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Exploring Media and Ethnic Diversity in Sweden and Germany

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The way media are organized in both Sweden and Germany falls under the category of democratic corporatist, according to Hallin and Mancini (2004). The publishing sector is an important part of the democratic corporatist model, and both countries have high levels of newspaper readership with Sweden’s being one of the highest in the world. There is a competitive market for print media, but despite this the market is – especially in Sweden – regulated by different measures such as press subsidies. The Swedish and the German media systems are also ‘duopolies’, where public service broadcasters coexist alongside commercially funded companies, with the public service broadcasters still remaining comparatively strong. Both countries also have a high level of journalistic professionalization, including the sharing of professional standards and a tradition of public-sector involvement in the media landscape (Hallin & Mancini 2004: 145).

Since the beginning of the 21st century the media companies in both countries face economic constraints due to several media crises, including a structural crisis (new possibilities within Internet communication), a cyclical crisis, that is, a downturn in advertising revenue (Weischenberg et al. 2006: 14). As a result, a large number of journalists are facing unemployment, and are forced to work under heightened competition, both of which influence working conditions and the quality of work.

However, there are some important differences in the countries’ media systems and media markets. Contrary to the nationally regulated media system of Sweden, Germany is a federal state and the laender (federal states) have a strong role in regulating areas such as broadcasting, culture, and education as part of their ‘cultural sovereignty’. Germany’s media system is still one of the most decentralized in Western Europe. In the area of broadcasting we can find a great number of regional broadcasters and in the area of press, this is reflected in the strength of the regional press, and only a few national newspapers. The populations also differ: Germany has a population of some 82 million people,
compared to Sweden’s 9.3 million. Berlin has a population of 3.4 million, and the Stockholm region has 2 million inhabitants.

A comparison between these countries is also relevant because of the similarities within public discourse concerning migration and integration. Both countries are migration societies, but have differences within their respective policies. The parliaments in both countries have passed anti-discrimination laws. In 1999 the Swedish “Act on Measures against Discrimination in Working Life on Grounds of Ethnic Origin, Religion or other Belief” entered into force and in Germany seven years later passed “The General Equal Treatment Bill” (Das Allgemeine Gleichbehandlungsgesetz) which prohibits discrimination based on race or ethnic origin, gender, religion, disability, age, or sexual identity. In January 2009 a new Swedish anti-discrimination bill was launched, aiming at promoting equal rights and opportunities regardless of gender, transgender identity or expression, ethnicity, religion or other beliefs, disability, sexual orientation or age. By law, employers are required to take active steps to promote equal rights and opportunities and fight discrimination. These measures are to be goal-oriented and accounted for annually, while in Germany the bill only claims that if employees are discriminated against they will have a right to compensation for damages suffered and can assert their claims before a labour court (see also Jönhill in this volume).

In recent years, the concerns involving the social cohesion and integration of migrants have gained importance in European media debates, focussing on the responsibilities of the news media in contemporary multi-ethnic societies (see e.g. Kevin et al. 2004; Lewis 2008; Sarikakis ed. 2007). On the level of press codes, in 2007 the German Press Council has added an anti-discrimination passage under figure 12 “discrimination”, which does not allow discrimination based on sex, disability or ethnic, national, religious or social group affiliations. This also includes reportage on crimes, i.e. not mentioning the ethnic or religious affiliation of a suspect if it is not relevant (Deutscher Presserat 2009: 16). The official code of conduct for Swedish journalists includes similar publicity rules stating that race, gender, nationality, professional, or political affiliation or religious beliefs should not be stressed if irrelevant to the context, or if it is demeaning in nature (Spelregler för press, TV och radio 2007).

Sweden and Germany are in the midst of an intense public debate regarding the need for greater social cohesion and integration, and this is a debate in which media plays a decisive role. In Germany, two nationwide initiatives, the National Integration Plan by the German Government from 2007 and the private initiative of the Charter of Diversity from 2006, have established the discourse in recent years. The first mostly involves the integration discourse, while the second has an economic, that is, profit-oriented approach. The National Integration Plan does not specifically focus on media, but mass media are strongly encouraged to make efforts towards improved integration by e.g.
an active recruitment policy of media workers with migrant backgrounds (Der Nationale Integrationsplan 2007). However, the Charter of Diversity\(^1\) claims that the diversity of a society has an inherent potential and can be put to profitable use by companies. By signing it, organizations pledge to provide a work environment free of prejudice and discrimination, and to create an organizational culture based on the inclusion of people with differing talents and backgrounds (Charter der Vielfalt 2006).

In this chapter, we map the current media conditions in Sweden and Germany, by providing brief presentations of the respective media landscapes and the composition of the migrant populations in Stockholm and Berlin. In addition, we provide examples of initiatives aiming at promoting cultural diversity within journalism. We examine the tensions between officially expressed attitudes and diversity goals, arguing that the media landscapes of the two countries are facing similar problems in terms of diversity measures, but are seeking some different solutions. Compared to Germany, Sweden seems to be the forerunner with years of experience regarding media diversity efforts, while Germany has only recently given attention to these questions.

**Media Landscapes\(^2\) in Stockholm and Berlin: Some Facts**

Swedish public service television broadcasters face difficulties in maintaining their audiences due to declining shares of viewers, whereas the commercial TV channels have strengthened their positions in the past years. In 2007 the public service television market share was 35 percent in Sweden (Nordicom, Statistik om medier 2010). The two public service television channels, SVT1 and SVT2 taken together, have the highest number of television viewers, followed by the commercial channel TV4. Other major operators are TV3 and Kanal 5. However, the term TV has come to signify a wider range of TV outlets, which also can be consumed via computers and mobile phones. In 2008, the Swedish Radio and Television Authority (that issue licences for broadcasting, that is, other than public service radio and TV) issued 40 licences for TV with national coverage and 14 local and regional licences (Vries ed. 2009: 47).

Sveriges Radio (SR) broadcasts over four nationwide domestic FM channels (P1, P2, P3 and P4), 28 local channels, the Finnish language channel SR Sisuradio and the external service, Radio Sweden. SR Metropol and SR P6 are the two local Stockholm’s channels. Additionally the SR website continually streams over 40 radio channels, including four national FM stations and some ten web-only channels.

Swedish commercial broadcasting was introduced in 1993. In 2006 commercial radio reached 33 percent of the audience, with public service radio reaching 49 percent of the audience (TNS Sifo 2009). Local commercial radio here refers
to privately owned radio channels, financed by commercials. At present, there are 89 licences on the commercial radio market, and out of these ten operate in Stockholm (Vries ed. 2009: 27). MTG Radio is the largest commercial radio network in Sweden, and operates a total of 46 stations in different locations. MTG Radio AB is owned by Modern Times Group. All radio program production comes out of MTG Radio’s headquarters in Stockholm. SBS Radio is the second major commercial radio network. The company is owned by the German media company ProSiebenSat.1, and operates a total of 40 radio stations in various places in Sweden (Vries ed. 2009: 29).

As early as 1984, Germany had a ‘dual system’ of both public and commercial broadcasting. With 91 channels, Germany is the third largest TV-market in Europe, and out of those, 17 are publicly owned (Färigh 2008: 17, 19). Because the responsibility for cultural issues such as broadcasting rests with the länder, Berlin’s public service broadcasting system is a creation of the city-state in co-operation with the bordering state Brandenburg called Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg (RBB). It emerged in 2003 from the city broadcaster Sender Freies Berlin (SFB) and from the public service broadcast company of the bordering federal state Brandenburg, Ostdeutscher Rundfunk Brandenburg (ORB). RBB alone produces six radio programs and one TV program, rbb Fernsehen, and together with other public service radio and TV organizations operates two further radio stations and five TV channels (including Das Erste, which is Germany’s main public television co-operative network, ARD, made up of the regional public broadcasting services). Out of the public service radio stations, we want to specifically mention the former exceptional radio station Radio Multikulti, which was on the air until late 2008. Sixteen years ago, in 1994, the former public broadcasting service SFB launched a radio station to be the showcase of the ‘other’ Germany, targeting Berlin residents from different cultures. It broadcasted news and entertainment from and about Berlin’s multicultural life, and used world music as a bridge between cultures. Usually the broadcast was in German, but 20 other languages were also used for a few hours each week, for “immigrants and for Berliners and inhabitants of Brandenburg interested in languages” (Radio Multikulti 2007). Funding cut-backs forced this radio station to close in late 2008 because of low ratings. There were protests against the shutdown expressing this decision as being detrimental to integration, but the protests had no effect (Ataman 2008).

There are over 15 commercial radio stations and over 10 TV stations located in Berlin, including SAT.1, N24, VIVA, and FAB. Regarding viewers, taking together ARD, ZDF and the third regional programs, the public service TV channels in Germany have the highest number of viewers, followed by the commercial broadcasters RTL and SAT.1 (Mediendaten 2009). Regarding radio listening, the inhabitants of Berlin-Brandenburg spend more time listening to
private radio stations, but the most popular radio station is a public service one, Antenne Brandenburg (RBB Unternehmen 2009).

Germany is the largest newspaper market in Europe, with a circulation of more than 21 million copies per day. But Germany is also the European country where circulation has plummeted the most since 2002. In addition, Germany has the largest European newspaper, Bild, with a circulation of 3.7 million copies. The combined circulation of the Swedish newspaper market is 4.7 million copies per day (Färdigh 2008: 14). Despite this fact, there are more than twice as many dailies per million inhabitants in Sweden than in Germany, 10 and 4.5 respectively (Färdigh 2008: 15, 25). In Sweden, there are about 150 newspapers published at least six days a week. A main characteristic of the Swedish press is the traditionally strong position of local newspapers. Even the metropolitan press in Stockholm, which previously aimed at a national distribution, now operate within local markets. The only Swedish newspapers with clear national distribution are the non-subscription evening papers (Sternvik, Wadbring & Weibull eds 2008: 6). The Swedish newspapers with the widest circulation are published in Stockholm, and the major morning newspaper, Dagens Nyheter, and the evening newspaper, Expressen, are both controlled by Bonnier AB, the largest of the Nordic media companies. Their Stockholm competitors, Svenska Dagbladet and Aftonbladet, are owned by the Norwegian media conglomerate Schibsted, which is Sweden’s second-largest newspaper publisher after Bonnier AB. The free sheet Metro was first launched in Stockholm in 1995 and has a considerable readership in the region alongside the subscription newspapers. In 2008, Schibsted bought 35 percent of the shares in the company.

The strength of the regional press in Germany is shown by the fact that five Berlin-based publishing houses produce ten subscription and/or paid dailies with a regional focus (Schütz 2007: 582). Berliner Zeitung of the Berliner Verlag is the most subscribed local newspaper, followed by Berliner Morgenpost of Axel Springer Verlag and Der Tagesspiegel of the publisher group Georg von Holtzbrinck. The biggest nationwide newspaper – produced in Berlin – is Die Welt of Springer Verlag, which is a former Hamburg title that moved to Berlin several years ago. Not all dailies are produced by major publishers; there are also the cooperative-owned Die Tageszeitung, and the former GDR title of the communist party Neues Deutschland, owned by a GmbH as a type of a legal entity. Several tabloids such as the local B.Z. and the above-mentioned national tabloid both out of Springer Verlag, as well the local Berliner Kurier of Gruner und Jahr, are produced in Berlin. Berlin’s free sheet market differs from Stockholm’s insofar as there are only weeklies, Berliner Woche, and Berliner Abendblatt, which belong to the major publishing houses of Springer Verlag and Berliner Verlag. The Swedish-owned and international free sheet Metro has not succeeded in getting a foothold in Berlin or in Germany.
Migration in Stockholm and Berlin: Some Facts

In Sweden, 14 percent of the current population is foreign-born, whereas the percentage for Stockholm is 21. Persons with a migrant background represent 19 percent of the Swedish population, and 28 percent for the Stockholm region population (Statistics Sweden 2009). Foreign or 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, which differs from German statistics insofar as in Germany, persons with one parent of foreign origin are considered to have a migrant background. This distinction is relevant when comparing ethnic populations of these countries.

There is, however, substantial variation within the different parts of the Stockholm region. In some of the southern suburbs, more than 30 percent of the population is foreign-born. Percentages in the major cities of Göteborg and Malmö are 22 and 30, respectively (Statistics Sweden 2009). In Stockholm the largest immigrant group is from Finland with its 18,500 persons, with the next largest group is from Iraq, with 14,900 persons. The third largest group are the 9,700 from Iran, followed by 9,400 immigrants from Poland and 6,700 from Turkey (USK 2010).

In 2008, the Federal Statistics Office of Germany published for the first time detailed and differentiated statistics on its ‘foreign’ population by using the term ‘migrant background’. The notion of ‘migrant background’ is a newer one, frequently used since 2006, and has replaced the diffuse term of ‘foreigner’. Migrant background as used by this office refers to people with migration experience of their own or that of their parents and/or grandparents (regarding at least one parent, as mentioned above). Having a migrant background means having immigrated to Germany since 1950, or being born in Germany as a foreigner (with foreign citizenship) or being the descendant of one of both groups, that is an immigrant of the second or third generation. In other words: Families with migrant backgrounds are those where at least one of the parents or grandparents is a foreign national or a naturalized German citizen. Those who have direct migration experience are called “Zugewanderte” (immigrants).

According to the latest statistics published in 2008, 15.1 million people have migrant backgrounds in Germany. That is almost 19 percent of the entire population of Germany, meaning nearly that every fourth family in Germany has a migrant background. The two largest migration groups are the five million late resettlers (Spätaussiedler) from Russia, and the approximately 2.5 million people of Turkish origin. The demographics of Berlin make the city one of the most multicultural cities in Germany, and migration numbers are above average. But in comparison to Stockholm, the city has lower figures (despite the fact that this category includes more possibilities as mentioned above).
Data released in 2007 indicates that 25.7 percent of Berlin’s population has migrant background, that is, every fourth inhabitant. In some boroughs, the proportion between a majority without a migrant background and a minority with a migrant background is reversed. In the boroughs of Mitte, Neukoelln and Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, circa 60 percent of the youngsters are from immigrated families (Statistik Berlin 2009). In Berlin, the largest ethnic group is Turkish, followed by a group from Poland and Serbia-Montenegro, and then a group from Italy. Turkey, Greece, Spain, Italy, and Yugoslavia are the regions where the so-called guest workers of the 50s and 60s originated. During the 70s, immigrants were mostly from Middle East, Vietnam, and Poland. After the fall of the Berlin wall, most immigrants came from the former Soviet Union.

Journalists with a Migrant Background in Sweden and Germany

There are approximately 25,000 employed journalists in Sweden, out of whom nearly 50 percent work in the Stockholm region (Statistics Sweden, labour market 2008). In Germany, there are circa 48,000 full-time journalists (Weischenberg et al. 2006: 18). We have no exact numbers for Berlin, and know only that journalist associations in Berlin-Brandenburg have approximately 4,000 members (DJV Berlin 2009). But not all freelance or fully employed journalists are members of associations. The official website of the city of Berlin states there are 130,000 media workers in Berlin, but that also includes all types of media work, such as PR. In Sweden about half of all journalists are female (Statistics Sweden, labour market 2007), while in Germany the number of female journalists is only 37 percent (Weischenberg et al. 2006: 45).

When it comes to foreign-born journalists, the numbers are very low in both countries. In Sweden, 5.9 percent of the journalists are foreign-born and only 2 percent were born in a non-European country (Statistics Sweden 2008), in comparison to information from Germany stating that only about 2-3 percent of journalists have a migrant background (Ouaj 1999: 42). The next section will show in detail the country of origin of employed journalists, based on Swedish statistics from 2008.

There are approximately 800 foreign-born journalists in the Stockholm region. The employment rate of journalists who have a non-European background is well below those of doctors (9 percent), and university teachers (7 percent). In 2008, some 1,500 foreign-born journalists were employed in Sweden. Out of those, 31 percent came from other Nordic countries, 33 percent were born in European countries excluding the Nordic countries, 18 percent were born in Asia, and 9 percent were born in North or Central America. All in all, approximately 36 percent had their origins outside Europe (see figure 1) (Statistics
Sweden 2008). A survey study conducted in 2005 arrived at similar results. The study was based on responses from some 1,000 members of the Swedish Union of Journalists. The overall proportion of foreign-born journalists was 5 percent, and of those working in the metropolitan press, 7 percent. The researchers found that the proportion of foreign-born journalists was the same in 2005 as it was in 1999. This is remarkable, the report concludes, considering the fact that the question of diversity and recruitment had been intensely debated during this period. The study also noted that younger journalists (34 years and younger) are less represented than those who were 55 years and older (Djerf-Pierre 2007: 28-30). Recent figures from Statistics Sweden suggest a slight increase of foreign-born journalists, from 5.4 percent in 2006 to 5.9 in 2008. But definitive conclusions cannot be drawn. These findings place the past years’ diversity initiatives in a critical light (see also Hultén in this volume).

A brief overview of the relation between the percentage of all foreign-born persons in Sweden’s population and the percentage of foreign-born journalists indicates that Asians are underrepresented among journalists, whereas persons born in the Nordic countries are overrepresented among journalists (see figure 2).

Comparable German statistics do not exist, and we have only a representative survey of 2006 examining all journalists and their working conditions in Germany and a representative survey of 2009, which gathered information on the inclusion of journalists with a migrant background in German dailies. There are no statistics on migrant media workers in broadcasting media. Based on the first mentioned study of 2006 we know that in the years between 1993-2005, the number of permanently employed newspaper journalists decreased by 18 percent, and in the case of public radio and television, the number of

Figure 1. Number of Foreign-born Journalists by Region of Birth, yr 2008

Figure 2. Percentage of Foreign-born Swedish Population and of Foreign-born Journalists by Region of Birth, yr 2008 (percent)


A recently published chapter in a book (Geissler & Pöttker 2009) wants to close this gap by publishing the results of a survey conducted in German dailies. The authors find that only 16 percent of all dailies employ journalists with a migrant background, which means that 84 percent of all newsrooms are mono-ethnic (Geissler & Enders et al. 2009: 91). If one makes a projection from this to all employed journalists within newspapers, one can say that only 1.2 percent are journalists with a migrant background and that more than half of them work as freelancers (Geissler & Enders et al. 2009: 92). If we look
at their countries of origin, we can state that 44 percent of these journalists come from the former recruiting states (Anwerberstaaten) of the 60s such as Turkey, Spain, and Italy, and the rest come from Eastern Europe and Western- and Northern Europe, with some from the Middle East, South America, and Africa. That means that most of them have a European background (Geissler & Enders et al. 2009: 95). From the general survey of 2006 we know that the average journalist in Germany is male, just under 41 years old, belongs to the middle class and has a university degree (Weischenberg 2006: 57). The 2009 survey on print media journalists with a migrant background shows, that immigrant journalists are younger (most of them between 26-35), quite often come from working-class families, most of them are female, and like the average media worker have a university degree (Geissler & Enders et al. 2009: 100).

When it comes to broadcasting media, a survey done by the European Institute for the Media in 1999 concludes that only a small number of employees in German mainstream television have a migrant background. They work in foreign language programs, and the size of this group does not exceed 2 or 3 percent, as mentioned above (Ouaj 1999: 42). In general, most migrant journalists are employed within broadcasting, especially radio broadcasting, but there are no exact numbers (Berliner Beiträge 2006: 16). According the latest figures of the public service company ZDF, 18 percent of their employees have a migrant background (Der Nationale Integrationsplan 2008: 86), but exact numbers are not specified and it can be assumed that all aspects of the company’s work are included, such as cleaning and catering. The only specified numbers refer to the trainees at the company, and numbers vary between 4.5 and 6 percent (Der Nationale Integrationsplan 2008: 80).

**Attitudes Toward Diversity Policies within Media Organizations**

Within our project, a telephone survey study was conducted in May and June of 2008 in order to explore attitudes towards diversity in Swedish news media. News organizations of various sizes, comprising newspapers, radio, and TV were called, and 103 participated. Officials in charge of the companies’ diversity programs responded to the 13-question survey (see a compilation of this survey at the end of this volume).

The study reveals that the concept of diversity is closely linked to ethnicity and gender and only to a lesser extent to age, religion, and sexual orientation. Of the surveyed companies, 87 percent report that diversity efforts are very important or important to the company. Most companies agree that diversity programs are good for business, have an influence on the journalistic product, and on the good will of the company. However, newspapers lag behind in their diversity programs compared to radio and TV. One explanation is the
legal requirements of public service broadcasters to serve all, to support equality, and to reflect all of society. Less than one third of the newspapers report that they have a documented diversity plan, whereas the share is 60 percent in TV and nearly 90 percent in the radio broadcasting institutions. This has consequences for how the organizations view and value diversity efforts. Organizations with diversity plans have significantly more positive assessments of the benefits of diversity. If you consider the "fully agree" responses, there are significant distinctions between newspapers on the one hand and radio and television on the other. The newspapers rate the benefits of diversity less than television and radio newsrooms. The newspapers are much less convinced that diversity creates a better working climate in the workplace, or better reflects the demands of the audience, or improves the good will of the company, or makes the company more attractive as an employer and more competitive, or improves the journalistic product. However, if you add up the ratings of "agree" and "fully agree", differences even out in how the different media organizations perceive and value putting diversity into practice.

Figure 3. Fully Agree that Diversity Improves/Promotes

This is in contrast to the actual situation. Half of the respondents stated that 5 percent or less of the news staff had foreign backgrounds – 16 percent responded that they had none. One fourth of the companies rated the percentage between 6 and 10, and 16 percent estimated that more than one tenth of the staff had foreign backgrounds. The rest, or 9 percent, did not know.
It is noteworthy that the largest Swedish public service companies, Sveriges Television (SVT) and Sveriges Radio (SR), do not have any statistics based on their staff’s ethnicity. This makes it more complicated to measure progress, or regression for that matter.

How should this discrepancy between ideals and reality be interpreted? When respondents were asked to state what most hampers diversity, the most common replies were:

- Economic reasons. Employment freezes.
- Difficulties of recruitment. Hard to find the right people.
- Older structures, hierarchies and attitudes.
- Key persons lack competence and awareness.

Financial constraints are obviously a hindrance to promoting diversity, but the comments also reveal an inefficiency in managing diversity.

As to attitudes towards diversity policy in German media organizations, we have only a small survey published in 2006. The survey is based on structured telephone interviews with 38 personnel managers of media companies and 24 representatives from training institutions (Berliner Beiträge 2006). Only 30 percent of the requested personnel managers were willing to answer questions on diversity measures within journalism, and therefore the authors claim that the study is not representative. However, that indifference sheds light on practices within media companies. The authors did not openly meet with refusals to cooperate, but did notice a substantial discomfort and also scepticism when speaking about these questions (Berliner Beiträge 2006: 14). The study revealed that German media companies show little or no interest in multicultural hiring practices or in affirmative action policies, and that these mentioned diversity measures are, to a large extent, seen as irrelevant to journalism as such (Berliner Beiträge 2006: 14, 17). When asked about an interest in hiring migrant journalists, only 7 of the 38 personnel managers were positive, which are those media companies producing foreign programs or programs for migrants (Berliner Beiträge 2006: 18-19). Here, specific language and cultural competence is requested for niche programs, not for mainstream programming. Six of them give a ‘yes’ response to special intercultural measures within the organization, such as recruitment of migrant journalists, special projects with local migrant groups and journalists, and organizing an open channel together with a local Muslim group (Berliner Beiträge 2006: 19). Only two of the local public service Radio and TV companies have documented diversity plans, which we want to discuss further in the following section.
Diversity Policies within Media Organizations

Broadcasting

Sveriges Television (SVT) and Sveriges Radio (SR) are Sweden’s largest public service television and radio companies, and are financed by compulsory license fees. The underlying principles of the Swedish broadcasting license are formulated in the Radio and Television Act. The act stipulates 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 licenses require the companies to provide a diverse array of programming that reflects the various cultures present in Sweden.

SVT and SR must submit an annual report to the Swedish Radio and Television Authority, stating that the content of the programmes conform 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 with the terms of the licenses the Government have granted. The Commissioners are appointed by the Government for a period of three years. SVT’s public service report of 2007 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.

Since commercial radio broadcasting channels first began operating in the early 90s, public service radio’s share of daily listeners has steadily declined from 70 percent to 48 percent of the population in 2008 (Carlsson & Harriëds 2010). In 2007 a major reorganization of SR was implemented. The change included staff cuts and reductions in budgets. The shift also had an impact on SR’s diversity policy, involving a shift from multicultural programmes to a general diversity within all programming. This shift in the Swedish public service broadcasting context is explicit in how the address of immigrants and minorities was re-defined. Both SR and SVT cancelled their multicultural programmes (i.e. the radio programme Brytpunkten and the television programmes Mosaik, Språka, and Aktuellt för invandrare).7

SR’s diversity policy states that Sweden is a multicultural society. Therefore, overall programming aims at appealing to all Swedes, wherever they live and regardless of their age, gender, and cultural background. The policy also states that diversity should be a natural part of all of the company’s programming. Diversity should be seen as including ethnicity, disability, age, faith, sexuality, class, political affiliation, and regional differences. SR does not support hand-selecting their staff. On the contrary, managers are requested to consider diversity issues in all types of recruitment (Policy – Mångfald på Sveriges Ra-
In SVT the diversity issue gained momentum in 2002 when the company denied a woman wearing a Muslim headscarf (hijab) a job as a presenter. 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. A new department, the Multicultural Centre, was founded to work with development and diversity issues. The new policy was adopted in 2004, and revised two years later.

From 2006, the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) department is responsible for dealing with diversity issues. In April 2008, SVT assumed a new diversity policy that replaced the considerably more detailed previous one. The new document fills less than a page, and states that SVT serves all and that “SVT welcomes and respects differences regarding gender, age, ethnicity, religion or faith, sexual orientation, and disability” (Mångfaldspolicy för SVT 2008). It also declares that in its programming generalizations should be avoided and that the company should prevent all forms of discrimination in the workplace. Diversity aspects should be taken into account in content and as regards program participants. The responsibility of implementing this policy is assigned to all managers at all levels.

In the visionary document Ditt SVT – Strategier mot 2010 (Your SVT – Strategies towards 2010) published in 2008, CEO Eva Hamilton firmly stresses the “serve all principle” of public service broadcasting. The document underlines SVT’s democratic mission and states that the programming is “inclusive and welcomes everybody” (p. 13) and that “provisions in minority languages for ethnic minorities should be improved” (p. 15). But the overall programming targeted at ethnic minorities and minority language groups actually decreased during the period 1998-2006, from 4 to just under 3 hours per week (Asp 2007: 60).

In Germany, especially according to the above-mentioned National Integration Plan, the public service corporations have demonstrated numerous voluntary commitments in order to increase diversity. These commitments include concrete measures such as increased recruitment of editors, authors, presenters and actors who are supposed to be role models (or good examples) within specific spots in the programs. But this is a long-term process that calls for further efforts and new interim solutions directed at advancing recruitment and integration, as the first interim report of 2008 states (Der Nationale Integrationsplan 2008: 76). In detail, we can read that the public broadcasting network, ZDF, aims at bringing the editorial staff more in line with the ethnic diversity of the population in general, but on a long-term basis, because of financial limits accompanied by low employee turnovers and few vacancies (Der Nationale Integrationsplan 2008: 80).

The only broadcasting organization in Germany which has developed a diversity strategy is the Association of German Public Service Broadcasting Corporations (ARD). Under the title “Integration and cultural diversity”, the strategy
is oriented at a mainstream diversity policy under the motto: “Out of the niches” (ARD 2007). The regional broadcasting members WDR and SWR, located in Köln and Stuttgart, are the only broadcasting corporations of ARD (probably the only mass medium in Germany), which have further developed measures in order to implement diversity policy. Both have an Integration Coordinator (Integrationsbeauftragter), that is, a contact person for all issues regarding migration, asylum, and ethnic minorities, and is responsible for implementing integration issues at all levels of the organization, and for systematically recruiting and developing editorial staff with migrant backgrounds. WDR’s integration brochure “A picture is more than the sum of its colours. Integration and cultural diversity at WDR” describes integration and cultural diversity as “both a journalistic mandate and a duty for Westdeutscher Rundfunk” (WDR 2007). It applies both to programming and personnel development. Although the public radio broadcaster of Berlin-Brandenburg, RBB, has closed Radio Multikulti, ARD broadcasters WDR and SWR have built up competence centers in radio and television with the help of special programs Funkhaus Europa that has, among others things, taken over the broadcasting of Radio Multikulti, and Cosmo TV, the only integration program on German television. “And in order to not push the topic into a niche, the broadcaster pursues a mainstreaming-strategy: The contents along with the people have to migrate into the main formats” (Bingül 2008). This is termed ‘Mainstreaming diversity’: migration issues are not topics reserved for the radio program Funkhaus Europa or Cosmo TV, but are direct themes in television and feature films (WDR 2007: 9).

The private broadcasting companies in Germany, however, have argued against positive discrimination on the grounds that people with migrant backgrounds have already been present in all business areas for a long time (Der Nationale Integrationsplan 2007). The implication is, that there are no special diversity plans because diversity results from the ‘nature of things’, that is, from the market economy. Only the private broadcasting station RTL has stated the need to more strongly integrate young media workers with migrant backgrounds in the program. The private broadcasters claim the signing of the Charter of Diversity as a commitment for diversity (see also Jönhill in this volume). By implementing the Charter of Diversity, it is stated, diversity issues have been placed on the internal agenda (Der Nationale Integrationsplan 2008: 88). The process of discussing diversity has started, but it remains to be seen whether, and how, such changes will be implemented in the media organizations.

**Print Media**

In Sweden, Dagens Nyheter’s mobile newsroom started in 1999 in connection with a project called “low newspaper readership” and ended after four years. The aim was to reach new reader groups that usually do not read the newspaper.
The target audience was ‘non-elite’: the low-skilled, low-income immigrants living in Stockholm’s outlying areas. Petter Beckman was the project manager and editor of the Mobila redaktionen (mobile newsroom), with the purpose of conveying an image of these areas and their inhabitants which was in line with local interpretations (Beckman 2003: 35). Beckman advocates public journalism, and believes that news media need to move away from the traditional ideals of objectivity in order to play a more active role in local community activities. He also believes that news organizations must create a different kind of relationship with the public, one that examines the relationship of journalists to sources and readers. News media need to reformulate the news criteria and change the conventions dominating news work. The consequence is that the journalist is not a ‘neutral’ observer, but is working from a commitment. Public journalism is oriented towards finding solutions, as opposed to the problem orientation that news journalism usually stands for. Methods of public journalism include organizing town meetings on important local policy issues, and convening reader panels to get feedback and reactions to published articles. Mobila redaktionen ended after four years and had by that time published about 300 articles. Beckman notes that there are no documented measurable outcomes of the project, and writes self-critically that it probably was not possible to identify any social impacts of the experiment, concluding:

We contributed to place persons with immigrant backgrounds on the newspaper pages, in played-down roles as normal citizens. We merged the voices and perspectives that otherwise seldom met. We showed how to approach difficult integration issues in a fairly decent and constructive manner (2003: 170).

In Malmö the newspaper Rosengård, which circulated in the district with the same name, was in operation for nearly a decade. The newspaper was a free monthly local newspaper with a circulation of 14,000-17,500 copies. The first issue came out in 1993 and the last in 2002. The paper was part of the daily Sydsvenska Dagbladet in Malmö. Nearly 40 percent of the residents of Malmö have foreign backgrounds. In the district Rosengård, the proportion is 60 percent. For this reason, this group was seen as a major potential target audience. The basic idea was that an ad-funded local newspaper in Rosengård would attract more subscribers to the main paper.

The local editorial staff in Rosengård would also produce articles for the main paper with the idea that this would help attract readers of foreign backgrounds throughout the entire distribution area of Sydsvenska Dagbladet. If it worked out well to sell ads in Rosengård, Sydsvenskan would be able to develop more ad-funded neighbourhood newspapers in other parts of Malmö. Hopes for more subscribers and increased advertising revenue did not materialize. There were also economic reasons that determined the closure of the newspaper Rosengård...
– the revenues didn’t cover the costs for premises, printing, or distribution. The position as editor of the newspaper Rosengård also had low status among Sydsvenskan’s editorial staff. Hans Månson, former editor of Sydsvenska Dagbladet states that a major reason for shutting down the newspaper was that it was likely to contribute to the stigmatization of Rosengård by treating the area as something unique (Sandström 2005: 105). Lasse Sandström, former editor of the newspaper Rosengård writes in a critical comment:

Both projects [Dagens Nyheter’s mobile newsroom and the newspaper Rosengård] are similar to some of the well intentioned but unsuccessful efforts by the authorities enforced in suburban areas, projects that residents are genuinely suspicious of. In many inhabitants’ eyes, the closure of the mobile newsroom and the newspaper Rosengård confirmed the superficial and temporary interest that established newspapers take in their situation (Sandström 2005: 25).

In comparison to Sweden, the printed press in Germany is more reserved when it comes to diversity efforts. In Berlin, there was only a short-lived print media initiative organized by the left liberal Die Tageszeitung (taz) called Perşembre. Perşembre (engl. Thursday) was a weekly which was bilingually-published in German and Turkish between 2000 and 2002. It was distributed (on Thursdays) as a supplement of the taz but could also be subscribed to, separately.

In general, we can also see from Press’ reactions to the National Integration plan of 2007 that diversity measures are not directly on the agenda in print media organizations. The umbrella organization of the German Magazine Publishers (VDZ) has only committed itself to raising the awareness among magazine publishers concerning suitable integration supporting measures (Der Nationale Integrationsplan 2007), and one year later it could only be reported that a project group will investigate diversity plans or policies in the different publishing houses (Der Nationale Integrationsplan 2008: 90).

**Media Trainee Programs: More Colour in the Media**

Online / More Colour in the Media is a European network involving several transnational projects. The network brings together European radio and television stations, educational institutions, and researchers. It was formed in 1995 to promote the representation of ethnic minorities in broadcasting. In 1998, More Colour in the Media ran a project that Sveriges Radio and German organizations participated in. In Sweden, it was intended, inter alia, to increase the participation of ethnic minorities in radio, both in hiring and in media content. It aimed at for unemployed youths of foreign backgrounds with no previous journalistic experience. During the project they received training in
radio production and were trainees on several radio stations in Stockholm, Gothenburg, and Malmö. About 65 young people were trained in the project. Of these, the majority reported that they had found work in the media. The project leader, Dagny Eliasson, described the project as a success, and that it resulted in a marked increase in diversity in terms of both content and scope (Tuning into Diversity 2004: 239).

It is difficult to find documentation on the results of the project. In the general evaluation of the entire project, which involved several European countries, it is described as successful and that it actually affected the work of the radio stations (Ouaj 1999: 71). Swedish journalist Oivvio Polite is, however, critical of the project. He is of the opinion that the project did not aim at ethnic minorities as audiences, or really cared about them. He also thinks that it would have been more efficient to recruit participants for the project among the many trained journalists with foreign backgrounds in Sweden. Of those who were trained in the project, two are now employed by SR, of which one is a project employee, according to Polite (Polite 2005).

In Germany, this Europe-wide project was launched with the same purpose of improving migrant journalists’ job opportunities in non-minority media (Ouaj 1999). But the initiative undertaken by Adolf Grimme Institut (AGI) between 1996 and 1998, focused here on gender roles and offered twenty migrant women a seven-month training course in journalism for radio and television, followed up by a year-long work experience placement to facilitate access to the job market. The trainee period was arranged by the Adolf Grimme Institut, and not by broadcasting media, as originally desired. At this time, the broadcasters were not willing to welcome trainees, especially those with migrant background. It was also difficult to find suitable work experience placements. Some of the participants had to switch between different places. Radio Multikulti and the similar radio station within WDR were of great help in offering work experience opportunities. There was no employment guarantee, and therefore no quota arrangement with media organizations. The project was accompanied by conferences on intercultural personnel management in order to create sensitivity to diversity management in media organizations. After the course, six of the 20 participants received permanent or fixed-term employments, and an additional six persons received so-called fixed freelance contracts (Jungk 1999: 220-221). There is no information about the remaining persons. The participants, however, experienced reservations, and concluded that especially the top echelons of the organizations have to heighten their awareness of the opportunities of a multicultural employment policy, and to develop strategies in order to make media organizations more diverse (Jungk 1999: 226).

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, new initiatives were taken, including within Berlin. After the unsuccessful attempt of the AGI, these now offered immigrants trainee opportunities in media organizations. Indeed,
projects intended to improve migrant journalists’ labour-market opportunities were, and are, continuously launched. A later example is the project “World Wide Voices” started in summer 2005 by Radio Multikulti in co-operation with the newspaper taz. The last call was in April 2008, where eight people had the chance to participate in a four-day workshop at the Electronic Media School in Potsdam-Babelsberg, working on interview management, doing reportage and moderation, and writing broadcast and online-texts. Thereafter the most talented workshop-graduates could prove their skills during a six week-long practical training in an editorial department of the public-service broadcasting network RBB. All of these initiatives have had varying degrees of success, and only a few candidates have received assignments. Now, the situation in Berlin has become worse, as Radio Multikulti has been dismantled as a center for training and working with diversity issues.

**Journalist Networks Promoting Diversity in Germany**

In 2006, the Berlin journalists of the German Journalist Association established an “intercultural network” as an open network for all journalists, but especially for journalists with migrant backgrounds. The network is seen as strengthening the cohesion among journalist groups, facilitating communication, calling attention to the theme of diversity, and also lobbying. The network works with some success, but cannot address all Berlin journalists with migrant backgrounds. On the one hand, the network is not known for everyone (it is within the Journalist association), and on the other hand the concept of ‘intercultural’ journalist seems to be off-putting by stigmatizing a group as “disadvantaged”, as a journalist expressed it in connection with the study (R 17, see according to the study Graf in this volume). Three years later, in 2009, another network was founded, named “New German Media Workers” (Neue deutsche Medienmacher), avoiding references to ethnicity in its title, and aiming at “bringing the multi-ethnic society into German editorial staff” (Ippolito 2009). The initiative criticizes stereotypes in the media coverage of migrants, such as the Turkish woman with hijab and plastic bags, and the non-presence in the media of integrated immigrants such as the doctor from Iran or the Turkish engineer. It also criticizes the situation within German newsrooms for journalists from migrant families. They do not receive assignments based on their qualifications but on their origins, meaning, they exclusively cover migrant topics. The network wants, with the help of a mentor program, to discover talents, and to support and promote trainees, because journalism as a profession is little acknowledged in families with migrant backgrounds. It also aims at increasing the number of immigrant journalists not only on and off-camera and in front of the microphones but also in executive positions (Neue deutsche Medienmacher 2009). We cannot report on similar (official)
networks within Sweden, which probably has to do with the small number of those concerned.

Summing up, the initiatives in both countries are mostly concentrated on public service broadcasting companies as a consequence of the underlying responsibilities of responding to the various cultures in the societies. These companies (some of them in Germany) have developed diversity strategies. The trend is thereby to work for mainstreaming diversity programming, that is, going away from the earlier idea of niche programs to include diversity in all programs. Recruiting journalists with migrant backgrounds is seen as an important step in achieving this, but funding cutbacks are a hindrance to change the situation quickly. Private broadcasters argue for market forces, which naturally would increase diversity when addressing minority groups. This would mean that no special diversity measures are needed. Diversity strategies (e.g. diversity plans) within the press and within most TV and radio organizations are absent in Germany. The survey conducted among Swedish news organizations revealed that most radio and television stations have a documented diversity plan, but only one third of the newspapers possess diversity plans. Whereas radio and TV organizations were convinced that diversity is beneficial to the company, newspapers rated diversity as less beneficial.

In both countries there have been attempts to augment the recruitment of journalists with migrant backgrounds. Other efforts have focused on news coverage and on attracting minority audiences. In Germany, initiatives to improve contacts and career possibilities for these journalists by organizing networks can also be seen as a step forward towards more diverse newsrooms and reporting in mainstream media.

Conclusions

Set in an increasingly commercialized and globalized context, news media are currently challenged by the new contours of the media landscape. They 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. This development goes for all news media organizations, whether they are public-service or commercially oriented. Swedish and German news media face difficulties in maintaining their audiences, and have implemented major reorganizations in recent years, including staff cuts and reductions in budgets. The changes in Sweden e.g. also have had an impact on the cultural diversity policies (Horsti & Hultén forthcoming). This is particularly prominent in the policies of the Swedish public service television and radio companies, SVT and SR. Both SVT and SR have cancelled their specific multicultural programmes. Mainstreaming is a key term in the companies’ current policies in both countries,
and which both state that diversity should permeate all levels of the organization, that is, the content, programming, and staffing.

Although Sweden has a longer tradition of diversity policies within media organizations, we can observe that in Germany in recent years, the number of anchormen and women, journalists, and editors with migrant backgrounds have increased. In general, there is talk of having a ‘migration bonus’ when applying for a job, as Dunja Hayali, the first co-anchorwoman with a migrant background on German public-service TV, has experienced (Phalnikar 2007, see also Graf in this volume). However, it is also feared, in both countries, that TV journalists with a different skin colour or a foreign name act rather as figureheads or tokens instead of real employees at a senior level. It is necessary to develop mechanisms, not window dressing, as the Integration Coordinator of WDR declares:

The danger is, however, that one again and again stresses the meaning of diversity without making an real effort. It is important for media organizations to develop structures, strategic goals, and the instruments for putting such goals into action (Zambonini 2008: 123).

Goals in the form of diversity plans or strategies are rarely developed in German media organizations. Private media companies prefer market-oriented goals which are embodied in the organization, as the Charter of Diversity claims it.

Cultural diversity media policies can contribute to newsrooms which are more open to pluralism, but cannot eliminate or resolve the complexity of the challenges of the media industry. As Sarita Malik concludes, most diversity policies are well-meaning and difficult to implement but also easy to dodge (Malik 2002: 184). There are also doubts if e.g. the National Integration Plan of Germany is an effective instrument for implementing diversity measures in organizations or is only “politically wanted wishful thinking – and very difficult to implement because it is very normative and thought from above” (Bingül 2008). But on the other hand “the Summit also had a symbolic function and is therefore important. In this respect, it already has achieved something, it has got the editorial staff moving a little” as a TV editor explains it (Parvand 2009). The overriding normative argument here is that news media have a duty to redefine their role as integrative institutions and in the way they address social cohesion, as well as cultural and ethnic diversity.

Notes
1. Similar Charters were launched in France in 2003, as response to discrimination within workplaces, and in Spain in 2009. Over 600 organizations have publicly declared their commitment to diversity by signing the Charter in Germany, including major media companies.
2. We focus on mainstream media, that is, broadcasting and print media of the majority of the society.
3. Exceptions based on federal legislation or agreements between the laender governments only include the Berlin-based Deutsche Welle (DW), a broadcasting service designed to provide information about Germany to foreign countries; and the Cologne- and Berlin-based nationwide radio Deutschlranradio, which is a merger of three different radio broadcasters from when Germany was divided; and the nation-wide public TV provider ZDF located in Mainz.
4. A similar cosmopolitan radio program is Funkhaus Europa, started in 1998 by the largest regional public service broadcaster for North-Rhine Westphalia, WDR.
5. Only 0.8 percent of Berlin’s radio listeners, that is, 38,000 persons, have listened daily to Radio Multikulti (Ataman 2008).
6. No comparative study was conducted in Germany.

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**Interview**

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