

RACISM AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN THE MASS MEDIA

An overview of research and
examples of good practice
in the EU Member States, 1995-2000

on behalf of the

European Monitoring Centre
on Racism and Xenophobia, Vienna
(EUMC)

by

European Research Centre
on Migration and Ethnic Relations
(ERCOMER)

Edited by Jessika ter Wal

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PREFACE

The research interest in analysing the way mass media report on ethnic issues has increased in the Member States over the last decades. And for this reason the EUMC decided to bring together the major research reports and their findings over the last five years in this report "RACISM AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN THE MASS MEDIA - an overview of research and examples of good practice in the EU Member States, 1995-2000".

The project has been carried out by Dr Jessika ter Wal, at Ercomer, Utrecht University, the Netherlands. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to her for her excellent work. The report underlines the importance of media research in the area of racism and diversity.

The mass media, and especially the news media, have an unequivocal position in society when it comes to establishing and disseminating common cultural references. The mass media have an influence on people's attitudes as well as our common knowledge, but not always in the expected and desired ways.

The active democratic role of the mass media in society can be influenced by a number of factors. The way the mass media represent, focus and give voice to different actors and incidents in society could have the unintentional result of strengthening a racist discourse instead of fighting against it. Mass media reporting is especially sensitive when it comes to ethnic, cultural and religious relations in our society.

The mass media organisations in the Member States take different initiatives to promote cultural, ethnic and religious diversity, such as developing codes of conduct, recruiting broadcasters from the migrant and minority communities and training the personnel from multiethnic societies.

The report has already attracted a lot of interest from researchers, from journalists as well as from media organisations. I hope that the report will be of practical use to all those interested in the fight against racism and especially those working in the media.

Beate Winkler

Director of the EUMC

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4.2 DENMARK

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4.2.1 INTRODUCTION

The available studies of media discourses on ethnic minorities reveal that a subtle form of racism persists in reporting on ethnic situations in Denmark. Minorities are portrayed not only as an out-group, but also as a threat to Danish culture and society. However, in the past two years a gradual and partial understanding of the mass media's crucial role in ethnic relations has begun to emerge within the academic community and media organisations.

The report gives a brief overview of some major trends and developments in the area of ethnic minorities and the mass media regarding racism and cultural diversity during the period of 1995-2000. In addition, it gives a brief overview of major scientific studies and research reports; issues of debate about the media output (i.e. portrayal, prejudice and racism); recruitment and employment of journalists from ethnic minorities; and policy measures by the media institutions and the interest organisations of media professionals. Finally, the report proffers an assessment of the situation based upon the prevailing stock of knowledge as well as the recent consultations with relevant expert groups and institutions, including representatives of community organisations or the NGOs.

4.2.2 PORTRAYAL IN THE MASS MEDIA

4.2.2.1 *RESEARCH PROJECT: MEDIA, MINORITIES AND MAJORITY*

The 1990s have been a period of increasing scrutiny of media treatment of ethnic minorities in Denmark. In the first half of the decade, a number of seminars and meetings were held by the Federation of Immigrant Organisations (Ind-sam), the National Board for Ethnic Equality (NEL) and a number of other NGOs, to discuss the matter

with representatives of the press. However, the efforts of these organisations to address issues of prejudice and racism in reporting were not taken serious by the press, who referred to freedom of expression and pointed to the lack of any systematic or scientific evidence to support the claims that prejudice in reporting indeed existed. In 1995, a national survey on the attitudes of the Danes towards ethnic minorities concluded that Danish public opinion was based on a sound scepticism, but it nevertheless, was a reflection of shifting emphasis on various topics of political debates in the mass media (Togebj and Gaasholt, 1995).

It was against this backdrop that the NEL in 1996 decided to finance the first systematic study on media portrayals of ethnic minorities and their impact upon the public perception of ethnic issues. This project on mainstream news media and public discourse, which was co-ordinated by three independent researchers at the Department of Sociology, Copenhagen University, resulted in the publication *Medierne, Minoriteterne og Majoriteten* (Media, Minorities and Majority) (Hussain et al., 1997). So far, this study is the only examination of media practices on minority affairs that includes the role of public broadcasting as one of the most influential sources of day-to-day knowledge and information about various migrants and minorities that the national audience is exposed to on a regular basis. Some of the major findings from this study are presented here.

Public service broadcasting

The contents of prime time television news in public service channels TV2 and DR-TV and two daily news bulletins of the radio wing of the public Danish Broadcasting Corporation (DR) were analysed for a three-month period (9 September- 9 December 1996). The news texts were exposed to a content analysis, which counted the main topics, and a discourse analysis of a selection of the material. The investigations revealed that the major emphasis in the period studied was on 'ethnic crime', followed by stories on political asylum, and the expulsion of asylum-seekers. As shown in Table 1 below, the events related to the problems often faced by minorities in the areas of health, housing, or employment did not attract the

attention of public service broadcasting. Likewise, the cultural, artistic, or creative activities of minority individuals or communities were not reported, and the everyday racism or institutional discrimination faced by minorities, or any scientific research on such phenomena, was hardly topicalised. Minorities were reported mainly in frames where they were seen as causing problems for Danish society and its wider institutions (i.e. schools, police, public administration, etc.).

Table 1. Ethnic News on Public Service Channels (9 September - 9 December 1996)

Subject/Channel	DR-Radio	DR-TV	TV2	Total
Crime/Violence/ Police	4	12	11	27
Immigration/Asylum	9	4	10	23
Employment	1	1	3	5
Politics	5	0	0	5
Education	2	2	0	4
Ethnic Relations	1	1	2	4
Religion	0	3	1	4
Racism/Discrimination	0	2	0	2
Health	1	1	0	2
Housing	0	0	1	1
Social/Human Affairs	0	0	1	1
Culture/Arts	0	0	1	1
Economy	0	0	0	0
Research	0	0	0	0
Other	1	2	0	3
Total	24	28	30	82

Source: (Hussain et al, 1997:52)

Although the total reported number of instances of ethnic violence was high, it was not, however, the total number of factual episodes of violence that was responsible for its higher frequency. Rather, the same few episodes of violence by immigrant youths were repeated time and again by the media in a manner that Hall et al. (1978) referred to as a 'moral panic'. This repetition resulted in generalisations about 'second generation immigrants' and a spiral of increas-

ingly harsh statements against and problematisation of this group in the press, also voiced by leading politicians.

A qualitative discourse analysis of a selection of news texts produced the following findings about the newsmaking practices in public broadcasting:

- News was often selected and framed on the basis of prevailing stereotypes about the various minority groups or the ethnic communities.
- Contrary to many negative news stories in which the majority is implicated, the news about ethnic minorities was often structured by the perspectives of different authorities or the government and it was their definition of the problems, or judgement and evaluation of the situation, that was highlighted in the news discourse.
- Unless implicated in criminal activity, the members from ethnic minorities were often presented as passive subjects but rarely as active actors with independent opinions and views in the stories about ethnic issues (or other national or public issues of interests on the news agenda). In the stories where they were involved as commentators - either through live interviews or quotations - their role was mainly defensive; they were refuting the allegations made either against them personally or the group they were representing.
- The news often constructed a dichotomy of 'Us versus Them', which lumped together news actors from visible ethnic minorities into a homogeneous category by using expressions such as 'second-generation immigrants', 'foreigners' or 'immigrants'.
- In crime stories or other negative episodes, actors from the majority population were identified by their individual identities or personal profiles, while members from minority ethnic communities were often attributed group identities, which pertained to their nationality, legal-social status, ethnicity and religion.
- Religious attributes were used mainly for Muslims. On the representation of Muslims, see further Hussain (2000) and Hervik et al. (1999).

- Despite the fact that the news itself generally puts a premium on negativity, conflict, and drama, the negative episodes or events that the members of the minority communities experience in their daily lives as individuals, or communities, parents or patients, professionals or students, unemployed or workers, and so on, were not deemed as newsworthy.
- Although the minority youth were often associated with crime or violence, the possible causal factors behind the behaviours largely went unexamined by the media. For example, socio-economic factors, the social psychological backgrounds of the refugee children from Lebanese camps for Palestinians - their exclusion from the social, cultural and economic domains of their present environment. The particular youth in question, who actually deviated from their parents' cultural background and values, were portrayed as prototypes and representatives of the culture as a whole (i.e. the Islamic, Arabic, Lebanese, or the catch-all 'immigrant culture'); this framing was quite subtle in the news texts included in the study.
- Politicians expressed the belief that ethnic difference was the main obstacle to integration, and that deviance was a result of unsuccessful integration, publicly. These statements reinforced the widespread belief that the groups concerned were to be blamed and that this blame could be attributed to their ethnic identity and lack of assimilation. For instance, to a question by a TV-journalist as to whether the descendants of some Palestinian refugees, who engaged in criminal activities, should be sent back to Lebanon for re-socialisation, the former Minister of Social Affairs, Karen Jespersen, replied: 'I do not find it such a good idea because they need to learn how to behave like the Danes. They are going to live in Denmark and the problem is that there is a big difference between them and us' (quoted in Hussain et al., 1997: 71).
- The journalists did not challenge the prejudiced views on minorities, especially if the source of the views expressed was a member of the administrative, political or cultural elite. On the other hand, the members of ethnic minorities

were confronted with critical questions concerning their allegations of racism and discrimination in the news discourse, which rendered their statements less credible.

- The minorities were often talked *about* (rather than talked *to*) in the public service news. The style and syntax or the mode of address used by the newsreaders excluded the minorities as potential audience, despite the fact that the programme policy dictates that public service broadcasting should provide information to the whole population of the country.

The commercial press

A narrative analysis of press coverage on ethnic minorities revealed that in terms of the dissemination of a negative image of these groups, there was not any significant difference between the tabloids (*Ekstrabladet* and *B.T.*) and the main broadsheet newspapers (*Berlingske Tidende*, *Politiken*, *Jyllands Posten* and *Aktuelt*). However, *Aktuelt*, a Labour Union-owned newspaper that has ceased to exist in April 2001, and *Politiken*, a medium-sized newspaper, owned by *Politiken Ltd.*, were found to be relatively less biased in terms of negative stories on the total number of articles published on ethnic issues. They fared even better than public service broadcasting.

As in the broadcast news, the main emphasis in the analysed newspapers was on 'ethnic crime'. The material analysed also included other than merely 'ethnic news' genres (i.e. debate and features, opinion and chronicles). Prominent coverage was given to negative positions about immigrants, expressed by members of extremist nationalist movements, *Den Danske Forening* (Association of the Danes) and the Progress Party, as well as prominent representatives of the Conservative, Liberal, and Social Democratic Parties. A few representatives from ethnic minorities were also visible in the debate. However, the same few actors appeared time and again in the columns. Any wider dialogue between the majority and minorities was absent in the media debates. Muslims were the main targets of hate-speech.

By comparing the media contents with the public perception of the ethnic situation in the country, the study found that the Danish news media played a crucial role in construction of a highly negative opinion about ethnic minorities. Moreover, a number of case studies from the period prior to September 1996 (1992-1995) showed the active involvement of the media in anti-immigrant campaigns and the definition of minority policy orientations.

The report concluded that in general political and media agendas in Denmark did not contribute to the acceptance of cultural diversity and ethnic equality. It recommended concrete measures, such as sensitivity training of journalists, the creation of an equal opportunity policy in the public service media, and the development of a code of ethics, in order to promote an impartial, more even-handed approach to reporting on ethnic minorities in Denmark.

4.2.2.2 RESEARCH PROJECT: THE ANNOYING DIVERSITY

In 1999, an anthropological study entitled, *Generende Forskellighed* [The Annoying Diversity], explored the conceptual understanding of cultural diversity among the majority Danish population through a discourse analytical approach (Hervik et al., 1999). It was claimed that the mass media were a major source of those prejudiced and new-racist perspectives that emerged in most of the 50 qualitative interviews that were conducted among individuals from the majority population. The study followed two major newspapers' texts on ethnic issues, *Ekstrabladet* and *Jyllandsposten*, mainly in the year 1997, and the reaction to this coverage by the political and administrative elite. It concluded that the media was responsible for fuelling a 'moral panic' (Hall et al. 1978), which resulted in harsher rhetoric on the part of leading politicians aimed against ethnic minorities.

In their investigation, Hervik et al. (1999) claimed that in the construction of categories, both in the newspapers' texts and in the interviews, the 'Muslim' was positioned as an essential symbol of 'otherness', as the binary opposite of the 'Dane'. Their enquiry testifies to the widely accepted theory concerning new, more covert

forms of racism, which have appeared since society's values prevent the direct expression of blatant racism (see also Kuusisto, 2000).

4.2.2.3 RESEARCH PROJECT: OBSERVATORY FOR ACTION AGAINST SEX AND ETHNIC DISCRIMINATION

Under this title, an EU-funded project at the University of Roskilde (RUC) has partnership with institutes at universities in Spain, Portugal and Italy. In Denmark, the project, led by Professor Bruno Amoroso at the RUC, involves collecting data on issues related to sex and ethnic discrimination in the mass media. The design of the project also includes workshops with NGOs and journalists from the mass media. However, journalists did not attend the first workshop held on 2 June 2000, despite prior confirmation of the invitation from seven journalists representing different media organisations.

At the request of the author of this report, the project has provided some preliminary findings based on the data collected and monitored so far (as of January 2000). That is a number of 190 news items published in five major newspapers (*Berlingske Tidende*, *Jyllandsposten*, *Politiken*, *Ekstrabladet* and *B.T.*), two weekly magazines (*Weekend Avisen* & *Børsens Nyhedsmagasin*) and three public service television broadcasts (*DR-TV*, *DR-TV Channel 2* and *TV2*). A preliminary finding, based on this first small sample, is that the Danish mass media report mainly on ethnic minorities who reside within the country. Therefore, most of these stories fall under 'domestic' news. The bulk of this news is concerned with law and order themes - crime, arrests, courts and police, prostitution. Discrimination and integration themes are the second most frequently covered. Other stories are related to studies and statistical reports about the migrant community - number of asylum-seekers, figures for crime and delinquency, stories from the so-called immigrant ghettos, and arranged marriages (this last item was a prelude to a more restrictive legislation on family-reunification). In the majority of the news items, the ethnicity of the news actors is routinely emphasised, except in cases where individuals are shown to represent Denmark in a positive way (e.g. as sports champions, musicians and so on). The final results of this comparative survey

on sex and ethnic discrimination in the mass media are expected to be published in the first quarter of 2001.

4.2.2.4 *MEDIEWATCH*

MedieWatch, published by the NGO Fair Play, is a quarterly periodical that collects statistics and provides comments on emerging trends in the Danish mass media's coverage of ethnic minorities. All contributions are on voluntary basis; this also has its drawbacks, namely the inconsistency in methods for data collection. Nevertheless, *MedieWatch* does provide an overview of major trends in media coverage, coupled with biting commentary about how the dominant themes and topics of the news agenda are manipulated by false assumptions and unsubstantiated 'facts'. For example, in its latest issue (no. 7/8, June 2000), it draws attention to one of the most debated issues in the media since July 1999: 'arranged marriages' within immigrant communities. The debate resulted in new legislation by the Danish Parliament in the summer of 2000, curtailing the right of family-reunification for all young men and women under the age of 25.

The media stories about forced marriages had quite strong symbolic implications, helping to generate a consensus that the traditions and culture of the ethnic minorities were out of step with the values of Danish society, in which freedom of individual choice and autonomy is enshrined.

MedieWatch's statistical analysis from the period September-November 1999 has shown that coverage on negative issues (e.g. crime, violence, rape, theft, and burglary), which could easily fuel xenophobia was still quite prominent. Instead, topics related to employment, housing, discrimination and so on had a low priority in the overall news flow. The coverage of specific crime stories committed by ethnic minorities was also compared with similar reports on criminal activities committed by 'white' Danes. This comparison showed that in the case of Danish criminals, the journalists lost interest in the story after the first report. Yet, when minority members were implicated, the story was pursued at various junctures, from the original episode, through the police investi-

gation (including commentary by experts and/or police authorities) and concluding with the court ruling (*MedieWatch*, 7/8: 48-52). Paraphrasing Hartley (1995), one may say that in the Danish context, it is not a criminal event that determines the news, but rather the social, cultural, or ethnic identity of the criminal actors that determines the newsworthiness of an event.

4.2.2.5 *THE MEDIA CONSTRUCTION OF IMMIGRANTS AND REFUGEES*

A major empirical study on the coverage about immigrants' and refugees' issues in the period 1970-1998 was commissioned by the Danish Parliament, in the framework of a larger project on the state of democracy and power in society (Madsen, 2000). The study analysed the country's three most widely read newspapers, *Jyllandsposten*, *B.T.*, and *Politiken*. The approach followed in this study was that of American communication science and social constructionism, and aimed at identifying 'interpretative frames' that characterised various themes on minority issues in the press.. Despite the fact that there were significant variations between the three independent dailies regarding the ways they constructed this 'reality', all of them had framed the minority question in an 'Us versus Them' perspective. This research suggests that the media exert a considerable influence on the definition of minority issues and their perception by the public.

4.2.2.6 *UNPUBLISHED RESEARCH PAPERS*

The Silenced Few

In February 2000, a visiting American journalism student, Dan Gordon, presented a paper based on a three-month case study of ethnic news reporting in the country's largest broadsheet, *Jyllandsposten*. By following a news story about the controversy surrounding the wearing of headscarves by Muslim women, Gordon (2000) counted 16 stories on the subject within 13 days. All 16 articles were critical about allowing traditional Muslim women to wear scarves at the work place (e.g. as a cashier in a supermar-

ket). What he found even more interesting was the fact that, out of 16 stories, 12 were structured by:

... a variety of sources, including government officials, trade union officials, companies that own supermarkets, academics, individual companies, the head of a Christian organisation and even a well-known Danish singer. In one story, a non-minority 'scholar in Islam', rather than a member of the Muslim faith, explains why Muslim women wear scarves ("because the men have a problem", the lead explains) (Gordon, 2000: 5).

Only the four remaining stories on the total 16 quoted minority members on their views about the issue, which were included as an afterthought at the end of the articles. Gordon concludes that the media was responsible for the reproduction of prejudice, but if journalists and media outlets are willing to make the effort on the local, national and even international levels, decreasing and even eliminating negative stereotypes certainly is possible.

The 'Holy Alliance'

Another interesting research paper with this title was prepared by three college students at Katedralskole in Aalborg (Andreasen et al., 2000). The paper applies a number of perspectives from discourse and communication theories in its analysis of how the Danish media portray ethnic minorities. Although the authors did not find any direct racism in the media, they concluded that the media was responsible for legitimating an anti-immigrant consensus in the country, and further, that there seems to be a 'holy alliance' between the Danish public, the media and the politicians. Moreover, it is in this forum that the talk *about* some specific problems associated with ethnic minorities continues. However, no one talks **to** the ethnic minorities (Andreasen et al., 2000:16).

4.2.3 RECOGNITION OF THE PROBLEM AND GOOD PRACTICE

Past attempts to raise awareness about the media's role in ethnic relations among the working journalists (e.g. through refresher

courses or training) have failed. In 1994, the Danish Prime Minister appointed a Media Committee to explore the whole area of media development and its future in the country. The committee attracted delegates from experts working in various areas of mass media research and other media specialists. On media and minority situations, a journalist, Bente Clausen, was asked to present a chapter for the national report (Clausen, 1996). The 28-member committee, which comprised mostly of media professionals, however, refused to include Clausen's critical assessment of the media treatment of ethnic minorities in the final report to the Prime Minister.

In 1995, the Finnish Union of Journalists hosted a Nordic conference on Racism and Xenophobia and invited its entire sister organisations in the Nordic countries to participate. The only country that initially declined to send a delegation was Denmark; the Danish Union of Journalists defended its decision by arguing that the problem of racism and xenophobia did not exist in the Danish media.

In 1998, a refresher course at the Danish School of Journalism, which was funded by the Nordic Federation of Journalists, was cancelled due to insufficient enrolments for the courses. However, there are some recent developments that indicate that a recognition of the problem is taking place, although sporadically and partially, in the Danish media landscape. The following contains a brief outline of these positive developments, and some examples of 'good practice'.

4.2.3.1 THE DANISH UNION OF JOURNALISTS

In spring 1999 at its general convention, the Danish Union of Journalists passed a resolution to set up a Working Committee on Ethnic Equality within the media profession. In close cooperation with the Board for Ethnic Equality, a national advisory body, the committee is working on a number of issues related to the minority question, such as sensitivity-training for journalists, attracting ethnic minority youth to study journalism, arranging debates and seminars on pertinent issues, equal opportunity in employment for journalists from minorities, and so forth.

4.2.3.2 MEDIA ORGANISATIONS

In Spring 2000, The Board for Ethnic Equality handed over its yearly 'Baton for Ethnic Equality' to two media organisations, the Danish Broadcasting Corporation (DR) and the Labour Union (LO) owned newspaper, *Aktuelt*. Their respective management, in return, have pledged to promote diversity and ethnic equality in respect to employment and recruitment of journalists from minority communities, fair portrayal, and eradicating prejudices in journalism. In its action plan for 'Baton 2000', the DR (besides a number of other measures of good practice) has declared:

The DR wishes to reflect the modern Danish society, as it is constituted with the turn of the century in its programme policy as well as employment policy. The DR in its daily practice and through its wider contact with all walks of life in society shall safeguard the observance of fundamental human rights and the rights of equity and respect for minorities.

The most conspicuous change in the DR's outlets has taken place in the news department of the public service organisation. According to consultations with a number of NGOs and other minority representatives, the news on ethnic minority affairs has become more sober and less sensational in recent months. Similar positive remarks were expressed for the newspaper *Aktuelt* and to some extent also for another independent daily *Politiken* as well as *Kristeligt Dagblad*.

4.2.3.3 ACADEMIC RESEARCH

Racism and cultural diversity in the media or in society at large have not been important areas of knowledge production in Denmark. Like the ethnic minorities themselves, scholarly research on issues pertaining to minorities has itself been a marginalised area in the academic profession. Some recent trends in the policies of the national research councils indicate that subjects such as globalisation, multiculturalism, and ethnic diversity have begun to attract more attention from the academic community. For instance, the only journal on communication media in Denmark, *MedieKulturen*,

is planning to publish a special issue on media and ethnicity for the first time in its history. Three other recent academic studies will be presented next.

Media use among the ethnic minorities

On behalf of the Danish Broadcasting Corporation (DR), and in cooperation with the Board for Ethnic Equality, the Danish Institute for Applied Social Research conducted a survey in 1999, using both qualitative and quantitative data, on mass media consumption in minority ethnic communities. Christiansen and Sell (2000) concluded that the majority of ethnic community members avoided Danish public service news channels, alleging them to be biased against ethnic minorities. First the report provided an audience profile, and its diversified uses and needs for the information media. Second, in line with a limited number of other such studies (for example, Hussain, 1989) the report concluded that TV broadcasts in minority languages represented the best method to inform a substantial number of ethnic minorities about everyday life in Danish society. This is true especially for those who cannot follow the mainstream Danish language programmes. Apparently, the DR is planning to introduce such broadcasts in the near future.

Minorities' access to the mainstream media

In the fall of 2000, the Board for Ethnic Equality released an academic report about how to integrate ethnic minorities into the mainstream mass media. The report (Jensen, 2000) explores the ways in which academic research can contribute to innovations of multi-ethnic media and provides some practical solutions for those problems that ethnic minorities encounter in Denmark regarding access to the mainstream mass media. Likewise, it points to some strategies that can be utilised to ensure equity in recruitment, employment, and educational opportunities in the media professions for the members of ethnic minorities.

Mediated identities and cultural change among ethnic minorities

Under this title, a research project in progress as part of a wider programme on Globalisation and The Media is hosted by the Department of Film and Media Studies, University of Copenhagen, and financed by the Danish Research Council for Humanities. The project, which is led by Thomas Tufte, aims to study the organisation of time, space, and social relations in the everyday life of ethnic minorities in Copenhagen, focussing on the relations between media use and identity process. A more thorough introduction to the project can be found in Tufte and Riis (forthcoming).

4.2.4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In reviewing the media and minority situation in Denmark, some of the main trends and developments were presented by referring to the existing sources of knowledge and information. Ample evidence from recent research studies, and consultations with NGOs and minority representatives show that the mass media in Denmark continue to portray ethnic minorities as an out-group of the society. In the period 1995-2000, the media in Denmark has not been pro-minority. Although some media have been less biased than others, there is an overall bias and prejudice against Muslim minorities. Nonetheless, it was noted that in Denmark today, NGOs, advisory bodies, and media organisations show a greater recognition of the media's role in promoting cultural diversity and eliminating racism and prejudices. This recognition is reflected, as noted earlier, both in the increasing interest in the field by the academic community and the steps taken by the Danish Union of Journalists, as well as by a section of the press and the public service broadcasting company DR. However, diversity in the media cannot be viewed in isolation from the public discourse and the positions presented by political leaders, who prominently speak about these issues in the media. Unfortunately, examples of a mono-cultural conceptualisation of society are found, which views integration as a form of assimilation, and which results in the rejection and fear of ethnic and cultural diversity. Only recently, overt (utilitarian) pro-immigration positions emerge in the daily Politiken, after international

and national reports claimed that the Danish economy will require more immigration in the future.

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