak the Finnish language. They lived in Ingria near Saint Petersburg but many were forced to relocate to other parts of the Soviet Union. When the Soviet Union collapsed, Finland introduced a policy for 'remigration' (Ministry of Labour, 1998.)
- 7 *Uutisvuoto* is a Finnish version of the British-format programme *Have I Got News for You*.
- 8 Inger Etzler was also one of the initiators of a European-wide initiative that resulted in *A Diversity Toolkit* (FRA, 2007) that is used by European public service broadcasters, among others. She is now retired from SVT.
- 9 SVT's main news programme.
- 10 FAIR, Future Adapted Inclusive Recruitment, was developed by the EU Equal partnership.

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