

Taisto Hujanen

THE POWER OF SCHEDULE

Programme Management in the Transformation
of Finnish Public Service Television



Media Studies

Copyright © Tampere University Press

Sales
Bookshop TAJU
P.O. BOX 617, 33014 University of Tampere
Finland
Tel.: +358 3 215 6055
Fax: +358 3 215 7685
Email: taju@uta.fi
<http://granum.uta.fi>

Cover: Jirka Hyötynen

ISBN 951-44-5427-8

Tampereen Yliopistopaino Oy
Tampere 2002

Sähköinen julkaisu ISBN 951-44-5600-9
--

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Data collection and analysis of this study was made possible by a joint research grant from the Joint Committee of the Nordic Social Science Research Councils (NOS-S). For the academic year 2000-2001, I enjoyed a Finnish Academy grant for senior researchers which enabled me to use a half of the year for reporting the study.

The manuscript of the book was reviewed by Dr. Heikki Hellman and Dr. Gregory F. Lowe. Each came with a number of critical but encouraging comments and proposals which, in particular, contributed to solve the heavy language game from Finnish to American and British English and back. Dr. Lowe also made a huge work in editing the English language of my manuscript. Once again I learnt to appreciate his brilliance, patience and his facility in moving quickly from one culture to another.

Two departmental colleagues, Dr. Iris Ruoho and Senior Lecturer Inari Teinilä, read the first draft of the manuscript and brought useful comments. Inside TV1 and TV2, the two television channels under study, I am especially grateful to the then heads of programming Mr. Ilkka Koskimies and Ms. Päivi Kärkkäinen who were keen informants in the true spirit of public service. I owe, in addition, a sincere thank to all my interviewees and other informants at YLE for their contribution. Ms. Sirkka Minkkinen, the Head of Planning at TV1, read and commented on the first draft of my manuscript; and was always quick in responding to my numerous enquiries.

I dedicate this book to the late Professor Kjell Nowak, Department of Journalism, Media and Communication, University of Stockholm. He drafted the first proposal for the joint study and coordinated the early preparations. We can share the results with him only in our thoughts.

In Nokia, 22 August 2002

Taisto Hujanen

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I INTRODUCTION	Page 7
<i>Scheduling Is a Strategic Issue</i>	7
<i>From Duopoly to Competition — A Short History of Finnish Television</i>	14
<i>The Big Channel Reform 1993 and the Law on Yleisradio (YLE)</i>	19
II CONTEXT AND DESIGN OF THE STUDY	23
<i>Programming and Transition of Public Service Television</i>	23
<i>Programming Discourse as Technology Transfer</i>	33
<i>Schedule as Text and Process</i>	41
<i>Summary of Approach and Research Questions</i>	44
<i>Research Data</i>	49
III TOWARDS PROACTIVE PROGRAMMING	55
<i>YLE Television Meets Uncertainty: Scheduling and the Big Channel Reform (1993)</i>	55
<i>Farewell (?) to Programme Planning: Adopting Management by Schedule</i>	65
IV SCHEDULING IN YLE TELEVISION	71
<i>Construction of Schedule as Organisation</i>	71
<i>Construction of Schedule as Process</i>	77
V SCHEDULING AS BROADCASTING MANAGEMENT	87
<i>Scheduling as Power; From Strategy to Action</i>	87
<i>Schedule as a Grid; Schedule and Production</i>	91
<i>Scheduling as Market and Economy; Producer Choice and Commissioning</i>	102
<i>The Implied Schedule; How to Construct an Audience</i>	118

VI FROM SCHEDULE TO CONTENTS:
CONSEQUENCES OF YLE'S DIGITAL STRATEGY 133

*YLE Television in the New Millenium: Continuity and Change
in the YLE Vision for 2001-2003 133*

From Channel Coordination to Profilisation 140

Re-Organisation of Production as 'Skill Centres' 149

Public Service at the Core 159

APPENDICES 163

LITERATURE 165

OTHER REFERENCES & SOURCES 171

I INTRODUCTION

Scheduling Is a Strategic Issue

This case study is about a standard feature of broadcast television which most take for granted. Only occasionally are we aware of scheduling, when for example we miss an episode of a favourite TV series or happen to be sleeping when major news breaks in direct transmission. Occasionally, too, we can be spectacularly aware as was the case for Finns when YLE, the national broadcaster, decided to change the transmission time (in 1993) of its main 20:30 television news, and as a result half of the audience was lost until the scheduled news time was reinstated. When looking at the public debate on that reform and its consequences, it is easy to agree with what British TV producer and scholar John Ellis writes about the historical constitution of this phenomenon. As he observed, any television schedule contains the distillation of the past history of a channel, of national broadcasting as a whole, and of particular habits of national life (Ellis 2000a, 26). In that light, one can understand why the transmission time of national television news can become a priority public issue.

In a historical perspective, broadcasting schedule represents the normalisation and standardisation of output. Paddy Scannell, the British broadcasting historian, connects this function of schedule with institutionalisation and stabilisation of broadcasting that, in effect, mean the routinisation of production (Scannell 1996, 9). He suggests that routinisation has a double aspect: it means the routinisation of the making of programmes and of their relationship to each other. The solution for the former was the serialisation of production and for the latter, the development of **fixed scheduling and continuity techniques**. (ibid.; emphasis added by TH) In the UK all this began, according to Scannell, in the mid-thirties and was associated with the establishment of BBC's Listener Research unit in 1936 (op.cit., 10).

The role of listener research, later called audience research, is crucial in the normalisation of broadcasting output because it helped, as Scannell puts it, to make it 'user friendly'. This means broadcaster ideas about audience were present in the practices that standardised output and affected the constitution of broadcasting schedule. This impact is characterised by Scannell as follows:

Thus, the notion of **sequencing programmes** through the day began to be worked on in a rational way, in an effort at matching different kinds of programme with different kinds of listener at different times of day, depending on their availability. This study of listening habits was a key factor in the normalization of the schedules []. As this was understood so, too, was the value of **'locking' the schedules**, of putting the same programme in the same slot on the same day each week, so that listeners who were known to be there to listen, could know — in a taken-for-granted way — what was there for them to listen to. And the other key factor in relation to these two developments (sequencing the material, locking the sequence) was the discovery of 'continuity' techniques — of placing links and trailers for 'what comes next or later' between programmes. Thus, listeners would get a sense of the overall structure or flow of programmes as a regular, patterned kind of thing through the hours of each day and from one day to the next, and the next and the next.

(op.cit., 10; reference excluded and emphasis added by TH)

The early iteration of 'user friendliness' in the historical constitution of broadcasting schedule is important in the context of this study because it demonstrates the double nature of schedule in the managerial control of broadcasting. When thinking about programming management and scheduling as an aspect which are the problematics of this study, one should emphasise that this kind of management is essentially a two-sided process. It concerns not only the control of the interrelationships between output and production, but also of the interrelationships between output and users, the latter most often identified as audience(s). When one metaphorically therefore speaks of programming and scheduling as tools for management, the approach in this study, they are understood as tools in this double sense: in the internal control of output and production, as well as in the external control of output and audiences and, in the last crucial instance, of the broadcasters' relationship with a society as a whole.

It is worth pointing out that the historical context in which Scannell discusses the normalisation of broadcasting output is British public service broadcasting. In the broader discussion on the crisis of public service broadcasting characteristic of the 1980's, European public broadcasting institutions were typically identified as "broadcaster-oriented" rather than audience-oriented that typifies the commercial tradition (see McCain & Lowe 1990, for example). This dichotomy was readily adopted in historical

fact by many public service broadcasters, and Finland's YLE was no exception.

As will be shown later in this study, today YLE defines audience orientation as one of its basic value dimensions. So should one now conclude that the Finnish national broadcaster totally neglected its audience earlier? Thinking through the lessons from the historical review, the answer is probably no. The search for 'user friendliness' is a part of the historical constitution of Finnish broadcasting schedules as was case in British BBC's history. Systematic audience research in Finland came later than in Britain, but was institutionalised as a dimension of corporate planning in the late 1960's. This even raised some international interest, as demonstrated in McQuail's book on the sociology of mass communication (1972).

If one accepts the view that 'user friendliness' is a part of the historical constitution of broadcasting, the audience orientation is not new even in European public service broadcasting. In order to understand what is new in the nature of this audience orientation among public service broadcasters, one should look at the changed social (& therefore operational) conditions of these former monopoly institutions. As demonstrated later, in the new competitive environment public broadcasters have become dependent on "multiple markets", including the audience market. In this way, their earlier predominantly political legitimation is more and more dependent on direct audience support. This kind of market dependance is the practical source of a much more robust audience orientation (about audiences in YLE's legitimation discourse, see Hellman 1999b).

One could also argue that the robust audience orientation of public broadcasters in part reflects the convergence of different traditions of broadcasting. In the historical constitution of broadcasting 'user friendliness' has appeared in different versions, depending on particular conditions of space and time. Typical to European public service traditions is a representation of American commercial broadcasting as 'the other', as an opposite to its values and approach to audiences. As pointed out by Ang (1991) in her known analysis, citizens and consumers represented the opposite views of these two traditional concepts of audiences. In recent years, commercialisation of European broadcasting is often interpreted as Americanisation and particularly the development of television. In this context, one might argue that the prioritised interest in audiences reflects

the Americanisation of European public service broadcasters; i.e. that they have adopted the American approach to audiences in routine practices. In this light, an increased consumer orientation is the most apparent aspect of converging approaches.

Scheduling is another example of practices in which one can hardly avoid the impression that European and American traditions are converging. In fact, the notion of scheduling in itself reflects the nature of transformation in European public service broadcasting. As Scannell points out in his historical review (op.cit., 10), the British tradition understood scheduling as "programme planning". Similarly, as documented later in this study, the discourse on scheduling has converged to the language of programme planning in Finnish public service television. The respective data from other Nordic Countries, collected for the joint study, points to a broader, similar cultural transformation (Edin 2001, Søndergaard 2001, Ytreberg 2001).

This study is based on an assumption that scheduling is of central strategic importance in the new audience orientation of public service television. The change from programme planning to scheduling means more than a change of language. It reflects the new social conditions of broadcasting in which the control of audience(s) and audience flow appears continuously problematic. This is the background of the new approach identified as Management by Schedule, the focus of this study. The Finnish public service broadcaster, YLE, started developing this practice in the early 1990's in order to fight the open channel competition with commercial television.

The practices and principles of scheduling in public service television organisations were investigated by a research team involving all Nordic countries except Iceland (for a summary of the research plan, see Ytreberg 2000; for discussion on overall conclusions Ytreberg 2002).¹ The present

¹ The research was initiated in the connection of the Nordic PhD Network for Public Service and Electronic Media financed by the Nordic Academy of Advanced Studies (NorFA) in the period 1997-99. For data collection and analysis joint funding was then available from the Joint Committee of the Nordic Social Science Research Councils (NOS-S) for 1999-2000. The members of the Nordic research team were Espen Ytreberg (co-ordinator), Department of Media and Communication, University of Oslo; Anna Edin, Department of Journalism, Media and Communication, University of Stockholm; Taisto

report analyses and discusses the research data collected as the Finnish contribution to the joint study. The point of departure for the joint project was a perception that scheduling had grown in importance as Nordic public service television channels responded to intensified channel competition in the course of the 1990's. This had been demonstrated by a number of analyses of the new channel environment in all Nordic countries (Søndergaard 1994, Syvertsen 1996, Hellman 1999a, Ytreberg 1999, Edin 2000).

It seemed reasonable to think that scheduling might come to occupy a central strategic role as Nordic public service broadcasters tried to manage the new competitive environment. Consequently, there was reason to believe that more emphasis on scheduling might affect not only the social, political and cultural role of public service television, but also its internal organisation and corporate culture as well as television's relationship with its audiences. The fact that increased attention to scheduling was parallel to, and often directly linked with, several major changes inside television institutions made this a pertinent issue.

In this study, one of the critical dimensions of scheduling is how it relates to the notion of "an internal market" and, in particular, to Producer Choice as an aspect of public broadcasters' market orientation. In this context, scheduling is related to changes that have raised questions about the re-organisation of power inside television. The basic hypothesis of the joint study is that the growing strategic importance of scheduling results correspondingly in more power for those actors inside public television companies who are responsible for scheduling practice. These people can be identified as "schedulers", or in a more general sense as "programmers". In fact, after the introduction of the joint study, the respected British television analyst, John Ellis, published an article (Ellis 2000a) in which he concluded that scheduling could be seen as the power centre of today's television. In his subsequent book (Ellis 2000b), he developed the idea further and considered scheduling as a symbol of the new "demand-led" television. As hinted also by Ellis, the increased power of scheduling especially affects the traditional role of producers whose possibilities in the generation of programming ideas are subject to the schedule.

Hujanen, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Tampere; Henrik Søndergaard, Department of Film and Media Studies, University of Copenhagen.

Like the other cases comprising this joint study, the Finnish case deals with principles and practices of scheduling in public service television. The development of scheduling is considered in the overall context of Finnish public service broadcasting in the 1990's, with a focus on major transformations including audience orientation, efficiency, accountability, transparency and competitiveness (see Chapter II below). Scheduling in itself is seen as a part of the broader process of programming which will be analysed as a dimension of strategic management and the consequent construction of an internal market. A special section on programming and scheduling discourse is included to explicate the cultural transfer from programme planning to scheduling; and to highlight the similarities and differences between the Finnish television and broadcasting tradition and the English-language, mainly American, scheduling discourse.

The focus of this case study is a management practice which, translated into English, means **Management by Schedule**. It was adopted as a core principle of operation for YLE's new television division after the "Big Channel Reform" in 1993. This notion, corresponding to the Finnish word *kaaviojohtaminen*, reflects how important a strategic role scheduling became after YLE's failure in introducing that channel reform. That is the reason why the analysis of scheduling in Finnish public service television is introduced in this report by focusing on the Big Channel Reform and its consequences for YLE's future strategy (Chapter III).

The principles and practices of scheduling in YLE's television channels are then analysed and described in Chapter IV of the report. The particular applications of Management by Schedule are discussed and analysed in terms of the exercise of power inside television in Chapter V. In the same chapter, the relationship between schedule and production is highlighted as well as the introduction of the internal market and Producer Choice. The chapter concludes with discussion on scheduling and YLE's audience orientation.

As with the other case studies, the analysis and description of scheduling practices focuses on the year 1999. But in light of the focus on the adoption and development of the Management by Schedule, the time span of the study covers the 1990's and, in particular, the period from the Big Channel Reform to the end of the decade. In Chapter VI, study emphasis turns to YLE's digital strategy and how it affects the application of Management by Schedule, as well as programming and production more

generally. Here, the study steps to this side of the new millenium and from past developments towards future implications.

In the consideration of Management by Schedule, particular attention is paid to what is later in called actors' point of view. In order to catch this kind of inside view of the processes, a considerable number of people both from programming and production was interviewed (see the description of Research Data in Chapter II). In the course of the research process, it soon became clear that interviews were also necessary because of the nature of the research object. Much of the scheduling process is rather informal, and today more and more online. That is why it seemed impossible to track and understand the scheduling process on the basis of often scarce archived documents.

Next the reader will be shortly introduced to the history of Finnish television. This introduction as well as the following section about the structural change of Finnish television in the early 1990's focuses on the relationship between public service and commercial television. The referred structural reform is identified in Finland as the Big Channel Reform (in Finnish, *suuri kanavauudistus*), and it is complemented by a change of YLE's position, enacted in the special Law on Yleisradio, the Finnish Broadcasting Company.

From Duopoly to Competition — A Short History of Finnish Television

The Finnish public service broadcaster YLE (Yleisradio) is a state-owned limited company which today operates two nationwide broadcast television channels (TV1 and TV2) and a number of radio channels, both in Finnish and in Swedish. In August 2001, YLE launched its digital multiplex including three more television channels; on the side of radio, YLE launched three digital services (DAB) some years ago. The history of the company dates back to 1926; its first television channel was launched in 1958 and the second one in 1965. From the very beginning, there has been a peculiar dualism in Finnish public service television. Since its introduction, a part of YLE's revenues is based on TV advertising despite the fact that the company itself never had the right for advertising. That was given to a private programme company (today called MTV3) which annually delivered a part of its revenues to YLE. Formally, YLE's share of the advertising revenues was considered to be a payment for the air time that the commercial programme company was entitled to lease within YLE's channels.

There is also another important historical link between private and public television in Finland. The first regular television transmissions in Finland were introduced by private commercial operators which formed a commercial television network called TES-TV. In 1964, this network was bought by YLE and constituted the basis for YLE's second channel. Through this link the pioneers of Finnish commercial television were incorporated into YLE's production personnel in the context of TV2, in particular. With the launch of TV2, the public broadcasting monopoly was re-established. In order to understand this, one should remember that YLE's commercial partner, then called 'Advertising TV' (in Finnish, Mainos-TV), operated within YLE's legal franchise. This dual structure was changed in 1993 as MTV Finland got its own operating licence as well as channel. This third national channel was called MTV3. The new third channel continued operating a transmission network that was originally launched in 1987 as a joint venture between YLE, MTV and the already rapidly growing Nokia company.

In 1997 another commercial operator was franchised by the government which resulted in the launch of television 'Four' (in Finnish, *Nelonen*). So by the turn of the new millenium, the domestic television environment in

Finland consisted of 4 national television channels; two public service channels (YLE1 and YLE2) and two private commercial channels (MTV3 and TV Four). In a strict sense, the newest commercial channel, TV Four, is only a semi-national network; it covers approximately 70 per cent of the population. The commercial channels are owned by big private media groups. The owner of MTV3 is the Alma Media Group, now partly owned by the Swedish Bonnier Group. TV Four belongs to the Sanoma-WSOY Group whose major owner is the Erkkö Family, the publisher of the two biggest newspapers in Finland. The Alma Media Group also publishes a number of major newspapers and operates the only nationwide commercial radio channel in Finland (*Radio Nova*).

Since the TV channel reform of 1993, and increasingly towards the end of the 1990's, public service television in Finland operates in a clearly competitive media environment. Broadcast television in Finland is almost exclusively national; there is only one local station called TV-Tampere in the city of Tampere. In comparison with other Nordic countries, broadcast television has also remained exceptionally strong in Finland. Despite twenty years of cable and satellite, the terrestrial TV channels dominate television viewing among Finns with a 94 per cent share. Because of the low population density, cable penetration is saturated at only 46 per cent. From the programming point of view, the competitiveness of cable TV has remained low because it offers mainly foreign satellite channels. However, there are now signs of an increasing domestic offer on cable and even some satellite operators, like Eurosport, showing interest in Finnish language services through satellite. As to direct satellite, Canal+ is now pursuing active marketing of its digital services.²

Related to the channel reform of 1993, YLE declared an objective of keeping a 50 per cent share of total TV viewing time. The respective goals were 30 percent for TV1 and 20 percent for TV2. The results fell short of these objectives. Those figures also formed the basis for YLE's budget planning in 1993 (Hellman 1999a, 102). Towards the end of the 1990's and correlated with the launch of TV Four, it became clear that YLE had

² For comparative data on the Nordic media market, see Carlsson & Harrie 2001. The development of the technological market of broadcasting in Finland is analysed and described by Hellman 1999a, 105-132. An English-language description of YLE's history is available in Endén 1996; in Finnish the main work is Salokangas 1996 which covers the post-war period with the introduction and development of television.

difficulties even reaching the share of its main commercial competitor, MTV3. By 1999, YLE's two channels achieved a combined 43 percent share (23 for TV1, 20 for TV2), which was only slightly more than MTV3's share of 42 per cent (TV Four grew to 10 percent).

In a recent interview by Aamulehti (25 February 2001), a major newspaper owned by the Alma Media Group, the Director General of YLE, Mr. Arne Wessberg, points to the launch of digital TV in August 2001 and acknowledges that YLE cannot resist the downward trend of its viewing share. With three digital multiplexes, the number of on-air channels will grow to twelve see (see Appendix 2). YLE already launched three more channels and will, in addition, offer a new digital version of its text television, called Super Text TV. New competitive services on cable and satellite, as well as on internet, are also anticipated. Certainly, through digitalisation, there will be more competition on regional and local levels, as well.

The Ministry of Transport and Communication, representing the state share-holder in YLE, set up an expert group in early 2001 to investigate the future financing of the company. A critical issue for consideration by the group was the percentage of revenues major commercial operators must pay that is used to supplement public service broadcasting; a system confirmed by the new broadcasting law in 1998 and earlier agreed on a bilateral basis between YLE and MTV3. That funding is collected by a special governmental office as a kind of franchising fee from private licence holders and then transferred to YLE. In total, it corresponds to some one-fifth of YLE's annual budget. The remainder of YLE funding is covered by television fees (earlier called "licence fees").

In recent years the private operators, and MTV3 in particular, have strongly criticised this subvention arrangement, and it is now clear that the system will end in 2006. Meanwhile, on the basis of the new law on the telecommunication market, the franchising fee will be reduced in the beginning of 2003 to half of its earlier level. In 2006, the present commercial operators need to re-apply for their operation licences. That is also the year digital television is anticipated to dominate in Finnish households, but it seems that such forecasts are far too optimistic.

As to conclusions from the above review, increased competition can certainly be seen as a defining trend of Finnish television in the 1990's.

And it is certain the trend will continue and reach new heights in the present decade. Although competition is usually linked with commercial television, it is also clear that public service broadcasters like YLE cannot avoid participating in competition in the present multi-channel environment. The game over **shares** illuminates how competition affects both private and public broadcasters. Within YLE, there is keen awareness that popular support is necessary to motivate viewers to pay their television fees. In other words, even public broadcasters are dependent on popular support to secure their funding. The figures from 1999 show that to date YLE has managed to maintain people's motivation: 68 per cent of the population felt they got a satisfactory return for their money (Kytömäki & Ruohomaa 2000, 39). Moreover, half of the people responded that television fees were the best way to finance YLE; at the same time, however, the share of those who favoured direct state financing rose to one third (ibid.).

The duopoly of public and private television is a historical condition that makes Finland different from other Nordic countries; in some form, there has always been a certain amount of competition between public and private television in Finland. There was even a private commercial network in the country in the first phase of television diffusion (see above) and, in addition, YLE contracted within its franchise the commercial programme company MTV for transmissions on its channels. The MTV company was supposed to take care of the typical popular programming of commercial television that was considered too 'mass-culture oriented' for the public broadcaster. It was not initially allowed to send news, political and religious programmes. In addition, one should remember that a certain amount of internal competition took place between YLE's two channels, although the schedules of the channels were supposed to be coordinated and complementary. No official policy of internal competition, in the style of the Swedish SVT's two channels, was ever adopted .

The year 1981 is an important milestone in YLE's relationship with its commercial partner. That is when MTV Finland was allowed to start its own news transmissions. The next step was taken in 1987 as YLE and MTV (complemented by the Nokia company at the start) jointly launched a new channel called *Kolmostelevisio* (translates to TV Three). The important aspect of this venture is that it represented a joint effort of the domestic operators to fight against growing foreign competition through cable and satellite. Most programming was based on foreign imports but,

in contrast with cable and satellite, was offered within a domesticised schedule. The other particularity of the channel was domestic independent production, following the model of British Channel 4. The channel had no own production personnel and, in this sense, it opened up a new phase in Finnish television.

TV Three is generally considered as a succesful strategic operation (for example, Hellman 1999a, 144-146 and Wiio 1999, 76-81). For the MTV company it was particularly important because it created an opportunity to test the scheduling of a whole new TV channel. That was valuable experience which demonstrated its usefulness, as the MTV company in 1993 was allowed to take over TV Three's network. But equally, one can say that YLE also benefited from the experiment when one thinks about the strategic use of foreign import and, not least, the use of domestic independent production. The present Director of Programming for YLE's television operations, Mr. Heikki Seppälä, acted as the director of programmes for TV Three, and subsequently transferred the experience in person to YLE. In an interview for this study (31.8.2000), he points to his personal role in the creation of the Finnish independent sector. He does not hesitate concluding that it was my creation.

The Big Channel Reform 1993 and the Law on Yleisradio (YLE)

Despite benefits for both major partners, MTV was in a better position to transfer the experiences from TV Three to its channel. For MTV, TV Three offered a well-tested schedule which it could now complement with popular programming from its slots on YLE's channels. A part of its programmes, like the main News At Ten, were transferred to TV Three even earlier. For YLE, the so called Big Channel Reform was to be a more traumatic event. Almost over night, it faced a number of empty slots within its schedules that had to be filled by new content. On the annual level, the need for new original programming was calculated at some 600 additional hours.

In order to understand YLE's position in the Big Channel Reform, one should emphasise that YLE's problem was not only to find ways of producing more programmes. In a way, scheduling is the key to understanding of YLE's particular position. The MTV slots within YLE's schedules represented mainly popular prime-time programming. Against this background, one can say that because of the channel reform YLE's two channels were almost emptied of popular prime-time programming. This conclusion is essential as one considers the qualitative challenges of the big channel reform for YLE. From the scheduling point of view, the organisation's main challenge was to rethink its whole prime-time programming strategy; more precisely and crucially it was compelled **to create a prime-time strategy**. A lot of confusion in YLE's programming strategy later, and in prime-time in particular, dates to the situation created by the Big Channel Reform of 1993.

In YLE today, the channel reform is generally considered as a lesson in how not to act in a transition period. Some reference to such a lesson was made by most of my interviewees in this study. The Director of Programmes for TV1 since 1994, Ms. Astrid Gartz, for instance describes her first years in office as a painful confidence building process, following a deep depression (interview 27.6.2000). It is now generally acknowledged that YLE's biggest failure in the channel reform was the change of the transmission time of its main daily news cast at 20.30 hrs. To make such a change in this long-established national institution in such a situation was a present to the competitor, as the Director of Programming for YLE Television, Mr. Heikki Seppälä, now expresses it.

For MTV, the channel reform fulfilled its long-term goal to become a full-fledged and independent broadcaster. Naturally a franchise for its own channel also emphasised MTV's position as a competitor to YLE. In the earlier dual structure of television, the competition aspect was much more latent. For YLE's part, an important aspect of the new competition situation was a special law which the parliament passed in late 1993 concerning the status and position of the company. Since 1994 YLE's operations are based on this special law (in Finnish: *Laki Yleisradiosta*, Law No. 1380/1993). It need not apply for a franchise any more. As to the objectives of YLE, the law adopts the notion of **public service** (in Finnish, *julkinen palvelu*) as the basis of the company's position. The exact formulation in the law reads as follows:

The function of the company is to offer full-service broadcast programming to everyone on equal terms.

The two key aspects of the formulation are full-service broadcast programming and to everyone on equal terms. The former is to say that YLE is supposed to act as a **generalist** broadcaster whose programming covers all the main genres and pays attention to the diversity of contents, values and interests. The latter refers to the principle of universalism which, in relation to broadcasting traditionally, emphasises the right for equal access to services, independent of place of residence and social class.³ In addition to these general aspects of public service, the law identifies a number of so called **special functions** of public service which include, among others, YLE's role in the support of the democratic process, its contribution to the support, creation and development of domestic culture, as well as to furthering enlightenment and education. YLE is also supposed to offer religious programming, treat Finnish- and Swedish-speaking citizens equally and offer services in small minority languages like Sami, Roman and sign language for deaf people.

The prominence of the language aspect in public service requirements is a major historical particularity that makes YLE different from other Nordic

³ Today universalism is also used in relation to content. In that sense, one could say that the full-service obligation is a part of YLE's universalism. I would also add value pluralism among the dimensions of universalism. Such pluralism would not only mean portrayal of different values but would favour interaction and understanding between them. For more discussion on universalism, see Chapter II and Chapter VI.

public broadcasters. Until now, YLE has not been able to offer any full-service television channel to the Swedish-speaking population of the country (around 6 per cent of the population). For example, in 1999 the Swedish-language television of YLE (called FST) transmitted altogether 851 programme hours (2.3 hrs / day on average). These programmes were scheduled in both of YLE's channels, concentrated on Mondays and Tuesdays. How this affects the scheduling process and programming in general will be discussed in detail later. A part of the Swedish-language programming in TV1 and TV2 is subtitled in Finnish. The new digital multiplex of YLE includes a new channel for FST; so gradually this particular problem of scheduling will be solved.

II CONTEXT AND DESIGN OF THE STUDY

Programming and the Transformation of Public Service Television

After the identification of the competition situation of television in Finland and a short review of its historical particularities, the focus will now turn to the question of programming in general, and to scheduling in particular. The concepts of programming and scheduling will be discussed separately later on. To begin, it is enough to say that scheduling is here understood as an aspect of a broader process known as programming. Following Eastman (1993), programming is defined as a tool or practice of broadcasting management which can be divided into three activities — scheduling, evaluation and selection. As regards American commercial television, the context for Eastman's definition, prime-time is probably the most widely known aspect of scheduling. Evaluation refers, primarily, to ratings. Selection refers to production of individual programmes and syndication of series programmes. Experience from American television reveals that intensified channel competition since the 1980's increased the strategic importance of programming (Andersen 1995, Caldwell 1995, Feuer 1995).

As Williams demonstrates in his classic book on television, "the work of programming" has been an element of broadcasting since the very beginning (Williams 1974, 88). As he points out, problems of mix and proportion quickly became predominant in broadcasting policy (ibid.), i.e. the work of programming became fundamental in the historical constitution of broadcasting. Despite that, in the Western European monopolistic tradition of broadcasting the nature of programming and its strategic role remained essentially different from the American commercial model. Prime time and ratings have become the symbols of American network television worldwide. Their importance as such demonstrates the central role of scheduling and of "what the audience wants" orientation in the American approach to television programming.⁴ Competition explains why scheduling became an art in its own right, equipped with a constantly

⁴ The slogan "what the audience wants" is used by Ang (1991, 165-166) to make a distinction between American commercial broadcasting and European public service tradition. The respective slogan in the description of public service broadcasting is "what the audience needs" (see Hellman 1999b, for a similar analysis of Finnish broadcasting).

refined vocabulary and increasingly sophisticated machinery of correlated audience research.

One can argue, however, that the new multi-channel environment, and the parallel commercialisation of television in the 1990's, have increased the **strategic importance of similar programming** practices in the European context of television. Again, competition is the drive. For example, John Ellis, a respected British television theorist, considers scheduling as the power centre of television today (Ellis 2000b, 130-134). He links the central importance of scheduling with a major change of television from an offer-led system to a demand-led system (op.cit., 132). In the Nordic countries, research on the impact of the multi-channel environment of television consistently demonstrates that broadcasters now pay more attention to programming strategies (Hellman 1999a, Syvertsen 1996, Søndergaard 1994, Ytreberg 1999). It is also clear that the increased emphasis on programming concerns not only commercial broadcasting but also public service broadcasting institutions. The crucial point is that channel competition cuts across the public-private division in broadcasting and, as a result, both public and commercial broadcasters have adopted more competitive measures in programming.

Increased channel competition is linked with a major transformation process in public service television that can be described as a change from broadcasting as a national institution to a **cultural industry** (for discussion on this notion, see Lowe & Alm 1997). European industrialisation of broadcasting is in part a result of technological and economic changes in the global market, but it has been accelerated by the de-and re-regulative policies of state governments and supra-national bodies like the European Union.

From the point of view of broadcasters, industrialisation is a response to the challenge of the market; how to produce more and more output in an increasingly competitive environment with limited resources. Standardisation of products and production, as well as of audiences, is central to this transformation. That is why the discourses on formats, channel profiles, branding and audience segmentation are so important today. Channel competition not only means more channels to select. In order to manage the competition over shares, broadcasters have been compelled to also increase their output in established channels. The trend towards a round the clock service (24/7) is prevalent even in traditional

broadcast channels. As Table 1 below shows, Finnish YLE is not an exception.

Compared with the early 1990's, the total output of YLE's two channels almost doubled towards the end of the decade. As hinted earlier, the dramatic increase of programme hours in 1993 is due to the so called Big Channel Reform in that year. However, one should remember that a major part of this rise was the need to fill the empty "slots" left by the former MTV programmes on TV1 and TV2. Another jump in programme hours is due to the introduction of YLE's Morning TV in March 1997. Morning TV is transmitted on TV1 and that is why its transmission time grew faster than in TV2. At the end of the decade, TV1 offered an average of 14.5 programme hours per day, which means a continuous flow of programming from the early morning past mid-night. In TV2, the respective average was 10.6 hours, meaning a programme flow from mid-afternoon to past mid-night.

Table 1 *Growth of Television Output in the Finnish YLE (1991-1999)*

Year	Channel / Programme Hours		
	TV1	TV2	In total
1991-92	3,011	2,348	5,359
1993	3,960	3,124	7,084
1998	5,652	4,040	9,692
1999	5,736	4,287	10,023

As hinted above, one of the typical features of the new multi-channel environment of television is that the increase of output has occurred without a correlated growth in funding. The equation of growing output and saturated budgets is a shared experience of public and commercial broadcasters (Foster 1992, Caldwell 1995). At the same time, production costs have increased more than the average price level because of competition over programme rights and human resources. For a public service broadcaster like YLE, the key economic condition is the licence fee (in Finland now called 'television fee') paid per television household. In YLE's case, the licence fee rose in 1991 before the growth in output demonstrated above (Table 1). The next rise of some 10 per cent was only agreed in late 1999 and became valid from the summer 2000. In the

Annual Report for 1999, YLE's Director General, Mr. Arne Wessberg, refers to the years between the two fee increases and concludes:

The television fee was last raised in 1991, and since then output on television has increased by 80 % and on radio by 40 %. These figures clearly show that the operation is now **more efficient**.

(YLE's Annual Report 1999, 3; emphasis added by TH)

The requirement for more efficiency, in the first case economic but also operational and organisational, is the most typical pressure on public service broadcasters caused by the new competitive environment. It represents the political response to accusations which construe public broadcasters as bureaucratic monsters, over-resourced and wasteful (on this debate, see for example Tracey 1998). But the discourse on efficiency is not only important in the political market. It is also important in the popular market in the legitimation of actions "in front" of the audience. As YLE's former Director of Radio, Mr. Tapio Siikala (retired in May 2001), points out in a comment on YLE's future, YLE needs to demonstrate for the licence-fee payers that their money is not wasted (Siikala 1999). In this sense, efficiency is also important for the transparency and accountability of the organisation's actions.

In the transformation of public service broadcasting, the need for greater efficiency and more industrialisation go hand in hand. Such major trends of transformation form the overall context in which the increased importance of programming should be considered. The outline below (Table 2), aims at structuring the inter-connections between programming and the major trends of public service television. In the design, efficiency is included in the category of goals. For its part, programming is located under management. The other two categories depict the structure and organisation of programme output and of production in Finnish public service television prior to the new digital services. The latter reference to digitalisation is to say that considerable changes of output and production are now taking place as YLE trims its services and organisation for the gradual transfer to digital television. These reforms will be discussed later in the report (Chapter VI).

The outline below (Table 2) can be seen as a summary of the overall design of this case study. The object of the research is **programming**, defined as a tool (or practice) for broadcasting management. The notion of

strategy in relation to programming is to say that the focus here lies on the strategic role of programming; in other words, on how programming aims at controlling the realisation of the overall goals of operations at the level of output and production in the context of a continuously changing media environment. In this sense, programming can be understood as a process which mediates between the policy level and those of output and production. The internal market concept refers to processes of producer choice and commissioning which represent new aspects of broadcasting management closely interlinked with programming.

The overall goals of operation identified in the outline have been discussed before. The list represents the typical response of public broadcasters to channel competition and, in that sense, is not unique to the Finnish situation. In relation to public service, one should emphasise the role of the special law on YLE which makes the requirement a legal norm in Finland. As was documented earlier, the formulation in the law is rather general in nature with wide latitude (except the so called special functions of Finnish public service).

Table 2 *Programming and Transformation of Public Service TV in Finland*

Goals	Management	Output	Production
Public Service	Strategy	TV1 & TV2 (&FST)	TV Division
Efficiency	Programming	Universal Service	Channels
Audience Orientation	Internal Market	Channel Coordination	Producers
Accountability		Profilisation	Projects/Teams
Transparency			Departments
Competitiveness			Resources

			Independents

Among the basic goals, audience orientation, accountability and transparency represent norms that reflect a new way to understand the social responsibility of broadcasters. For contemporary public broadcasters, good intentions like education and the support of the political elite are not enough to justify their social existence. Together with politicians, they are now more dependent on direct support from the popular market; from viewers and listeners acting as citizens and consumers. Most concretely, that dependence is related to people’s willingness to pay their licence fees. If compared to commercial broadcasters, one can say that audience

orientation represents a re-articulation of the commercial 'consumer is the king' principle. One can say that more typically public service broadcasting is accountable to satisfy a much broader nobility: audiences, politicians and the market economy (on the notion of multiple markets of broadcasting, see Alm & Lowe 2001; cf. Lowe and Alm 1997 and Hellman 1999a).

Competitiveness as a goal is not shared without reservations by the protagonists of public service broadcasting. Within YLE, for example, there is a continuous discussion on whether one should strive for big audiences or not; or how to avoid falling into the trap of the "numbers' game" and instead concentrate on "quality". But, since the Big Channel Reform, viewing shares have undeniably become important measures for the evaluation of the company's success in popular markets. At least in that sense, competitiveness is an official policy objective for YLE.

Under the categories of output and production (Table 2), the particularly Finnish conditions of programming are identified as such. The output under study consists of two channels — TV1 and TV2. The letters FST in the brackets refer to Finland's Svenska Television which can be translated to Finland's Swedish-language television. It operates under its own channel brand which makes it a "channel within channels". Organisationally, FST is part of the Swedish-language division of the company, including also Swedish-language radio. In 1999 FST transmitted altogether 851 programme hours (2.3 hours per day), which corresponds to approximately 8.5 per cent of YLE's television output.

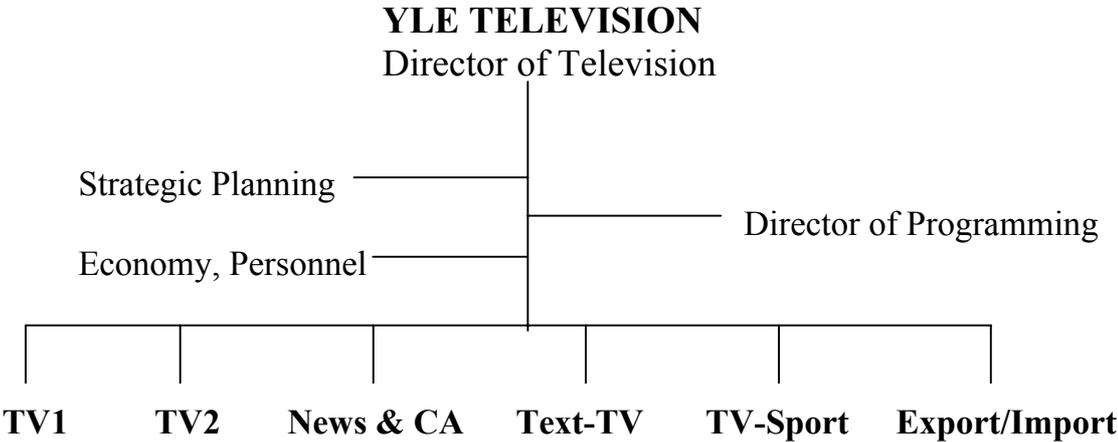
The case of FST illustrates the fact that TV1 and TV2 function as **transmission networks** which consist of programming from various sources in YLE's organisation. As the structure of YLE's television division shows (see Figure 1 below), except for the two transmission channels, YLE Television is comprised of several joint functions like News & Current Affairs and TV-Sport. In 1999, around 64 per cent of the domestic output on TV1 was its own production; the rest was divided between News and Current Affairs (21 %), TV-Sport (5 %) and FST (10 %).⁵ TV1 is the main channel for news and current affairs and also

⁵ A comparison of the Finnish TV programme supply in 2000 showed that the share of domestic programming was more than a half of the total supply in YLE's both channels. The figures were 62 per cent for TV1 and 53 for TV2. The figure for the main commercial channel MTV3 was 66 per cent and for TV Four

transmits more Swedish-language programming. Respectively, TV2 is the dominant channel for sport.

This joint television division was created by the organisation reform in April 1994 in the aftermath of the Big Channel Reform and the special law on YLE. The present industrial organisation of the company dates to that reform. One of the major changes concerned the position of the Director General whose status was changed to that of the Chief Executive (in Finnish, *toimitusjohtaja*). He (for the moment, Mr. Arne Wessberg) was given the right to initiate the selection of his team members, the directors of YLE’s various divisions. The Administrative Council, the politically constituted body controlling YLE, could only decide the names on the basis of Director General’s proposal; and, accept or reject the whole package. The new practice was supposed to stress the editorial independence of YLE and the professionalism of its management in relation to political power. Since 1998, the Board of Directors of YLE has also included independent members external to the company, a practice typical to big private corporations. This practice was, however, skipped recently given an argument that the intensity of participation by outside members had remained low.

Figure 1 *Structure of YLE’s Television Division (1999)*



The joint television division can be seen as a response to the new competitive situation of television, created by the introduction of the

38 per cent. As to foreign programming, European programming dominated YLE's import. Its commercial competitors relied heavily on American programming (TV Four, in particular). (Aslama et al. 2002, 7)

MTV3 channel. As the Director of Programming for YLE Television, Mr. Heikki Seppälä, concluded (interview 31.8.2000) there was a need for more coordinated actions from YLE's side if the company was to manage the competition. In the former structure of YLE the channels were highly independent and, despite efforts at coordination, the channels often competed over similar content and audiences. So as the design in Table 2 demonstrates, **channel coordination** was to become the official policy of YLE in relation to its two television networks. In fact, soon after the adoption of the new structure, the discussion on coordination began changing character. That is why the notion of profilisation is included in the design above. In other words, instead of talking about coordination of parallel actions, the question is now more about the images and profiles of the channels in relation to each other, and also for the television market in general. In summer 2000, profilisation was adopted as the official policy for YLE when planning the transfer to its digital future (more on this in Chapter VI).

Universal service as an aspect of YLE's output represents the outcome of the company's public service function as enacted by the law. Concerning the two channels of YLE, the question is whether universal service is constituted by each channel separately or as a result of the coordinated actions between channels. Since the introduction of the second channel in 1965 there has been continuous discussion about whether the two channels should be complementary or should act as separate full-service channels. In the first ten years TV2 remained complementary for purely technical reasons. But even then it was already clear that there was strong interest both inside and outside the channel to develop it into a generalist channel comparable to TV1. This development was politically favoured by TV2's location in Tampere, outside the capital city of Helsinki. Even in its present iteration, TV2 likes to emphasise its role as the representative of the regions (more on this in Chapter VI).

Thinking through the history of YLE's two channels, one can certainly conclude that the joint television division in 1994 brought together two generalist channels. News was the only major area of production in which TV2 had no tradition. Profiling the channels is now leading to a re-articulation of this tradition. Perhaps the universal service offered by the company will be seen more as a sum total of the various channels and less as a requirement for each channel; and ultimately of a cross-medial endeavour of radio and television plus new media.

As the design in Table 2 shows, **channels have a double function**; they are not only transmission networks but also production entities. This represents the particular historical conditions of European public broadcasting. In an international comparison, one can say that the American commercial networks were predominantly programming organisations and only secondarily production organisations. Despite the so called externalisation, production remains a central function in modern European public service broadcasting. In Finland, the role of the independents has been steadily growing in the course of the 1990's. YLE's main commercial competitor, MTV3, has externalised most of its programme production; the new commercial channel TV Four has only a minimum of its own production (mainly news). By now, YLE also uses a considerable amount of domestic independent production; as a measure of the first-time domestic transmissions, the estimates for 1999 were 22 % on TV1 and 18 % on TV2 (YLE Budget 1999, 67).

At the division level, YLE's new production organisation (since 1994) consists of a number of joint functions which in the beginning included news & current affairs and text TV (see Figure 1 above). Two areas, sport and export & import, were added to the division level only in the late 1990's. The channels consist of production departments as well as resource departments. Recently (2001) however, the separate resource departments were combined and their operations are now coordinated at the division level. A major reform of channel-based production departments has also been started under the rubric of "skill centres". These centres remain within the channel organisation but will receive commissions across the division, and gradually across the whole corporation (more on this later in Chapter VI, concerning the digital future).

As later analysis will demonstrate, the position of production departments within the channels is in many ways problematic today. This ambivalence is related to the growing relevance of scheduling that favours project- and team-based production. In such an organisation, producers adopt the key role as mediators between programming and production. One might even say that they become the guarantors of programming strategy implementation at the level of production. In fact, the keen importance of producers in the present organisation of YLE further demonstrates the growing relevance of programming. In the earlier structure their position was more secondary. As an indication of the change, YLE's strategic documents now list 'producer competencies' among the fundamental

professional qualities needed for the company's success (for example, YLE Vision 2001-2003).

Instead of the public telecom company, the distribution network for broadcasting in Finland has been owned and controlled by the public service broadcaster YLE. As a result of the new Broadcasting Law in 1998 (No. 744/1998), distribution was externalised and organised in the form of YLE's daughter company called Digita. Since then, YLE has been looking for a partner to join that company. At the end of 2000, Télédiffusion de France (TF) bought 49 per cent of Digita's shares. It seems probable that YLE will sell also the rest to the French partner in order to guarantee the funding of its new digital operations. An interesting episode in relation to Digita is that the state telecom company (now called Sonera) was supposed to become YLE's main partner. Sonera decided, however, to withdraw as the competition authorities declared that Sonera's ownership in Digita hindered its application for a digital television franchise.

Programming Discourse as Technology Transfer

In a broad sense, this case study is about programming as a strategic tool for broadcasting management. Following Eastman (1993), programming is seen as a process that is divided into three functions, **scheduling**, **selection** and **evaluation**. In principle, Eastman's definition opens a rather simple point of departure for the analysis of programming operations. One could describe separately each of the three functions, their contents and organisation; analyse their interplay, and end up with conclusions about the whole process. Before doing this, however, one should consider the cultural specificity of Eastman's concept. Based on experiences from American commercial television it does not apply as such to the analysis of European public service television.

In fact, the new forms of broadcasting management to be studied here represent an interesting case of what Moran (1998, 173-174) calls **technology transfer**. Naturally, when speaking of broadcasting management as technology, one deals less with physical items like machines and pieces of hardware and more with organisation and related knowledges. In the context of this study, the vocabulary of scheduling is an example of know-how and practices which can be characterised as technology transfer in the above sense. It is an outcome of a specific social environment, the American commercial television, but became in the 1990's subject to growing interest in the new multi-channel environment of European television.

The evidence of this study and previous research in Finland (Hellman 1999a, 381-420; Lähteenmäki 1999) shows that Finnish broadcasters are well aware of the American scheduling tradition and that they now apply those ideas as a routine part of their daily work. A planning document from the early 1990's demonstrates that American scheduling practice was already a subject of interest and consideration in the corporate planning of YLE when the organisation searched for measures to manage the open channel competition with commercial television (Österlund 1991).⁶ There are also examples of publications in the library of YLE's audience research which indicate that towards the end of the 1980's the company started showing interest in the audience flow aspects of television programming

⁶ The author of the document told me (Correspondence 13.6.2000) that it was never widely distributed. She gave it rather as background material for selected persons.

and to the lead-off / in effects of particular programmes. The new orientation of corporate planning was probably influenced by YLE's co-operation with The University of Texas at Austin, Department of Radio, Television and Film. The first students from YLE were hosted by Horace Newcomb and Thomas Schatz in Austin in 1990. The two scholars came to Finland in 1991 to continue and enlarge the training co-operation.⁷

In the process of technological transfer, a culturally and socially specific technology becomes transported and relocated in a new environment. According to Moran (op.cit., 174), whether the technology will function effectively in the new environment will depend on a range of factors characterising the total system where it is transplanted. In the European understanding, American commercial television has traditionally represented the opposite of public service values, an influential devil's advocacy of alternatives, as formulated by a British critic for over two decades ago (see Wieten et al. 2000, xi). In terms of this tradition, one could hardly imagine that American practices of programming could successfully be transplanted in the European public broadcasting.

On the other hand, as discussed earlier, intensifying competition over audiences is a basic feature of today's multi-channel environment in European television. At the same time, commercialisation increasingly dominates the overall development of European media culture and market-oriented measures are typical to media policy, and even more general cultural and social policy. All these changes have made European broadcasters receptive to the experience and management ideas of American commercial television. The search for new ideas of management has been particularly intensive among public service broadcasters who often turned to management consultants to find solution to problems of economy and political legitimation. YLE's library of research and development demonstrates that serialisation of production and of drama, in

⁷ I thank Dr. Gregory F. Lowe, Senior Adviser at YLE's Corporate Planning, for reminding me of this influence. Dr. Lowe, now also Adjunct Professor at the University of Tampere, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, represents in person the Texas connection at YLE. His PhD work (Lowe 1992) at the University of Texas at Austin dealt with YLE's radio reform in 1990. In the same year he published two influential articles in Finnish discussing the relevance of American radio experience for the Finnish context (see Alm & Salminen 1992).

particular, raised a lot of interest inside the company (Levo-Henriksson 1991, Steinbock 1988 and 1994).

The long list of measures which could be identified as the survival strategies of public service broadcasters includes, according to Tracey (1998, 57-58; see also 259-262), the application of more aggressive and competitive scheduling. His conclusion is that in short the strategy is to respond to all technocratic catchwords and commitments of the modern era by adopting them. The case of the Finnish public broadcaster YLE confirms this general trend which, again according to Tracey (op.cit., 56), characterised almost every major public broadcasting institution already in the 1980's. The search for better and more effective management if anything characterises YLE's corporate development in the 1990's.

Technology transfer can thus be understood as a complex encounter between different social and cultural practices, each originally developed to achieve particular practical ends in varying contexts. Such an encounter will certainly lead to conflicts between old and new and typically requires continuous negotiation of meanings. Thinking about schedule-oriented management, the focus of this study, a special problem of encounter is caused by the fact that the language of scheduling is almost non-existent in the European public broadcasting tradition.

In the study of a national broadcaster like YLE, representing a small specific language area, an additional problem is created by the encounter of the native language tradition and the now dominantly English-language management discourse. An illuminating example of these problems is offered by Lähteenmäki (1999) who interviewed programmers and schedulers of both public and commercial TV channels in Finland in 1997, a couple of years prior to this study. She found for example that there was no fixed Finnish-language meaning for the American term 'programming' and that even scheduling appeared in different versions. Her conclusion was that the field is so new in Finland, and the number of its professionals so small, that the professional discourse mainly uses English-language terminology even if in a slightly domesticised form like 'stripping' which is changed to *strippinki* (op.cit., 12).

The remaining lines of this section will exemplify and discuss further the application of the key concepts of this study, programme / programming and schedule / scheduling in the context of European public service

television and of the Finnish public broadcaster YLE, in particular. This review will illustrate the problems that may arise when the ideas of American programming management are transferred to the European public service environment. Often it seems to result in a dynamic tension between amalgamation and collision (for a comparison of Finnish and American television cultures, see Levo-Henriksson 1994).

In broadcasting, the term ‘programming’ itself is a source of misunderstandings because it can be used in a double sense. As in Eastman’s definition above (p. 30), it can denote a **process** or an **activity** — the work of programming, as formulated by Williams’ characterisation (see p. 21 above). But Eastman illustrates that the term is also applied in relation to broadcasting output with reference to the totality of programmes. The latter usage is in fact more common in the European tradition because it reflects the production orientation of national broadcasters and conceives of programming as a result of the production process, more narrowly defined. As to the encyclopedic meanings of programming in the English language, one should keep in mind that the word may also refer to “a plan or a policy to be followed” or “a list of things to be done, agenda” (Hamlyn Encyclopedic World Dictionary, 1252). These references to a plan, a policy or an agenda demonstrate that the connotations of programming may easily overlap the meanings of the word ‘programme’.

Programming is the noun form of the verb ‘programme’ (‘program’ in American English). Today, most people would connect the verb form as well as the noun with computer technology. In Finnish, the verb ‘programme’ translates into *ohjelmoida*, whose nominal form is *ohjelmointi*. The latter represents also the most immediate understanding of the term ‘programming’ in the Finnish language. Both translations belong to the standard vocabulary of computer processing in Finnish. Despite such a connotation, the two terms capture very well the idea of programming in Finnish as one could reasonably transfer these meanings from computers to broadcasting. In fact, Lähteenmäki’s (op.cit.) study hints that such a transfer might work without problems.

In the American practice, the verb form ‘program’ has two meanings: “to schedule as part of a programme” and “to plan a programme” (Hamlyn Encyclopedic..., *ibid.*). The former corresponds, in fact, to scheduling which is presented as a particular aspect of programming in Eastman’s

model. In other words, in order to schedule you need a programme. To plan a programme, in terms of “policy, agenda or a list of things to be done” (see the references above), is a prerequisite to scheduling. In this sense, programming represents a process which is more basic and general in nature than scheduling. One might think, with reference to Ellis’ division between offer-led and demand-led television (see p. 11 above), that scheduling emphasises the demand aspect of broadcasting while programming as a whole represents the interplay of various aspects (like offer and demand, the multiple markets of broadcasting, etc.).

In broadcasting the word ‘programme’ is most often used as a noun, and refers then to an individual text, item or production. As such, programmes have been essential to the aesthetics of European broadcasting, as Williams demonstrates in his famous analysis (op.cit.). But once again, it appears that the words have different uses and backgrounds. As in a concert or theatre, the noun ‘programme’ has been used also in broadcasting to denote a list of items, pieces, performers etc. In fact, that connotation is historically earlier than the reference to programmes as individual textual units (Hickethier 1991). The Finnish word for a programme, *ohjelma*, includes both connotations. Except the reference to individual programmes, it is used in expressions like “today’s TV programme” or “this week’s TV programme”. This kind of language often indicates the programme selection of a certain channel. This is why the plural form, *ohjelmat* (programmes), can be used instead to generally denote the programme offer of particular channels.

When referring to the whole offer of programmes, the plural *ohjelmat* can be substituted by a singular Finnish word *ohjelmisto*. If one would like to say that there is too much sport in YLE’s output, one could use the word *ohjelmisto* to indicate the total programme output of the company or some of its channels. This word translates most easily into English as a “programme output”, but it can also be translated into “programming”. In this case, programming should be understood as a totality of programmes of a time period, a broadcaster or a channel.

In the historical perspective, programming is understood first of all as a **planning activity** in the Finnish broadcasting tradition. In this sense, the Finnish practice corresponds to the encyclopedic meaning of programming in English, that of planning a programme. This is exactly the connotation of the most typical Finnish word for programming, *ohjelmistonsuunnittelu*,

which translates into English as ‘programme planning’. The reference to a programme is used here in the meaning of the total programme output, not of an individual item or production. However, there is an alternative translation for programming which reads *ohjelmasuunnittelu*. As in the English language, the word *ohjelma* for a programme can be used in a double sense; referring either to the total programme output or to an individual production. In the present context of television, these terms could be used to make a distinction between programming in general and the selection aspect of the process. In other words, the latter formulation (*ohjelmasuunnittelu*) would then refer to the selection and planning of individual programme items or series of programmes. That is now an activity which is central to a process called “commissioning” (see further in Chapter V).

One can hardly imagine broadcasting without some sort of programme planning. One can argue, however, that within YLE the status and nature of programme planning changed essentially in the late 1960’s, the period of rapid modernisation of broadcasting in Finland. YLE set up the so called **long-term planning** department (known as PTS) which, for example, played a key role in the introduction of broadcasting research in Finland (on this history, see Hujanen 1997 and 1995). It became most known for its normative, policy-oriented work concerning the long-term goals of broadcasting (Nordenstreng 1972 and 1973). But it was also responsible for a new function called programme co-ordination (in Finnish, *ohjelma-koordinaatio*), a need related to the scheduling of YLE’s two parallel television channels.⁸ As TV2 grew and gained more independence, the policy of co-ordination remained, however, secondary until the 1990’s.

The development of co-ordination is an example of how the status of programme planning within YLE is now totally different compared to its earlier role. In the new organisation of the company since 1994, co-ordination belongs to the central responsibilities of the new director of programming at the division level. In comparison with the origin of co-ordination, the result of the change is that co-ordination is now a central **management activity**, while earlier it was an aspect of general corporate planning. A similar change applies to the whole range of programme planning. Whereas programme planning was before mainly a support

⁸ In fact, as pointed out by Hellman (1999a, 111), co-ordination also applied to MTV, YLE's commercial partner which operated within the schedules of TV1 and TV2.

function for management, it is now a core element of management. In this sense, Finnish public service television is hardly different from its commercial competitors. Such a change also gives reason to believe that Ellis' conclusion about the powerful position of scheduling fits very well into the Finnish situation. In other words, as an exercise of power one might conclude that also within YLE scheduling and other programming operations now play a clearly more central role than before.

Except efforts for co-ordination, the aspect of scheduling (of the programming process) remained "a black art" in Finland, as Ellis points out in relation to the BBC in Britain (op.cit., 132). In fact, it seems that in a longer perspective scheduling has been understood strictly in the sense of "to schedule as a part of a programme". The traditional Finnish word for scheduling is *ohjelmansijoittelu* which can be used with reference to 'scheduling'. But strictly speaking, the latter half of the word means a process of 'giving place' or 'making room' for something, in this case a programme. These references show that the traditional Finnish expression for scheduling neglects the time dimension of scheduling. It avoids also a direct reference to the structure itself, in other words: the schedule. In the Finnish version, the structure as present is only implied. For most users, the word implies that the issue is to "give place" for a particular programme in a weekly programme offer or in some other period of programming. Or to put it simply, to give place for a programme in a programme; if playing with the double meaning of the word.

Presently, the schedule is most often translated into Finnish as *ohjelmakaavio* and the process of scheduling as *kaaviosuunnittelu*. The first means 'programme schema' and the second 'schema planning'. Sometimes, although more in radio than in television, the metaphor of a map (in Finnish, *kartta*) substitutes for schema. Once again, it is significant that the Finnish terminology does not make direct reference to time. In this sense, there is an interesting tension in Finland between discourse on scheduling and its practice. Planning for a schema or map implies a content- and space-oriented process. Thinking about the history of public service broadcasting, one can conclude that such language characterises the supply-oriented tradition of programming, i.e. "giving the audience what it needs."

In her study on the scheduling of news programmes, Lähteenmäki (op.cit., 12) points out that one might translate scheduling into Finnish in the form

of *aikatauluttaminen*, referring to a process of making or creating a time table. In this way, one could well capture the time processing nature of scheduling. However, she selects not to use the term because, as she says, the traditional approach of *ohjelmansijoittelu*, that of making room for a programme, fits to the actual practice of broadcasters. But as the analysis will later show, the traditional approach to scheduling is undergoing a change and scheduling has become a key function of the new audience orientation of YLE Television. Accordingly, scheduling practices concentrate now more on processing time in the search for compatibility between demand and offer.⁹

The above review demonstrates that the uses of the term ‘programming’ (including the aspect of scheduling) varies even within broadcasting. Knowing this, it is important to emphasise that this study is about programming in a particular sense which is historically linked with the programme planning activities of the public service broadcasting organisation. Against this tradition, programming could be defined as a **planning process** which aims at creating a programme, in terms of policy or agenda, for broadcasting. Naturally, the notion of ‘programme’ in this connection refers to the overall output of a broadcaster.

However, as hinted above, the status of programming is now essentially different from the programme planning tradition. Not only in the commercial sector but also in present public service broadcasting, programming is understood more and more as a strategic tool and, as such, it has become a key element of broadcasting management. In this perspective, it might be then more fitting to define programming as a **management process** which aims at developing a programme for broadcasting in terms of policy and agenda; and/or thinking about the present discourse, in terms of branding, formatting, channel profiles, image, etc. As to the central importance of audience orientation in the new competitive environment, such a programme would naturally look for the compatibility of demand and offer.

⁹ In fact, as pointed out by Scannell (1996, 9), time is the medium in which radio and television exists. As he says, it is that which has to be filled with a content, it is that which is 'spent' in listening and viewing.

Schedule as Text and Process

In the analysis below, the broadcasting schedule is considered in two ways: as a text and a process. With reference to the earlier discussion on the concepts of programming and programme, one might conclude that, in a sense, a schedule is like a programme in the meaning of a plan or a policy to be followed or a list of things to be done, an agenda. However, a simple example will demonstrate that there is an essential difference between the two concepts. The description of broadcasting output is typically a programme printed on a newspaper page or in a magazine. Most often such a programme lists a day's or a week's broadcasting output. The schedule is included in the printed programme, but only seldom published as such. This condition describes the basic nature of a schedule in relation to television audiences: it affects and structures our relationship with television, but remains basically implied. That is why the section of analysis below which deals with the construction of audiences makes reference to the **implied schedule**.

The schedules appear, however, in an explicit textual form, as well. A typical case for that is a **seasonal schedule** which is used in the annual scheduling process of television channels. In YLE Television, versions of such schedules are the basic documents when discussing scheduling inside the core group of programmers and in their consultation with producers. A new textual form of schedules is related to the system of commissioning. The orders and offers moving in that process represent, in fact, excerpts or elements of the schedule. As these examples show, the explicit schedule is a very concrete tool for broadcasters, as Eastman formulated in her basic definition of programming. More than earlier, broadcasters now apply the schedule as a tool also in their programme promotion and marketing campaigns. This represents an effort to break the implicitness of the schedule; to make the audiences conscious of it. For example, TV1 published a printed report (88 pages) presenting its programme output for Autumn 2000. The inside back cover is a colourful print out of the seasonal schedule.

But when using the schedule as a tool, broadcasters must make a number of essential choices that ultimately structure their programme output and, accordingly, their relationship with audiences as well as with society as a whole. In that sense, the schedule is more than a tool; it is a key process in the construction of broadcasters' relationship with their audiences and

society in general. This is why one could, at a more general level, analyse broadcasting schedules as a cultural form (see Williams 1974, as a classic example). A recent example of such an analysis is offered by Ellis (2000a and b) who considers the schedule as the locus of power in television, the mechanism whereby demographic speculations are turned into a viewing experience (Ellis 2000a, 26). He refers also to the social and cultural role of the schedule by concluding that any schedule contains the distillation of the past history of a channel, of national broadcasting as a whole, and of the particular habits of national life (ibid.). According to Ellis, at its simplest, a **schedule is a grid** which divides the broadcasting day into slots of 30 minute durations (ibid.). He continues:

Each slot is attributed a programme, ignoring the surrounding material of adverts, trailers, continuity announcements and the rest which are fitted merely by making each programme shorter than its slot length. The grid contains fixed points, programmes and genres that don't move, because they contain:

- (a) inscribed assumptions about everyday life, about school hours, working hours, mealtimes, family togetherness and apartness, bedtimes for children []
- (b) the annual pattern of seasons, events and the special occasions []
- (c) traditional slots, which are required by the regulators or are simply habitual []
- (d) assumptions about what the competition does and might do[]

(op.cit., 26-27; exclusions by TH)

The metaphor of grid, as used by Ellis, is useful in two ways. First, it visualises the textual outlook of the schedule as a network of horizontal and vertical lines. In fact, one of the typical ways to analyse broadcasting schedules is to pay attention to the horizontal and vertical dimensions of the schedule (for examples, see Hellman 1999a, Syvertsen 1996, Søndergaard 1994). For this sort of scheduling practice and analysis, one can also apply an entire vocabulary, typically of American origin, focusing on the flow of individual programmes within a channel and on their assumed competitors on other channels (for Finnish examples, see Lähtenmäki 1999 and Hujanen 2000; on the vocabulary, Pringle et al. 1999, Eastman & Ferguson 1997, Eastman 1993; for a classic inside view of the practice, see Gitlin 1983). For the second, the metaphor fits well to illuminate the function of the broadcasting schedule; in other words, it represents the schedule as a structure which sets the basic contours of people's orientation in a social and cultural space. That space is naturally

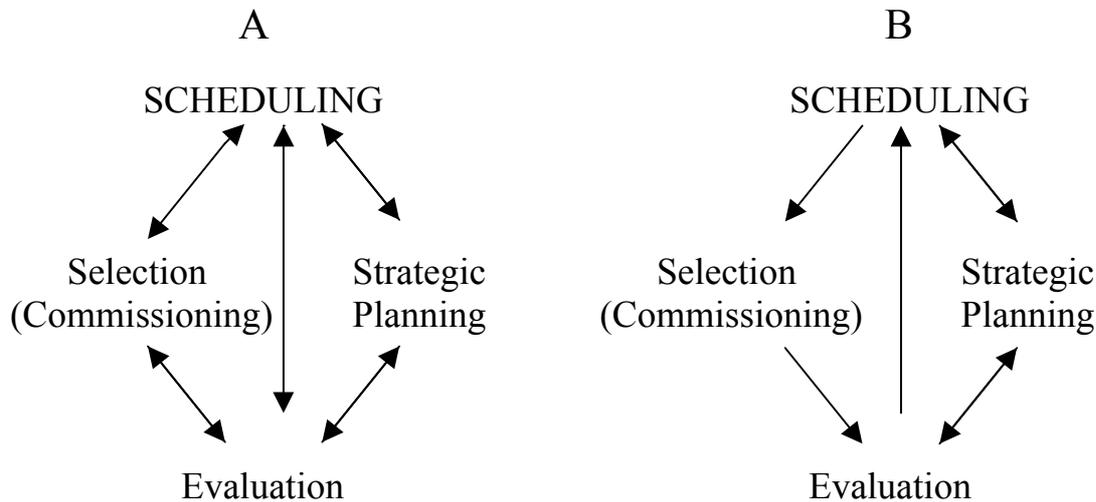
broadcasting and its interconnection with the society and culture as a whole.

In the context of the present study, I elected to use the metaphor of grid in the analysis of the relationship between programming and production. That is why the respective chapter is entitled Schedule as a Grid; Schedule and Production (see Chapter V). The point here is to stress the management dimensions of the schedule, which make the schedule more compelling in relation to production than to audiences. As to reception in general, in relationship with audiences the schedule is more about negotiating meanings than direct execution of power. In that respect, the notion of implied schedule better grasps the characteristics of the schedule-audience relationship. The term makes a conscious reference to Ang's (1991) use of the idea of an implied audience. In a similar way, one could suppose that there is a qualitative distinction between the implied schedule and the schedule which audiences select to construct. This study focuses on the broadcaster's point of view and emphasises, accordingly, the implied schedule (for a study on the audience's constructions of the schedule, see Hargrave 1995; cf. Jensen 1994 and Ridell 1996).

Summary of Approach and Research Questions

The two models in Figure 2 (below) summarise the idea of programming management as applied in the analysis of the research data below:

Figure 2 *Programming As a Strategic Tool for Broadcasting Management*



The first model (A) presents programming as a structure of four types of processes named as **scheduling**, **selection**, **evaluation** and **strategic planning** (please note the arrow directions). Except the last aspect, the model consists of elements included in Eastman's definition of programming, discussed above. Strategic planning is added to the structure for two reasons: It represents a re-articulation of the old programme planning tradition in terms of the present-day strategic management. That emphasises the hybrid nature of public service broadcasting today. The new forms do not necessarily substitute for the old ones, but they may at least in part converge into the tradition. For the second, strategic planning illuminates the double nature of evaluation process. This is to say that evaluation is not only about the schedule and the individual productions included there, but it has also a more general and long-term function. The former functions are represented in the model by a direct connection between evaluation and scheduling, as well as by the feed-back through selection; the latter by a dialogue between evaluation and strategic planning, and further with scheduling.

Logically, it might be reasonable to put strategic planning on the top of the model, and continue with scheduling on the left. But the point of the model

is to argue that there is in practice a **hierarchical** relationship between scheduling and the other elements of the structure. That is why scheduling is written in capital letters and located on the top of the model. In YLE, the importance of scheduling is demonstrated by the name of the new management practice related to programming, that of Management by Schedule (in Finnish, *kaaviojohtaminen*). As the analysis will later show, this practice gives scheduling a central position in the programming process.

Despite the top priority of scheduling, it is supposed that there is a dialogic relationship between the various aspects of programming (cf. Ytreberg 2001, 52-57). That condition is represented in the model by inter-connections, by arrows which point to dimensions rather than a direction. One might, however, draw the model in an alternative way as represented by version B. There the connections between scheduling, selection and evaluation are presented as a one-way cycle — to emphasise the power position of scheduling. In this version, strategic planning connects with the cycle through feed-back to evaluation and scheduling.

The importance of scheduling was above connected with the demand-led nature of today's television. That change is a result of increased channel competition that is now leading to a new phase of television that Ellis calls "television of plenty" (2000b, 162-178). In such an environment, promotion and marketing have a crucial role in the competition over audiences. Therefore, pertaining to the models above, a question remains: how to consider the role of promotion and marketing in general relationship to the programming process? As to programme promotion, one might think that it complements the selection aspect of programming; by informing about individual productions and their place in the schedule. But in broadcasting today, marketing is much more than programme promotion, as the discussion on **branding** and channel profiles demonstrates. At that level, marketing is like strategic planning; more long-term than scheduling, but in a dialogic relationship with the immediate cycle of scheduling, selection and evaluation (cf. Figure 3 on p. 73 below).

In their book about branding television, McDowell & Batten (1999) point to an interesting distinction between branding and promotion. It is worth noticing that the authors discuss branding as a new and emergent phenomenon, even for commercial television. According to the authors, the

first step in distinguishing between the two concepts is to answer the following questions: 1) Does this promotion project enhance the **reputation** of my brand? 2) Does this promotion project offer **enduring reasons** why my brand is superior to my competition? (op.cit., 14; bolding in the original) Answering "no" to these questions means that the project is about promoting; respectively, the "yes" answer would indicate branding. An additional distinction made by the authors represents branding as a consumer-oriented action — "branding focuses more on the **consumer**, rather than the product" (ibid.; emphasis in the original). The later formulation illuminates why there is a growing interest towards branding and related actions in modern television. As the example of scheduling demonstrates, television generally now focuses more on the consumer than earlier. In this sense, branding presents a promise also for the audience-oriented design of public service television.

The above model of programming and its contextualisation earlier, in terms of the new competitive situation of television and the transition of public service broadcasting, form the point of departure for the following description and analysis of the scheduling process. The object of the study is the Finnish public service broadcaster YLE and its two channels TV1 and TV2. The time span of the study reaches from the Big Channel Reform of 1993 to the launch of the new digital channels in August 2001. However, the more detailed analysis of scheduling focuses on one year only, namely 1999; and secondarily, on the follow-up of key processes in year 2000. The year 1999 was jointly selected as the comparative focus for the case studies by the Nordic research team.

Generally, the purpose of the study is to analyse and discuss **the status and characteristics of the scheduling process in today's public service television**. As to the status of scheduling, the basic hypothesis is that scheduling has become a central aspect of broadcasting management; in other words, scheduling is not only planning activity but also the exercise of management power. The increased power of scheduling is a response to the new competitive environment of broadcasting and represents the general industrialisation of television. In that context, competitiveness and the pursuit of economic and organisational efficiency are central to broadcasting management, including scheduling. As an aspect of programming, scheduling characterises the demand-led nature of today's television. In that respect, its analysis is central for the understanding of the new audience orientation of today's public service television.

As to the characteristics of scheduling, it is supposed that scheduling reflects the nature of strategic management, the need for keeping control over the continually changing media environment. In this sense, scheduling is **a measure to manage uncertainty**, as one of the definitions for strategic management indicates (Wiio 1999, 33-36). Managing a continuous change emphasises the need for closely linking strategic and operative actions (ibid.). Such a link is necessary in order to make it possible for an organisation to act proactively rather than responsively. The proactiveness of scheduling means that the strategic assessment of the immediate and future environment is linked with the present-tense operative action. In this sense, the emphasis on scheduling means a farewell to the goal-oriented rationality of the old planning culture; a way of action, which focused on the implementation of future in terms of plans and which, if necessary, mainly responded to the present.

The analysis below will at first review and analyse the Big Channel Reform of 1993 and the adoption of Management by Schedule as an aspect of the new organisation and management of YLE Television in 1994 (Chapter III); and for the second task, describe and analyse programming and scheduling as organisation and process inside YLE Television as they appeared in 1999 and 2000 (Chapter IV). After that, the main body of the study will concentrate on analysing the applications of Management by Schedule in YLE's television management during the latter half of the 1990's (Chapter V). Finally, the future of Management by Schedule will be discussed in relation to YLE's digital strategy (Chapter VI). The listed themes below, corresponding to the titles of the respective paragraphs, indicate the approach and problems of the analysis:

Scheduling as power; from strategy to action

Here, scheduling is considered as a form of exercising power. Who has power in scheduling, and what kind of power? How does the link between strategic and operative actions work?

Schedule as a grid; schedule and production

How is the relationship between programming and production articulated by the schedule and the scheduling process? How is that relationship re-articulated by the principles and practices of Management by Schedule? How similar or different are the experiences from scheduling by programmers and producers?

Scheduling as market and economy; commissioning

How does scheduling work as an aspect of the internal market of broadcasting and, in particular, of the process of commissioning? Scheduling and economic rationality?

The implied schedule; how to construct an audience

Scheduling and the new audience orientation of public service television.

Scheduling as programming; mediating demand and offer

The function of scheduling as an aspect of the overall programming process? The compatibility of demand and offer.

Scheduling in context; public service and competitiveness

How and in what amount is scheduling constitutive to public service? The problem of prime-time and the construction of public service at YLE Television. The tension between competitiveness and public service. Re-articulations of YLE's social responsibility.

Towards the digital future: from co-ordinated universalism to profilisation

Digital television as a strategic choice. How will digitisation affect the nature and status of the television schedule? The future of Management by Schedule in the digital multiplex; how to balance schedule-oriented and content-oriented management?

Research Data

The main research data consists of two kinds of material: 1) records and documents on programming and scheduling activities, including strategic planning and evaluation, 2) interviews with relevant actors of the programming / scheduling process.

In YLE Television, scheduling was at the moment of the case study dominantly a channel-level activity. Accordingly, the data collection concentrated on channels and considered only secondarily the division and corporate level. YLE's television channels have both two sorts of regular meetings which keep systematic records of their discussions:

- Board Meetings, chaired by Director of Programmes; every second week in TV1 and once a month in TV2.
- Programme Meetings, chaired by Director of Programmes and in his/her absence by Head of Programming; every second week in TV1 and once a month in TV2.

I checked through the records of these two meetings for 1998, 1999 and in part for 2000. The records are useful in identifying the agenda and issues for discussion. They offer, however, little information about the discussion itself and even less about different opinions in relation to considered issues. Especially in relation to audience research data, the information is often very poor. There may be a notice telling that, for example, the spring schedule was evaluated by a guest from the audience research department; but no information added about what was said or which conclusions were made. Luckily, the records were often complemented by attachments, including papers and documents distributed in advance or on the spot for the participants. The attachments offer an opportunity to follow the various versions of annual and seasonal schedules.

Other relevant documents used in the analysis include YLE Budgets for 1999 and 2000, 3-year planning documents as well as annual plans for activities, seasonal and annual reports, the audience report (introduced in 1999) and occasional other documents on special issues. An example of the last category is a series of letters from the production departments of TV1, concerning the definition of the public service remit.

The second body of data consists of 16 interviews with relevant actors of the programming and scheduling process. The interviewees are listed below by channel, sex, name and position (in the time of the interview):

YLE-Television (division level)

Mr. Heikki Seppälä, Director of Programming

Mr. Vesa Pihanurmi, Head of Planning

TV1

Ms. Astrid Gartz, Director of Programmes

Mr. Ilkka Koskimies, Head of Programming

Ms. Sirkka Minkkinen, Head of Planning

Ms. Riitta Pihlajamäki, Head of Programme Planning (commissioning editor for Fact)

Mr. Kari Kyrönseppä, Head of Programme Planning (commissioning editor for Fiction)

Ms. Leena Pasanen, Head of Documentaries

Mr. Olof Qvickström, Head of Music and Entertainment

TV2

Mr. Jyrki Pakarinen, Director of Programmes

Ms. Päivi Kärkkäinen, Head of Programming (acting as commissioning editor for Fiction)

Ms. Ulla Karva, Head of Planning

Ms. Ulla-Riitta Saarainen, Head of Scheduling

Mr. Risto Heikkilä, Head of Factual Programming (commissioning editor for Fact)

Mr. Juha Rosma, Head of Drama

Mr. Ilkka Saari, Head of Factual Programmes

In total, 9 men and 7 women = 16 persons.

The interviews cover all key persons within the two channels who are directly involved in the process of programming and scheduling. Two persons (Heikki Seppälä, Vesa Pihanurmi) represent the division level. For the moment, the division level is important in resource allocation and co-ordination of the two television channels. But it is easy to see that its role in programming and scheduling is growing and will expand further in the framework of the ongoing 3-year period 2001-2003. The more channels inside YLE and the more competition outside, the more important is the co-ordinating role of the division level.

In addition, four persons from 'production' were interviewed in order to compare the perspectives of programming and production. These persons represent different areas of production, covering documentaries (TV1), music and entertainment (TV1), factual programs (TV2) and drama (TV2). The notion of factual programs refers to public affairs and service programmes which are separated from news and current affairs. In the qualification of this data, the key point is that all the covered areas of production belong to the system of commissioning. This newly introduced system represents a link between programming and production, and was therefore selected as one of the focus areas of the study.

Commissioning represents the selection aspect of scheduling and links Management by Schedule with the application of the internal market. All the interviewees were asked to consider their experiences from these reforms. As to the four persons from production, the question of the interaction between programming and production was given central attention; in particular, how they felt about the power division between those two sectors. As heads of production departments (in Finnish, *toimitus*), these people represent a kind of historical relic because they are supposed to control an organisational unit which was becoming an anomaly in the new producer-oriented organisation. Because of this change, it was reasonable to put the future of production departments on the agenda of discussion. The hypothesis is that production departments have played an important role as value communities (as carriers of public service values, for example) and that in the new organisation of YLE Television this function seemed to become problematic (cf. Hujanen 1993, 13).

The major part of the interviewees (12 persons) represent the broadcaster's point of view and could be identified as programmers and schedulers. In their case, except the evaluation of the organisational and management reforms mentioned above, the interviews concentrated on describing and evaluating the schedules and the scheduling process of YLE's television channels (with variations of emphasis, depending on the position of the particular person). The following themes highlight the discussion agenda:

- strong / weak sides of the schedules on each channel
- practices and principles of scheduling
- discourse on scheduling
- status and position of scheduling

- division of work and power in programming / scheduling
- economy and scheduling
- the role of public service values in scheduling
- channel competition and scheduling

The interviews took place in the office of the respective persons and lasted from 60 to 90 minutes. Before starting the tape-recorded interviews, I had a preliminary interview with three persons, representing the television division (Heikki Seppälä), TV1 (Ilkka Koskimies) and TV2 (Päivi Kärkkäinen). This phase was needed in order to sketch a general view over the problem area within YLE and, then, approach the later interviews from a more informed position. That kind of approach is preferable when speaking to experts or people in a power position.

The time focus of discussions was originally set on 1999, but I realised soon that there was no reason to limit discussion on the year 2000 or future prospects. Most interviews took place in the late spring and early summer of 2000 in a time when a number of big issues were discussed in YLE's organisation like the now decided channel profilisation in the ongoing 3-year period 2001-2003. The further one went, the more energy needed to motivate the interviewees to discuss the past. Thinking of the big issues in the present and future, 1999 seemed hopelessly past and old history for many interviewees. In retrospect, it seems that such an attitude at least in part reflects the need and interest to emphasise the distinction between the past and the present. In other words, the situation is now better and, even better in the future.

The reason why the Nordic research team selected the year 1999 as the focus of study is related to the strategic nature of scheduling. It was supposed that the strategic importance of the process would make it difficult to consider it in the present tense. The suspicion was that too many details were lost because of the need for secrecy. My experience from this case study indicates the suspicion was basically reasonable. In particular, the use of audience research data in relation to scheduling is considered of high strategic value and, accordingly, its distribution to outsiders (including academic researchers) is heavily controlled. The official reason for restrictions is the market value of the research data; those who use and order it need to pay for the full value. Even the later use of that data, like for the year 1999, needs special care and arrangements. However, as the example of the big issues of the future shows above, in

terms of motivation it was easier to talk about the present than return to the past. This motivation reflects the nature of strategic management; act now and be prepared for the future.

The analysis below is based on the interplay of the two bodies of data. As with any such data, the interviews can principally be used in two purposes. First, they can be used to deliver facts about the history and present practices of programming and scheduling. These operations are today very informal in nature and, as to the core group of actors, hardly any records of operations are available. Since the introduction of computer assisted scheduling (Plasma) in the late 1999, more and more interaction is taking place on-line in the internal computer network. By comparing the interviews and complementing them with available document materials, one can try to verify the facts delivered by individual interviewees. The interviews also play a key role when trying to understand and identify the scattered and often very unsystematic information in the document materials.

In addition to facts, the interviews consist of interpretations of historical development and the present-day environment from **the actor's point of view**. In this sense, the interviews deliver personal opinions, likings and dislikings of the actors, but also articulations of corporate policy as well as rationalisations of the interviewees' own actions. An interesting example of the later aspect is offered by the interview with the Director of Programmes for TV2, which after several cancellations finally took place in August 2000. It seemed that he had postponed the interview until he felt that he really had something to say. That something was about the policy of channel profilisation which the company adopted in June 2000 as the strategy for the future. According to the director, TV2 played a key role in the initiation of the strategy (for more on this, see Chapter VI).

III TOWARDS PROACTIVE PROGRAMMING

YLE Television Meets Uncertainty: Scheduling and the Big Channel Reform (1993)

The Big Channel Reform of 1993 was in many ways a turning point in Finnish television history. For the commercial programme company MTV, it was a dream come true, a present from Santa Claus for whom it had been waiting for 35 years, as a writer in Helsingin Sanomat, the biggest newspaper in Finland, put it (Hellman 1992). For the public service broadcaster YLE, the reform marked the beginning of an open channel competition between commercial and public television. The intensive press coverage of the reform, prior to it and soon after, shows that commentators and broadcasters alike saw that the reform marked a new era in the history of Finnish television.

Prior to the reform, as demonstrated earlier, the commercial programme company MTV operated within YLE's channels; and, in addition, the then only commercial television channel TV Three (since 1987) was run as a joint venture between YLE and MTV Finland. As a result of the reform, MTV was allowed to take over TV Three's network from the 1st of January 1993, and the channel was renamed MTV3. In September, MTV3 was granted its own operating licence which ended the old dualism in the relationship between YLE and MTV. Finally, at the end of the year the parliament passed a special law on Yleisradio (YLE), making the public service broadcaster free from the periodic franchising procedure.

YLE's Annual Report 1993 welcomed the new law and concluded that it confirms and strengthens YLE's status, the basis of its financing, and the autonomous programme policy striving for public and full service (p. 68). Knowing the situation in which the conclusion was drawn, it now sounds quite comforting, like trying to address all those who had been worried about YLE's future. Among those who needed comforting were not only YLE's personnel but also those politicians who had acted in YLE's favour when passing the law; and not least the general public, the viewers who started voting with their remote controllers and moved over to YLE's commercial competitor. So despite all the turbulence of the channel reform, the annual report anticipated better times ahead.

But for YLE's part, the channel reform was both an operational and image failure. One might even describe the result of the reform as a catastrophe for YLE, thinking about how quickly the publicity around the company turned from bold, optimistic press conferences to news reports about YLE's bosses hiding the press behind their secretaries. Within a week after the reform, the newspapers started touting that YLE seemed to lose the competition in its most sacred area, the news broadcasts. Towards the end of the first month (January 1993) it was already clear that YLE's main news magazine hardly captured 800 000 people, while before it reached at its best almost 2 million. On January 23, the biggest afternoon paper (Ilta-Sanomat) announced in a weekend feature that YLE's channel reform turned to a catastrophe — YLE's leadership in panic. The next week, on January 27, the same newspaper continued that even politicians acknowledged YLE's failure. Parallel to that, less than a month from the introduction of the reform, YLE's leadership announced that the main news would return to its old place in the schedule on the 1st of March. A week later, it was confirmed that the early evening magazine *Suomen Televisio* (translates to Finland's Television) would be cancelled and replaced by separate programmes.

Despite quick steps backward in YLE's strategy, the drama around the company continued, and towards the end of the spring it was clear that someone must carry the responsibility of the failure. On April 30, the biggest regional newspaper in Finland, Aamulehti, pointed to the role of TV1's director in its editorial and concluded: Thank you and good bye Mr. Aarno Kaila? The question mark at the end indicates the writer is still hesitant about the conclusion. But good bye to Mr. Kaila really happened in the course of the coming year; and the then Director General of the company and now a member of the European Parliament, Mr. Reino Paasilinna, was compelled to follow suit. Mr. Kaila in particular was seen as too political in his background, considering the requirements of YLE's management in the new situation. Mr. Kaila was, prior to YLE, the secretary of the conservative party. Mr. Paasilinna, the Director General, had been a Social Democratic member of parliament, but he also had a long career as a journalist in YLE and later as a diplomat. The platform for changes in leadership and organisation was offered by the special law on YLE which was under preparation in the government in the middle of YLE's crisis.

As a result of the new law, the status of Director General was changed to that of the **Chief Executive**, whose possibilities to guide the organisation were clearly increased. As a symbol of the increased power, this Director General was given the right to initiate the selection of his / her team members, the directors of YLE's various divisions. The Administrative Council, the politically constituted body controlling YLE, could only decide the names on the basis of Director General's proposal; and, accept or reject the whole package. The new practice was supposed to stress the editorial independence of YLE and the professionalism of its management. The new Director General, Mr. Arne Wessberg, was selected from within the company; then working as the Director of TV2. He was affiliated with the Social Democratic party, but was not a politician. He had worked as a journalist in YLE, but later went into the banking business. Mr. Wessberg and his team directors took over on the 1st of April 1994, after a major organisational reform within YLE following the adoption of the special law on YLE. As to television, the most important change was the creation of the joint television division which collected together all Finnish-language programme operations. This basic organisation remained for the rest of the decade; including Mr. Wessberg and his team directors. At least in this sense, it seemed that the new law favoured, as was hoped, the stabilisation of YLE's position.

YLE Annual Report 1994, reporting about the introduction of the new television division, describes the rest of the year as a time of getting organised, a sort of a new beginning (p. 18). Among the challenges identified with the personnel, the book lists besides the organisation and management of the division itself the full-scale reform of TV1's organisation. In this way, the yearbook confirms TV1's central role in the failure of the channel reform. In fact, TV2 was able to increase its share of viewing in the first year of the reform; distinct from TV1 whose share, despite quick corrections of the strategy, went down radically. The comparison of viewing shares in autumn 1992 and spring 1993 shows that TV1 lost about one quarter of its audience, as TV2 increased more than ten per cent (Soramäki 1994). Still TV1 remained the dominant YLE channel with a share of 23.3 per cent in spring 1993, compared to TV2's 20.6 per cent. Including the Swedish-language FST, YLE's total share in the spring season gained 45.5 per cent and grew to 46.1 on the annual level. As demonstrated in Table 3 below, the share went close to 50 per cent later but never reached that figure.

Table 3 *YLE's Viewing Shares in Comparison with Its Commercial Competitors 1992-2000*

Year	TV1	TV2	YLE Total	MTV3	TV Four (<i>Nelonen</i>)
1993	24	21	47	47	-
1994	24.8	19.5	46.0	46.2	-
1995	25	20	47	46	-
1996	25	21	48	44	-
1997	24.3	22.4	48.5	43.5	3.5
1998	23.7	20.5	45.8	42.1	7.1
1999	23	20	43	42	10
2000	22.6	19.7	42.3	40.4	11.5
2001	22.8	20.5	43.3	39.1	11.6

Notice: The figures are presented as documented by YLE Annual Reports / Audience Reports (since 2000).

In the press coverage, TV2 and its director, Mr. Wessberg, were praised for their policy of small-step changes. A popular magazine called Apu (translates to Help) offered an illuminating example of how differently YLE's two channels were evaluated. In a feature about the channel reform on January 22, Mr. Wessberg was thanked for his conservatism, his patience for not rushing for too many reforms. According to the magazine, in the middle of line-production entertainment and low-cost programming, YLE's TV2 shines like a diamond.

TV1's failure was particularly dramatic, however, because it was supposed to take the responsibility for big audiences in competition with MTV3 in the evening schedule before 21.00. Respectively, as noted by YLE Annual Report 1993 (p. 18), the two channels agreed that TV1 would not transmit its own-produced programming for big audiences after that time limit, known as "the watershed" between family-type programming and late evening programmes. The arrangement was described by Mr. Arto Hoffrén, the then director of programming for TV2, in a newspaper report as a principle to transmit TV1's best programming prior to 21 and that of TV2 after the limit (Aamulehti 12.11.1992). Inside YLE, the agreement became known as the hook-schedule (in Finnish, *koukkukaavio*), visualising the intension of the structure to lead the big audiences from TV1 into TV2 across the watershed.

Despite efforts for coordinated action, the two channels of YLE each had their particular approach to the channel reform. On the basis of the press coverage, it seems that TV1 wanted to become profiled as the main competitor of MTV3; remaining number one in news and current affairs, and challenging the commercial competitor also in entertainment. In order to reach these goals, it created a programme block from 20 to 21 entitled as *Uutistunti* (translates to News Hour). The critical decision here concerned the time of the main newscast (called *TV-uutiset*, in English: TV News), which was moved from 20.30 to 20.00. The news was followed by a current affairs magazine with a varied daily focus, a sport review and, in the end, a news summary. As hinted above, this block was supposed to keep the big audience on TV1 until the watershed of 21.00; and lead it into TV2 across the line.

Respectively, another major programme slot was created for the early evening schedule of TV1. The slot from 18.05 to 19.30 was a directly transmitted magazine Monday through Friday entitled as *Suomen Televisio*. The name of the magazine which translates to Finland's Television, refers to the early history of YLE's television, to the brand name of its television until the introduction of the second channel in 1965. The name reflects the optimistic wishes of YLE about the channel competition; to make the early evening magazine as the television for Finnish people, reminiscent of the time when there was only one national channel available. Thinking about the image of the company, the name became a parody as it became clear the magazine could reach only 200 000-300 000 people. The objective of the programmers was 500 000 (Helsingin Sanomat 25.1.1993).

The magazine *Suomen televisio* was supposed to introduce the **flow** approach to programming that is typical in radio to early evening television. In retrospect, one might say that TV1 tried to introduce morning television in the evening time. The magazine was supposed to mix information with entertainment, report about daily events but remain light, that is to say different from the serious approach to news and current affairs. Each day had a different focus: for example, consumer affairs on Tuesdays, culture on Wednesdays and public affairs on Thursdays. TV1 set up a special production team for the magazine, but generally the programme was planned to be the main production of two departments, Factual Programmes and Arts. The approach and the co-operative nature of the project is reminiscent of a major venture at TV2 in the mid 1970's

when that channel launched an early evening magazine called *Tasavallassa tapahtuu* (in English, What's Happening in the Republic), characterized as "an electronic afternoon paper" that was co-produced by current affairs, documentary and entertainment departments (Saarinen 1995).

The two key slots of TV1's evening schedule prior to 21.00 were in fact **blocks** of separate programmes which were tied together by a joint brand name. As to the contents of the News Hour between 20.00-21.00, the only new element was the news summary at the end. All other parts of the hour were earlier known as separate programmes, with their particular times of transmission. But even the magazine *Suomen Televisio* included separate programmes like the weekly consumer magazine *Kuningaskuluttaja* (translates to Consumer King), which all had their established audiences prior to the reform. Feedback from the audience indicated that, as a result of the reform, viewers found it difficult to track their preferred programmes. This is in fact the main conclusion which the then Director General of YLE, Mr. Reino Paasilinna, made about the failure of the News Hour two weeks after the reform. In an interview by the main afternoon paper, *Ilta-Sanomat* (15.1.1993), he acknowledged that the identification of the elements of the News Hour seems to be problematic for the customer. Mr. Paasilinna pointed out that he was personally hesitant of how reasonable it was to change the time for the main news. But he was ready to admit that people may learn the new structure in a course of time, although the time needed may be too long. The reservation at the end gives a hint that a re-evaluation of TV1's schedule lay ahead.

Too many changes at one time! This was admitted less than a month after the channel reform by YLE itself and the numerous press commentators evaluating the failure. In an editorial related to YLE's decision to change its strategy, *Helsingin Sanomat* (26.1.1993) concludes that YLE's crash was fully anticipated. According to the editorial, the reformers misunderstood the nature of television viewing and forgot how routines, habits, social situations, time budgeting and the overall scheduling affect viewing. In the press reviews before the reform, the present head of programming for TV1, Mr. Ilkka Koskimies, was pointed out as one of the main architects behind TV1's plans (*Helsingin Sanomat* 24.4.1992). In an interview for this study (18.5.2000), he admits readily that the reformers neglected the importance of programming traditions. For him, the awareness of the role of **tradition** is the main lesson from the channel reform (cf. Rizza 1994, for similar experience from Italy). YLE's Annual

Report 1994 demonstrates (p. 20) that TV1 returned quickly to basics. The book noted at first that TV1 offered during the year all types of programmes to its viewers, but then identified the network as a news and current affairs oriented channel. As an immediate conclusion from this, it was acknowledged that the most loyal audience for TV1 belongs to the news and current affairs segment (ibid.).

As to comments of TV1's failure, one of the most typical conclusions was that viewers still preferred to watch programmes. In this sense, the strategies of YLE's two channels were clearly different. In today's perspective, one can conclude that TV1 concentrated heavily on branding its two new programme blocks discussed above. TV2 focused, in general, more on individual programmes as brands. The reviews on the press conferences, confirming the plans of the two channels for the reform in November 1992, clearly reveal the differences in approach. As to TV1, an illuminating example was offered by Aamulehti (12.11.1992), a regional newspaper which appears in Tampere, the home city of TV2. It entitled the news report on TV1's press conference with a conclusion that TV1 Will Fall Down the Old Structures. Later on, TV2's plans were reviewed among others by Satakunnan Kansa (20.11.1992), a provincial newspaper in Pori on the western coast of Finland, with a heading TV2 Will Offer Programmes for the Big Audience and Special Groups. In the text, there was a reference to Mr. Arne Wessberg, TV2's director, who emphasised that the goal of the channel is to produce well-made insightful programmes. The key areas of TV2's programming were according to Mr. Wessberg in-depth current affairs and factual programming, insightful drama and thoughtful entertainment. About the general intentions of TV2, he said that their goal was to make it as a channel which is an honour to public service, pointing to the overall role of YLE.

If one tried to find a positive interpretation of TV1's failure, one could say that the programmers' were correct in their forecast of the future but failed to manage the present. The overall reform of TV1's organisation symbolised effectively the latter failure. But thinking of the future, one can argue that important aspects of TV1's strategy were later adopted as corporate policy after the crash of the reform. Again, it is useful to compare the distinct strategies of YLE's two channels in relation to the channel reform. TV1's concentration on **branding the flow** instead of programmes reflects an awareness of the importance of the schedule in channel competition. In fact, as shown by the press conference on TV1's

plans, the main goal of its new schedule was to be so simple that the viewers could easily learn to remember its basic structure (Aamulehti 12.11.1992). In general, one can say that schedule was central to TV1's approach, if compared with TV2. The idea of the two main blocks of the evening schedule adopted the practice of **stripping**, trying to offer similar type of contents on a fixed time each weekday. Prior to the channel reform, YLE's commercial partner, MTV Finland, had succeeded surprisingly well when stripping the American soap *The Bold and the Beautiful* in the early evening schedule of TV Three (Hujanen 2000, 69).

But in the case of *Suomen Televisio*, in particular, the idea of stripping failed because it concerned only the brand name of the magazine. Otherwise, thinking through the structure and contents of the magazine, it was in many ways contradictory to the basic idea. The varied daily focus of themes, the general infotainment approach mixed with a critical analysis of culture and society, the different hosts for each day etc. – all seemed to cause too much confusion among the audience about the intentions of the programme. These contradictory aspects meant the magazine could not maintain a steady audience flow, as pointed out by the then head of audience research, Mr. Ismo Silvo, in a newspaper interview: Every time you start talking about literature, the audience falls to less than 200 000. (Helsingin Sanomat 25.1.1993)¹⁰ The newspaper asked a dramatist from the National Theatre to watch the magazine and make an evaluation. The dramatist, Mr. Michael Baran, referred to the problematic mixture of contents and concluded: There is everything there which means: nothing. (ibid.)

In today's perspective, it seems clear that TV1's dramatic failure in the channel reform accelerated the changes inside the company, considered necessary in the new competitive environment. The drama around the crash of YLE's strategy functioned as an effective demonstration of how serious the situation was. Without such a drama, it would have been much **more difficult and slower to implement a new kind of organisation and working culture** inside the company. The channel reform ran parallel to a deep economic recession in Finland, and YLE could not count on

¹⁰ Silvo's doctoral dissertation (Silvo 1988) for the University of Helsinki dealt with television policy discourse in Finland. Mr. Silvo was later elected to introduce the European Audiovisual Observatory in Strasbourg. Since March 2002 he is the Director of Programmes for YLE's TV1 and the digital YLE Teema.

increasing resources. The management argued for a more flexible organisation in order to lift the potential of creative powers, drowned in the old structure, as expressed by Mr. Ilkka Koskimies, in a newspaper interview in the spring 1992 (Helsingin Sanomat 24.4.1992). He was then the head of programming department at TV1, and was considered as one of the main architects of TV1's strategy. He acknowledged in the above interview that he was disappointed in the conservatism among YLE's personnel, as to the implementation of the new producer-centred organisation. The producer- and team-based production culture was supposed to become YLE's main asset in the channel competition. According to Mr. Koskimies, some special projects like Europe and Documentary worked fine, but there seemed to be a lot of confusion about their role among those executive producers who earlier worked as heads of production departments (ibid.).

Mr. Koskimies' personal history demonstrates the fact that although TV1's approach to the channel reform was disastrous in its immediate consequences, its vision of the future was considered essentially correct. Prior to the reform since 1990, Mr. Koskimies worked as the head of development at TV1, co-ordinating the trim up of the organisation for the new competitive era. In 1992, he became the head of the programming department, which in addition to the programme secretariat included programme import and archives, as well as public relations as a new function. In this position, Mr. Koskimies was responsible for the planning of TV1's new schedule, introduced on the 1st of January 1993. Among the architects of the reform, he is the only one who was able to keep his position and was even awarded a promotion, with more responsibilities and power in the new organisation since April 1994. In the re-structured organisation for TV1, he remained responsible for the programming department but also became the Head of Programming, a member of the staff for Ms. Astrid Gartz who was selected as the Director of Programmes for the channel. In this way, Mr. Koskimies' career demonstrates the acknowledgement that scheduling should adopt a more central role and power in order to avoid similar catastrophes in the future.

It is worth noting that in the new organisation since April 1994, public relations became public relations and marketing, and the head of those functions became also a member of the staff for the Director of Programmes. Such changes represent details of a major organisational reform which not only affected TV1 but the whole of YLE television. The

key aspects of the reform were the introduction of **YLE Television**, a joint division of the two separate channels, and the adoption of a new kind of management, named as Management by Schedule. This re-evaluation of YLE's strategy is discussed in the next section.

Farewell (?) to Programme Planning: Adopting Management by Schedule

As YLE Annual Report 1994 demonstrates, the introduction of the joint television division in April 1994 and the adoption of **Management by Schedule** went hand in hand. The term appears in the form of audience-oriented management by schedule (in Finnish, *yleisölähtöinen kaaviojohtaminen*), and is identified as the new principle of action for the whole TV division (p. 18). According to the annual report, the allocation of available resources for the future required the adoption of this new practice, which in the first phase strived for the "harmonisation" of the two channels' programme output and introduced the cross-promotion of the two services. Further on (p. 19), it concluded that the development of the television division will continue by "implanting the audience-oriented management by schedule" as the new principle of action for television. It means trying to create "a balance between the company's law-based communication obligations and audience objectives" and to adapt the technical and production resources to the future needs and economic conditions (ibid.).

In the above, the reference to YLE's law-based obligations points to the company's role as a public service broadcaster, as defined by the special Law on Yleisradio (1993). The need to create a balance between these obligations and audience objectives acknowledged the importance of channel competition, the intention to offer a competitive programme output. But as shown by the definitions above, Management by Schedule is not only about balancing the public service obligations and the audience orientation; it is also about keeping control over the technical and production resources and adapting them to the needs of programming as well as the corporate economy. The new division level of television was supposed to take control over the economy and the strategy, as well as co-ordination between the two channels. As the references of YLE Annual Report 1994 to harmonisation show, the co-ordinating function of the division seemed to be the first preference in the beginning. The goals of co-ordination are described by YLE Annual Report 1995 as follows (p. 21):

As to programming, the goal of the operative year (1995) was that TV1 and TV2 together offer the viewers a **harmonic whole**, which takes into account also the offer of the commercial channel. In this

way, one tries already in advance to build the TV evenings and weekends of the Finns so balanced and many-sided that similar genres did not dominate in the same time.

(Emphasis added by TH)

The same annual report identifies Thursday evenings as an example of well-functioning co-ordination, as TV1 concentrated on cultural programmes and TV2 on "quality entertainment for the whole nation" (ibid.). All these references to harmonisation and co-ordination point out that YLE's system of **two full-service television channels** did not work satisfactorily. If they would continue as generalist channels, they should do that in a more harmonic way. In order to guarantee the harmonisation and to enable the construction of a balanced and many-sided service for the Finnish television viewer, one should adopt a new management style which takes the schedule as its point of departure. More attention and more power to scheduling would result in more harmony. The new emphasis on the schedule was most clearly expressed by TV1 in its reporting on the year 1994:

The goal is a long-standing programming and a **permanent schedule** which acts as the basis for the strategic development of the unit's programme output, production and personnel.

(YLE Annual Report 1994, 21; emphasis added by TH)

In fact, the basic idea of the whole organisational reform in April 1994 was to give the priority to programming and programmes. This principle is among the key aspects of the reformed organisation, as defined by a corporate document signed by the new Director General, Mr. Arne Wessberg, in May 1995. As to the aims of the organisation and management, the document emphasised at first the importance of goal-oriented action on all levels of operation; and for the second, the need to give resources and power to those persons in the organisation who are responsible for fulfilling the goals (Yleisradion organisaatio, 5). These lines set up the new business-like spirit of YLE's organisation and management. In other words, those who carry the responsibility for the result should also have resources and power to implement the goals. After this general characterisation of the organisation, the list points to **decisions on programming and programmes**, by defining them as priorities for the company and by confirming that these priorities direct the resource allocation (ibid.).

There is no reference as such to the Management by Schedule in the above corporate document. But it is easy to see that Management by Schedule, as adopted by the television division, corresponds to the ideals of the new organisation — the emphasis on programming and programmes as well as the goal-oriented action; and, the need to give resources and power to those who carry the responsibility for the result. If judging on the basis of YLE's annual reports, it seems that the term 'Management by Schedule' was after its introduction immediately adopted by TV1. One should remember that TV1 had introduced a particular programming department already prior to the Big Channel Reform (headed by Mr. Koskimies). In this way, it was organisationally fitted to readily adopt the new emphasis on programming. Accordingly, TV1's programming department was able to report already in YLE Annual Report 1994 that it adopted in the course of the year "the schedule-oriented programme planning" and that the contents of the schedule had been modified following the accepted channel profile. Later on, Management by Schedule was awarded an official status as the guiding principle of the channel's renewed Working Order, signed by its Director of Programmes, Ms. Astrid Gartz, on the 16th of September 1998.

In TV1's case, the failure of the Big Channel Reform is certainly one of the reasons why it so readily adopted the new management discourse. As to the use of language, there is a clear difference between the two channels. For example, in TV2's reporting for the YLE Annual Report there is no direct reference to Management by Schedule. But as the report of the then Director of Programmes for TV2, Mr. Arto Hoffrén, to a board meeting of the channel (20th January 1998) shows, the new practice was considered to be decisive for the development of the whole of YLE Television since 1994. An interesting detail in Mr. Hoffrén's report is that in his forecast of the future he defined the year 1999 as the phase of "establishing" the schedule-oriented management in YLE Television (Hoffrén 1998a). Mr. Hoffrén's evaluation points out that "the implanting" of the new practice, declared as the basic goal for development with the introduction of the new organisation, **remained on the agenda for the rest of the 1990's.**

TV2's Director of Programmes since 1999, Mr. Jyrki Pakarinen, confirms that their organisational practices are based on the principles of Management by Schedule, but they don't use the term itself (interview 6.9.2000). For example, TV2 adopted in 1998 the principle of commissioning as an element of its programming practices, but the system is characterised by Mr. Pakarinen as "a tailored version" of commissioning.

"Tailored" means that the system does not correspond as such to any theoretical model of commissioning, but is developed for the special purposes of the channel, paying attention to the particular historical conditions of TV2 (more on this in Chapter V).

It is easy to see that the above kind of tailoring continues TV2's tradition of marking difference with TV1 and of maintaining independence in relation to YLE's central administration. An additional explanation for the differences in the adoption of the new language is the fact that TV2 pioneered in testing a few organisational practices considered central for the new management style even before the overall reform of organisation in April 1994. The move from production departments to a producer-centred economy was introduced at TV2 already in 1991, and even the decision to test the principles of Producer Choice and internal markets in the allocation of resources was done prior to the new organisation. In other words, there were reasons at TV2 to think that the new management style was well underway in its organisation. Naturally, the selection of TV2's former director as the new chief executive for the whole of YLE contributed to the impression that TV2 was heading in the right direction.

As the earlier mentioned document (1995) on YLE's new organisation demonstrates, the new management style could well be called as "programming-oriented" or even "programme-oriented" management. These two versions correspond directly to the Finnish-language description used in the document. The notion of "programming" refers in the document to the totality of the programme output, not to the process of programming as defined earlier in this report (Chapter II above). It is tempting to conclude that the emphasis in the report reflects the priorities of the new Director General, Mr. Arne Wessberg, whose approach as TV2's director was to put "the programmes in the centre". As was shown earlier in relation to the Big Channel Reform, TV2's approach stressed heavily the importance of individual programmes as brands (pp. 56-57 above).

It seems probable that the reason why the joint television division adopted the reference to **schedule** in the identification of the new management practice is that both the Director of Television (Mr. Heikki Lehmusto) and the Co-ordinator of Programming (Mr. Heikki Seppälä) were recruited from the commercial side. They worked earlier in respective positions at TV Three (*Kolmostelevisio*) whose transmission network was taken over by MTV3 with the launch of the Big Channel Reform. Mr. Seppälä

worked, however, prior to TV Three in YLE as Head of Entertainment for TV1. In his interview for this study (31.8.2000), Mr. Seppälä acknowledged a direct link between Management by Schedule and his work as the Director of Programming for TV Three. Management by schedule, that is just what I did there, he says about his former work at TV Three. He connects the emphasis on the schedule with channel competition and increasing output: As the output increases, learning the slots of the schedule becomes decisive for the audience.

As a summary of the above, one should emphasise that the adoption of Management by Schedule represented a radical change in the **corporate culture** of Finnish public service television. Implanting the new culture was considered necessary for maintaining the competitiveness of public service television in the conditions of a multi-channel environment and economic scarcity. The requirement to put programming and programmes in the centre resulted in the re-distribution of power. Thinking of the exercise of power, a major consequence of the new management was that it re-constructed the traditional relationship between programming and production (more on this in Chapter V). As the Working Order of TV1 defines it, Management by Schedule means that the process of programming is kept distinct from production. In terms of organisation, this means that there is a clear division of responsibilities between those who work with programming and those who work with production. As later development of the practice shows, the relationship between programming and production was understood as a **contract relation** in which programming was responsible for the definition of goals and resource allocation, and production for delivering the agreed contents.

As the title of this section proposes, Management by Schedule meant farewell to the old programme planning tradition. The example of channel co-ordination demonstrates how strongly the old practices were re-articulated. YLE Annual Report 1993 shows that the functions of corporate development were increased in 1993, parallel to the Big Channel Reform. According to the report, "the co-ordination of TV-programmes" between the television units is among the new functions, taken care by Department of Research and Development (p. 74). But as documented earlier, through the introduction of the new organisation for television in April 1994, programme co-ordination became one of the basic functions of the television division and of its approach to Management by Schedule. The transfer of programme co-ordination from corporate development to the

new television division is a concrete example of a **closer integration between strategy and action**, typical to the new business-like organisation of YLE. In this sense, the farewell to the old programme planning tradition did not mean the end of planning itself. In fact, one could even argue that corporate development and planning, including research, achieved increased relevance as these functions were now more closely connected with action.

In YLE Television, the adoption of Management by Schedule made the schedule and the scheduling process as the key area of integration between strategy and action. Accordingly, the process of scheduling was considered to be central in the implementation of the strategy and, in the reverse, in creating feedback from production and audiences. One should remember that the schedule was supposed to function as a measure of economic control and resource allocation, as well. So thinking about the nature and organisation of the scheduling process, the new management approach called for a structure that integrated strategic planning and action and, guaranteed the adaptation of technical and production resources to the needs of programming as well as the corporate economy. The latter references to the control of resource allocation show that if one tries to understand the nature of Management by Schedule, one should also pay attention to economic and production resources. In this sense, the development of the internal market and Producer Choice belong to reforms that represent a logical consequence of the new management. However, as pointed out by Ms. Astrid Gratz, Director of Programmes for TV1, although the development of internal market, Producer Choice and Management by Schedule are interrelated processes, they are not identical (correspondence 28.2.2002).

The general organisation and character of the scheduling process in YLE Television will be described and analysed in the next chapter. In relation to that, the schedules of YLE's two channels (1999/2000) will be highlighted, considering the main issues and solutions to them.

IV SCHEDULING IN YLE TELEVISION

Construction of Schedule as Organisation

In the organisation of YLE's new television division, scheduling remained a channel-level activity. Thinking through the long history of the two independent channels, it is hard to imagine that any other choice was possible. So as a tool for YLE's management, scheduling is first of all a measure of the television channels to keep control over their operations and guarantee the implementation of strategy. But as to strategy, one should remember that the creation of the joint television division stressed the importance of co-ordinated action between the channels. In the language of the new management, co-ordination was supposed to be more than avoiding the overlap of contents and target audiences. The intention was rather to create a closer link between the channel level operations and the overall corporate strategy of the company.

From the beginning, the functions of the division level included co-ordination, strategic planning and economy, complemented by personnel affairs in 1998. The need for personnel administration was a result of the decision to transfer TV sport from the two channels to the division level and to create the so-called **joint functions** (1998), including sport as well as import and export sections. Parallel to that, the status of the TV co-ordinator, Mr. Heikki Seppälä, was changed to Director of Programming in which position he continued co-ordination but also became responsible for the joint functions. The changed status of the TV co-ordinator demonstrates the growing role of the division level towards the end of the 1990's as YLE prepared for the launch of the new digital services (more on this in Chapter VI). Already prior to the introduction of the digital television, the former resource departments of TV1 and TV2 were re-organised as a new joint function of YLE Television (since January 2001).

In the last instance, the Director of Television (Mr. Heikki Lehmusto, from April 1994 to October 2001) was responsible for the implementation of the corporate strategy on the side of television. He confirms, for example, the annual programming plans and the basic schedules of the channels. However, as to scheduling, the Director of Programming is in many ways a central person on the division level. Since May 1999, he is assisted by the Head of Planning (Mr. Vesa Pihanurmi) whose responsibility is to follow

people meter and other research data and deliver special analyses for the purposes of programming. This new function once again symbolises the need to connect research and planning more closely with operative decision making. Naturally, it increases also the capability of the division level for an independent evaluation of the channels' programming decisions.

As was noted earlier, the two traditional channels of YLE, TV1 and TV2, act as transmission networks for programming from different sources. In addition to their own programming, the two channels transmit programmes from News and Current Affairs, TV Sport and FST, the Swedish-language television. In other words, the schedules of TV1 and TV2 represent **network schedules** whose construction requires consultations between a number of partners. Mr. Seppälä, the Director of Programming at the division level, co-ordinates the annual consultations about schedules between the channels and the other partners, as well as between the two channels. But after the agreement on major issues, the channels take over and keep the process in motion. The channels co-ordinate the overall planning and implementation of the schedules and submit these schedules to the Director of Television for confirmation. In this way, the general operative power of each Director of Programmes for channels includes a responsibility for the schedule and the scheduling process.

In the new organisation of television since April 1994, each Director of Programmes for channels has a **head of programming** in his / her staff. In TV1, the Department of Programming was in fact introduced already 1992, as a measure to prepare for the Big Channel Reform. The department included, besides the programme secretariat, public relations and marketing; today, it covers also TV archives and internal data services. The heads of programming, Mr. Ilkka Koskimies for TV1 and Ms. Päivi Kärkkäinen for TV2, play a key role in the overall co-ordination of the scheduling process.¹¹ They prepare the decisions on the schedule taken by the respective directors of programmes for the channels. They report also about the implementation of the schedule and keep control over the work of the programme secretariat which runs the weekly construction of schedules. The way the two heads of programming, Mr. Koskimies and Ms. Kärkkäinen, describe their work shows that the channels continue

¹¹ Mr. Koskimies is since autumn 2001 the Head of Programming for the new division-level programming department; Ms. Kärkkäinen became the Director of Programmes for TV2 in the beginning of 2002.

emphasising mutual consultations on scheduling. In other words, in the construction of the network schedules, the heads of programming keep actively contact with each other. So the division level is not involved in all interaction between the two channels; or between the channels and the other partners of the network schedules.

On the channel level, the work of the heads of programming is to keep control over the structure and contents of the schedule and to co-ordinate consultations on them. But taken as a whole, the scheduling is a process that integrates the overall management of the channels with planning and commissioning functions. As described by Mr. Koskimies (interview 18.5.2000), at TV1 consultations on the schedule take place in a working group which is chaired by the Director of Programmes and involves, in addition to the Head of Programming, the Head of Planning and the two Heads of Programme Planning. The latter act as commissioning editors in their respective fields of programming, defined as Fact and Fiction (more on commissioning in Chapter V).

Similarly, on the side of TV2, the core group of the scheduling process includes the Director of Programmes and Head of Programming, the Head of Planning and the persons who take care of commissioning. The organisation of commissioning is, however, slightly different at TV2 where there is only one commissioning editor called the Head of Factual Programming. The commissioning of fiction is incorporated in the role of the overall Head of Programming, Ms. Päivi Kärkkäinen. TV2 has also incorporated the head of programme secretariat (named as the Head of Scheduling) in the core group of scheduling operations. It seems that in TV1 the role of the programme secretariat is seen more technically, as a body responsible for the construction of programme weeks as well as for the collection, editing and distribution of information concerning them.

In the consideration of the theory about scheduling above (Chapter II), a question was raised about the connection of the planning functions with the scheduling process. In this sense, the division of responsibilities between the Head of Programming and the Head of Planning is a critical one. According to Mr. Koskimies, the Head of Programming is responsible for "the contents" of the schedule (interview 18.5.2000). The content refers here to the definition of the slots in the schedule, as well as the overall structure of the schedule. About the contribution of planning, Mr. Koskimies says that Ms. Minkkinen, the Head of Planning, keeps record

over the slot prices and delivers viewer satisfaction and competition analyses. Such a list corresponds to Ms. Minkkinen's own description of her duties (interview 24.2.2000). As to viewer satisfaction and competition analyses, the point is that the Head of Planning has direct access to such research data which is collected and processed by Audience Research, located as a so-called internal results unit within corporate development office.

The division of work between the Head of Programming and the Head of Planning is basically the same in TV1 and TV2. But as was noted above, in TV2 the Head of Programming contributes to commissioning, as well. In terms of the general model about programming, one can say that TV2's head of programming is not only involved in scheduling but also in selection. The latter function belongs in TV1 more clearly to the special responsibilities of the two commissioning editors, named as Heads of Programme Planning. In TV2, the integration of the Head of Planning in the scheduling process is a recent arrangement. The present Head of Planning, Ms. Ulla Karva, moved to this position in September 1999 from public relations and marketing. She says that planning was earlier more a part of the general information management (interview 2.6.2000). Her particular role is to bring "the audience point of view" to the process of scheduling and follow up the development of the competition situation (ibid.). In these matters, she assists also the producers when they plan and test new concepts and formats for programmes.

As the re-formulation of the planning functions at TV2 shows, **the integration of scheduling and planning** is now a standard element of Management by Schedule in both channels. The only major difference in practices is that TV2's Head of Planning is not involved in the calculation of the slot prices. But there is, in fact, an important difference between the two channels concerning the organisational background of the integrated approach. Before the introduction of the new planning practice at TV2 in September 1999, the Head of Programming took care of the follow up on audience research, including competition analyses. So in TV2's case, the integration developed directly through the growing importance and specialisation of programming operations.

For TV1's part, the integration is more a result of the re-articulation of the old programme planning tradition. The historical differences between the channels demonstrate the important role of key persons in the making of

history. Ms. Minkkinen, the Head of Planning in TV1, came to that position already in the middle of 1980's after a long career in research and planning. When describing her present duties, Ms. Minkkinen refers to the term "long-term planning" as a major aspect of her work (interview 24.2.2000). The term is reminiscent of the normative research and planning practice of which YLE, the Finnish Broadcasting Company, became known in the late 1960's (see Nordenstreng 1972, Hujanen 1995). Today, it means that Ms. Minkkinen co-ordinates the preparation of the three-year plans for action for TV1 as well as for the whole television division. In the annual frame, she has "a general planning responsibility" in relation to the budget and, lately, her role in the personnel planning has increased (interview 24.2.2000).¹²

The history may explain why it seems that TV1's planning practices are more formalised than on the side of TV2. In particular, TV1's system of the **three-year plans for action** and of the carefully documented annual plans, based on them, makes it different from TV2. Consequently, it seems that the consultative and co-ordinating role of the Head of Planning in the strategic decision making is particularly important in TV1. Naturally, as a member of the core group of the scheduling process, TV2's Head of Planning is also involved in the construction of the strategy. But the strategic process as a whole is rather informal in TV2, as described by the Director of Programmes for the channel, Mr. Pakarinen. He acknowledges that Management by Schedule requires a common approach within the management, in the group of people which he calls "the programme management" (in Finnish, *ohjelmajohto*). But in the construction of the strategy and its implementation, he prefers continuous face-to-face consultations. In my one and half years here, I haven't signed any directives, says Mr. Pakarinen about his management style (interview 6.9.2000).

As the above examples show, the planning functions are closely integrated in the scheduling process of the two channels. To summarise, one should emphasise that planning has a double role in the process. As the case of TV1 in particular points out, it plays an important role in the construction of the strategy. On the other hand, it contributes both to **the immediate and the more long-term evaluation** of "the result", the success of the strategy. As to evaluation, the kind of "on-line" connection with the

¹² Ms. Minkkinen retired in summer 2002. The new Head of Planning for TV1, Mr. Ari Savinen, has also a background in audience research.

research data of which the heads of planning make use, is of central value. Through that connection, they are able to deliver independent evaluations on a running basis, whenever necessary. In the time of their interviews (Spring 2000), the heads of planning in both channels were involved in the preparation of the measures for a more overall evaluation of the result. There was a need to complement the typical "hard measures" like share and viewer appreciation indexes with a more "balanced" view of the result, following the idea of the so called Balanced Scorecard (TV1 Personnel Plan for 1999).¹³

The double role of planning in the scheduling process demonstrates that the whole idea of Management by Schedule is based on a continuous interplay between strategy and its evaluation. The strategy is valid only through a running evaluation of its implementation. A good strategy is always open to corrections.

¹³ According to Åberg (2000, 87), Balanced Scorecard (BSC) was presented by Robert Kaplan and David Norton in 1992 in Harvard Business Review. It is based on scoring work environment from four 'balanced' perspectives: customer, process, economy, innovation and learning; and, on three time dimensions: past, present, future.

Construction of Schedule as Process

The annual construction of schedule operates, first of all, with **seasonal schedules** which include spring, summer and autumn. The planning norm for the two main seasons of spring and autumn is 20 weeks, and 10-12 weeks for the summer (in 1999, from June 7 to August 29). In addition, the Christmas season constitutes a special period for scheduling, covering altogether two weeks (in 1998-99, from December 21 to January 8). The seasons operate with weeks and, weeks are further divided into weekdays and weekends.

The earliest versions of the spring schedule are, in fact, considered as "basic" schedules for the coming year. The notion of the **basic schedule** (in Finnish, *runkokaavio*) corresponds to the idea of the model week (in Swedish, *typvecka*), as applied by the other Nordic public service broadcasters. As the agenda of Programme Meetings for the two channels demonstrates (Table 4 below), the term itself appears only in the planning documents of TV1. But Ms. Päivi Kärkkäinen, the Head of Programming for TV2, confirms that they follow the same practice, although they identify the basic schedule as a "target" schedule (in Finnish, *tavoitekaavio*). In her description of TV2's annual planning cycle, Ms. Kärkkäinen refers to the late spring (April-May) as a period of defining "a common approach to the basic lines of the future schedule" (interview 10.3.2000). Such an agreement is a point of departure for the commissioning process which is introduced parallel to that by a request to production departments and independents to send in bids.

According to Mr. Koskimies, the Head of Programming at TV1, the basic schedule is a tool for defining the economic frames of programming on the annual level. In this phase of planning, the slots of the schedule are calculated in generic terms, following the genre-based averages of the prices. Simultaneously, the annual shares of each genre are estimated. The seasonal schedules operate also with slots, but the slots appear more detailed and refer, as Mr. Koskimies says, to specified contents like a certain programme or a series of programmes. The slots are now defined by prices, target audiences and shares which are grounded on the specific contents of the slots. The slots may move in time, but the whole schedule must remain in the budget frames defined by the basic schedule.

Table 4 *Annual & Seasonal Scheduling on the Agenda of Programme Meetings for TV1 and TV2 (1999)*

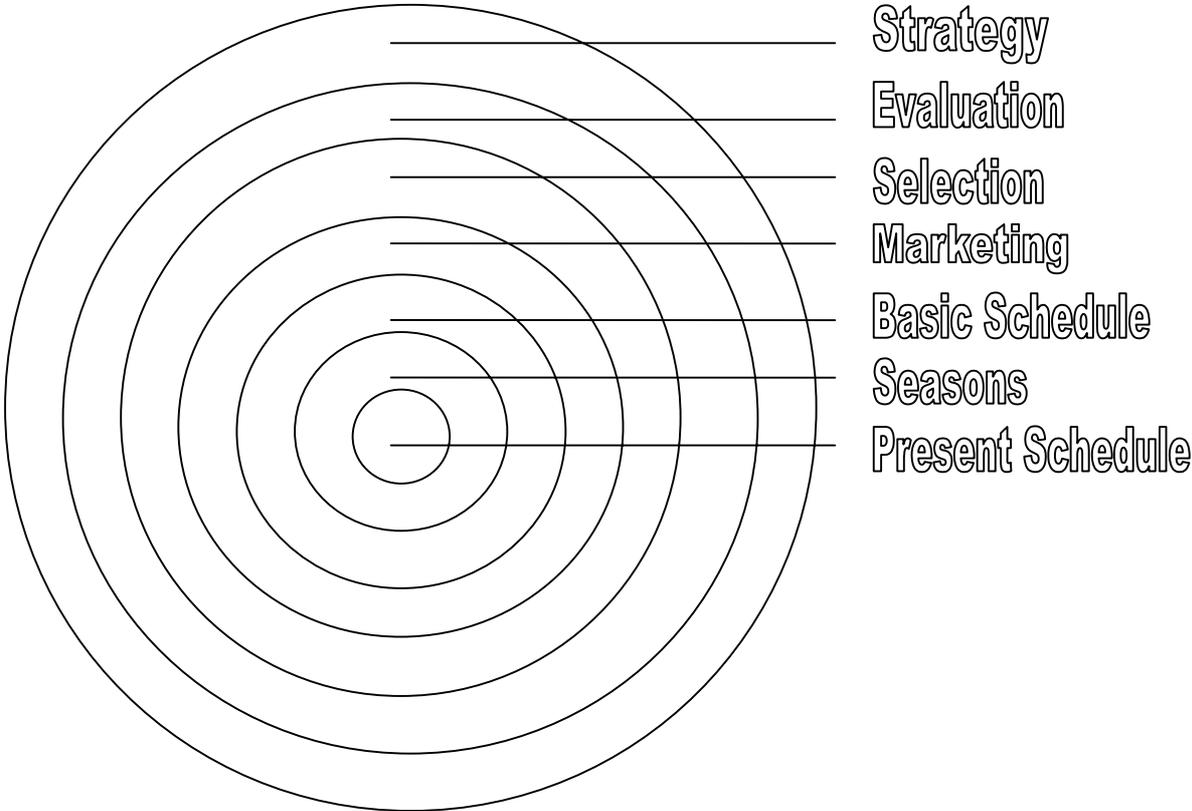
Time	TV1	TV2
JANUARY		
FEBRUARY	- Spring 1999 with Shares (9.2.) - Ideas for Summer 1999 (9.2.) - Summer 1999 Sketch (16.2.) - Summer 1999 (23.2.)	- Summer 1999 Sketch (23.2.) - Introducing Autumn 1999 (23.2.)
MARCH	- Summer 1999 (16.3.) - Summer 1999 Final (23.3.)	- Autumn 1999 (16.3.)
APRIL	- Autumn 1999 (27.4.)	- Summer 1999 (24.4.)
MAY	- Autumn 1999 TV1 & TV2 (11.5.) - Target Audience Schedule 99 (25.5.) - Basic Schedule 2000 (25.5.)	- Autumn 1999 (11.5.)
JUNE		- Autumn 1999 (17.6.)
JULY		
AUGUST	- TV2 Autumn 1999 (17.8.)	
SEPTEMBER		
OCTOBER	- Spring 2000 Sketch (19.10.) - Spring 2000 (26.10.)	- Autumn 1999 Changes (17.10.) - Spring 2000 Sketch (17.10.)
NOVEMBER	- Spring 2000 (2.11.)	
DECEMBER		- Summer 2000 (21.12.)

Ms. Kärkkäinen's reference to the annual planning cycle illuminates the typical approach to **scheduling as a cycle**. In the overall context of programming, scheduling is in fact a continuous process of parallel cycles which are always in motion. For example, the implementation of the spring

schedule, week by week, day by day, is parallel to the planning of the summer schedule. But as shown by the agenda of Programme Meetings of the two channels (Table 4 above), it moves also parallel to the construction of the autumn schedule and, finally, to the overall scheduling of the next year. This cycle-formed nature of the scheduling process is depicted by Figure 3 below.

In the figure, the inner part is formed by the schedule in operation, called present schedule, and the related future schedules named as seasonal schedules and basic schedule. In the strict sense of the word, these three inner cycles represent the scheduling process as such. But as proposed by the general model of programming earlier (Chapter II), the scheduling cycles are linked with several other cycles which represent other aspects of programming. The order of the rest of the cycles in the figure is to demonstrate the distance of these other factors from the operational level of programming, which in the last instance means the implementation of the present schedule.

Figure 3 *The Cycles of Scheduling at YLE's TV1 and TV2 (1999)*



Among the other factors, strategy is clearly a special case, most distant from the perspective of the daily operations. But as to the order of the remaining other aspects, it is not easy to tell whether evaluation is more distant from the operational level of scheduling than marketing. The idea of the figure here is to argue that evaluation, despite its daily aspects, is more long-term oriented than marketing. It is best to locate evaluation closest to the strategic cycle because of its importance in connecting past and future perspectives in the strategic process. Marketing may be long-term oriented as in the case of branding, but in its typical form marketing deals with seasons and programme weeks, and even with days and individual programmes. The selection cycle is, first of all, related to the implementation of the annual and seasonal schedules. But as the description of the commissioning process will later show, the selection of drama operates with a longer time perspective than the other generic fields.

The strategic process operates within a **three-year perspective**. But as emphasised by Ms. Sirkka Minkkinen, the Head of Planning for TV1, strategy must be continuously re-evaluated in the rapidly changing media environment (interview 24.2.2000). This is done in part when elaborating three-year plans into annual plans. But it is done also by moving the planning perspective in time so that each year the strategic look remains three years ahead; in other words, the plan for 1998-2000 turned to 1999-2001 and further on. The system of the three-year plans represents the new corporate culture of YLE, based on the organisational reform of the spring 1994. According to Ms. Minkkinen, the first three-year plan was prepared in the spring 1997 and covered the years 1998-2000. These plans represent, primarily, the corporate and division level of activities. Ms. Minkkinen's conclusion is that the strategic process of the corporate and division levels has become more focused, and it now better directs channel level actions. As hinted earlier, the basic idea of Management by Schedule is to synchronise strategic thinking and operative actions.

TV1 adopted the system of three-year plans parallel to the division level. Three-year plans operate typically with visions which in TV1's case relate to competition and programming. In the frame of the so called SWOT-analysis, the strong and weak sides of the channel are evaluated as well as opportunities and threats. The **competition vision** is based on the follow-up of the audience research data and a more general view of the future media environment, the **programming vision** deals with policy and focus

areas of programming. For example, TV1's programming vision for 1999-2001 confirmed, among other things, that the channel's programming is based on the schedule which "serves all central segments of the audience". It stressed also the importance of covering all central genres and to strive towards full programme seasons, a competitive volume and a balanced structure of programming. Prior to the first three-year plan, TV1 organised a consultative enquiry to its production departments in the early 1997 concerning the interpretations of public service.¹⁴ This feed back contributed to a policy paper which TV1 adopted in March 1997 and which summarised the channel's view of public service into three words, democracy, culture, affectivity. This paper opened up with a definition of TV1's "idea of action" and a list of basic values (more on this in Chapter VI).

The corporate policy of giving priority to programming and programmes, stresses naturally the role of competition and programming visions in the strategic process. But as was said earlier about the nature of Management by Schedule, the schedule is supposed to function also as a measure of economic control and resource allocation. Accordingly, on all levels of the strategic process, the programming visions are always considered in relation to **budget planning** and to the **allocation of personnel and technical resources**. For example, TV1 prepares annually, in addition to the programming plan, a policy paper called TV1's Plan for Personnel Development which acts as the basis of personnel policy and training within the channel.

As to the scheduling cycles, in particular, it seems that they move in a close connection with the budgetary process. In the early phase of the annual planning, this connection is demonstrated by the role of the basic schedule as the economic frame for future planning. Similarly, at the end of the annual cycle, the confirmation of the first seasonal schedule is dependent on the final budget decisions for the coming year. In a strict sense, the selection decisions (programme commissions) should be based on the confirmed schedule. But in most cases, production decisions must be taken a lot earlier. For example Ms. Kärkkäinen, in her description of the annual cycle at TV2, connects production decisions with the adoption of the "preliminary" schedule for the spring season. This is done in August,

¹⁴ The enquiry was initiated by a memorandum dated 1 January 1997 and signed by the Director of Programmes, Ms. Astrid Gartz.

as she says, after discussion, evaluation and prioritisation during the summer (interview 10.3.2000).

On the channel level, the most typical strategic perspective corresponds to the time span of the basic schedule which operates with annual estimates, complemented by concrete plans for the seasons. But as the case of TV1's consultative enquiry on interpretations of public service shows, there are also strategic processes which are of a more general nature than the regular cycles of programming described by the figure above. TV2 organised a similar consultative exercise among its personnel in the spring of 1997 focusing on the interpretations of public service. The results were published as An Open Letter to All at TV2 in July 1997. The letter is signed by the then Director of Programmes, Mr. Arto Hoffrén, and starts with a slogan which TV2 adopted in the connection of the Big Channel Reform in 1993: "Not everything for all, but something for everyone". After these rounds on public service in both channels, it seems that the long term strategic look turned to the planning of the digital future. This change of emphasis is clearly demonstrated by the discussion agendas of the Board and Programme Meetings of the channels, reviewed for this study (more on the role of these meetings below).

As the above references to budget planning and resource allocation show, Figure 3 (above) could be complemented by additional cycles, if one would like to emphasise the interplay between programming and the corporate economy. The market and economic aspects of programming will, however, be considered separately later in this report (Chapter V). About the comparison between the two channels, one should add that the strategic process in general is more informal at TV2. For example, no channel-level three-year plans are compiled by TV2. This is not to say that TV2 is not involved in the long-term strategic planning. Both channels are supposed to participate in the strategic process of the division level and, for TV2's part, the YLE Vision for 2001-2003 concerning the digital future gives an example that the channel prefers to be active in this process. According to Mr. Jyrki Pakarinen (interview 6.9.2000), the Director of Programmes for TV2, TV2's initiatives were decisive in the spring 2000, when the new policy of channel profilisation was agreed as the point of departure for YLE Television in the new digital environment (more on this in Chapter VI).

The strategic choices in relation to the scheduling circles are based on several more or less institutionalised forms of consultations which involve, in addition to the core group of the scheduling process, representatives of production and resource departments as well as of marketing and of the personnel unions. These consultations are normally called **planning** or **programme seminars**, but they are often identified by the name of the seminar site like the Aulanko Seminar of the television division. "Aulanko" refers to the name of a hotel complex nearby the city of Hämeenlinna. The division organises annually two seminars, one in the beginning of the year, the second one in the late summer / early autumn.

The division level seminars deal dominantly with a long-term strategy like the one held on January 12-13, 1998, introducing the three-year planning process for 1999-2001. The seminar started with a general introduction by YLE's Director General and with two evaluations of the past performance, offered by the Director of Television and the Director of Programming for YLE Television. After that, the look turned to future with contributions from the Director of Programmes for TV1 on the future of journalism and from several other invited speakers, concerning re-organisation of daily production and digitalisation of production technology. The new commissioning system was discussed by two speakers, with comparative examples from other countries (UK, Denmark, Sweden).

On the channel level, the programme seminars are typically linked with the annual planning cycles. The first one on February-March introduces the annual planning and connects with the more long-term planning on the division level. The focus is on the collection of ideas for the next year which then form the point of departure for the basic schedule. But in this early phase of planning, the look to the future may also be of a more general and long-term character. An example of this is offered by TV1's seminar on February 23, 1998, which invited outside experts to highlight the trends of the Finnish social and political atmosphere as well as the everyday life of Finns. Similarly, TV2's seminar on March 4, 1999, invited an outside consultant to analyse the values of the channel. The same consultant organised prior to the seminar a feed-back exercise among the personnel concerning the definition of TV2's values.

As was mentioned earlier, TV1 applies the formalised system of three-year plans, and these are naturally discussed by the programme seminars. Evaluation of the past trends and of the previous year, in particular,

belongs to the standard agenda of the programme seminars, too. The evaluation is introduced by reviews and analyses of the **people meter** and **viewer appreciation data**, offered by representatives of the research department. The data introduces a SWOT-oriented discussion on strengths and weaknesses of the schedule as well as on the future opportunities and tasks. The second round of programme seminars runs in May-June, complemented in August-September, and they connect with the phase of "discussing and evaluating priorities" (see the reference to Ms. Kärkkäinen's description p. 75 above), after the agreement on the basic schedule. The focus of the agenda is now on consultations which precede the programme management's decision on the preliminary schedule and the consequent introduction of the selection process.

The consultative nature of the programming process is further demonstrated by two regular institutions of the channels that are called Board Meetings (in Finnish, *johtoryhmä*) and Programme Meetings (in Finnish, *ohjelmakokous*). The former (BM) includes, in addition to the core group of programming, the heads of production departments and resources as well as of personnel administration, economy and marketing. The representatives of the joint functions (News & Current Affairs, Sport and Import / Export) participate in TV1's BMs which demonstrates the strong network character of the channel. Formally, BMs constitute an institution which represents the law-based responsibility of listening to the personnel, when the directors of programmes make their decisions. That is why the personnel groups select their own representatives for BMs.

In 1999, TV1's Board included 24 regular members and gathered every second week (except the summer season). TV2's Board had 16 members and met once a month. The basic composition of Programme Meetings (PM) is similar to BMs, but the number of participants is bigger and includes the executive producers of the key programme areas as well as the representatives of the programme secretariat. TV1's PM had 36 regular members in 1999 who gathered together every second week. Respectively, TV2's PM had 22 regular members who met once a month. As a summary from above, one can conclude that TV1 had a major consultative meeting every week and TV2 every second week (except the summer season).

The agenda of BMs demonstrates the overall operative responsibility of the directors of programmes for their channels. Although economy and personnel affairs dominate the agenda, the meetings discuss all strategic

choices in relation to seasonal, annual and long-term planning. The basic schedule and the seasonal schedules are confirmed by BMs, but they follow the scheduling process in all its phases. For example in 1999, TV1's Board discussed the basic schedule in two meetings in March and once again in the middle of June. The meetings receive regular updates of the people meter data and keep a continuous look on competition dynamics. Screen image and the development of the commissioning system are examples of the more specific issues discussed by BMs in 1999.

Different from BMs, Programme Meetings (PMs) are not forums of decision making but purely consultative bodies. In the context of Management by Schedule, they represent a space in which the programming oriented perspective of the programme management encounters **the practice and culture of production**. In this way, it complements the direct consultations between the management and producers, as well as the more formalised interchange set up by the new commissioning system. As the name Programme Meeting implicates, the purpose of these meetings is to discuss the programme-related issues. The agenda of PMs is broad and covers all the aspects of programming, from policy discussions to the evaluation of individual programmes. The follow-up of the scheduling cycles is an important part of the standard agenda. Evaluation covers the review of the past programme weeks on the basis of the people meter data and a more long-term analysis of the result, introduced by invited visitors from Audience Research. Particular attention is paid to the viewer appreciation studies which Audience Research conducts both in the spring and autumn seasons. Since the introduction of the commissioning system, the major commissioning decisions are reported in PMs.

The network character of TV1's and TV2's schedules requires some special arrangements concerning the involvement of the joint programme functions and the Swedish-language FST in the annual scheduling cycles. An example of such arrangements is the representation of the joint functions in TV1's BMs. Another measure of the co-ordination between the different functions is the annual scheduling meetings which the Director of Programming for YLE Television calls for each major area, covering News & Current Affairs, TV Sport and FST. These meetings are held in the introductory phase of the basic schedule, and they play an important role in framing the later scheduling process within the channels.

As to the economic frames, the role of TV Sport is of growing importance. For example in 1999, the list of the sport events for the year 2000 was completed at the end of August. Only after that decision can the division continue detailing the economic terms of scheduling. The high prices of sport rights have a direct impact on the economic frames of the rest of the schedule. But the list of the sport events not only affects the economy of scheduling but also the time budgeting. In other words, the high prices make sport a priority in time budgeting, as well.

According to Mr. Koskimies, the Head of Programming for TV1, **the high-cost genres form a priority category** for the schedulers. He mentions drama and classic music as other high-cost productions. As to classic music, one should add that its role is marginal in today's generalist TV channels, and YLE is not an exception. News and current affairs form also a priority area for YLE's schedulers, but in this case the main reason is the historical relevance of the field for the image of the public service broadcasting.

A recent example shows that children's programming remains important to the public service profile of YLE television. In autumn 2000, YLE introduced weekend morning news. This was initially introduced on TV2 because TV1 had long featured children's programming on Saturday and Sunday mornings and they were reluctant to break that structure. Weekend morning news was transferred to TV1 in spring 2001, however, and the children's programming was taken by TV2 as a result of profilization.

Swedish-language programming is an obvious example of how the public service tradition affects scheduling priorities. As far as TV1 is concerned, a consequence of the Swedish-language block in the early evening is that it must start its programme evening twice, as formulated by the Director of Programmes for the channel, Ms. Astrid Gartz (interview 27.6.2000).

V SCHEDULING AS BROADCASTING MANAGEMENT

Scheduling as Power; From Strategy to Action

In this chapter the consequences of Management by Schedule will be considered in terms of the exercise of power within broadcasting organisations. The point of departure for the analysis below is that the new management practice represents a major change in the institutional traditions and organisational culture of public service broadcasters. Naturally, the internal changes within organisations are related to the new identification of broadcasting as a cultural industry, different from the old state bureaucratic form of broadcasting (see Chapter II above). In YLE Television, Management by Schedule was supposed to form a new way of action for the whole television division after the organisational reform in April 1994. But as was documented above, the implanting of the new practice remained on the agenda for the rest of the 1990's. The length of time needed for its establishment demonstrates as such the depth of change the new form of management was for the two traditional TV channels of YLE.

In the perspective of the Finnish broadcasting history, it is important to notice that the Big Channel Reform in 1993 took place in an atmosphere that was characterised by the so called crisis of public service broadcasting. Not only in Finland but all over Europe, the nearing doom of public service broadcasting was forecast by its private competitors and many media scholars. In this context, the political impact of the channel reform was two-fold. Through the reform, the politicians acknowledged the growing role of the private sector but also confirmed, with the special Law on Yleisradio, that public service broadcasting had a major role to play in the 1990's. As was documented above (Chapter III), within YLE, the politicians' message was experienced as comforting. But the quick reforms of YLE's organisation in the context of the law told the management and personnel alike that **YLE was supposed to earn its continuous role as the major player in the market**; to earn not only in relation to the politicians but also in relation to the market (meaning the audiences). This is the context which makes Management by Scheduling so important in its consequences.

Prior to the crisis of the public service broadcasting towards the end of the 1980's, the internal development of YLE was characterised by a growing professional awareness among the producers and journalists within the organisation (Aula 1991). The emphasis on **professionalism** was a response to the so called political normalisation of YLE in the 1970's, which led to a tighter political control of YLE's programming after the years of cultural radicalism in the late 1960's. In a way, the growing professionalism paved the way for the organisational and management reforms of the 1990's. The point is that as a response to the politisation of YLE, the professionalisation made journalists and producers open to new ways of action, critical to the old state bureaucratic tradition. For example, as to the qualities of management, professionalism favoured management and professional skills over the political affiliations which were considered necessary in the old culture. In this sense, the reforms of YLE's management and organisation in the early 1990's certainly seemed reasonable.

Despite the principal readiness of YLE's personnel to adopt new ways of action, it seems that the business orientation of the new culture has been a critical dimension in its implementation. For a part of the journalists and producers, the language of the new management with references to products and customers represented an alien world. It did not fit their understanding of the public service tradition which labeled the public and commercial broadcasting as contradictory. So although the new management stressed the importance of professionalism, it seemed that a part of YLE's personnel still wanted to make a difference between YLE's professionalism and that of the commercial sector. Many journalists and producers preferred to interpret the **editorial independence** of YLE in terms of their personal journalistic and artistic independence. Instead of the political restrictions, they found that their professional freedom was now affected by new kinds of regulations. These restrictions appeared in the names of cost-effectiveness, serialisation, formatting, audience orientation, etc., representing the different aspects of the new management approach. How the documentary producers felt about these changes is described by the following citation which comments on the so called docusoap format, as applied by YLE:

Many producers who are worried about their self-esteem do not want to make docusoaps. They probably think that there's a ready-made

format to which one should apply, some may be hesitant because of docusoap's entertaining elements. So many things have been defined **from outside** that producers are scared that their rights and artistic views become underestimated.

(Ms. Pia Andell, a docusoap series producer in YLE's TV1; according to Solla 1999, 82; emphasis and translation by TH)

This programming trend, docusoap, is a telling example about the consequences of the new management approach. The above research (Solla 1999) documents that similar programmes were rather common already in the early 1990's in British television; the trend then was known as reality television (see also Ellis 2000b, 140-142). To combine the aspect of 'soap' with this form of real life documentaries was very much a schedulers' invention. The combination was based on a careful study of schedules, showing that there might be a competitive audience for a more dramatised form of documentary series (younger and more female than for the documentaries in general). Certainly 'docusoap' sounded like a good idea from the marketing point of view, as well. As to the branding of public service broadcasting, the power of the new combination was that it linked the history with a new popular element which was supposed to bring a new kind of audience to one of the strong areas of the public service tradition.

The above example of docusoaps demonstrates an important change in the programming logic of the public service television. That is: **the ideas of programming are more and more generated by the schedule** and the scheduling process. In fact, that is more or less the intended goal of the new management approach, described here as Management by Schedule. With reference to the above citation from a documentary producer, one can conclude that as a consequence of the new management many things have been defined from outside. One might simply describe the change as follows: Earlier, there was at first a programme and then the schedulers tried to find an audience for that programme. Now there is first the audience as defined by the schedule and the schedulers, whereafter the commissioning editors try to find a producer for programmes that would fit the orientation of the identified audience.

With reference to the earlier discussion on the concept of programming (Chapter II), one can conclude that the interpretation of programming as a sum total of the output very well reflects the internal logic of the old public service broadcasting institutions. The point is that programming

represented an output or result of production in the old institutions, whereas today the opposite is more and more the rule; in other words, production is a result of programming. In today's public service broadcasting, **programming has turned to a measure to programme production and output** in terms of the public service obligations, as well as the corporate economy and competition in the market. This kind of programming certainly reduces the autonomous space of individual journalists and producers, and they may feel like the cited producer above that things have been decided "from outside".

The purpose of the paragraphs below is to describe and discuss some key features of Management by Schedule at YLE Television from the actors' point of view. This is complemented by a number of more general conclusions on the nature of the corporate culture in today's public service broadcasting in Finland. The main data represent interviews with key actors of the scheduling process and with selected heads of production departments in TV1 and TV2. In addition, document materials from the channels and their board meetings and programme meetings are used to complement and evaluate the interview data.

First, the critical relationship between programming and production will be highlighted. How is this relationship re-articulated by the new management approach and what kind values, qualities and competencies are required? How is the schedule, in particular, related to production? Second, the analysis will focus on the re-organisation of the selection process in terms of commissioning. How do Producer Choice and commissioning contribute to the strategic management? How does commissioning intermediate between scheduling and production? Third, Management by Schedule and scheduling as a process and a text will be considered in terms of the so called 'audience orientation'. How does this new orientation affect scheduling? In what amount and in what sense does the schedule contribute to the awareness about the audience(s) within (and outside) YLE?

Schedule as a Grid; Schedule and Production

The interviews among the core group of the scheduling process point out unanimously that the adoption of Management by Schedule radically changed the traditional relationship between programming and production. The new way of action is based on a clear-cut distinction between **programming** and **production functions**. According to Mr. Ilkka Koskimies, the Head of Programming for TV1, scheduling belongs to what he calls "broadcaster-level" or "publisher-level" activities, distinct from the sphere of production. Outsourcing of production represents the most concrete example of the consequences related to this distinction. But the interviews confirm that the separation of programming and production functions has affected, and is supposed to affect, the internal structure of broadcasting organisations, as well.

For example, TV1's Working Order concludes (p. 2) directly in relation to Management by Schedule that it means separation of programming functions from production. This document from September 16, 1998, is a renewed version of the first similar order under the new organisation of the television division, signed by the Director of Programmes on November 14, 1995. In the earlier version, there is no direct reference to Management by Schedule, which again shows that the implanting of the new management practice was a step-by-step process for the rest of the 1990's. The renewal of TV1's Working Order in 1998 was considered necessary because of the adoption of the so called commissioning system in the channel since January 1998. According to Mr. Koskimies, the practice of commissioning is a necessary element of Management by Schedule, aiming at the development of programme policy and its implementation, as expressed by TV1's reformed Working Order (ibid.).

Below, Mr. Koskimies' view of the impact of the new management approach is considered more closely in order to highlight the changing interrelationship between programming and production. Among the interviewees, Mr. Koskimies is the one who had explicit and historically grounded opinions about the nature of the change. As was documented earlier (p. 58), he acted as the Head of TV1's Programming Department already prior to the Big Channel Reform and was able to remain in the top management, despite the failure of the channel reform. His detailed opinions about the change reflect, therefore, a strong personal involvement in processes in which his role has been to promote the changes.

Schedule as a composition of individual programmes

Earlier, says Mr. Koskimies, the schedule was a composition of unique individual programmes. The old system was producer-centred, he or she had an idea and he or she then defined the length, style, contents of the programme and the time-table of production. The whole of programming resulted from the scheduling of the individual products which was complemented by imports, again based on the preferences of the individual buyers.

The system worked as the output remained small. There were, however, certain slots like children's programmes which already then required a conscious search for similar materials. The establishment of the two channels created a need for coordination which started with the coordination of subject matters and broadened later to the coordination of schedules.

Power to the schedule and a new kind of professionalism

The transfer to Management by Schedule means a tightly controlled decision-making in terms of the schedule. The editorial independence of individual producers and journalists is essentially reduced and **a new kind of professionalism** is needed. The production is based on commissions which only seldom correspond to the individual preferences of the producers, respective to the old professionalism. Take a narrative document like TV1's *Tositarina* (Real Story) which represents a new slot of Sunday evenings.¹⁵ The individual producer must be able to make a programme for this slot which remains similar to type, narration and contents so that it is immediately recognised as a part of the slot.

Scheduling is a broadcaster-level activity

The schedule is a tool for the broadcaster, the publisher. Organisationally, **broadcasting should be separated from production** of programmes. Today, the publisher considers what is "the best menu and how to set and market it so charmingly" that one wants to receive it. The producer concentrates on making "the portions" in the best possible way. The

¹⁵ This is the kind of new programmes which Solla (op.cit.) discusses in terms of the docusoap phenomenon (see pp. 82-83 above).

schedule is used then to ensure that the portions remain similar: "If one orders salad, one gets salad and not meat rolls."

Programming departments were created in order to take care of scheduling and other programming operations, including information about programmes, screen promotion, marketing and public relations. Preparing and controlling transmissions in relation to the schedule belonged traditionally to the programme secretariat which now became a part of the programming department, complemented by the programme archive, internal data services and general information management. The production departments were supposed to concentrate on production, each in the field of its particular **genre** like children's programmes, entertainment, documentary, drama.

Competition requires Management by Schedule

According to Mr. Koskimies, the open competition situation created by the Big Channel Reform in 1993 led to the adoption of Management by Schedule. The equation of the growing output and the saturated budget required a re-evaluation of the practices. A quick **serialisation** of programming took place and "permanent" **slots** started developing. More streamlining occurred, the programmes should look the same for whole seasons. "All this gave birth to Management by Schedule." Mr. Koskimies acknowledges that the producers resisted this development and characterised it as "stall-thinking", reminiscent of Ellis' view of the schedule as a grid. Mr. Koskimies emphasises, however, that success in competition requires that one gives viewers a clear picture of what each channel is offering. The viewer should rather have "a picture in the memory, at what time of the day my favourite programmes are on".

Broadcasting includes scheduling, commissioning and evaluation

Mr. Koskimies' definition of broadcasting includes scheduling, commissioning and evaluation. Commissioning consists of "orders" from the broadcasters to which the production side responds with "bids". With respect to evaluation, Mr. Koskimies uses the word "measurement" (in Finnish, *mittaus*). In his wording, measurement means evaluation of the result, consideration of the result in relation to the objectives set in advance.

The system of executive producers

The system of executive producers was introduced parallel to Management by Schedule in the early 1990's. As was documented earlier in the report, in relation to the Big Channel Reform, Mr. Koskimies considered the introduction of this system as a key element of the channel reform for YLE's part. In a newspaper interview, then, he pointed to several problems in the launch of the system (Helsingin Sanomat 24.4.1992). The economic crisis made producers hostile to reforms, the heads of production departments had difficulties to adopt the new role of executive producers, the qualities required by the new system were scarce among the personnel.

In the interview now, Mr. Koskimies acknowledges that finding good producers is continuously a problem. It is a profession which in addition to a creative talent requires **punctuality and a skill for consultation**, a combination which is scarce in creative persons.

In the implementation of Management by Schedule, producers represent a central professional category whose responsibility is to guarantee that the agreed products remain in the budget frame. According to Mr. Koskimies, the logic of the schedule requires that each of the around 40 slots has a shepherd in the production. In the reformed organisation, the status of the heads of production departments was supposed to change to that of executive producers in their particular field who remained responsible for the overall administration of their area.

In the newspaper interview from 1992 (ibid.), Mr. Koskimies pointed out that the system of executive producers worked better in the case of certain team-based special projects like Europe and Documentary which were set up to fulfill a particular programming function. In fact, a logical consequence of Management by Schedule would have been **to adopt a wholly team-based production structure**, which kept moving in concordance with the programming priorities. In the context of the new more industrial organisation of YLE Television, the production departments turned to an anomaly which was alien to the market logic of the schedule-oriented management.

The conflict between the old and the new became obvious as it appeared that production departments had difficulties to find work for all their personnel in the slot-based production teams. Towards the end of the 1990's, this problem has been largely solved, says Ms. Päivi Kärkkäinen,

the Head of Programming for TV2 (interview 10.3.2000). An enquiry inside TV2 showed that the number of persons who had difficulties to become employed in production teams was less than 10 of the total number of 600 persons, including the resource departments. One should remember, however, that only a couple of years earlier TV2's budget was clearly unbalanced because of the problems created by the new practices of internal market (see further in Chapter V).

As examples of personnel problems in relation to the new production culture, Ms. Kärkkäinen refers to producers who may find that their skills have become rusty, who cannot cope with the rapid pace of the new way of production or who are too specialised in only one theme area. In fact, with the adoption of the commissioning system, TV2 ceased to use the original Finnish word *toimitus* for production departments in the description of its production organisation. The departments were identified as **programme areas** (in Finnish, *ohjelma-alue*), based on broad generic and functional divisions.

The typical Finnish word for a production department, *toimitus*, is deeply anchored in Finnish media tradition, not only in broadcasting but also in newspapers and magazines. According to an established TV2 producer, Mr. Risto Astikainen, the word *toimitus* has fallen on hard times throughout the publishing world. He is critical of the business-like language of YLE's programming management and concludes that the idea of *toimitus* has been replaced by the production number, cost location, sold and distributed product, and pricing of product. (Astikainen 2000) *Toimitus* is a functional collective that consists not only of administrative or management aspects, but also of individual members — in Finnish these are called *toimittaja*. This expression has been translated earlier with reference to producers; one might also call them 'programme makers'. But a more exact rendering corresponds to the idea of *redacteur* (in French), which appears in different versions all over Europe, including all Scandinavian countries.

In Finnish language usage, the producer is different from *toimittaja* as a *redacteur*. In YLE's television channels, the category of producers was introduced only in the early 1990's by the reforms which paved way for the adoption of Management by Schedule. The Finnish word for a producer is *tuottaja* and the organisational structure in relation to that is called *tuottajajärjestelmä*. The latter word has been translated above to a **system**

of executive producers, which emphasises that in the Finnish usage the category of producers refers to executive functions in production, a shepherd of slot-based production as characterised by Mr. Koskimies above. Etymologically, the Finnish word *tuottaja* refers to a person or institution who produces, runs production or makes products. But for historical reasons, the producer category is not used in such a broad and general meaning in the Finnish broadcasting, but refers instead to the executive and control functions of the production process. Like Management by Schedule, it belongs to the vocabulary of the new understanding of broadcasting as a cultural industry.

With reference to the changing status of production departments, Mr. Koskimies makes a parallel between production departments and independent (outside) production companies. He uses a base-ball term **home base** to describe the social function of these bodies. As a home base, the production departments act as a social and cultural environment for the slot-based production teams. Such an environment is considered necessary not only because of social continuity but also as a value community. This kind of characterisation is shared by most of the interviewees like Mr. Jyrki Pakarinen, the Director of Programmes for TV2, who points to the continuity of professional values (interview 6.9.2000). In general, he thinks that the old border lines are less and less important, for example, because of the mixture of traditional genres. However, he acknowledges that it is important that there is critical mass of people who identify themselves like makers of entertainment; who have their own meetings and seminars where they can appear as entertainment community and feel proud of entertainment professionalism. The Head of Music and Entertainment at TV1, Mr. Olof Quickström, defines the social and cultural role of the production departments simply with three words (interview 9.8.2000): Lungs, brain and heart.

The need for continuity is not only social and cultural, but it is needed also in a more operative sense. According to Mr. Ilkka Saari, the head for one of the major programme areas of TV2, Factual Programmes, the project-based teams and their producers are strongly focused on their ongoing projects. Who takes care that the present project is followed by a new one, he asks (interview 21.6.2000). Someone must keep control that the permanent staff has something to do also in the future. So the programme departments are important to guarantee the maximum use-rate of the permanent resources. He finds it hard to imagine that in major areas of

programming like current affairs, producers could manage alone without the support of **department culture**.

The interview with Mr. Saari occurred in the middle of the heated discussion about the future organisation of YLE Television in relation to the publishing of the so called YLE Vision for 2001-2003 in June 2000. The new policy of the channel profilisation was supposed to lead to a major re-organisation of production and stressed the importance of cross-commissioning between the channels (see further in Chapter VI). This context makes it understandable why Mr. Saari responded very defensively to questions about the role of production departments. He reminded several times in the course of the interview that he is not the person who is going to say that the production departments are useless. He interpreted clearly that the interviewer anticipated an answer that the production departments have no future.

The sensitivity of the matter demonstrates the fact that **the role of production departments has been under continuous scrutiny** since the adoption of Management by Schedule. The newest reforms in relation to digitalisation highlight a conclusion that seems to follow the lines demonstrated by the interviewees above — production needs a home base which is larger and more continuous in nature than slot-based projects. Likewise it seems clear that because of the increasing cross-commissioning, the channel identity of production will diminish and that the branding of channels remains even more clearly a programmers' responsibility (more on this in Chapter VI). The TV2 producer cited earlier (p. 88 above), Mr. Astikainen, indicated a critical suspicion that the already scarce interaction between producers and management is in danger of breaking down still further and being replaced by computerised management codes (ibid.). Who knows about the Balanced Scorecard, he asks as an example. Mr. Astikainen's message to sleepy producers is that it would be better to get interested in these codes immediately and as an urgent matter.

As was documented earlier (p. 28), a considerable amount of TV1's and TV2's domestic programming is now bought from the so called **independent producers**. In fact, YLE is entitled by law to use a part of its revenues to support independent production. This practice has been seen both by politicians and the company itself as a measure to increase the cost-effectiveness and flexibility of production. The percentage of

independent production in the YLE Television has grown faster than was originally anticipated despite the fact that YLE has hardly outsourced production to the degree that is typical to its main commercial competitor, the MTV3 company. So in YLE's case, the increased use of independents is first of all a result of the huge growth of output. Because of the saturated economy, YLE has not been able to increase its own personnel, and that would have been impossible also for the sake of the political pressure which rather favoured cuts in the corporate economy over growth.

The growth of the independent sector might have been even faster without the problems which the new market orientation caused inside YLE. Mr. Pakarinen, speaking for TV2, recalls that in the introduction of the internal market in terms of Producer Choice, a portion of the producers started following a principle which he characterises as a partial optimisation. This means that the producers start worrying only about the costs of their particular projects and neglect to take care of the full use of internal resources. This is the reason why TV2's budget became unbalanced after the introduction of the internal market (more on this system, including Produce Choice and commissioning, in Chapter V below). And that is the background explaining why Mr. Saari, the Head of Factual Programmes for TV2, emphasises the responsibility of the production departments to guarantee the full use of internal resources (p. 89 above).

The interview with Mr. Quickström, heading music and entertainment on the side of TV1, hints that the problem of the partial optimisation may not be fully solved. It seems that entertainment is one of those areas in which the transfer to the new production culture has been particularly painful. Internal entertainment production was accustomed to higher budgets than is the case in today's format-oriented production. Mr. Kari Kyrönseppä, the commissioning editor for fiction at TV1, confirms (interview 10.2.2000) that entertainment has been one of the problematic areas. Most successful formats in the channel have been brought in by independent producers.

None of the interviewees think that YLE could act only as a publisher, a pure packager, buying all the programming from independents. Mr. Heikki Seppälä, the Director of Programming for YLE Television, says that entertainment might be an area which could be outsourced as a whole (interview 31.8.2000). Prior to his move to the new commercial channel TV Three in 1986, he worked as the Head of Entertainment for TV1.

However, he emphasises that YLE's own production capacity remains necessary in the core area of programming which he defines as **news and journalism**. At the same time, he considers it important that YLE is equipped to take care of heavy productions like sport events on the world championship level.

According to the present Head of Entertainment for TV1, Mr. Olof Quickström, YLE has a national role to play even in entertainment (interview 9.8.2000). He points to the Eurovision Song Contest as an example of events that require that YLE is resourced to act as the representative of the whole nation. Mr. Quickström points out that own-production is also important for the maintenance of know-how inside the company. Consequently, if one wants to remain a full-service provider, one needs to have know-how internally in each major genre. Mr. Seppälä, for his part, concludes that a broadcaster should avoid situations in which there are no alternatives. In this sense, a full dependence on independent production in any area is a risk.

For TV2's part, Ms. Kärkkäinen, the Head of Programming for the channel, identified several areas of "special know-how" based on internal production (interview 10.3.2000). In addition to current affairs and factual programming, she refers to a certain kind of drama productions, as well as to music entertainment. *Hovimäki*, a historical drama covering two hundred years of the Finnish history, is her example of drama productions which never could be bought from outside. For the Head of Drama in TV2, Mr. Juha Rosma, *Hovimäki* is a serial that represents public service in its clearest form (interview 21.6.2000). As to the historical set-up and the size of the overall investment, it is a major project that would not be possible on the commercial side. The serial takes a major part of TV2's drama resources, but Mr. Rosma reminds one that big productions are useful as events which turn attention to the channel's drama production. Like Mr. Quickström for entertainment, he agrees that own-production is important for the maintenance of know-how in drama. "It is good to master the production process from the beginning to the end."

One should emphasise that the interviews underscore a radically re-construction of the relationship between programming and production as an outcome of Management by Schedule. The interviews construe broadcasting institutions as an internal division of two different worlds, 1) that of programmers, and 2) that of producers. There is a clear hierarchical

relationship between these two worlds that is symbolised by the central role of the schedule as a programming tool — Management by Schedule means a tightly controlled decision-making process that is keyed to the schedule. In Mr. Astikainen's critical estimation (op.cit.), the new programming management means "centralisation of power" in the hands of schedulers and those who commission the programmes for the schedule. As he says, programme policy discussion can be abruptly perhaps prematurely ended with a single sentence — "This programme doesn't fit the schedule".

As proposed by Ellis' idea of the schedule as a grid, it seems that the schedule acts as the power centre of YLE's two traditional TV channels. The clear separation of the broadcaster-level responsibilities from production means a power shift inside broadcasting in favour of the schedule. Management by Schedule reduces the editorial independence of the individual producers and emphasises the importance of executive producers as mediators between programming and production, as shepherds of the slot-based projects and production teams. The old ideals of journalistic and artistic independence are replaced by the **responsiveness to the schedule**, meaning a professionalism which values team-work and cost-effectiveness, a sensitivity to time-tables and to a certain kind of audiences as well as skills to meet standard generic and stylistic requirements.

Despite the hierarchical nature of the relationship between programming and production, the interviewees are apt to remind that scheduling is a **consultative process**. As Mr. Pakarinen, the Director of Programmes for TV2, points out it is not about giving orders like in military organisations. His colleague in TV1, Ms. Astrid Gartz, says that formally the power is in her hands (interview 27.6.2000). But programming should be seen as a continuous process of negotiations that is co-ordinated by all the members of her staff, the heads of programming and planning, as well as by the heads of programme planning acting as commissioning editors. Her aim is that the personnel in production feel that programming decisions are common decisions. As an example of the tensions between TV2 and the Helsinki headquarters, one could refer to Mr. Pakarinen's comparison of the commissioning practices in the two channels. His impression is that TV1's system is more hierarchical: It is like people use to say, Astrid (Director of Programmes) and the Great Viziers (the commissioners).

The new management approach is taken for granted by the heads of production departments, interviewed for this study. They admit readily that the change has been painful for many people in production. Ms. Leena Pasanen, the Head of Documentaries in TV1, explains why she did not experience the transfer to commissioning to be personally as painful (interview 19.8.2000): I became the head only after the reform; so I did not feel that I lost power like those heads who had been in that position longer. Mr. Ilkka Saari, the Head of Factual Programmes for TV2, acknowledges that he was nominated to drive through the change. That is why he considers the earlier discussion in the interview about the role of departmental heads as a little bit odd. The heads have been needed, he concludes and refers to the resistance against changes among the personnel. In his area, the resistance comes from programme makers who represent what he calls **auteur-thinking**.

The generational composition of YLE's personnel has made it possible for the management to use retirement as a practice to favour change. Personnel boomed in a short period of time in the late 1960's, and many of them now felt ready to accept early retirement or reached the full age for retirement. Retired YLE personnel have a club called "The Old Foxes" which organised a discussion about YLE's future in October 1999 (11.10.1999). One of the invited speakers was Mr. Ensio Suominen, the retired principal set-decorator of TV2, who is known in Finland for his works not only in television but also for film and theatre. Mr. Suominen criticised fiercely the new production culture in his own field of drama and concluded that there is no future for artistic productions within YLE. For him, the serial form as such was alien to art. Mr. Suominen's critique is representative of the conflicts between the old and the new, not only in drama but also more generally as demonstrated by Mr. Saari's reference to auteur-thinking.

In the next section, the relationship between programming and production will be considered in a more focused context. This context is the market orientation of the corporate culture which called for a competition strategy in terms of the media and audience markets. But as the examples of many European public service broadcasters and not least of the British BBC illustrate, broadcasters have developed ways to apply market logic even in their internal practices. These practices are identified below as internal market, Producer Choice and commissioning. Naturally, such changes in broadcasting reflect a more general transformation of the public sector, related to economic liberalism and de-regulation.

Scheduling as Market and Economy; Producer Choice and Commissioning

The practices discussed next describe how the interplay between programming and production is organised in YLE Television in order to reach the overall objectives of Management by Schedule. As has been pointed out earlier, the new management approach called not only for integration of strategic planning and action, but also for adaptation of technical and human resources to the needs of programming and the corporate economy. In applying this approach to scheduling, one could say that the schedule works as a tool to integrate strategy and action but also as a measure of economic control and resource allocation.

The notion of **internal market** is used below to describe the economic logic incorporated in Management by Schedule. The economic rationality applied as cost-effectiveness is the guiding principle of the internal market. As in the markets generally, the actors of internal market are supposed to take the role of sellers and buyers of goods and services (Foster 1992, 42-43). In the public service broadcasting, the best known example of this kind of approach is the practice called **Producer Choice**.

As described by the BBC's reknown document, Extending Choice (1992, 5), the intentions of Producer Choice correspond basically to the objectives of the management approach which has been termed here as Management by Schedule. Strategies in line with the BBC's public purposes form the point of departure for Producer Choice. Drawing strategies is a responsibility for those who commission programmes, and funds will be allocated to them on the basis of these strategies. The point here is to say that the selection of programmes for production and transmission, including funding, should be based on programming strategies. The process which links strategy with action, programming with production, is called **commissioning**. Producers, the programme makers should have formal contractual relationships with resource suppliers but also with the Channel Controllers who commission and schedule their programmes. The programme makers were allowed to also contract the outside facilities market when commissioning resources and, similarly, the Channel Controllers could commission programmes from BBC departments or from independent programme makers.

In the case of the BBC's original model of Producer Choice, the market is not only the internal market but extends to the **external market** that is represented by independent programme makers and the outside facilities market. In principle, it is supposed that the actors of the internal market should be competitive with the actors of the external market. This principle is expressed clearest in relation to the BBC's resource departments that were supposed to earn their funding by attracting programme making business in competition with the growing outside facilities market (ibid.). This aspect of Producer Choice, setting the inside and outside actors on the same footing, has been the most critical because it raises the problem about what to do with those persons who do not manage competition. So in such a radical form, Producer Choice leads to severe personnel conflicts not only between the corporate management and the personnel, but also between production and resource departments. As already demonstrated by examples from YLE Television (see the previous sections of this Chapter), Management by Schedule has also raised just this kind of discussion in Finland (for the BBC, cf. Born 2000).

The objectives of Producer Choice, as expressed by the Extending Choice document (ibid.), reflect the response of public service broadcasters to the critique that castigated them as bureaucratic and over-resourced. After the reform, the BBC's funding would follow the best industry practice, and its competitiveness would have been tested against the outside market. In all, the promise was that the BBC will become financially more transparent and therefore more accountable. As was demonstrated earlier (see Table 2 on p. 25 above), transparency and accountability represent norms that were generally emphasised by public service broadcasters as they started reforming their organisation and practices. Extending Choice is one of those documents from the BBC that have been carefully studied by YLE's reformers. Therefore it is not surprising that the motivations of YLE's organisational reform in 1994, in broad lines, correspond to the rationalisations of Producer Choice above. These motivations have been discussed earlier (Chapter III), but at this point it is worth noticing that the idea to give priority to decision-making on programming and programmes echos exactly the tones of Extending Choice. Similarly, the strong connection made between programming decisions and funding and resource allocation represents the basic idea of the BBC document.

Producer Choice represents broadcasting as divided into two different worlds in ways that correspond to the consequences of Management by

Schedule, as described in the previous section. One world consists of those who draw up strategies, commission and schedule the programmes, the other to those who make the programmes and supply the production facilities and resources. This description covers the areas that have been identified as programming and production in this report. The allocation of funding is linked with strategies, but is in fact represented by the Extending Choice document as a function of its own, a pre-condition for programming and production.

The similarities between the objectives and practices of Producer Choice and YLE Television's new management approach are so apparent that YLE's Management by Schedule could be characterised as the Finnish model of Producer Choice. But the interviewed managers stress equally that any such model needs to be adapted to local conditions and cannot be transferred as such from one country to another. For example, Ms. Astrid Gartz, the Director of Programmes for TV1, acknowledged that when planning the commissioning system they reviewed several models from other countries including especially Britain and Denmark (interview 27.6.2000). The strategic planning of the television division was involved in these consultations, as demonstrated by the programme seminar held parallel to the introduction of commissioning in January 1998. The records of the seminar indicate that Mr. Ari Alm, the management consultant of the television division, presented the process that led to the adoption of commissioning and reviewed international examples of the practice from BBC, the Danish DR and the Swedish SVT. The seminar was proudly entitled *The Year 1998 — the First Year of the Future in the Television Division*.

In Mr. Alm's presentation (ibid.), the commissioning system is seen as one of the trends of the 1990's, based on a new way of conceptualising programming management. His basic model consists of three functions that are drawn in the following order: broadcasting, production, resources. Broadcasting includes programming as planning and scheduling of programmes and new services; production is composed by projects, and resources by facilities and services for production. As to the internal market, Mr. Alm divides it into two dimensions that are called **resource market** and **schedule market**. The objective of the new commissioning system is to integrate better the two markets so that the interplay between them is based on the overall view about programming. The earlier application of Producer Choice in YLE Television focused too much,

according to Mr. Alm's model, on increasing the flexibility of the resource market and neglected the role of the overall strategy (cf. Lowe & Alm 1997 and Alm & Lowe 2001).

As hinted by Mr. Alm's model, the application of Producer Choice in YLE Television started prior to the introduction of the commissioning system. The flexibility dimension of Producer Choice was tested by TV2 parallel to the Big Channel Reform; in other words, before the new organisation in April 1994. TV1 followed suit in the beginning of 1996. This practice is known as the system of **result units**, and it created the internal resource market in YLE and opened it later for external competition. At the corporate level, the former Research and Development was changed to Audience Research and was given the status of a result unit. As has been documented earlier, the adoption of Management by Schedule as the way of action for the whole television division took place in connection with the 1994's organisational reform. But if one incorporates the system of executive producers in the new management approach like the interviewed managers did (see the previous section of this Chapter), the gradual steps towards the implementation of Producer Choice started in YLE clearly before the Big Channel reform of 1993. Once again, TV2 started moving to this new practice a little earlier in 1991. In TV1, the introduction of the system took place in 1992, parallel to the launch of the programming department that strived for a more schedule-oriented management.

The gradual, step-by-step adoption of Producer Choice characterises the nature of YLE Television's organisational reform. As was said in relation to Management by Schedule earlier, implanting the new way of action remained on the agenda for the rest of the 1990's. In this sense, **the introduction of the commissioning system** towards the end of the decade can be seen as a completion of a longer continuum of changes. Mr. Alm's reference to new services as an aspect of broadcasting points out clearly that the commissioning system was built also for the sake of the future. The notion of new services referred even then to the digital future, and so the system of commissioning was to be applied to the new digital environment, as well. Consequently, the adoption of the new system was immediately followed by discussion and planning in how to apply commissioning in the digital multiplexes set to start soon after the turn of the millenium. Ms. Riitta Pihlajamäki, the Commissioning Editor for Fact at TV1, points out that it was important to test and set up the

commissioning system before the transfer to the digital environment (interview 9.3.2000). Pushing through too many changes at one time always causes trouble.

In the following, the practice of commissioning within YLE Television will be highlighted more closely. First the introduction and implementation of commissioning at TV1 will be described; after that a comparison with TV2 will be presented. Finally, the contractual form of the commissions will be exemplified and a few comments from the interviewees will be added concerning the critical aspects of the commissioning system.

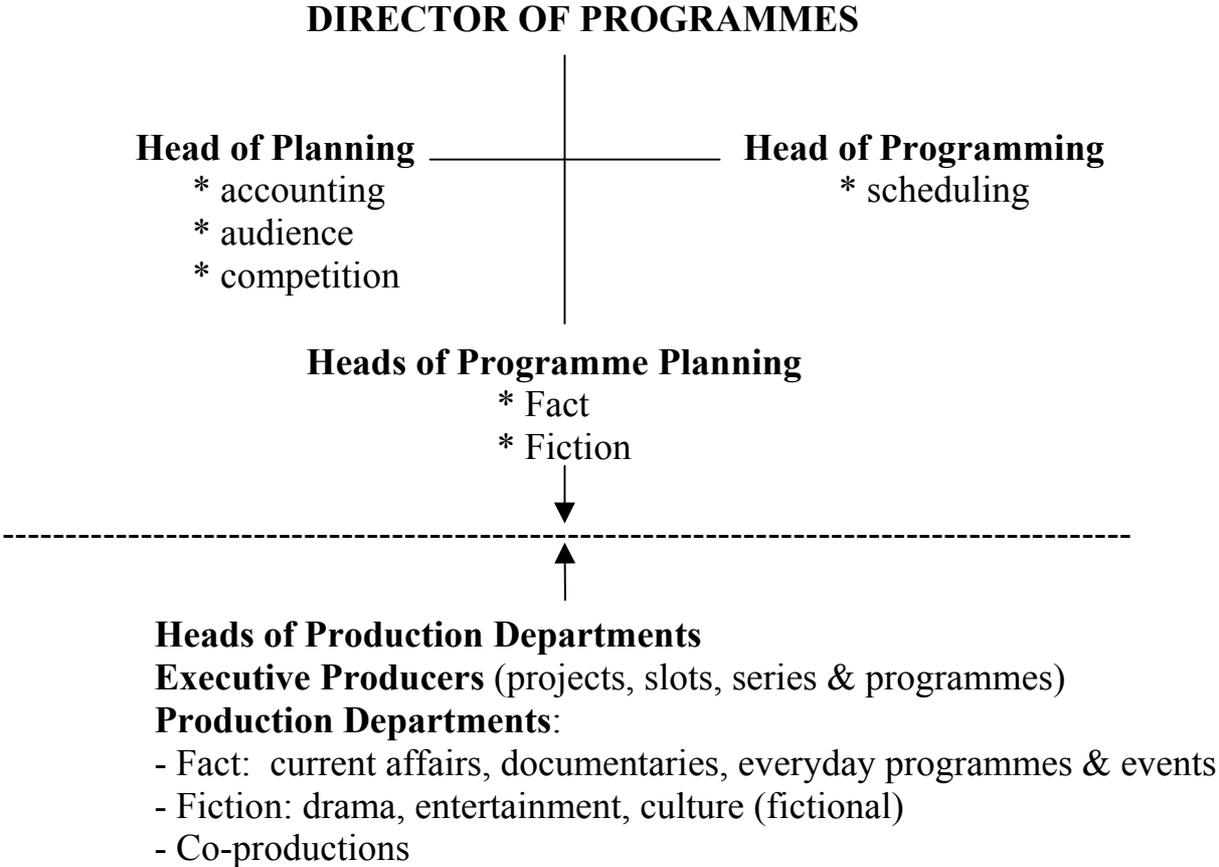
Commissioning in TV1

TV1 introduced the commissioning system in the beginning of 1998 by setting up a **programme planning department** which was divided into two sectors called Fact and Fiction. Each sector was headed by a head of programme planning (in Finnish, *ohjelmasuunnittelupäällikkö*) acting as a commissioning editor. The notion of programme planning in the name of the department, and in the identification of the commissioning editors, links the new system in an interesting way with the old programme planning tradition, discussed earlier (Chapter II). As the old tradition incorporated scheduling, the new department was strictly set to organise the commissioning of programmes. So at the broadcaster level, TV1's organisation was now clearly based on the combination of three functions called planning, scheduling and programme planning, the last one referring to commissioning. As demonstrated by the organisational design below (Figure 4), all this was integrated by the overall programming power of the channel controller, named as the Director of Programmes.

As to the identification of the new practice, it became clear from the beginning that the department of programme planning represented TV1's solution for commissioning. The two person select committee that presented the first plan for the system in its report of 28th February 1997 named the practice the commissioning system (in Finnish, *tilausjärjestelmä*). In a news report by YLE's personnel magazine Linkki, two months before the introduction of the system (5.11.1997), the system was likewise called the commissioning system. In the early December (9.12.1997), the newspaper Helsingin Sanomat reported about the selection of the heads for fact and fiction and points out that the new managers will guide TV1 into the new commissioning system. So despite the reference to

programme planning, the new system was generally understood as a commissioning system respective of examples from other countries. The personnel magazine confirms (ibid.) that Mr. Alm visited both the Danish DR and the British BBC in the course of planning. The main message from the visits was that the system should be introduced step-by-step and planned carefully in advance.

Figure 4 *The Original Model of Commissioning in TV1 (1998)*



In her interview for the personnel magazine (ibid.), the Director of Programmes for TV1, Ms. Astrid Gartz, confirmed the need for a step-by-step approach. She emphasised that since the launch of the original plan a new frame condition was added to the model: TV1's own programme makers form a priority when bidding the new programmes. Consequently, in the first bidding round the system will turn only to internal programme makers; independent producers are only called in for the second round. About the long-term objectives of the system, Ms. Gartz said that the in-house flexibility of production will increase because bids for a

documentary slot, for example, can also be made from elsewhere than the documentary department. She concluded that earlier the allocation of funding to the departments restricted mobility. In the future, money must go to projects and teams who are commissioned to produce the programmes.

One of the conflicting issues in the planning of the commissioning system was the question of whether it should cover all the programming or should be restricted to the so-called **work-character programmes**, referring to areas like documentary, drama and entertainment. As the design above shows, the selected model remained somewhere in-between; the system covered even current affairs and the weekly service-type of programmes (called everyday programmes in TV1; in Finnish, *arkiohjelmät*), as well as event productions. Domestic co-productions were included, but not the import of foreign programming. News and sport stayed out as joint functions for the whole of YLE Television, but the same applied also to children & youth as well as to education, then both parts of TV1. The agreed composition was a compromise between the full coverage model of the select committee and Ms. Gartz's original more restricted view.

The newsletter of the programme makers' trade union reviewed the discussion on the reform in the late spring of 1997 (Liiton Arkki, No 4/1997) and pointed out that TV1's personnel did not accept the select committee's proposals. One should notice that the later Head of Programme Planning for Fiction, Mr. Kari Kyrönseppä, was a member of the select committee, with the Head of Economy, Mr. Jorma Hatakko. The range of commissioning was not the only worry on the side of producers; even more critique was raised by the vision that a continuous failure of programme makers to get commissions might lead to cuts of human resources inside the company (ibid.).

One should remember that because of the network character of TV1 and TV2, their own productions cover only a part of the programming on the respective channels. As was documented earlier (p.26), for TV1's part the share of own-programming was estimated at two thirds in 1999 (concerning domestic supply). Because important areas of programming stayed outside commissioning, the impact of commissioning remained, on the level of the overall output, even more restricted than inside TV1. A good estimate is that as a consequence of the new system some 35 per cent of TV1's domestic output represented the result of commissioning.

However, the step-by-step approach applied in the implementation of the system will mean that discussion about the range of commissioning continues. When interviewed in the early 2000, Mr. Kari Kyrönseppä, the Head of Programme Planning for Fiction in TV1, returned to the idea of the select committee and thought that commissioning should cover all the programme areas of TV1 (interview 10.2.2000). Accordingly, children and youth as well as education were included in the practice at the beginning of 2001. Today, it seems clear that the relevance of commissioning will grow in the new digital environment because of the diminishing channel identity of production and the consequent increase of cross-commissioning.

The two heads of programme planning at TV1, known as **commissioners** (in Finnish, *tilaaja*) inside the organisation, were interviewed for this study in the early 2000. The interviews point out that the standard practices were by then generally accepted within the channel. Mr. Kari Kyrönseppä, the Head of Programme Planning for Fiction, thought that the move to commissioning may have been more radical in the field of fact than in his own area (interview 10.2.2000). In drama production, for example, long-term perspectives in planning and budgeting were the norm already. Series and serial drama naturally adapt easiest to the logic of commissioning. Mr. Kyrönseppä emphasises that even individual productions like TV-movies can benefit from the new system. He mentioned TV1's Monday evening slot *Kotikatsomo* (in English, Home Theatre) as an example of how to find an audience for individual works of art. In the spring season, this slot offers only TV-movies, and through this arrangement the audience for domestic TV-movies has doubled despite intensive competition.

In Mr. Kyrönseppä's definition, the function of the commissioning system is to guarantee that the chain from viewers to broadcasters to producers is operative. In production, this approach favours something one could call **slot-oriented know-how**, an ability to make programmes for certain audiences and for a particular programme environment, defined by the schedule and the overall channel environment. As to their own role in the organisation, both commissioners point out that they don't only make contracts on programmes but also have a more general responsibility for the repertoire, including active participation in the search and development of formats and concepts. This broad definition of commissioning is shared by the commissioners' boss, Ms. Astrid Gartz, the Director of Programmes for TV1. In her view, editing the channel repertoire is one of the essential features of Management by Schedule, and the commissioners contribute

actively to that process (correspondence 28.2.2002). As she says, commissioning is not only about commissioning programmes:

It is a continuous process in which production departments and their heads, executive producers and independents present ideas and make proposals. The commissioners, for their part, inform about the requirements of the schedule and make contracts on what programmes to produce. Many programme proposals have influenced the schedule and new slots have been created on the basis of them. In addition, commissioning covers programme development, the development of new and existing programmes with production departments.

(ibid.; translation by TH)

As to the importance of slot-oriented know-how, Ms. Riitta Pihlajamäki, the Head of Programme Planning for Fact at TV1, adds that the commissioners should be content-competent in their own fields. She illustrated in personal terms, using classical music as one field that she did not feel competent to co-ordinate, although it was nonetheless a part of her commissioning responsibilities at the time of the interview. In summary, she thought that within Factual Programmes there should be more commissioners to take care of specialised areas like talk shows, documentary works and culture.

According to Ms. Pihlajamäki, the commissioners represent the programming management in relation to production. In her understanding, the strong system of executive producers is an essential part of the commissioning; respectively, these producers represent for commissioners their main link with production. The function of the heads of programme planning is not only to implement the strategic decisions of the management; they are also considered **a part of management**. As pointed out by Ms. Pihlajamäki, this means for instance that the commissioners participate in consultations about strategy on different levels like the weekly meetings of the core group of the programming process, chaired by the Director of Programmes (see Chapter IV above). Ms. Pihlajamäki is optimistic about the commissioners's possibility to influence the scheduling decisions in their field of competence. As recent examples from her own area, she points to scheduling of documentaries on Sunday evenings and the exchange of slots between two known talk shows.

The commissioning cycles are clearly different in the broadly defined areas of fact and fiction. The commissions of fact normally follow seasonal

schedules. The formal decisions on commissions are submitted to the scheduling process; in other words, the contracts with producers wait until the decisions on the schedule have been made. From the commissioner's point of view, says Ms. Pihlajamäki, the spring season is dominated by discussion on budget frames and the autumn by annual planning. In the context of scheduling, this means spring participation in the formulation of the basic schedule that sets the economic frames for future planning. The annual planning in the autumn refers then directly to consultations on the repertoire, to decisions on commissions based on the preliminary schedule of the coming year's first programme season. The commissioning of seasons continues in the spring, parallel to the discussion on the basic schedule for the next year. At the time of the interview, in early March 2000, Ms. Pihlajamäki was just closing commissions for summer 2000.

The time perspective for fiction commissions is clearly longer than for fact. According to Mr. Kyrönseppä, the average time span from the request of bids to the screen transmission is one and a half years. This concerns primarily TV-movies. In his area, only entertainment commissions can be made less than one year in advance. The biggest drama production, the weekly serial *Kotikatu* (in English, Home Street) and the seasonal serials require a 3-year planning perspective. Such long perspectives for planning and the high costs of drama production make that **the commissions of drama** form one of the frame-setting factors of the annual and seasonal scheduling, similar to the sport rights (cf. the end of Chapter IV above). According to Mr. Kyrönseppä, it is remarkable that TV1 devotes 25 per cent of its production resources to fiction when its share of the audience is only 13 per cent. This investment, however, is important, he says, to the image of YLE as a provider and sponsor of domestic fiction.

The standard process of commissioning is introduced by **requests** from commissioners for bidding, followed by **bids** from the producers and production departments. A new round of bidding can take place if the commissioners find the first bids unsatisfactory. The second round involves the independent producers, as well. On the part of fact, Ms. Pihlajamäki reminds one that the independents may be included even in the first round, or sometimes she may turn only to certain independent producers. These exceptions are based on the urgent need to cover a special subject matter or a particular kind of production in which there is little or no internal competence. After a number of consultations, the bidding round or rounds lead to **contracts** on commissions. The so called

programme money, meaning funding for resources and services, follows the commissions. As Ms. Pihlajamäki says, the commissioner carries the responsibility for funding and transfers the programme money to the departments on the basis of commissions. After that, the executive producers are supposed to guarantee that the programme budgets remain within the agreed limits.

Both commissioners of TV1 agree that the personnel costs of production departments should be included in commissions. Only this makes it possible to compare internal and external productions. This view was shared by all the interviewed managers for this study, both in TV1 and TV2. Therefore, it is not surprising that the whole television division adopted the proposed practice at the beginning of 2001.

TV2's system of commissioning in comparison

As pointed out earlier, TV2's system of commissioning is characterised as a tailored model by the interviewed managers. As TV1 launched its new system of commissioning in the beginning of 1998, TV2 remained waiting. On the side of TV2, TV1's system was named as the BBC model and as such unsuitable for the special needs of TV2. According to Mr. Risto Heikkilä, the Commissioning Editor for Fact at TV2, the conclusion was that the so called BBC model was intended **for big organisations and for major markets** that already had a large sector of independents (interview 31.5.2000).

Despite principal suspicions, the then Director of Programmes for TV2, Mr. Arto Hoffrén, decided in the early April 1998 that TV2 would start testing its own version of commissioning and would reform at the same the whole organisation of its factual programmes (Hoffrén 1998b). The earlier separate departments for factual programmes, service programmes and environmental programmes, plus the special Documentary Project, were gathered together under the heading of **Factual Programmes**, managed by a new joint boss. Parallel to this, from the 1st of June 1998, the former Head of Current Affairs, Mr. Risto Heikkilä, was invited to act as the commissioning editor for factual programmes and became, as it was said, a part of the programme management of the unit (ibid.).

In his interview for this study, Mr. Heikkilä says about his role as a commissioner that he was originally supposed **to play objective in**

relation to production and not make too much difference between internal and external markets. As the motivations of Mr. Hoffrén's original decision show, the commissioning practice was set up in order to guarantee a more balanced view of the relationship between internal and external production. A better programming will be reached, if decisions on external productions are made by someone else than a head of own production. (ibid.) Mr. Heikkilä emphasises that he realised immediately that commissioning requires close co-operation with the heads of internal production: I should know what happens there, and they should know what plans I have. Mr. Heikkilä's approach to commissioning corresponds to what has been earlier said about the informal nature of TV2's strategic process. Although TV2 today is close to TV1 in terms of output and capacity, Mr. Heikkilä remarks that there is still a tradition of smallness inside the organisation: We manage to still fit into one room.

The test period of commissioning at TV2 was completed in the first half of 1999 under a new director, Mr. Jyrki Pakarinen, who became the Director of Programmes for TV2 at the beginning of the year. He worked earlier as the Secretary General for YLE and contributed in that position to the planning of the major organisational reform in April 1994. The new director with the whole programme management appeared in a briefing for TV2's personnel in the middle of May 1999, and was able to present the principles for **TV2's tailored model** of commissioning. The news for the personnel was that the test period of commissioning was over and the whole of TV2 would apply it from the 1st of June 1999.

Similar to his interview for this study, Mr. Pakarinen characterised the commissioning system as a change of practices and culture and not of organisation. This characterisation was a response to the critique that the so called BBC model of commissioning had raised among personnel. Mr. Pakarinen's message was that the heads of production and resource departments would keep their budget and personnel responsibilities, and that the reform would not affect the job security of TV2's personnel.

Thinking through Mr. Pakarinen's characterisation, one should remember that the decision to start testing commissioning a year earlier already included a major organisational change, the re-organisation of several departments and projects into a joint programme area named Factual Programmes. As the head of that new area, Mr. Ilkka Saari, pointed out (interview 21.6.2000), the launch of the new organisation not only

gathered together a number of separate departments but also implemented the system of executive producers and the schedule-oriented production. This happened in a field of programming where the producers were used to considering themselves as auteurs of individual productions. So in a sense, what remained to be done was to continue developing new practices and applying them to the new culture. When interviewed in March 2000, Ms. Päivi Kärkkäinen, the Head of Programming for TV2, noted that the adoption of the new culture was still underway and she estimated that next year (2001) TV2 could present a schedule that reflected fully the intentions of the reform.

The description of the commissioning system itself, as presented by Mr. Pakarinen, avoids any direct reference to re-distribution of power between programming and production. However, it is acknowledged that there is a need to strengthen the planning, control and implementation of the structure and contents of the overall programming output. Accordingly, **the division of labour as well as the composition and organisation of the programme management** was supposed to be reviewed. One of the results of this review was, as has been documented earlier (Chapter IV), to give people meter and other audience research data a more prominent role in the programming process, and to set up a particular planning position (Head of Planning) for the follow-up on such data. That function belonged earlier to the responsibilities of the Head of Programming who was now able to focus more on the planning and implementation of the schedule. But parallel to that and different from TV1, TV2's Head of Programming was supposed to be directly involved in the commissioning process, as well. In TV2's programme management Mr. Heikkilä, the Head of Factual Programming, remained the only separate commissioner. As to the rest of programming, broadly defined as fiction, the commissioning was handled by the Head of Programming in consultation with the channel director.

As the basic formulation goes, TV2's commissioning system is supposed to be **programme-oriented** and **producer-driven** and to take into account the optimal use of the unit's own production capacity. In this formulation, the reference to programme orientation represents the idea of putting programmes in the centre, as expressed in the motivations of the 1994 organisational reform. As was documented earlier (Chapter III), it dominated also TV2's approach to the Big Channel Reform in 1993. So in the historical perspective, the first part of the definition not only links commissioning with the overall intentions of Management by Schedule,

but also with TV2's own history. The second reference to the producer-driven nature of commissioning is clearly intended to balance the strategic emphasis on programming from the point of view of production. It addresses the critics of Producer Choice and confirms that the producers will have an active role to play in the commissioning process. Not only the interviewed managers of TV2, but also the representatives of production departments, consider TV1's system of commissioning more authoritarian and agree that TV2's tailored model creates more freedom of space for producers.

According to Mr. Ilkka Saari, speaking for the new joint area of factual programmes, TV2's tailored model should not be called commissioning but rather **a system of commissioning and bidding** (interview 21.6.2000). He points to the informal nature of the system at TV2 and emphasises that the bids from producers are not dependent on formal requests. He resists strongly the practice that the generation of programme ideas would remain the responsibility of the programmers, i.e. the programme management of the channel. As the commissioning editor for factual programmes, Mr. Heikkilä, confirms, although decisions on commissions mainly follow scheduling cycles, "his hook for bidding ideas" is open all year round. The tailored model of commissioning aims at flexibility which enables separate decisions on production whenever needed.

It seems that TV2's tailored model of commissioning had in the beginning only minimal effect outside the new joint area of factual programming. One should remember that in other areas TV2 already had a rather developed system of executive producers; so in that sense, the organisation was prepared to meet the requirements of Management by Schedule. When comparing TV2 with TV1, Ms. Päivi Kärkkäinen, the Head of Programming for TV2, concludes that in TV2's way of action the system of executive producers remains central; the commissioning only complements that (interview 10.3.2000).

It seems clear that on the side of TV2 a radical step to commissioning was seen as a risk that might harm its traditionally strong areas of production, like weekly current affairs, domestic drama and entertainment. All these areas could argue that they were already well equipped to meet the requirements of slot-oriented, serial production. Among the interviews for this study, it is interesting to find that TV1's Commissioning Editor for Fiction, Mr. Kari Kyrönseppä, mentions TV2's family game *Tuttu juttu* (in

English, Known Story) as an example of successful domestic entertainment formats. For TV1's part, he considered **format development** as one of the problematic areas when trying to apply the new production culture.

In his interview for this study (21.6.2000), TV2's Head of Drama, Mr. Juha Rosma, confirmed the impression that the adoption of commissioning did not essentially change their way of operations. Until then, he had not received any request for a bid in the style produce this kind of programme, for this slot, in these terms. He emphasised that productions are initiated by the programme area; the needs of the schedule are evaluated later when the development of the ideas goes further. In his own programme area, Mr. Rosma takes care also of consultations with independents and negotiates then about commissions with the Head of Programming. The latter, Ms. Kärkkäinen, acknowledged that the practice of commissioning is rather informal in the whole area of fiction, it means continuous reciprocal consultations about ideas. But parallel to that, she was apt to point out that the system is not functioning well enough. At the time of her interview in March 2000, their practice of commissioning was being reviewed by the Helsinki Business School. Preliminary results showed, according to Ms. Kärkkäinen, that their practice was rather a system of bidding than a system of commissions. She forecast that in the future programme management needs to be much clearer about commissions. The point of departure for this, says Ms. Kärkkäinen, is that our basic schedule is clearly more specific in its **audience address**.

It seems that drama is an example of areas in which programmers and producers continue to argue about the nature and limits of commissioning. As to the substance of production, Mr. Rosma stresses the independence of his programme area and he is, in fact, rather reluctant to acknowledge the whole idea of commissions in any sense of a power hierarchy. For him, the biggest problem is the annual and seasonal budgeting which makes it hard to decide on productions which, like most drama, require a time span of 2-3 years.

Conclusion

As the above review shows, YLE's two traditional television channels adopted, towards the end of the 1990's, their own applications of Producer Choice as an aspect of Management by Schedule. The different practices of commissioning demonstrate that the specific traditions of the channels

influence the application and practices of the internal market. However, as far as the **cross-commissioning** between channels increases, the pressure to standardise the practices will grow and the possibilities of tailoring will diminish. As pointed out by Mr. Kyrönseppä, the Commissioning Editor for Fiction at TV1, Producer Choice as a principle remains a necessity that is created by intensified channel competition. Producer Choice represents **a form of creativity** that makes it possible to manage the equation of ever growing output and saturated budgets. According to Mr. Kyrönseppä, the average price of a programme hour has gone down steadily and will continue to do so in the new digital multiplexes. Digitalisation will also make cross-commissioning a norm because the new channels are predominantly programming networks and do not control a production machine of their own, in comparison to the traditional channels.

The commissioning editors have a powerful role to play in the present application of Producer Choice. From the producers' point of view, their position is particularly important because they represent the most immediate connection with the broadcaster functions of channels. However both the interviewed commissioners and the heads of departments, point out that the producers continue consulting directly with other persons of the management, including channel controllers. It seems that scheduling is one of the areas in which the producers may find that their interests are different from the commissioners. For example, the Head of Factual Programmes at TV2, Mr. Ilkka Saari, reminds one that the commissioning editor represents also the independent sector. That is why he feels that he needs to pass by the commissioning editor in matters that concern the scheduling of his productions. About his own role as head of department, Mr. Saari says that through the introduction of commissioning his responsibility is more and more **to act as a seller** and in that sense to represent his own programme area in the internal market.

The Implied Schedule; How to Construct an Audience

The market logic of Producer Choice is supposed to increase the financial transparency of broadcasting organisations and to make them thereby more accountable. As was pointed out earlier, present day public service broadcasters prefer to articulate their accountability and social responsibility in terms of the so called **audience orientation**. This orientation can be seen as an effort to become more independent from the political market, the political decisions makers, who for example in YLE's case still have the formal power over the organisation. Consequently, as pointed out by Ang (1991), the broadcasters seek to replace their old normative conception of the audience with a more empirical view. In such a context, knowing the audience becomes a key asset in competition and audience research adopts a central role in the definition of strategies, as well as in their evaluation.

In fact, the adoption of Management by Schedule in YLE Television is very much a consequence of the new audience orientation. The power of the schedule is based on its potential use in structuring and systematising the broadcasters' relationship with their audiences. As TV1's Head of Planning, Ms. Sirkka Minkkinen says, Management by Schedule means that the whole programme output is planned and evaluated in relation to the audience and its sub-groups (interview 24.2.2000). Her conclusion is that streamlined slots are required in order to create **expectation values for the audience**; to make it possible for audiences to find their favourite programmes as the output increases. At its best, adds Ms. Minkkinen, the slot itself can develop a brand, with a particular kind of expectation values for the audience. According to her, the role of research is to deliver support and knowledge of how to develop the slot profile, by considering the viewers of the slot.

But as the practices of Producer Choice and commissioning show, schedule can be used for the control of production, as well; to mediate the relationship between programmers and producers. The new professionalism called for by the schedule-oriented management, implemented through the practices of Producer Choice and commissioning, is essentially about **learning to think in terms of the schedule** and, consequently, in terms of the audience. Or if one referred directly to YLE's new vocabulary about audiences, one should say that the issue is to think

about audiences in terms of audience segments or target audiences and groups.

Mr. Kari Kyrönseppä, the Commissioning Editor for Fiction in TV1, gives an interesting view of how the audience is supposed to act as **a measure of the quality control** in the commissioning process. He would like to receive the manuscripts for evaluation in a more completed form and not mix too much in the development of unfinished concepts. But to accomplish this would require, as he says, that the producers would learn to evaluate their ideas in terms of the intended audience. Accordingly, Mr. Kyrönseppä would like to reduce his own role to a minimum in the evaluation: "The imagined audience" should be the decisive factor, not my opinion.

The imagined audience in Mr. Kyrönseppä's formulation is not a result of free imagination, but it should be based on a careful analysis of the audience research data in relation to the particular slots. In his feed back to producers, such a data play a central role. The interesting and problematic point in Mr. Kyrönseppä's argument is that it conceives audience research as a sort of objective power, independent of the actors' opinions. But as far as the actors agree on its objectivity, it has a potential to adopt a powerful role in the audience-oriented management of broadcasting.

In the document describing the basic features of TV1's commissioning system (dated 16.9.1998), the audience is generally given a central role among the **measures of success**. The first criteria on the list is the requirement of substance compatibility (in Finnish, *sisällöllinen vastaavuus*) which refers to measures like reach (in terms of the target group), share and viewer appreciation. These more or less standard aspects of audience research are complemented by two other factors which are named as critique and publicity value.

If judging on the basis of the interviews, the audience related aspects of the compatibility represent the dominant measures of success; critique and publicity value play a secondary and complementary role. The requirement of compatibility reflects the typical logic of the schedule and the way it tries to accommodate to the everyday life of the viewers, their time budget, needs and preferences (Hujanen 2000). There are, however, value dimensions like public service that influence how far the principle of

compatibility can be applied. A lot of factual programming in the mid-evening may not be the best strategy in terms of compatibility, but as Ms. Minkkinen remarks, it can be considered a **public service obligation**.

In addition to the aspects of compatibility, there are two other factors that are used in the evaluation of the commissioning process. These are identified as fulfilment of the production contract and the average price of a programme hour. The requirement of compatibility is in fact a part of the production contract; so in this case the fulfilment of the contract refers to other aspects of the slot-oriented professionalism like generic and format requirements and ability to define and keep time-tables, as well as to organise and control the production process. The price per programme hour is naturally a measure of economic control and gives an evaluation of the producer's success in following the budget, i.e. in professionally managing the process.

Although it seems that audience orientation is supposed to be the decisive aspect of Management by Schedule, it is continually balanced against economic requirements. This kind of balancing is in fact essential in the construction of the basic schedule, which acts as the economic frame for annual planning (see Chapter IV above). An interesting example of this interplay between audience orientation and economy is offered by TV1's practice of complementing the planning of the basic schedule with a separate version of the schedule called **target audience schedule**. This particular version of the schedule is produced by the Head of Planning together with audience research and makes use of both people meter and viewer appreciation data. It offers an overall evaluation of the basic schedule in terms of the implied audiences. In the standard schedules distributed in the Board and Programme Meetings, the reference to audiences is normally expressed only as reach and share.

It is also probable that in certain situations **economic rationality dominates** over all the other factors. When speaking about the problems of Management by Schedule, Mr Jyrki Pakarinen, the Director of Programmes for TV2, refers to difficulties in balancing the channel's budget after the launch of the so called result units. His conclusion is that the really programme-oriented management requires a well-working economy. Otherwise, the money will take over and decide over the other values. In real life, says Mr. Pakarinen, the practice is too often that

managers can make only the second or third or even fourth best decisions. As has been pointed out earlier, YLE, like the public service broadcasters generally, has been fighting with the equation of saturated budgets and ever growing output throughout the 1990's. The launch of the new digital services will accelerate this trend and will increase the demand for creativity (see Mr. Kyrönseppä's comment on p. 109 above), which is typical in low-budget productions.

The standard schedule is in fact rather simple and includes a lot of implicit aspects. Thinking through the strategic importance of audience orientation, the standard print-out version of the schedule is amazingly poor in its audience references. The name of the slot may refer to a particular target audience like youth and children, but one seldom finds any other audience identifications. Generic references like news, sport, documentary, series, comedy, talk show etc. represent the most typical identifications, together with simply including the title of the programme as the name of the slot. A basic difference in the schedules of TV1 and TV2 is that the former mainly applies slot names in the identification of content and the latter predominantly refers to programme titles as identification. TV2's practice reminds one of its policy slogan "to put programmes in the centre", characterising its approach to the Big Channel Reform of 1993 (on the differences in the two channels' approach, see Chapter III above).

TV1 uses a few best known programme titles as brand names to complement or replace the slot names (its main domestic drama serial *Kotikatu* / Home Street as an example). Both channels identify, however, the imported foreign serials and series by their Finnish-language titles. Each channel also applies its particular colour coding system to indicate the generic category and / or production background of the programmes. The coloured versions of the two schedules appear on the front cover of this book. Modified black and white versions of the schedules are presented below (pp. 114-115) to give an impression of the overall structure of seasonal schedules.

In TV1's schedule, **film** is divided into three categories, domestic, foreign and quality film. Similarly, the notion of **series** is complemented by specific characterisations like detective series, excitement and once again quality. Both channels have a special brand name for their **documentary** productions. The name of the slot in TV1, *Ykkösdokumentti* (in English, Number One Document) on Sunday nights, points to the number one in the

channel's name, but it is possible to read it also as a reference to the number one quality of the documents. TV2's respective slot in Thursday evening carries the title *Dokumenttiprojekti* (in English, Document Project) which is the name of the special production team created in the early 1990's to safeguard the continuation of documentary production in the new channel environment.

The above documentary slots represent the **show windows** of the two channels' own documentary production (cf. Caldwell 1995 about boutique programming). They demonstrate the solution of how to meet the requirements of schedule in the work-type of programming. TV1 classifies its documentary slots also according to content categories like culture and history. One slot, Nordic Documentaries (Sunday afternoon), makes reference to the particular foreign origin of the productions. Similarly, TV2 has a slot in Friday afternoon that offers programmes based on the Nordvision exchange; and another one in Sunday morning which specialises in international documentaries. TV1 had already in the autumn 1999 two slots for the so called docusoap serials (see discussion on that on pp. 77-78 above); or "narrative documents" like the channel prefers to call them. The two slots (Monday and Tuesday) were identified by the names of the serials called *Lähtarina* (in English, Close Story) and *Tositarina* (in English, True Story).

Drama and **short film** represent, in addition to documentaries, areas of programming which integrate the work-character programmes into the logic of the schedule. TV1's *Kotikatsomo* (in English, Home Theater) in late Monday evenings is the main slot for individual drama works; that reference is made in the name of the slot by the word *pistedraamoja* (referring to individual drama works). The short film slot is scheduled to late Thursday evening of TV1, where it closes the channel's cultural night.

TIME MONDAY TUESDAY WEDNESDAY THURSDAY FRIDAY SATURDAY SUNDAY

TV1 AUTUMN 1999

6.00	Morning TV NCM	Morning TV NCM	Morning TV NCM	Morning TV NCM	Morning TV NCM		
7.00	Christmas Calendar 1.-24.12 weekdays at 7.15-7.25; weekends inside Children's Magazine CH						
8.00						Children's Magazine incl. Teletubbies	Children FST Children's Magazine CH
9.00	News NCM	News NCM	News NCM	News NCM	News NCM	CH	Sunday Magazine
10.00	Series Rerun SE	Series Rerun SE	Series Rerun SE	Series Rerun SE	Series Rerun SE	Saturday Magazine NCM	NCM Skill TV ED
11.00	School TV (in Finnish and Swedish) ED	School TV ED	School TV (in Finnish and Swedish) ED	School TV (in Finnish and Swedish) ED	School TV (in Finnish and Swedish) ED	Distant High School ED	Open University ED Language Hour ED
12.00		Inv. Journalism Rerun NCM		Language TV ED Narrative Document Rerun DO	Economy Magazine Rerun NCM	Science Forum ED Narrative Document	
13.00	News NCM	News NCM	News NCM	News NCM	News NCM	Rerun DO	Classic Music M&E
13.30	Current Affairs Rerun NCM	Current Affairs Rerun NCM	Consumer Magazine Rerun NCM	Current Affairs Rerun NCM	Current Affairs Rerun NCM	Culture Magazine Rerun NCM	
14.00	Saturday Magazine Rerun NCM	Documentary Rerun DO	Sunday Magazine Rerun NCM	Tuesday Magazine Rerun NCM	Open University Rerun ED	Culture Document Rerun DO	Nordic Documents DO
14.30	Science Forum Rerun ED	Migrant Magazine Rerun NCM	FI	Language Hour Rerun ED	Interview Rerun NCM	New Cinema Rerun or Sport FIS	Foreign Film FI
15.00	School TV Rerun ED	Skill TV Rerun ED Interview Rerun NCM		Science Magazine Rerun DO	Children/Youth Film CH	Wind at My Back SE	
15.30							
16.00	Youth CH	Youth CH	Youth CH	Youth CH From Parliament NCM		Youth incl. Tribe CH	History Document DO
16.30							
17.00	News NCM	News NCM	News NCM	News NCM	News NCM	News NCM	News NCM
17.30	Migrant Magazine NCM	Tuesday Magazine NCM	Svensson SE	Working SE	Operation Good Case SE	FST	FST
18.00	Sign L. News NCM	Sign L. News NCM	Sign L. News NCM	Sign L. News NCM	Sign L. News NCM		
18.30	Children FST News FST	Children FST News FST	Children FST News FST	Children FST News FST	Children FST News FST	News FST Sign L. News NCM	News FST Sign L. News NCM
19.00	Headline News NCM Narrative Document DO	Headline News NCM World Fashion SE Mad About You SE	Headline News NCM Science, Nature Evening 22.9. & 20.10. DO	Headline News NCM Music M&E	Headline News NCM Graze Under Fire SE	Promotion Nature DO	Youth Drama CH Nostalg Talk Show M&E
19.30	Discussion NCM	Consumer Magazine NCM	Current Affairs NCM	Dom. Comedy M&E	Where Heart Is, Holby City SE	Touch of Frost, Midsummer Murders, Maisie Raine SE	Culture Magazine NCM
20.00	Investigative Journalism NCM	Narrative Document DO	Interview NCM Viking Lotto NCM	Kotikatu / Home Street D	Domestic Comedy D		
20.30	News NCM	News NCM	News NCM	News NCM	News NCM	News NCM	News NCM
21.00	Sport S Current Affairs NCM	Sport S FST	Sport, V5 Horse Race S Current Affairs NCM	Sport S Economy Magazine NCM	Sport S Current Affairs NCM	Lotto NCM Sport S Dom. Comedy M&E Dom. Comedy M&E	Sport S Ykkösdokumentti/ Number One Document DO
21.30	Kotikatsomo / Home Theatre D					Dom. Comedy M&E	
22.00			Sport or Film S/FI	Culture Magazine NCM Culture Document DO	Foreign Film FI	Dom. Comedy M&E Frasier SE	Foreign Affairs Reportage DO
22.30	Interview NCM	News NCM News FST		News NCM News FST	News NCM	Brocker's Man, Underworld	
23.00	News NCM Documentary Serial SE	FST	News NCM News FST Night Games Bingo Lotto M & E	New Cinema FI	News FST Music M&E	Dark Room Ich klage an SE Weekends Stories, Duplessis Orphans, Una Vittoria, Big Women SE	Quality Film FI
23.30							
24.00	Education Rerun ED		Night Show FI				
00.30							

Coding:

Drama	D
Film	F
Children	CH
Music and Entertainment	M&E
Education	ED
Series/Serials	SE
Documentary	DO
Sport	S
News, Current Affairs and Magazines	NCM
Swedish-language Programmes	FST

Notice:

The above coding corresponds to TV1's colour coding system. The Finnish-language programme titles have been excluded, except a few brand names. The names of imported programmes have been changed into the language of origin.

TIME	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	SUNDAY					
9.00	TV 2 AUTUMN 1999					Gym S	International Documentary I					
10.00	<p>Coding:</p> <p>Import I Entertainment E Factual Programmes F Current Affairs C Drama D Children's Programmes CH Sport S News and Weather N & W Swedish-language Programmes FST</p> <p>Notice:</p> <p>The coding below corresponds to TV2's colour coding system. The Finnish-language programme titles have been excluded. The names of imported programmes have been changed into the language of origin.</p>					Home Country Report Remix C	Religious Service or Factual Rerun F					
11.00						Documentary 2nd run F	Talk Show 2nd run C					
12.00						Traffic TV 2nd run F	Film Matinee I					
13.00						Radical Sport 2nd run I	Talk Show 2nd run C					
14.00						My Life's Animals 2nd run I	Film Matinee I					
15.00						Quiz Show 2nd run E	Talk Show 2nd run C					
16.00						Archive Documentary F	Talk Show 2nd run C					
17.00						Historical Documentary F	Talk Show 2nd run C					
18.00						Open Sesam CH	Flintstones CH	Back to the Future CH	Fovel, Family Dog CH	The Gnomes CH	People's Century, Cold War I	Garfield I
19.00						Day Dance E	Envir. News 2nd run F	Current Affairs Magazine 2nd run C	Factual re-runs F	Nordic Programming I	Domestic Film D	Event Sport S
20.00	Bonanza I	Der Alte I	Bonanza I	Religious Magazine 2nd run F	Bonanza I	Horse Race S	Thin Blue Line, Airport I					
21.00	Jede Menge Leben, Kate & Allie I	Jede Menge Leben, Kate & Allie I	Jede Menge Leben, Kate & Allie I	Jede Menge Leben, Kate & Allie I	Jede Menge Leben, Kate & Allie I	Sport S	Die Freundschaft mit Hertz I					
22.00	Eko Magazine 2nd run F	Documentary Series 2nd run F	Nature Life Magazine 2nd run F	Cooking 2nd run F	Health Magazine 2 run F	Health Magazine F	Weather News					
23.00	The Moomin CH	Country Mouse, City Mouse. Franklin CH	Open Sesam CH	Oscar's Orchestra, Paddington CH	Richard Scarry CH	Home Country Report C	Envir. News F					
00.00	Children's Magazine CH	Children's Magazine CH	Children's Magazine CH	Children's Magazine CH	Hui Hai Hiisi CH	Game News S	Documentary Series F					
01.00	Weather News	Weather News	Weather News	Weather News	Weather News	News	Quiz Show E					
02.00	Home Country Report C	Home Country Report C	Home Country Report C	Home Country Report C	Home C Report C	Sport S	Law and Order I					
03.00	Game News S	Documentary F	Religious Magazine F	Traffic Magazine F	FST	Comedy E	Amazing Stories of S. Spielberg I					
04.00	FST	Radical Sport I	Stefanie I	Travel Magazine I	Film I	Comedy E	German Detective Series I					
05.00		Pretender I	Eko Magazine F	Documentary Project F		Amazing Stories of S. Spielberg I	Reideriet I					
06.00		Cooking F	Veronica's Closet I	Nature Life Magazine F		German Detective Series I	Drama Rerun D					
07.00		My Life's Animals I	Promotion F	Game Show E	Music E	Film I	Sport News S					
08.00		Current Affairs Magazine C	Comedy D	Weather	Music E	Quiz Show E	Night Film I					
09.00		Drama D	Talk Show C	Police TV F	Entertainment E	Law and Order I						
10.00		Talk Show C	When Life Hurts I	Documentary C	Call Red, Moonlake Murders I	Quiz Show E						
11.00		Millenium Film I	Documentary F	Night Film I	Documentary F	Law and Order I						
12.00						Quiz Show E						
13.00						Quiz Show E						
14.00						Quiz Show E						
15.00						Quiz Show E						
16.00						Quiz Show E						
17.00						Quiz Show E						
18.00						Quiz Show E						
19.00						Quiz Show E						
20.00						Quiz Show E						
21.00						Quiz Show E						
22.00						Quiz Show E						
23.00						Quiz Show E						
00.00						Quiz Show E						
01.00						Quiz Show E						
02.00						Quiz Show E						
03.00						Quiz Show E						
04.00						Quiz Show E						
05.00						Quiz Show E						
06.00						Quiz Show E						
07.00						Quiz Show E						
08.00						Quiz Show E						
09.00						Quiz Show E						
10.00						Quiz Show E						
11.00						Quiz Show E						
12.00						Quiz Show E						
13.00						Quiz Show E						
14.00						Quiz Show E						
15.00						Quiz Show E						
16.00						Quiz Show E						
17.00						Quiz Show E						
18.00						Quiz Show E						
19.00						Quiz Show E						
20.00						Quiz Show E						
21.00						Quiz Show E						
22.00						Quiz Show E						
23.00						Quiz Show E						
00.00						Quiz Show E						
01.00						Quiz Show E						
02.00						Quiz Show E						
03.00						Quiz Show E						
04.00						Quiz Show E						
05.00						Quiz Show E						
06.00						Quiz Show E						
07.00						Quiz Show E						
08.00						Quiz Show E						
09.00						Quiz Show E						
10.00						Quiz Show E						
11.00						Quiz Show E						
12.00						Quiz Show E						
13.00						Quiz Show E						
14.00						Quiz Show E						
15.00						Quiz Show E						
16.00						Quiz Show E						
17.00						Quiz Show E						
18.00						Quiz Show E						
19.00						Quiz Show E						
20.00						Quiz Show E						
21.00						Quiz Show E						
22.00						Quiz Show E						
23.00						Quiz Show E						
00.00						Quiz Show E						
01.00						Quiz Show E						
02.00						Quiz Show E						
03.00						Quiz Show E						
04.00						Quiz Show E						
05.00						Quiz Show E						
06.00						Quiz Show E						
07.00						Quiz Show E						
08.00						Quiz Show E						
09.00						Quiz Show E						
10.00						Quiz Show E						
11.00						Quiz Show E						
12.00						Quiz Show E						
13.00						Quiz Show E						
14.00						Quiz Show E						
15.00						Quiz Show E						
16.00						Quiz Show E						
17.00						Quiz Show E						
18.00						Quiz Show E						
19.00						Quiz Show E						
20.00						Quiz Show E						
21.00						Quiz Show E						
22.00						Quiz Show E						
23.00						Quiz Show E						
00.00						Quiz Show E						
01.00						Quiz Show E						
02.00						Quiz Show E						
03.00						Quiz Show E						
04.00						Quiz Show E						
05.00						Quiz Show E						
06.00						Quiz Show E						
07.00						Quiz Show E						
08.00						Quiz Show E						
09.00						Quiz Show E						
10.00						Quiz Show E						
11.00						Quiz Show E						
12.00						Quiz Show E						
13.00						Quiz Show E						
14.00						Quiz Show E						
15.00						Quiz Show E						
16.00						Quiz Show E						
17.00						Quiz Show E						
18.00						Quiz Show E						
19.00						Quiz Show E						
20.00						Quiz Show E						
21.00						Quiz Show E						
22.00						Quiz Show E						
23.00						Quiz Show E						
00.00						Quiz Show E						
01.00						Quiz Show E						
02.00						Quiz Show E						
03.00						Quiz Show E						
04.00						Quiz Show E						
05.00						Quiz Show E						
06.00						Quiz Show E						
07.00						Quiz Show E						
08.00						Quiz Show E						
09.00						Quiz Show E						
10.00						Quiz Show E						
11.00						Quiz Show E						
12.00						Quiz Show E						
13.00						Quiz Show E						
14.00						Quiz Show E						
15.00						Quiz Show E						
16.00						Quiz Show E						
17.00						Quiz Show E						
18.00						Quiz Show E						
19.00						Quiz Show E						
20.00						Quiz Show E						
21.00						Quiz Show E						
22.00						Quiz Show E						
23.00						Quiz Show E						
00.00						Quiz Show E						
01.00						Quiz Show E						
02.00						Quiz Show E						
03.00						Quiz Show E						
04.00						Quiz Show E						
05.00						Quiz Show E						
06.00						Quiz Show E						
07.00						Quiz Show E						
08.00						Quiz Show E						
09.00						Quiz Show E						
10.00						Quiz Show E						
11.00						Quiz Show E						
12.00						Quiz Show E						
13.00						Quiz Show E						
14.00						Quiz Show E						
15.00						Quiz Show E						
16.00						Quiz Show E						
17.00						Quiz Show E						
18.00						Quiz Show E						
19.00						Quiz Show E						
20.00						Quiz Show E						
21.00						Quiz Show E						
22.00						Quiz Show E						
23.00						Quiz Show E						
00.00						Quiz Show E						
01.00												

The standard print-out form of schedule as it appears in the attached seasonal schedules is only one of the schedules that are functional in the programming process. Table 5 below (p. 118) identifies the different versions of schedule. The purpose of the table is to make an analytical distinction between the **symbolic forms of schedule** (as they appear in the programming process) and the **schedule in operation**. The point is to demonstrate that any symbolic version of schedule is more restricted in dimensions than the operative schedule, the process of scheduling as a whole. As was pointed out above, the standard seasonal schedule in the print-out form is particularly scarce in references to audiences. So in order to see the strategic importance of audience orientation in the scheduling process, one needs turn to the schedule in operation, the dimensions of the schedule that are functional in the planning and implementation of the schedule.

The comparison between the operative schedule and the different symbolic versions makes it possible to consider what remains implied in the print-out forms. In a historical perspective, it seems clear that the symbolic form of schedule has changed only a little in comparison to the whole process of scheduling. In order to understand the reason of this stability, one should look at how the print-out versions are used in the scheduling process. Even today, the print-out versions are scarcely used in public. In fact, the way they are used in the core group of programming process, and more broadly in Board and Programme Meetings, describes exactly their main internal function **as an agenda for discussion** or consultation. The agenda dimension corresponds, as was pointed out earlier (see Chapter II), to one of the encyclopedic meanings of schedule in English. However — and that is the point with the notion of the operative schedule — the schedule as agenda is supposed to generate a process that is much broader in dimensions than the symbolic schedule.

The internal use of the standard symbolic forms of schedule explains at least in part why these schedules indicate a poverty of audience references. They are not supposed to address the audiences but instead the programmers and producers inside the organisation. But the more recent symbolic versions like the target audience schedule and the contractual form of the commissions show that the new emphasis on audiences influences also the agenda dimension of schedule. In both cases the reference to audiences has become a part of the explicit agenda. In Table 5 below, the **schedule as a commission** refers to the selection aspect of

scheduling, the contracts on commissions between the programmers and producers. The examples of the contracts that the interviewed commissioners delivered to this study demonstrate that explicit references to audiences remain rather general. For instance, only in one of the delivered copies of the contracts was the target audience defined in terms of **audience segments**, based on the combination of people meter and viewer appreciation data. However, in the short description of contents, the horizon of audience expectations was often specified in style: We celebrate this day together, with reference to a music entertainment programme; or The form of the programme is free, but one needs pay attention to the expectations of the slot, Summer Friday at 8.00 p.m., with reference to a summer series.

Although the references to audiences may be short and general in the commissions themselves, their mere existence demonstrates their important role in the commissioning process and as a value dimension of the new professionalism. As was pointed out earlier, learning to think in terms of audiences is a basic requirement of the slot-oriented professionalism in production (see, for example, about audiences as a measure of the quality control pp. 110-111 above). It seems, however, that YLE's tradition as a generalist broadcaster still influences the way in which audiences are conceived by programmers and producers, in particular. In the commissioning of prime time programming, **general audience** is still a typical complement to figures of reach and share. As to content and style, the requirement of universalism is dominantly interpreted as a general access; in other words, the commissioned programmes should be accessible to anyone and not too inclusive or exclusive of approach.

According to Ms. Ulla Karva, the Head of Planning for TV2, some producers still think that the definition of a target audience for a programme might scare away the rest of the viewers. Such thinking represents an approach to programme making which characterised public service television before the channel competition. The point with definitions of target audiences, says Ms. Karva, is not the inclusion or exclusion of certain kind of audiences, but **the need for a co-ordinated action** in a competitive channel environment. The co-ordinated action refers to the interplay between the various phases and actors of the programming process, in which the defined target audiences are positioned in a central role as a measure of co-ordination. The result of co-ordination is, as Ms. Karva concludes, more satisfied viewers and, in the end, more

satisfied producers. So the producers should realise that a high viewer satisfaction is as important a reward as high numbers in the headcounting.

The interviews for this study point out uniformly that Management by Schedule, and the system of commissioning as a part of it, have been successful measures to inculcate the audience orientation of production. **Learning to imply an audience** is a basic requirement of the new production culture, and it is now taken for granted by the producers. According to Ms. Leena Pasanen, the Head of Documentaries at TV1, the new attitude is reflected by the producers' eagerness to market their programmes (interview 19.8.2000). A scheduled programme is seen as a promise for the audience and, accordingly, the producers feel deeply disappointed if their programme is replaced by urgent changes in the schedule.

As to conflicts between programmers and producers, it seems that money, the budget frames, is really the main issue. The notion of **quality** is important for the producers' self-esteem in front of the audience, and they are afraid that overly tight budgets may risk the basic quality of programming. Mr. Olof Quickström, the Head of Music and Entertainment at TV1, recalls a recent request to produce a youth magazine with a budget of 30,000 FIM / hour (5,000 euro), as the average price per hour in his area used to be on the level of 250,000 FIM (41,500 euro). His experience of commissioning consultations is that the content requirements of the commissions and the budget limits are often imbalanced. One cannot build a house with the budget of a cottage, says Mr. Quickström.

Producers are well aware of how important schedule is for the success of their programmes. Mr. Ilkka Saari, the Head of Factual Programmes at TV2, remarks that changing a slot for a programme may easily cut 200 000 people from the audience — or vice versa (interview 21.6.2000). He thinks a good slot is naturally dependent on the possibilities it offers to reach the target audience; it is waste of time and resources to send children's programmes at night or to schedule family programmes in the early evening when there is the whole jambalaya going on at home.

Table 6 *Forms and Functions of the Schedule in YLE Television (1999)*

Annual Schedule	Seasonal Schedule 1) Symbolic Form	Operative Form	Schedule as a Commission (Contractual Form)
<p>Basic Schedule:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - strategic choices - economic frames <p>Target Audience Schedule:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Evaluation of the schedule in terms of the audience address 	<p>Time of transmission</p> <p>Name of the slot</p> <p>Length</p> <p>Streamlining: horizontal, vertical</p> <p>First show / rerun</p> <p>Genre, format (Reach, Share)</p>	<p>Time of transmission</p> <p>Name of the slot</p> <p>Length</p> <p>Budget</p> <p>First show / rerun</p> <p>Own production / independents</p> <p>Domestic / import</p> <p>Genre, format, contents</p> <p>Audience address: headcounting, reach, share</p> <p>Audience segments: demography & viewer appreciation</p> <p>Audience address: life-style & psychography (RISC)</p> <p>Competitiveness</p> <p>Public Service</p>	<p>Time of transmission</p> <p>Name of the slot</p> <p>Length</p> <p>Budget (economic frames)</p> <p>Genre, format, contents</p> <p>Audience address: size, reach, share</p> <p>Audience address: demography & viewer appreciation</p>

The **ideal slot**, says Mr. Saari, is also dependent on the output of the other channels, i.e. on the competition situation. TV2 is favoured if TV1 transmits in Swedish and the main commercial competitor, MTV3, offers something less attractive for the general audience. According to Mr. Saari, the audience figures of their early evening programmes have gone down because of the highly streamlined entertainment supply offered by MTV3. However, he feels that TV2 has no other choice than to continue the adopted policy: We are committed to producing the service-type of programmes, and we cannot avoid that commitment, although the audience figures remain lower than we hoped.

The headcounting and high audience figures receive a lot of publicity, and that makes them a hot issue also for producers. Mr. Saari points out that in his area of factual programmes the producers and the programme management often have different opinions of the satisfactory number of viewers for this kind of programming. The producers would generally prefer higher audience figures and, accordingly, better slots for their programmes. Mr. Saari is, however, ready to accept the view of the programme management that the evaluation of success requires multiple measures. In his area, the reach within particular target audiences is of central importance. Similar to other interviewees, he is apt to acknowledge that there is a continuous tension between the requirements of competition and public service obligations. Trying to maintain a steady flow of audience on YLE's channels is problematic, says Mr. Saari, because we need to change suddenly to a religious programme or to the Swedish-language programming.

The **service for minorities** like the Swedish-speaking linguistic minority of Finland is one of the basic public service obligations of YLE, but it is generally identified by the interviewees as a major problem area for scheduling. For example, it is clear that when changing from Finnish to the Swedish language the potential (and actual) audience decreases, despite subtitling. Such specific requirements make it difficult to apply the typical lead out / in strategies in the vertical construction of the schedule, as pointed out by Ms. Astrid Gartz, the Director of Programmes for TV1 (interview 27.6.2000). She refers to the influence of the Swedish-language block in the early evening of TV1's schedule and remarks that TV1 is compelled to start its programme evening twice. Naturally, also the lead-out effect for this block in prime time is zero if compared to the strategies of commercial competitors.

As has been documented above (Chapter III), the strong streamlining of TV1's early prime-time schedule in the context of the Big Channel Reform (1993) was aimed at making the channel the main competitor for the commercial MTV3 over big audiences. Parallel to that, TV2 was supposed to concentrate on serving more specific target audiences. However, the principle of the so called hook-schedule was agreed between the channels in order to guarantee the lead-in of big audiences from TV1 to TV2 towards the end of the prime time (after the 9.00 p.m. watershed).

The failure of the channel reform on TV1's part broke the planned structure, and the two channels were compelled to re-negotiate their strategies. If judging on the basis of the interviews for this study, it seems that these negotiations continued through the 1990's as a part of implanting of Management by Schedule. Such a conclusion seems reasonable when thinking how often the interviewees identify **mid-evening as the most problematic area of scheduling**. For example, Ms. Ulla Karva, the Head of Planning for TV2, pointed to mid-evening (in Finnish, *keski-ilta*) as a continuous problem area for TV2's schedule (interview 2.6.2000). She remarked that the two channels together have difficulties in reaching a share of 30 per cent on weekdays before 8.00 p.m. (particularly Mondays and Tuesdays).

When deciding on the basic schedule for 1999, TV1 acknowledged that there was a general need to strengthen the identity of the programme slots for weekdays and prime time (Planning Document 6.5.1998). The expectation values of the slots, as well as the target audiences, should be defined more carefully. In the marketing, more emphasis should be given to the particular characteristics of the programme days like Drama Monday, Knowledge Tuesday, International Wednesday, Finnish Thursday etc.; parallel to that, each slot should be given a similar description in style weighed knowledge deeper than the surface (Monday at 8.00 p.m.), useful information and people's affairs (Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.), domestic serial drama (Thursday at 7.45 p.m.). These conclusions were related to the critique from audience research which showed that the scheduling of prime time programmes too often resulted in a change of audiences every half hour (Pihanurmi 2.6.1998). More attention should be paid to the **lead out / in effects** of the programmes. Programmes for the same audience segment should be transmitted one after another in order to guarantee that the viewers discover the programmes in the growing output of the multi-channel environment.

A consequence of the failure of TV1's prime time strategy in the 1993 channel reform was that it was also compelled to turn to smaller and more specified audiences. So from the point of view of YLE Television, **the result was not two complementary prime strategies but two similar and often overlapping strategies**. This is the background which, towards the end of the 1990's, obliged the two channels to search for new measures for co-ordination of their activities. That resulted in the re-formulation of the former practice of channel co-ordination and led to the adoption of the new programming approach called channel profilisation (more on this in the next chapter). According to Ms. Ulla Karva, speaking for TV2, this would mean in the prime time that TV1 and TV2 each concentrate more clearly on their strong sides in programming. As she formulated it, the basic idea is that the channels had a common view of how to maintain a steady flow of audience in the prime time — and not for each channel separately, but rather for the two channels together.

The above examples of the difficulties in finding a consistent prime time strategy for YLE television can be also read as a demonstration that the notion of prime time as such is a problematic value dimension for a public service broadcaster like YLE. The interviewed programmers and producers are ready to acknowledge the general importance of audience figures, including shares, in the public legitimation of the corporate policy. However, the idea of **audience maximation** is generally disregarded, even in the interpretation of prime time.

For example, Ms. Astrid Gartz, the Director of Programmes for TV1, favoured strongly the idea that prime time should be open to smaller audience segments, as well. In terms of the schedule, public service meant multiple audiences and this kind of pluralism should guide even the construction of prime time. She wanted also to maintain the programmers' right to break the schedule, if the importance or topicality of the issues required it. Mr. Heikki Seppälä, the Director of Programming for the whole YLE Television, pointed to the need to re-define the idea of prime time in relation to different audience segments. He remarked that prime time for children's programmes continues a lot longer than the present schedules allow. This is an example of conclusions which should affect the planning of the new services in the digital channel environment.

Ms. Gartz's emphasis on the importance of public service obligations demonstrates how scheduling requires continuous balancing between these

obligations and the need to maintain competitive viewing shares. According to Ms. Gartz, maintaining the overall viewing share does not mean that TV1 should maximise its audience for all programmes (interview 27.6.2000). Otherwise, it would not be possible to schedule educational and science programmes in prime time, as it continuously happens. Ms. Gartz acknowledges that the lists of the most popular programmes in the newspapers are important for producers because of their publicity effect, but she prefers to think that they have only a marginal value in TV1's programme planning. But there is no suspicion that competition remains an issue. As has been documented earlier, **competition analysis** is one of the basic dimensions in the job descriptions of the heads of planning for the two channels. Similarly, the agenda of Board and the Programme Meetings, in particular, demonstrate that the continuous follow-up of the competition situation is an object of serious concern.

A member of Ms. Gartz' staff, Mr. Ilkka Koskimies, the Head of Programming for TV1, was asked to speak about the future of public service television in a seminar organised in late 1999 by the retired journalists' club of YLE. He offered a short and simple definition about public service, from the scheduler's point of view: It means that I can define the target audience of a slot **in terms of one per cent's share**. He did not specify further, but most probably he did not mean a prime time slot.

VI FROM SCHEDULE TO CONTENTS: CONSEQUENCES OF YLE'S DIGITAL STRATEGY

YLE Television in the New Millenium: Continuity and Change in the YLE Vision for 2001-2003

The adoption and development of Management by Schedule has been considered above as a phenomenon of the 1990's. The introduction of schedule-oriented management was traced back to the Big Channel Reform of 1993 and, in particular, to the organisational reform of YLE's television operations in April 1994, resulting from TV1's failure in the implementation of the channel reform. The launch of YLE Television, the new division form of organisation, intended a better co-ordination between the two traditional television channels of YLE, and also a closer link between corporate strategy and the operative decision making at the channel level.

As has been shown above, the development of Management by Schedule was a step-by-step process that dominated the trim-up of organisation and working practices for the rest of the 1990's. One should emphasise that the new style of management not only affected organisation and working practices, but also resulted in a major change of corporate culture and called for a new kind of professionalism, representing a new more industrial and market-oriented approach to public service broadcasting. Management by Schedule resulted in a more clear-cut division of work between programming and production, the broadcaster-level of activities and production, which was identified as a power shift from production to programming. Ellis' view of schedule as the power centre of today's television is confirmed by the implanting of Management by Schedule in YLE Television.

In 1999, the focus year of the study, both of YLE's television channels were in the middle of implementing their respective systems of commissioning, as a part of their own applications of Producer Choice. The new system formalised the contractual relationship between programming and production and emphasised the role of commissioning editors and the executive producers as mediators between the two

functions. There are slightly different opinions among the interview persons about how far the introduction of commissioning as such completed the implanting of Management by Schedule in YLE Television. However, the interviewees pointed out that there was a continuous need to develop the commissioning system by broadening its scope, adding coordination between scheduling and commissioning, developing the definition and formulation of commissions, as well as the evaluation of the result. The interviewed managers agreed that transparency and comparability of budgeting required that the personnel costs be included in the production budgets also in the internal market. This principle was added to the practices of commissioning from the beginning of 2001, on this side of the new millenium. Parallel to that, the previously separate resource departments of the two channels were combined and moved to the division level as joint resources for television.

The latest interviews of the study, recorded in the late spring and in the summer season 2000, strongly reflect a change of atmosphere inside YLE after the turn of the new millenium. As to the nature of the change, there is an interesting parallel between the Big Channel Reform of 1993 and the challenges of the new millenium, as perceived by the interviewed managers. The Big Channel Reform opened up an explicit competition between YLE and its commercial competitor MTV3, and the adoption of Management by Schedule aimed at trimming up YLE Television to manage competition. In summer 2000, after the turn of the millenium, YLE found itself in a similar situation with new and urgent challenges in competition. This time, the challenge was not only one or two more competitors, but rather a whole new television environment based on the launch of the so called **digital television**. Canal Plus started marketing actively digital satellite service in Finland, and a domestic terrestrial network for digital television was supposed to be ready for launch in August 2001. The three digital multiplexes were planned to carry some ten new channels in addition to the former four national services. YLE itself was to master one of the multiplexes and offer, in addition to TV1 and TV2, three new channels as well as a more developed version of Text TV, renamed as Super Text TV. (For a more detailed description of the digital multiplexes, see Appendix 2)

The official launching date of the digital multiplexes was the 27th of August 2001. By summer 2002, YLE is the only digital operator to have really initiated the new digital channels. The retail sales of set-top boxes

needed for digital reception was delayed, and the MHP standard boxes (and receivers) which enable the use of the interactive capacity in digital television will be available only later in 2002. That is why commercial operators have postponed the full-scale launch of their digital services. YLE seems to be convinced that the early bird catches the worm, and that attitude illuminates its digital strategy since the principal decision of the Finnish Government in 1996 to start planning the digitalisation of broadcasting. Politically and economically, digitalisation has been considered as a part of the national strategy in the construction of the so called "information society". In this sense, YLE's active pursuit of digitalisation represents the political will of the Government and the Parliament. In fact, the Government decision that allowed YLE to charge a higher television fee since the year 2000, was essentially motivated by YLE's important role in the national strategy for digitalisation. The increased fee, together with the sale of the half of YLE's distribution company (Digita) to a French partner, were supposed to carry YLE over the investment threshold into digitalisation.

Despite the higher television fee (notice: the fee had remained the same since 1991, see p. 23 above) and some extra income from the sale of the distribution company, YLE once again found itself in a situation with a number of new obligations and scarce possibilities for additional financing. Parallel to this, it became clear that in a few years YLE will lose some 10 per cent of its financing as a result of the new law on the communication market, passed in early 2002.¹⁶ The new law will reduce the so called annual licencing fee of the commercial broadcasters to about half of the present level. In the case of the biggest commercial operator, MTV3, this fee represented about 20 per cent of its annual turn over. The fee is collected by a special governmental office that administers also the collection of television fees, and most of the money is transferred to YLE. Historically, there has always been a financial link between the public service broadcaster, YLE, and its commercial competitor. The present MTV3 lived until 1993 in a duopoly with YLE, in which it acted on the basis of YLE's operating licence and paid a part of its advertising revenues to YLE as a leasing compensation for the use of YLE's transmission network.

¹⁶ Following the EU Green Paper on Convergence from 1997, the new law aims at technology neutral regulation of broadcasting and telecommunication networks. It will combine the former separate laws about radio and television networks and telecommunication market.

This sketches the background of the new atmosphere sensed by the interviewed managers in spring and summer 2000. The time was ripe for new radical changes in YLE Television, as the company prepared for the launch of digital television. It seemed that the application of Management by Schedule had not succeeded in fully "harmonising" the operations of the two traditional television channels, as anticipated by the motivations of the new management practice. The need for harmonisation was even more urgent at the start of the new millenium, with a whole multiplex of channels for co-ordination and with many times more competition from outside. In this context, the two traditional television channels of YLE were forced to essentially re-consider their mutual relationship. It seems that the corporate management presented the need for a change as a kind of ultimatum for the two channels. As Mr. Risto Heikkilä, the commissioning editor for factual programming at TV2, expresses it, the pressure for changes was extremely hard in spring 2000 (interview 31.5.2000). After half a year of continuous negotiations between the channels, he felt fooled in the results, in just how far they had reached in a short period of time.

The results of the negotiations were published in June 2000 as the Administrative Council of YLE agreed on the so called YLE Vision 2001-2003, a three-year-plan that was supposed to guide YLE towards the final transfer from analogue to digital transmission. As to television, the vision included two major reforms that were identified as **channel profilisation** (in Finnish, *kanavaprofilointi*) and as creation of the so called **skill centres** (in Finnish, *osaamiskeskus*; could also be translated to competence or know-how centres). The former represented a re-articulation of the policy of channel co-ordination which used to define the relationship between TV1 and TV2; the latter was a measure to re-organise the channel-based structure of production so that one and the same production machine could serve the whole multiplex of old and new channels. In fact, as a part of the digital vision, these skill centres were supposed to gradually break the old border-lines of various media and to develop practices of cross-media and multimedia production.

The two reform perspectives will be discussed separately below. As to the nature of these reforms, it is worth noticing how strongly the interviewed managers emphasise the continuity dimension in these reforms. Although the vision is considered to be opening a new era, the first concrete step to trim up YLE to the new digital environment, the interviewees agree on the **importance of continuity**. It is easy to sense here the often cited lesson

from the failure of the Big Channel Reform, not too many changes at one time (see p. 56 above). According to Mr. Jyrki Pakarinen, the Director of Programmes for TV2, the significance of continuity is inconceivably big in the television business (sic). He thinks that habit is more than our second nature, and it applies to viewers, as well. Mr. Pakarinen's conclusion is that the future must be built on the basis of the existing strengths; and no one has too many of them.

Mr. Pakarinen gives a hint in his interview that TV2's contribution, including his personal role, was decisive in the formulation of future reforms. He also confirms the view that the break-through in negotiations was rapid. He says that he started designing the model of channel profilisation at the end of March and, found suddenly, that the agreement on most issues was reached before the start of summer holidays. The basis for the final round of discussions was Mr. Pakarinen's sketch about profilisation of YLE's television channels dated 14th of April 2000. That was complemented by a more developed version from the division level, signed by Mr. Heikki Seppälä, the Director of Programming, and his research expert, Mr. Vesa Pihanurmi, dated 5th of May 2000.

Mr. Pakarinen's break-through idea was that one should consider profiling practice and the consequent re-organisation of production as generically-defined programme areas. He calls the earlier efforts for harmonization profiling exercises that always ended in scepticism. Despite these exercises, he concludes, the two channels had become, on the image level, increasingly closer all the time. According to Mr. Pakarinen, such similarity would have been fatal in the new digital environment and, consequently, it was necessary to agree on basic rules between the old and new channels.

The degree to which Mr. Pakarinen's ideas were new is contested by Ms. Astrid Gartz, the Director of Programmes for TV1. She suggests the first version of "the profilisation paper" dates to 1994, i.e. to the introduction of Management by Schedule in the newly created television division (correspondence 28.2.2002). After the organisational reform, the division of responsibilities between the channels was under continuous scrutiny and developed step-by-step, according to Ms. Gartz. In her view, the spring 2000 paper mainly recorded already agreed changes, except with regard to children's programmes and sport events. It seems that at least the term 'profilisation' in itself appeared in discussions about channel co-ordination

years before spring 2000. For example in early 1998, the then Director of Programmes for TV2, Mr. Arto Hoffrén, listed 'channel profilisation' as an aspect of programme development targeted for 1995, alongside the streamlining of slots and serialisation of production (Hoffrén 1998). In the same document, he dates the introduction of Management by Schedule to 1994.

The principle of synergistic action, central in the new strategy document, was confirmed as one of the basic elements of YLE's digital strategy even earlier. In this sense, the YLE Vision 2001-2003 did not represent anything new but, primarily, offered a more concrete view of how to implement the defined policy. For example, the appendix about strategic projects (May 1999) in relation to the three-year-plan 1999-2002 included the following description of the future organisation:

The growing number of channels and services requires the continuous use of **synergistic action** so that the editorial competence and know-how in programme production can be benefited by more and more programme units and services. This will require development of operative systems, in particular, of the decision making and responsibilities with respect to formation of the **programme output, scheduling** and **commissioning**, as well as **production** of programmes."

(Emphasis & translation by TH)

The need for development is further specified as a separation between two kinds of organising principles, **channel-based** and **content-based** organisation. In addition, it is supposed that the future development will demand lowering the media-based borderlines in production. As these examples show, the idea of core competence areas and the consequent development of contents and services, as well as organisation, is present in the strategic documents of YLE prior to YLE Vision 2001-2003. The three-year-plan for 1999-2002 identifies the future organising principle generally as a direction towards the synergistic management of service entities. Like the introduction of Management by Schedule, the background of future reforms is identified as the need for more effectivity; YLE needs to produce the new multiple services with already saturated economic resources.

Although the three-year-plan for 1999-2002 does not directly refer to channel profilisation, it lists marketing and image competition as one of the

basic areas for development. According to the plan, there is a need to strengthen and streamline **the overall branding of YLE** and, moreover, to develop and establish practices that are based on channel- and service-oriented branding. The choices of services on the side of users and audiences are increasingly based on the successful marketing of images. Accordingly, the three-year-plan ends with a conclusion that YLE will invest in maintaining the strengths of its brands, as well as in their streamlining and further development. The policy of channel profilisation, as formulated by the YLE Vision for 2001-2003, can be seen as a response to the above kinds of strategic analyses, incorporated in the overall digital strategy of YLE.

From Channel Coordination to Profilisation

Both TV1 and TV2 organised in 1996-1997 a consultative exercise among their personnel about the interpretation of YLE's public service mission (see pp. 74-76 above). The respective processes ended with a small publication signed by each director of programmes and distributed widely inside the channels. The cover page of TV1's publication (March 1997) summarises the channel's approach to public service with three words: **democracy, culture, affectivity**. After that, the paper confirms TV1's mission which is defined as offering to all audience segments full-service television programming which strengthens Finnish cultural identity and increases pluralistic interaction. TV2's identification of its basic image (July 1997) also includes three points, but uses a pair of words to describe each aspect. Accordingly, TV2 is supposed to be, 1) pluralistic and independent, 2) close-to-life and touching, and 3) reform-oriented and Finnish. The inside cover of TV2's publication repeats the channel's slogan from 1993, the year of the Big Channel Reform: Not everything for all, but something for everyone.

These documents use the listed characterisations of the channels in two different and, in part, mixed meanings: with reference to the values of the channels and as a description of the channel image. But there are references in the documents suggesting that intended images do not necessarily correspond to the experience of audiences. As to TV1's basic values, the policy document from 1997 acknowledges that reliability, intelligence and honesty have already become known among the audience as the strengths of the channel. In the future, the channel will develop its operations so that even characteristics like close-to-viewer, know-how, attention and independence could be attached.

TV2's policy document from 1997 summarises results from market research about channel images and appeal, in this way, draws parallels between its basic values and experiences of audiences. The main conclusion is that TV2's strength is experienced as a personality of a multi-dimensional, balanced whole. Where people use to connect TV1 with only rational characteristics, in TV2's image these dimensions are combined with emotional factors which lend warmth, closeness and humanity to the channel's image. Such a combination of rational and emotional dimensions offers good potential for building a successful combination of image dimensions for TV2, reads the optimistic conclusion of TV2's policy

document. However, the document acknowledges that TV2's image is still unfinished and it seems that TV1 and TV2 do not appear distinct enough in relation to each other.

In terms of the later discussion about branding, one can say TV2's optimistic wish to build a successful combination of image dimensions for the channel reflects a belief that TV2 itself could form a brand for its viewers. As hinted earlier (pp. 42-43 above), customer-orientation is central in the idea of branding, and brands are typically awarded emotional characteristics like those proposed by TV2's formulations. It seems that TV2 had succeeded well in its policy of putting programmes in the centre and in fulfilling the idea of offering something for everybody. But parallel to that, it was also clear that the viewers did not necessarily pay attention to the channel itself; in other words, the channel was not meaningful as a brand.

Ms. Ulla Karva, the Head for Planning at TV2, points out (interview 2.6.2000) that TV2's viewers were more seldom aware of the channel behind the transmissions than is the case for TV1 and the main commercial competitor MTV3 - although she reminds one that viewers generally pay less attention to the channel than programmers think. One measure to evaluate the importance of the channel is to look at which channel the viewers open first if they are not looking for particular programmes. The figures from 1996 showed that MTV3 was clearly the number one channel, followed by TV1 (MTV Media Manager 1997).

But why worry? If the programmes do well, reach a good number of people, and even make a part of viewers clearly satisfied? Thinking about the internal relationships between YLE's television channels, the answer has something to do with the future of the two traditional channels. Will YLE need **two generalist television channels** also in the future? If only programmes matter, why should they be distributed through two rather similar channels?

One of TV2's traditional answers to such questions about its existence is that it represents the other Finland, the regions outside the capital area of Helsinki. That has been a successful argument in the former political culture of broadcasting, but in today's more market-oriented environment this branding appears problematic. In a consumer-oriented society like Finland today, regions are often equated with negative connotations and

such an image has been more a burden for TV2 lately. As Mr. Pakarinen, the Director of Programmes for TV2, acknowledges, the channel has sometimes been construed as the so-called *juntti* channel; the word *juntti* refers to a person who is typically male and a sort of social outcast, if judged in terms of the media-sexy 25-45 years old urbans. Basically, a *juntti* is a "hick redneck" in American parlance.

According to Mr. Pakarinen, the *juntti* image of TV2 is relative to Pasila, referring to the location of TV1 and the YLE headquarters in Helsinki, the capital city of Finland. He emphasises that the image misrepresents the character of TV2 as a channel which, for him, appears as pluralistic and diverse as TV1. But as Mr. Pakarinen himself points out, the problem today is more in the similarity of the two channels and that is the problem for which the adopted policy of profilisation must find a solution. Mr. Pakarinen describes profilisation as a process that starts with the definition of a channel's values and ends up with a particular kind of channel sound. The profile, the channel sound in his wording, is not a policy declaration, but as Mr. Pakarinen says it must be recognised by the core audience segments for whom the sound helps to map the channel in relation to other channels.

Mr. Heikki Seppälä, the Director of Programming for YLE Television, confirmed in his interview (31.8.2000) that the relationship between the two traditional channels is decisive for the future implementation of YLE's digital strategy. He seems to think that before one can really start developing the new services, one need first know exactly what will happen with the old channels. In his view, profilisation is a necessary step if one wants to manage the economy of this growing output. In this way, he echoes the basic tones of the YLE Vision for 2001-2003, emphasising the need for changing working practices in order to balance the corporate economy. After the negotiations between the channels in the whole of spring 2000, Mr. Seppälä was optimistic about the future and convinced that profilisation is a solution to many problems of co-ordination between the two old channels.

Mr. Seppälä co-ordinated the negotiations between TV1 and TV2 about profilisation, and he thinks that the coordinating role of the division will be even more important in the future as the number of channels increases. As a result of profilisation, a new practice called **channel commissions** (in Finnish, *kanavatoimeksianto*) was introduced (since 2001) to mark the

commitment of various channels to fulfil their strategic obligations within the whole of YLE. So the contractual relationship, typical in the application of Producer Choice, will also be applied to the operative definitions of the individual channels. All this signifies that **profilisation means the end of old-style channel coordination** and, as a consequence, even TV1 and TV2 will find it hard to maintain their independence (if there is any left). As a practical reason for more coordination between the channels, Mr. Seppälä mentions the option of simulcasting. In addition to repeats and versioning, the cost-effectiveness of the digital multiplex will require that the channels find slots for simulcasting, like the news on YLE24 and their parallel transmission on TV1 & TV2 at scheduled times.

In the YLE Vision for 2001-2003, profilisation is included among the measures needed to implement a transformation that is called the structural change of the editorial work. The other identified measure is the creation of the skill centres that aim at reforming the earlier channel-based structure of production. About the profilisation itself, the vision says that it can be considered successful if the listeners and viewers perceive it. In other words, **audience perception** is, in the last instance, the measure of success for any channel profile.

In the next point, profilisation is presented as a justification for YLE to maintain several channels. So in YLE's argumentation, profilisation is clearly connected with the need to maintain the company's share of the growing output of radio and television. But if the company is to respond to this need, it should concentrate on developing its services in a more profiled way. Finally, it is supposed that profilisation reduces overlaps in programming and production and assists in concentrating the corporate resources into an effective use. The conclusion from all of this is that in order to implement profilisation, both operative changes and reforms in decision-making are required.

As to the consequences of profilisation for TV1 and TV2, the basic guidelines were accepted in the negotiations in the spring 2000 and confirmed by the Administrative Council of YLE in late June 2000. As hinted above by Mr. Pakarinen (p. 128), the Director of Programmes for TV2, the break-through idea of the negotiations was **to consider the profiles of the two old channels in terms of all basic genre areas**. So if one thinks about the two channels in relation to each other and the other channels, they should appear distinct not only in their overall image but

also in the purview of each major genre field represented. Below (Table 7), this more elaborated profilisation between the two channels is sketched in terms of the basic channel commissions. The listing is based mainly on a document from YLE Television (dated 1.9.2000) concerning definitions of channel commissions, complemented by a few other working documents from summer 2000.

As Table 7 demonstrates, in the future YLE's two traditional television channels are supposed to appear clearly distinct in a number of dimensions. But one should emphasise that the channels are not supposed to become specialised channels in terms of contents or target audience(s). In other words, the two channels will remain generalists in their basic orientation also in the future. The idea of **universal service** (see Table 2 on p. 25 above), both in terms of access and of contents, will remain the point of departure as two public service channels. As to the dimensions of Table 7, this principle is first of all expressed by the owner's (meaning YLE as a whole) overall commission to the channels, which is identical for both channels. As it is said, each channel is intended to offer pluralistic, independent and reliable public service programming. Another aspect of similarity is the definition of target audience(s) which is, in both cases, referred to as big basic audiences. However, at this point one should notice in addition that each channel is supposed to have alongside the basic audiences its own focus segments that are respectively distinct. The third aspect of similarity is the generic range of programming. Although profilisation at this point emphasises the division of work and focus between the channels, both channels will offer something in all basic genre areas and not only concentrate on a certain type of programming.

The interviewed managers characterise TV1 and TV2 as **full-service channels**. As has been shown earlier, according to the law, YLE's general obligation in terms of public service is to offer full-service broadcast programming to the whole nation. All interviewed managers accept the conclusion that full-service channels are needed also in the digital future. For example, Ms. Astrid Gartz, the Director of Programmes for TV1, repeated the conclusions that were included already in TV1's interpretation of public service in 1997: Full-service channels are important **as forums of interaction** between segments of society and culture and, accordingly, as **sources of shared experiences and a common social reality** (interview 27.6.2000). As to television viewing, she believes that even in the time of digital multiplexes a part of people prefers to have an edited view of the

world from one channel; a conclusion which is at a distance from forecasts that television viewing will be more or less individualised.

The definition of the differences between the channels, as demonstrated in Table 7, operates from two angles: with that of the broadcaster and with that of the viewers. At this point, one can sense an awareness that branding a channel is not only dependent on how the broadcasters define their values and obligations, but that the success of a brand requires that viewers really attach the anticipated characteristics to the channel. That is why the documents on profilisation make a distinction between two kinds of commissions in relation to channel profilisation; **owner's and viewers' commissions** (see Table 7). The latter, the viewers' commission, is first of all connected with the image of the channel, which in the case of both channels is drawn according to three dimensions.

So TV1 is supposed to appear **reliable, attentive and addressing** (in Finnish, *luotettava, valpas ja puhutteleva*), and TV2 as **warm, with a sense of humour and unpolished** (in Finnish, *lämmin, huumorintajuinen ja särmikäs*). It seems that the definition of TV1's image continues stressing rational orientation, as proposed by the conclusions from 1997 above. In this sense, the images of the channels are supposed to develop distinctively, although it is hard to see what the notion of unpolished means in TV2's case. As shown by a press release from TV2 (dated 6.10.2000), this question was discussed inside the channel in autumn 2000 when TV2 published its new promos. The release refers to Mr. Pakarinen, the Director of Programmes for the channel, who thinks that this aspect is meant to be a little bit ambiguous. In this way, it refers to astonishment and courage in relation to content and form. Maybe, one could say that this aspect has something to do with innovation, a characteristic that BBC's Extending Choice (1992) ten years earlier connected with the emerging dimensions of public service.¹⁷

¹⁷ The term *särmikäs* might also be translated into 'edgy', a characteristic which is used in the identification of Channel 4 in the UK, as documented by Born 2002.

Table 7 *Profilisation of TV1 and TV2 in the Launch of Digital Television (YLE Vision 2001- 2003)*

DIMENSIONS:	CHANNEL:	
	TV1	TV2
The Owner's Commission	Pluralistic, independent and reliable public service programming	Pluralistic, independent and reliable public service programming
Basic Obligation	A channel of high demands which by knowledge and narratives structures our time	Easy to come close, a channel for the whole nation by which many segments of audience entertain themselves
Image (Viewers' Commission)	Reliable, attentive, addressing; a well-structured output	Big basic audiences + a particular focus on: entertainment-oriented, children, sport audiences
Goal in the Target Audience	Intensive viewer relationship in several segments, one of the basic channels nationally	Broad satisfaction in basic audiences, one of the basic channels nationally
Central Contents / Profile	<p>Traditional news & current affairs</p> <p>The channel of strong drama</p> <p>The channel for documentary and deep journalism</p> <p>International angle</p> <p>The channel for young people in the school-age</p> <p>The basic services of culture and education</p> <p>Responsive entertainment, with satire as a special field</p> <p>Debating channel</p> <p>Transmission of big events</p>	<p>Regional angle in news & current affairs</p> <p>Comedy-oriented fiction</p> <p>Service, hobby and life-style programmes</p> <p>Domestic angle</p> <p>Small children's channel</p> <p>Recorded events</p> <p>Basic entertainment output, with music as special field</p> <p>Sport channel</p>

The requirement of a well-structured output is a part of the viewers' commission in both channels. In this way, profilisation acknowledges the central role of the schedule in the construction of the viewing relationship. As concluded already by TV1's document on public service in 1997, in the context of increasing competition the viewers anticipate that they can find their favourite programmes without trouble, which makes **the scheduling of the programmes and their marketing** even more important. Nationwide, TV1 and TV2 are supposed to remain among the basic channels. In terms of the market, this goal expresses the will of YLE to keep fighting for the market shares against its commercial competitors. Today, the market share of TV1 and TV2 together exceeds the share of their biggest commercial competitor, MTV3 (see Table 3 on p. 53). Again, if looking at the goals of the channels in their target audiences, they are supposed to maintain their roles as basic national channels with clearly different strategies. TV1 for its part will strive for an intensive viewer relationship in several audience segments; TV2 for its part will aim at a broad satisfaction in basic audiences.

When looking at definitions of the basic obligations and goals for the two channels, it seems that profilisation aims at making the channels distinct according to a rather traditional division of work between the channels. For example, one should remember that after the catastrophe of the Big Channel Reform in 1993, TV1 strongly emphasised its role as a news and current affairs channel, and that orientation remains central to its future role, as well. A recent comparison of the overall Finnish TV supply in the year 2000 characterised TV1 as an internationally-oriented channel of factual information, with a strong emphasis on news and current affairs (Suomalainen tv-tarjonta 2000; cf. Aslama et al. 2002). TV2 was characterised as a rainbow of different programme types, with much stronger emphasis on sport, movies, foreign fiction and children's programmes compared with TV1 (ibid.).

In fact, it seems that profilisation is more of a challenge to TV2 which is anticipated to become clearly more entertaining, and to stress instead of information and knowledge, affectivity and experience. As hinted in the definition of the central contents, TV2 should also represent the domestic angle in response to the international orientation of TV1. The problem with such definitions in TV2's case is that the channel has its own strong tradition of current affairs and documentary production which, in addition to critical analysis of domestic affairs, are known for their international

orientation. Since the late 1980's, TV2 has also been innovative in the field of debate and talk show programmes, which gives reason to call it a debating channel, a profile attached to TV1 in the future design of profilisation.

Entertainment has been traditionally a problematic field for public broadcasters and Finland is not an exception. As was documented in the beginning of this report, the main commercial TV channel, MTV3, was originally created as a programme company within the operating licence of YLE to take care of the production of mass entertainment programming that was considered too **mundane and low-culture** for YLE (more on this aspect of the Finnish broadcasting history, see Ruoho 2001).

But the discussion on profiling YLE's television channels shows that entertainment continues to be a conflict-laden issue for public service broadcasters. And because it remains an issue, a strong entertainment orientation will be risky for any public service channel. TV2's case in Finland offers a strong demonstration of these risks. Only recently, the chairman of YLE's Administrative Council strongly criticised TV2 for a certain kind of popular entertainment programmes (mainly games) which, in his opinion, should be left for the commercial operators (Aamulehti 25.11.2001). What is particularly noteworthy in this opinion is the fact that the view was expressed by a person who only shortly before had authorised the profilisation of YLE's television channels as a part of the YLE Vision for 2001-2003.

The traditional connection between the channel and its production has meant that each channel in broad lines reflects the main areas of its production. Against this background, it is easy to understand that exercises of profilisation, if using the expression of TV2's Director of Programmes, ended in scepticism. If TV1 is supposed to be the channel for documentary and deep journalism, what will happen with TV2's strong tradition of documentaries and current affairs journalism? These are the kind of questions that once again created a lot of worry and a fighting spirit inside the production personnel in the spring 2000, when TV1 and TV2 negotiated the guidelines of profilisation. The solution to the problem will be the so called skill centres that will represent the basic generic fields of production and **will break the traditional connection between channels and their production**. The definition and implementation of these centres will be described and discussed in the next paragraph below.

Re-Organisation of Production as 'Skill Centres'

Although the new skill centres are supposed to break the traditional link between channels and their production, they remain administratively a part of some channel, as the YLE Vision for 2001-2003 expresses it. Ideally, the division of the centres between the channels should correspond to their accepted profiles. The functions of the centres in relation to the channels are defined as follows: The skill centre is a **unit for programme production**, while the channels act as commissioners and distributors. The new structure emphasises the network character of the channels, which has been an important aspect of both TV1 and TV2 already earlier. As has been documented above, since the introduction of the joint television division in 1994 a part of programme production has been organised as joint functions on the division level (News & Current Affairs, Sport, Text TV, Import and Export). Both TV1 and TV2 have also acted as distributors of the special Swedish-language programming, produced by FST, the Swedish-language television unit of YLE.

The new logic of organisation does not require a link between the channels and the skill centres, and one can forecast that the importance of the link will diminish further as the centres start operating on the basis of **cross-commissioning**. As formulated by the YLE Vision, the centres will transact with more than one channel and they will have an operative autonomy. The centres specialise in producing programmes for a certain genre area and for specified slots. In this way, the characterisation of production is tied with the kind of professionalism that above was connected with the consequences of Management by Schedule. The remaining links between channels and units of production reflect the continuity aspect of YLE's organisational reforms. A direct step from channel-based production to a genre-oriented structure would have caused too much insecurity among personnel, and would have risked the implementation of the reform.

In terms of YLE's corporate economy and its resource allocation, the creation of the skill centres means that the re-organised old production machine is supposed to serve the new digital channels, as well. The new channels will act from the beginning as **pure programmers and distributors** without any resources for their own production machine. That is why the skill centres are entitled to transact with more than one channel, which means in practice that cross-commissioning gradually becomes the

governing principle of programming and production. In the foreseeable future, cross-commissioning will more and more exceed the traditional media-based lines of production. As hinted by Director General of YLE, Mr. Arne Wessberg, in a recent interview by the personnel magazine of YLE ([Linkki](#) 17.10.2001), the division based structure of the organisation will be put under scrutiny with the creation of the skill centres. The old divisions follow basically the borderlines of different media and, according to Mr. Wessberg, this structure is now challenged by more content-oriented management, highlighted by the logic of the skill centres.

By autumn 2001, a major part of the production units in TV1 and TV2 were re-organised into a structure of skill centres. Until now, the centres are mainly based on a re-organisation of production inside TV1 and TV2, which shows that there is still strong resistance among personnel against the idea of breaking the traditional borderlines between the channels. One should also remember that the two channels are located in different cities which certainly affects the logistics of the reform. But already now, the rule is that the centres are supposed to serve not only their host channel but also other channels. A couple of major areas of production, news and current affairs plus education and culture, will receive a new host among the new channels of YLE's digital multiplex. News and Current Affairs will be located under YLE24, the new 24-hours digital news channel, which started operating August 2001. The channel will act as a skill centre in its particular field of production. However, for the time being, TV2's weekly current affairs production continues as an independent unit inside the channel.

Education and Culture were transferred from TV1 to a new digital channel called YLE Teema (YLE Theme) which, in addition to them, will also offer programmes on science. As shown above in relation to profilisation (see Table 7), culture and education remain an important part of TV1's orientation for the future. Since March 2002, TV1 and YLE Teema will be submitted under a joint director of programmes, so it remains to be seen what the effect of the transfer of education and culture to YLE Teema will be. Sport remains located as a joint function at the division level, and it has de facto acted as a skill centre in its field even earlier. It is, however, uncertain how long the media-based divisions will continue as such, so one can suppose that the location of sport in the organisation will be put under scrutiny as well.

In addition to the already earlier separate news and current affairs and sport, the rest of the new skill centres included in autumn 2001 the following units, whose location and functions are shortly described below. The listing is based mainly on information from YLE's personnel magazine Linkki which, in its special issue in October 2001, reviewed the results of the reform. A few complementary details have been checked from two of the interviewed managers, Ms. Päivi Kärkkäinen, Head of Programming for TV2 (since January 2002 nominated as the new Director of Programmes for TV2) and Ms. Sirkka Minkkinen, Head of Planning for TV1.

Skill Centre for Factual Programmes

The centre is located in TV2 and represents the continuation of the channel's former factual programming. As earlier, the main part of the personnel works in Tampere, but a part continues in Helsinki and in the so called regional centres of YLE in several other cities. The main part of the programmes go to the host channel TV2, but the centre will lend its programmes to the digital YLE Teema as well as co-operate with the news channel YLE24. The operative nucleus of the centre is the meeting of producers that is chaired by the head of the centre, who is parallel to TV2's present head of factual programming.

Documentary Programmes

The centre represents, de facto, the former documentary production of TV1 and operates only in Helsinki. Its programmes will be mainly commissioned by TV1, but a part will be lent to YLE24. Cooperation is planned also with YLE Teema and YLE's radio documentaries. For the time being, TV2's Documentary Project continues separately, as well as TV1's unit for co-productions.

TV1's Weekly Programmes

This unit is a part of TV1 and coordinates the production of the channel's weekly programmes. The programmes consist of weekly service magazines, talk shows and debate programmes, as well as a few weekly entertainment programmes that were considered as central brands for the channel. A major part of these programmes are produced by independents, either alone or jointly with TV1. Like the documentary programmes, the

unit is more like an internal programme department for TV1 and not a skill centre in the sense of the reform.

TV1 Drama & TV2 Drama

TV1's and TV2's drama units continue as separate skill centres. Their productions will go mainly to their respective host channels, but TV2's drama has agreed on productions to TV1, too. TV1 drama is involved a multimedia project with the radio theatre and YLE's unit for programme development.

TV2 Children's Programmes

TV2's Children's Programmes adopts the role of the skill centre in its particular field. Already prior to this re-organisation, TV2 was entitled to be the major channel of children's programmes. Most personnel work in Tampere, but a part will remain in Helsinki and one in Jyväskylä's regional centre. TV2 transmits most of children's programmes, but a few slots are offered also by TV1's morning TV.

Programmes for Youth and Adolescents

In the guidelines for profilisation, demanding and active youth was defined as a particular focus group for TV1. The skill centre of programmes for youth and adolescents operates under TV1, and its main responsibility continues to be the production and editing of the regular afternoon slots for youth on TV1, including the weekly youth magazines. It will cooperate with school TV productions and YLE Teema more generally as well as the Swedish-language FST. The development of net projects and cooperation with Radiomafia, YLE's youth radio channel, are important options for the future.

YLE Culture

In addition to education, culture is one of the areas that was transferred from TV1 to the new digital channel for education, culture and science called YLE Teema. The new channel increases the need for cultural programmes, and the option for 2002 is three times more programming than earlier. TV1 and YLE Teema will have parallel transmissions of cultural programmes; in part, YLE Teema will version more programme

hours on the basis of the same material. Regular cooperation is also planned with music programmes on the side of YLE radio.

YLE Education

Like culture, education was also transferred from TV1 to the digital YLE Teema. Its productions are commissioned by both TV1 and YLE Teema; for the time being, however, TV1 remains the main channel for education and culture, if judging on the basis of audience numbers. YLE Education has a regular net service in YLE's Education Portale and several multimedia-oriented projects. As in culture, a lot of education productions are based on the so called synergistic financing between agreed partners.

Skill Centre for Science

The centre is based on networking two existing operative units that include the editorial units for science at YLE Teema and at one of YLE's radio channels, YLE's Number One (in Finnish, *Ylen Ykkönen*). In addition, the centre consists of a coordinating group between the two units. Particular working groups have been set up to coordinate contents and net services. A special project for cooperation will be the development of YLE's Science Portale in the net. The new multiplex of channels means the amount of science programmes will triple in 2002.

Skill Centre for Entertainment

This centre represents the continuation of TV2's entertainment production. Accordingly, most of the personnel work in Tampere. However negotiations about the composition of the centre continue, and it may happen that in 2002 a few persons in Helsinki will be connected with the centre. The programmes are commissioned mainly by TV2, but a few concerts have been agreed with YLE Teema. The centre has a joint project with Radiomafia, YLE's youth radio channel, for 2002; internet and mobile services are already a part of the activities. The amount of programming will remain the same for 2002, but the financing for the field is supposed to decrease.

As the above list demonstrates, in many ways the skill centres represent a continuation of the channel-based structure of production. Thinking of the discussion earlier in this report about the consequences of Management by

Schedule, it seems that YLE's reformers have selected to **prefer the continuation of editorial traditions** instead of a total transfer to a team-based production structure. As has been shown earlier, schedule-oriented production fueled discussion about the role of the old production departments that seemed anachronistic in the new and more producer-centred culture of production. As interpreted by the interviewed managers, the main functions of the production departments seemed to be social and cultural; the departments represented a sort of home base for varied and changing teams of production. This function will be taken over by the newly organised skill centres.

Although the skill centres represent the continuation of the editorial traditions of the channels, it is clear that the importance of the channels will be reduced in their future identification. Parallel to that, one can anticipate that the future social and cultural cohesion of these units will be based, if anything, on a more **genre-oriented professionalism**; and secondarily, on a general awareness of being part of a public service broadcasting organisation. As designed by the YLE Vision for 2001-2003, the skill centres are supposed to be operatively autonomous, although they remain administratively part of some channel. It seems reasonable to anticipate that cross-commissioning is the basis for the autonomy of the skill centres. The potential for more autonomy lies in the possibility for skill centres to serve several hosts instead of being dependent on only one channel. Parallel to that, the possibilities for the channels to dictate the rules in relation to production will be diminished. In this way, the break-up of the traditional connection between channels and their production machine is supposed to increase the autonomous space of maneuvering for the production units in the internal market.

As to the consequences of Management by Schedule, one of the basic conclusions earlier in this study was that the new management approach resulted in a clear power shift from production to programming. The hypothesis about the schedule as the power centre of television seem to be confirmed by the developments of YLE Television towards the end of the 1990's. Scheduling and programming management more generally became YLE Television's central strategic tools to fight competition in the new multi-channel environment. When considering the effects of Management by Schedule, one should remember that scheduling remained, despite efforts for co-ordination and harmonisation, a channel-level operation. In this way, Management by Schedule gave individual channels

a key strategic position. Thinking of such development, the above supposition about the increased autonomy of the skill centres is meaningful and gives reason to re-consider arguments about the role of the schedule and channels.

In the context of Management by Schedule, the power of the schedule was related to the central role of the channels in the implementation of corporate strategy. The channels were important not only in the construction of audiences but also in the strategic control of production. Should the skill centres reach their intended autonomy, the power of the channels will be essentially reduced at least in the latter field, in the control of production. The skill centres represent a management approach which could be characterised as a new media logic of production.¹⁸ In that logic, the channels appear problematic because they represent the media-based tradition of organisation. As demonstrated by the description of the skill centres above, these centres already transcend the traditional borderlines of media and also consider multimedia production as an important option. In this sense, it is not surprising that the search for new tools of strategic management is underway within YLE, as demonstrated by the conclusions of the Director General of the company in the interview highlighted above (pp. 139-140).

The new key term seems to be **content-oriented management** which is supposed to replace the former channel-centred management. If judging on the basis of the YLE Vision for 2001-2003, the basic intention is as earlier to put programmes in the centre, reminiscent of the expressed goals of Management by Schedule. Already in 2003 the share of programmes and the immediate costs in relation to them will rise to 80 per cent of all costs, compared with the percentage today at about 75 per cent. This change is identified by the YLE Vision as the re-allocation of resources to programme production. However, in the same connection, the basic function of the corporation is described as production of contents, a mode slogan typical to a cultural industry approach to the so called information society.

¹⁸ In this logic, the media process is presented as a value chain starting with production of contents and packaging; continuing with gatekeeping, distribution and consumption. This approach is characteristic to the recent strategic analyses of the EBU (see EBU Digital Strategy Group 2001a and b; cf. Kung-Shankleman 2000, 41-43).

As a vision for the future, production of contents (in Finnish, *sisällöntuotanto*) certainly raises eye-brows among all those within YLE's organisation who consider themselves as 'programme makers'. Programme making was understood as a craft which required media-specific skills, nurtured by channel-based production cultures. But whatever one thinks about the possible impact of the new approach, one can certainly conclude that it represents a clear change of priorities in YLE's corporate strategy. After ten years of Management by Schedule, the emphasis on programming management, production of contents is now presented as a priority. Thinking of what Tracey (1998) says about the historical importance of production in the constitution of public service broadcasting, one might even conclude that YLE now has taken a step back to basics.

On the other hand, in the overall context of YLE's new priorities one should keep in mind that digital television once again forces YLE to increase essentially its output without respective growth in funding. So more than a nostalgic trip back to basics, the emphasis on production reflects an economic necessity, a measure of cost-effectiveness; a requirement which affected already YLE's approach to Management by Schedule. In this sense, YLE's digital strategy represents **a new phase of industrialisation** of broadcast television. According to the new approach, television is not only television or broadcasting, but a part of an integrated media factory which operates in a multiple (multimedia) environment. The result of production, the product, is not seen as programmes or channels but as service entities based on a multiple media approach. The digital technology itself is the source of the optimistic wish about increasing synergy in production and programming, understood as the central measure to manage the equation of growing output and saturated economy.

The reduced power of channels in the control of production is substituted by increased centralisation of control. Production is a joint corporate resource which is supposed to feed all service entities. Generic skills and traditions are favoured over media- and channel-oriented approaches. The recent re-organisation of responsibilities among the directors of media-based divisions reflects this change ([Linkki](#) 7.8.2002).¹⁹ Accordingly, the Director of Radio became responsible for — as it was said — programme development in news, factual programmes, entertainment and popular culture, classic music and external service; the Director of Television for

¹⁹ The re-organisation was confirmed by YLE's Administrative Council in June 2002.

current affairs, documentaries, sport and drama; and the Director of Swedish-language Radio and Television (FST) for children's programmes, culture, education and science. Each director is in addition operatively responsible for those skill centres in whose organisation they are located.

Although one can argue that YLE's digital strategy results in a change of priorities from programming to production, the programme management remains of central strategic value. The prominence of profilisation as an aspect of the digital strategy reflects the continuing relevance of programming management including scheduling. But also in this field, the trend is towards more centralised control of operations. YLE Television, the division level of organisation, was created in 1994 to further co-ordination between the two separate television channels. Today, channel profilisation aims at co-ordinating a whole set of television channels plus their interplay with broader genre-oriented service entities. In the organisation of YLE Television, the policy of profilisation resulted immediately in the creation of a Centre for Programming, corresponding to separate programming departments of TV1 and TV2. It is worth of noticing that Mr. Ilkka Koskimies, the former Head of Programming for TV1, was nominated to lead this new centre. As was shown earlier in this study, Mr. Koskimies played a key role in the introduction of Management by Schedule. In this way, he carries in person the 1990's programming tradition to the new millenium.

Only recently, a parallel division-level centre for programming was introduced in YLE Radio. This reform is connected with the re-organisation of YLE's radio channels to be implemented by early 2003. Similar to television, radio production will be re-organised into skill centres which will serve the whole set of radio channels, co-operate with television and contribute to multimedia production. So despite the general intentions of the new content management, media-based practices seem to remain important in the foreseeable future not only in programming but also in production.

In the new media value chain, reflected in YLE's digital strategy, the channels with their schedules represent the function of packaging. For certain, one can anticipate that this kind of identification will gradually weaken their strong position in broadcast television based on integration of programming and production. At the same time, one can argue that in the foreseeable future channels will remain of central importance in one key

area which is the **construction of audiences**. In this sense, channels continually have a unique role to play in the legitimization of public service television in the popular market. Similarly, channels remain crucial in the quality control of television production; supposing that audiences have a role to play in the construction of public service quality.

So the tightly focused perspective on the production of contents alone is clearly unsatisfactory as an overall vision for YLE's future, especially for television. In terms of organisation and power, content-oriented management cannot replace or substitute the need for programme and schedule-oriented management. The risk with a pure content-oriented management is that YLE will focus on effectivity and imperatives fostered by its tightening corporate economy, but neglect its crucial role for audiences as the programmer and distributor of those contents. In fact, then, content orientation is best seen as one vital aspect of overall and far more comprehensive programming management which, as pointed out in the introduction to the book, is essentially two-sided: It concerns not only the inter-relationship between output and production, but also the inter-relationship between output and audience(s) and, through this chain, the broadcasters' relationship with a society as a whole.

Public Service at the Core

The above description and analysis of YLE's digital strategy is a concrete example of the challenges which European public service broadcasters face on the way to digital convergence. As YLE's case demonstrates, visions about the digital future are turning to concrete actions which can and should be considered in their consequences. As to the impact of YLE's digital strategy, a number of preliminary conclusions can be made which are relevant to discussion about the future of public service broadcasting.

The YLE Vision for 2001-2003 is characterised as a strategy for the transition period from analogue to digital broadcasting. As to television, the original vision in Finland was that digital television will become dominant already in 2006, but it seems today that the transition to digital will continue much longer. This makes digitalisation a risky process not only economically but also for the reliability and credibility of broadcasters. The current evidence in Finland shows that the insecurities of digitalisation have already harmed YLE's reliability, as demonstrated by YLE's audience report for 2001 (Kytömäki & Ruohomaa 2001). The promise of the so called new digital services has been central in the visioning of the digital future and, in that sense, the first steps in digital television hardly fulfil any expectations.

In fact, as has been demonstrated above, YLE's strategy for transition from analogue to digital emphasises in many ways more continuity than change. The overall strategic goal is to maintain YLE's position among the major players of the market also in the new digital environment. That is why the company has taken a leading role in the launch of digital broadcasting and aims at guaranteeing a strong public service element in the development of the new digital services. YLE's case demonstrates that competition over market shares requires once again a clear growth of output in order to guarantee the visibility of public service in the new market conditions. One should keep in mind that the decisions on new digital channels and services were made without any clear guarantee of additional resources; in fact, it seems more probable that YLE will find it hard to retain even the present level of revenues. All this means that quantity will dominate over quality in the implementation of the digital strategy and that YLE must continue re-articulating its traditional notions of quality.

The creation of the skill centres represents the solution for how to get more result from one and the same production machine in the conditions of growing output and the saturated corporate economy. There is no doubt that re-organisation of production is the most radical element of change in YLE's digital strategy. However, one should notice that there is no hesitation in YLE's strategy as to the need for the inhouse production machine in general. YLE will continue as an "integrated factory" of programming and production also in the digital environment, although the share of independent production and co-operative productions will continue growing.

In terms of packaging and distribution, channel profilisation represents the key aspect of YLE's digital strategy for television. Instead of two more or less similar channels (TV1 and TV2), YLE will master 5 channels in its digital multiplex, each with their separate characteristics. Thinking about YLE's tradition of two generalist television channels, the new structure may at first look radically different, but a closer look reveals that the change is much less dramatic. In fact, the basic idea is that in the foreseeable future YLE's two generalist channels remain the core dimension of the company's digital services. Despite their distinct features, they both are supposed to attract as it is said "big basic audiences" and remain "basic national channels". They will continue offering a broad range of genres and retain pluralism and diversity of output. All these represent content dimensions which are considered typical to the so called **universal service obligations** of public service broadcasting (Harrison and Woods 2001; on the concept see also Collins 1998, 64-65, Collins et al. 2001 and Tracey 1998, 26-27).

One can conclude that YLE's continuous emphasis on generalist channels stresses more the vertical diversity within the channels than the overall horizontal diversity of its services. However, it is important to notice that YLE's digital multiplex includes also new kinds of channels which can be characterised as specialised (niché) channels. Such channels alike CNN represent, according to Kung-Shankleman (2000, 47), an editorial strategy as distinct from a flow strategy; with the latter characterising the generalist channels of the European public service broadcasters and the US networks. It is also worth noticing that in YLE's multiplex the specialised channels which complement the two generalist channels all represent the most traditional areas of public service programming — news and current affairs, culture and education, as well as service for minorities.

In principle, it would have been possible for YLE to select a more radical form of channel profilisation and organise its universal service obligation totally along the horizontal dimension of diversity.²⁰ As the interviews with YLE's managers demonstrated, the problem with such an option is that it encourages the individualisation of television viewing that could damage the role of television as a forum of interaction between segments of society and culture and, accordingly, a source of shared experiences and a common social reality. It seems that the YLE management accepts fully the European Broadcasting Union's recent recommendation that public service broadcasters should not weaken their generalist channels, although — as it is said — public choice of media content will be greater in the future and generalist channels will inevitably lose audience (EBU Digital Strategy Group 2001a, 5). Universalism and distinctive content remain, according to the EBU, the objective of public service broadcasting in the digital environment (*ibid.*).

YLE's channel profilisation is a concrete example of how important branding is considered to be even for public service broadcasters. As the EBU's strategic analysis puts it, viewers and listeners live in a sea of media, and they will need brands as 'islands of trust' (EBU Digital Strategy Group 2001b, 5.). In the EBU's definition, branding is understood as "the conscious effort to make the viewer and listener remember characteristics they associate with the content, or the content delivering organisation" (*ibid.*). Distinct from product-oriented promotion, consumer orientation is typical to branding, as McDowell and Batten point out (1999, 14). In this way, branding complements the so called audience-orientation of public service broadcasters, which in YLE's case became a central element of its management approach towards the end of the 1990's. Audience orientation of branding is explicit in YLE's digital strategy because it posits that channel profilisation can be considered successful only if it is perceived by audiences.

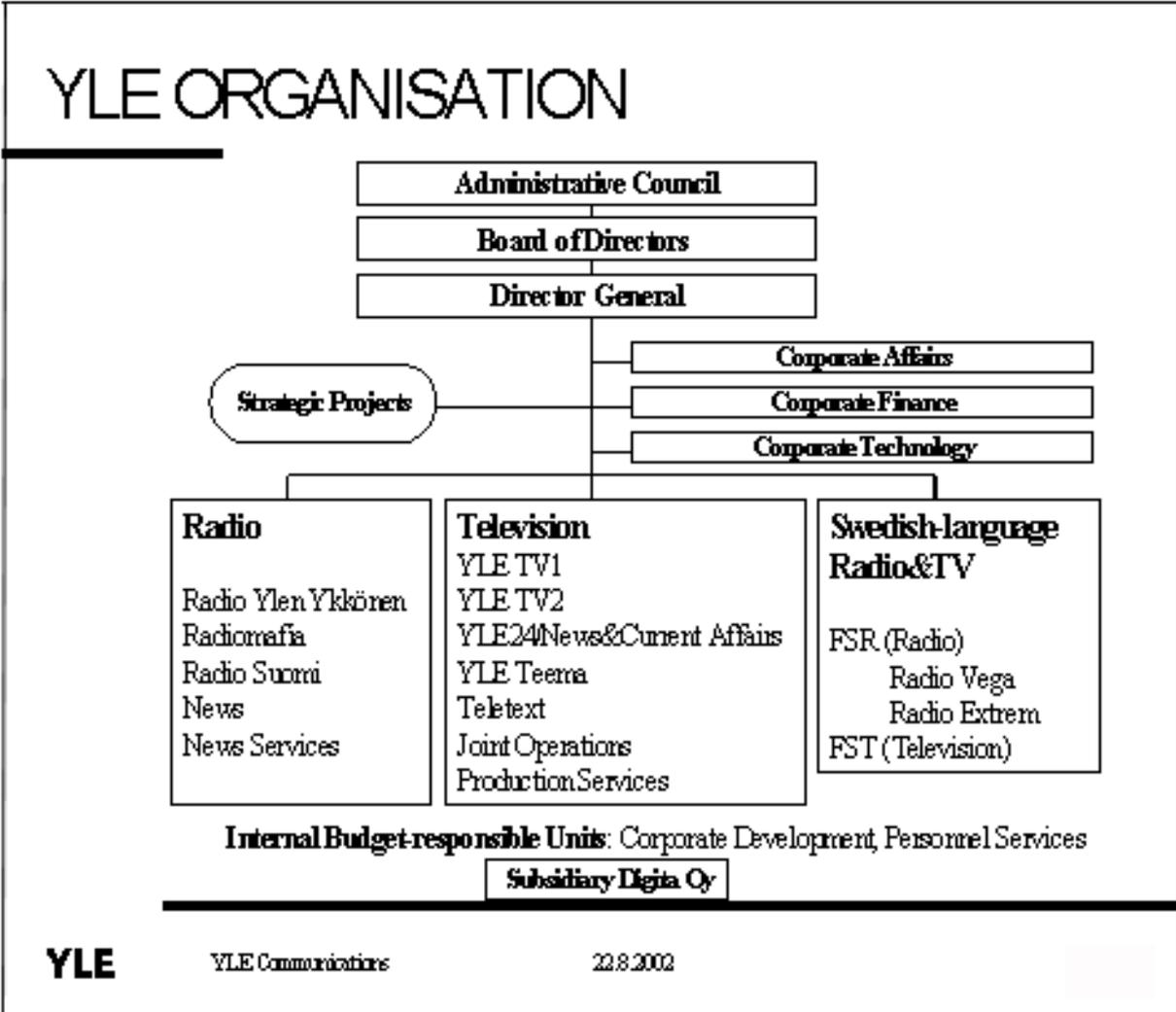
In the EBU's strategic analysis, branding is also connected with the quantity of output. Visibility is considered part of the success of branding

²⁰ The British BBC considered the reduction of the genre mix on BBC1 and BBC2 in early 2000. According to Born (2002), after a lot of criticism BBC changed plans and confirmed that BBC1 and BBC2 would remain mixed genre channels. BBC's plans were commented by a TV columnist in Helsingin Sanomat, the biggest newspaper in Finland, with a conclusion that BBC will end its public service channels (Hämäläinen 2000a; cf. 2000b).

and, consequently, more channels and more platforms are necessary for maintaining visibility (EBU Digital Strategy Group 2001b, 6). So also from the point of view of branding, the quantity of output will remain on the strategic agenda of public service broadcasters. According to the EBU (ibid.), the issue of quantity has to be balanced against the cost-effectiveness of media delivery method, platform or channel, and the resources available to provide high quality content for it. But as was noted above in relation to YLE's competition over shares, any such balancing will require continuous re-articulation of the relationship between quantity and quality.

As a whole, YLE's digital strategy aims at retaining the company's role as one of the major players in the market. Whether it is realistic or not, the point of the selected strategy is to fight against the marginalisation of public service broadcasting. One can wonder whether any other strategic choice was feasible if public service broadcasters want to retain their universal service obligations. Should public service broadcasters concentrate only on what Harrison and Woods (2001, 495) call 'worthy' and 'minority' programming, they would run the risk of branding public service as something out of the mainstream and therefore not something most people would want to watch (ibid.). A marginal public service broadcasting with only small audiences could hardly fulfil the universal service obligations. One could suggest that only by remaining true to its core mission values and also at the core of the market can public service broadcasting fulfill its mandate to provide programming which can work for social cohesion and function as a source of shared experience that favours interaction between segments of society and culture.

Appendix 1



Appendix 2

Digital television (DTT) in Finland as decided by the government in summer 1999: channels, major owners, content, funding, and present status (August 2002).²¹

	Channel	Owners	Content	Funding	Present status
Multiplex A	YLE TV 1D	YLE	Parallel to analogic TV1 News & current affairs, domestic drama, international	Television fee	In operation
	YLE TV 2D	YLE	Parallel to analogic TV2 "A channel for the whole nation": Entertainment, sport, children, domestic	Television fee	In operation
	YLE24	YLE	News & currents affairs (24/7) Topical talk shows, teletext	Television fee	In operation
	YLE Teema	YLE	Culture, education, science with added new services Drama, movie classics, classical music	Television fee	In operation
	FSTD	YLE	Full service channel in Swedish-language	Television fee	In operation
Multiplex B	MTV3D	Alma Media	Parallel to analogic MTV3 Movies, series, domestic drama, news & current affairs, with added new services	Advertising	In operation
	City-TV	Mainly MTV Finland plus cable operators	Regional news & current affairs, European movies	Advertising	Replaced by Subtv, a cable channel of MTV Finland
	Urheilukanava	MTV3 50%, Swellcom 35%, Veikkaus Ltd 10%	Sport events and background, added interactive services like games, betting, entertainment	Advertising	In operation
	Wellnet	Wellmedia 26%, Janton 20%, regional newsp. publishers 33.5%, Edita 13.5 %, plus associations	Housing, consumer economy, health and leisure Community approach	Advertising Pay TV	Only promotion transmissions
Multiplex C	Nelonen D	Swellcom 86%, TS-company 14%	Parallel to analogic TVFour Movies, series, entertainment, news & current affairs	Advertising	In operation
	School Channel	Sanoma-WSOY	School news, education, edutainment in co-operation with WSOY's learning portale	Pay TV	cancelled
	Movie Channel	Sanoma-WSOY	Movies (24/7), in co-operation with Canal+	Pay TV	cancelled
	Canal+	Canal+	Premium movies, sport, entertainment news, documentary	Pay TV	cancelled

Note: The government will decide on the vacancies in the multiplexes (due to cancellations) in autumn 2002.

²¹ The appendix is compiled on the basis of Wiio 2001 and the journal Tiedotustutkimus (2001).

LITERATURE

- Alm, Ari & Lowe, Gregory F. (2001), Managing Transformation in the Public Polymedia Enterprise: Amalgamation and Synergy in Finnish Public Broadcasting. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, Vol. 45, 3(2001), 367-390.
- Alm, Ari & Salminen, Kimmo (ed.) (1992), Toosa soi: Musiikki radion kilpailuvälineenä? [The Box Is Sounding: Music as Competition Tool for Radio?] Research Report 1/1992, Research and Development. YLE: Helsinki.
- Andersen, Robin (1995), Consumer Culture & TV Programming. WestviewPress: Boulder.
- Ang, Ien (1991), Desperately Seeking the Audience. Routledge: London and New York.
- Aslama, Minna & Hellman, Heikki & Sauri, Tuomo (2002), Turn on Diversity: Finnish Television Programming in the Verge of the Digital Era. A paper presented at the [RIPE@2002](#) Conference on Broadcasting and Convergence, January 17-19, Helsinki and Tampere (Finland).
- Aula, Maria Kaisa (1991), Poliitikkojen ja toimittajien suhteet murroksessa [The Relationships Between Politicians and Journalists in Transformation]. Research and Development, Research Report 5/1991. YLE: Helsinki.
- Born, Georgina (2002), Public Service Broadcasting and Digital Television in the UK: The BBC, Channel 4, and the Politics of Positioning. A paper presented at the [RIPE@2002](#) Conference on Broadcasting and Convergence, January 17-19, Helsinki and Tampere (Finland).
- Born, Georgina (2000), Inside television: television studies and the sociology of culture. *Screen*, Vol.41, 4(2000), pp. 404-424.
- Caldwell, John Thornton (1995), Televisuality: Style, Crisis and Authority in American Television. Rutgers University Press: New Brunswick, New Jersey.
- Carlsson, Ulla & Harrie, Eva (2001), Media Trends 2001 in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden. Nordicom: Gothenburg.
- Collins, Richard (1998), From Satellite to Single Market: New Communication Technology and European Public Service Television. Routledge: London and New York.

- Collins, Richard & Finn, Adam & McFadyen, Stuart & Hoskins, Colin (2001), Public Service Broadcasting Beyond 2000: Is There a Future for Public Service Broadcasting? *Canadian Journal of Communication*, Vol 26, 1 (2001), 3-15.
- Eastman, Susan Tyler (1993), *Broadcasting / Cable Programming Strategies and Practices*. Wadsworth: Belmont, California.
- Eastman, S.T. & Ferguson, D.A. (1997), *Broadcasting / Cable Programming Strategies and Practices*, 5th ed. Wadsworth: Belmont, CA.
- EBU Digital Strategy Group (2001a), *Media With a Progressive Purpose, Conclusions of the EBU Digital Strategy Group, Part 1: New Maps of Media Space*. European Broadcasting Union, May 2001.
- EBU Digital Strategy Group (2001b), *Media With a Progressive Purpose, Conclusions of the EBU Digital Strategy Group, Part 2: Managing Digital Evolution*. For 111th Meeting of the Administrative Council, Geneva, 29-30 November 2001.
- Edin, Anna (2001), *Konsten att producera public service: organisation, programplanering och tablåläggning i Sveriges Television 1987-2001* [The Art to Produce Public Service: Organisation, Programme Planning and Scheduling in Sveriges Television / SVT]. National report for a joint Nordic study, Södertörn University, Stockholm (unpublished).
- Edin, Anna (2000), *Den föreställda publiken. Programpolitik, publikbilder och tilltalsformer i svensk public service -television*. [The Imagined Audience. Programme Policy, Audience Images and Address Forms in Swedish Public Service Television] Symposium: Stockholm / Stehag.
- Ellis, John (2000a), Scheduling: the last creative act in television? *Media, Culture & Society*, Vol 22, 1(2000), 25-38.
- Ellis, John (2000b), *Seeing Things: Television in the Age of Uncertainty*. I.B. Tauris: London and New York.
- Endén, Rauno (ed.)(1996), *Yleisradio 1926-1996: A History of Broadcasting in Finland*. Finnish Historical Society: Helsinki.
- Extending Choice (1992), *The BBC's Role in the New Broadcasting Age*. BBC: London.
- Feuer, Jane (1995), *Seeing Through the Eighties, Television and Reaganism*. Duke University Press: Durham and London.
- Foster, Robin (1992), *Public Broadcasters Accountability and Efficiency*. Edinburgh University Press: Edinburgh.
- Gitlin, Todd (1994), *Inside Prime Time, Revised Edition*. Routledge: London.

- Hamlyn Encyclopedic World Dictionary (1971). Hamlyn: London, New York, Sydney, Toronto.
- Hargrave, Andrea Millwood (1995), The Scheduling Game, Annual Review 1995. Broadcasting Standards Council, Public Opinion and Broadcasting Standards-6. John Libbey: London, Paris, Rome.
- Harrison, J. & Woods, L.M. (2001), Defining European Public Service Broadcasting. *European Journal of Communication*, Vol 16, 4 (2001), 477-504.
- Hellman, Heikki (1999a), From companions to competitors: the changing broadcasting markets and television programming in Finland. Acta Universitatis Tamperensis 652, University of Tampere: Tampere.
- Hellman, Heikki (1999b), Legitimations of Television Programme Policies. Patterns of Argumentation and Discursive Convergencies in a Multichannel Age. In Pertti Alasuutari (ed.), *Rethinking the Media Audiences: The New Agenda*, pp. 105-129. Sage: London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.
- Hickethier, Knut (1991), Aspekte der Programmtheorie des Fernsehens. *Communications, Die Europäische Zeitschrift für Kommunikation*, Vol 16, 3(1991), 329-345.
- Hujanen, Taisto (2000), Programming and Channel Competition in European Television. In Jan Wieten & Graham Murdock & Peter Dahlgren (ed.), *Television Across Europe: A Comparative Introduction*, pp. 65-83. Sage: London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.
- Hujanen, Taisto (1997), From Broadcasting Research to Media Studies: A Historical Review and Analysis of Radio Research in Finland. In Ulla Carlsson (ed.), *Radio Research in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden*, pp. 5-22. Nordicom: Gothenburg.
- Hujanen, Taisto (1995), Political Versus Cultural in Critical Broadcasting Research and Policy: A Reevaluation of the Finnish Radical Experiment in Broadcasting in the Late 1960s. In John A. Lent (ed.), *A Different Road Taken*, pp. 257-268. WestviewPress: Boulder.
- Jensen, Klaus Bruhn (1994), Reception as Flow: The "New Television Viewer" Revisited. *Cultural Studies*, Vol. 8, 2(1994), 293-305.
- Küng-Shankleman, Lucy (2000), Inside the BBC and CNN: Managing Media Organizations. Routledge: London and New York.
- Kytömäki, Juha & Ruohomaa, Erja (2001), Yleisökertomus 2000 [Audience Report 2000]. YLE: Helsinki.
- Kytömäki, Juha & Ruohomaa, Erja (2000), Yleisökertomus 1999 [Audience Report 1999]. YLE: Helsinki.

- Levo-Henriksson, Ritva (1994), Eyes upon Wings: Culture in Finnish and US Television News. Research Report 1/1994, Research and Development. YLE: Helsinki.
- Levo-Henriksson, Ritva (1991), Arkkityyppi ja versiot. TV-draamaa Amerikasta Aasiaan. [Arch Type and Versions. TV Drama from America to Asia.] Research Report 7/1991, Research and Development. YLE: Helsinki.
- Lowe, Gregory F. (1992), Value and Meaning Transformation in Public Service Broadcasting: Competition and Legitimacy in the Finnish Radio Renaissance. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, USA.
- Lowe, Gregory Ferrell & Alm, Ari (1997), Public Service Broadcasting as Cultural Industry. Value Transformation in the Finnish Market-place. *European Journal of Communication*, Vol 12, 2(1997), 169-191.
- Lähteenmäki, Miira (1999), Kruununjalokivi, merkkipaalu ja veturi. Uutiset ja kaaviovetoinen ohjelmointi kanavilla TV1, TV2, MTV3 ja Nelonen 1978-1998 [Crown Jewel, Milestone and Locomotive. News and Schedule-oriented Programming in Channels TV1, TV2, MTV3 and TV Four 1978-1998]. MA Thesis, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Tampere.
- McCain, T. A. & Lowe, G. F. (1990), Localism in Western European Radio Broadcasting: Untangling the Wireless. *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 40, 1(1990), 86-101.
- McDowell, Walter & Batten, Alan (1999), Branding TV: Principles and Practices. National Association of Broadcasters NAB: Washington.
- McQuail, Denis (ed.) (1972), Sociology of Mass Communications. Penguin Books: Harmondsworth.
- Moran, Albert (1998), Copycat TV: Globalisation, Program Formats and Cultural Identity. University of Luton Press: Midsomer Norton.
- MTV Media Manager 1997. MTV3 / Gallup Finland: Helsinki.
- Nordenstreng, Kaarle (ed.) (1973), Informational Mass Communication. Tammi: Helsinki.
- Nordenstreng, Kaarle (1972), Policy for News Transmission. In Denis McQuail (ed.), Sociology of Mass Communications, pp. 386-405. Penguin Books: Harmondsworth.
- Pringle, Peter K. & Starr, Michael F. & McCavitt, William E. (1999), Electronic Media Management (Fourth Edition). Focal Press: Boston.

- Ridell, Seija (1996), Resistance through Routines: Flow Theory and the Power of Metaphors. *European Journal of Communication*, Vol. 11, 4(1996), 557-582.
- Rizza (1994), Putting Programmes Together. *Reseaux*, Vol 2., 1(1994), pp. 7-35.
- Ruoho, Iris (2001), Utility Drama: Making of and Talking about the Serial Drama in Finland. Tampere University Press: Tampere.
- Saarinen, Mirjami (1995), Kun toimituskulttuurit törmäävät [When cultures of production strike against each other]. MA thesis, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Tampere.
- Salokangas, Raimo (1996), Yleisradion historia, osa 2, 1949-1996: Aikansa oloinen [The History of Yleisradio, Part 2, 1949-1996: Alike Its Time]. YLE: Helsinki.
- Scannell, Paddy (1996), Radio, Television & Modern Life. Blackwell Publishers: Oxford.
- Silvo, Ismo (1988), Valta, kenttä, kertomus: Televisiopolitiikan tulkinat [Power, Field, Narratives: Interpretations of Television Policy]. Research and Training, Publication 2/1988. YLE: Helsinki.
- Solla, Katja (1999), Saippuadokumenttisarjat — television faktan ja fiktion uudenlainen sekoitus [Docusoaps — A New Mixture of Fact and Fiction on TV]. MA thesis, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Tampere.
- Søndergaard, Henrik (2002), From Programme-making to Scheduling in Nordic Public Service Television — or Why Programme Production Isn't the Soul of Public Service. A paper presented at the [RIPE@2002](#) Conference on Broadcasting and Convergence, January 17-19, Helsinki and Tampere (Finland).
- Søndergaard, Henrik (2001), Producer's Choice — Programstyring i DR" [Producer Choice — Programme Management in DR]. National report for a joint Nordic study, Department of Film and Media Studies, University of Copenhagen (unpublished).
- Søndergaard, Henrik (1994), DR i tv-konkurrencens tidsalder [DR in the Era of TV Competition]. Samfundslitteratur: Frederiksberg.
- Soramäki, Martti (1994), Yleisradio ja kilpailu 1990-luvun alun tv-toiminnassa [YLE and Competition in the Early 1990's Television]. In the journal *Tiedotustutkimus*, Vol. 17, 3(1994), 33-44.
- Steinbock, Dan (1994), Amerikkalainen TV-draama [American TV Drama]. Report 12/1994, Research and Development. YLE: Helsinki.

- Steinbock, Dan (1988), Formaatti ja televisiosarjat [Format and Television Series]. Research Report, Series B 1/1988, Planning and Research. YLE: Helsinki.
- Suomalainen tv-tarjonta 2000 [Finnish TV Supply 2000]. Publications, 41/2001, Ministry for Transport and Communication: Helsinki.
- Syvvertsen, Trine (1996), Den store TV-krigen, Norsk allmennfjernsyn 1988-96 [The Big TV War, Norwegian Public Service Television in 1988-96]. Fagbokforlaget: Bergen-Sandviken.
- Tiedotustutkimus (2001), Journalismikritiikin vuosikirja [Yearbook for Journalism Criticism; ed. by Elina Noppari and Katja Valaskivi], Section "Digi", Vol. 24, 1(2001), 61-103.
- Tracey, Michael (1998), The Decline and Fall of Public Service Broadcasting. Oxford University Press: Oxford, New York.
- Wieten, Jan & Murdock, Graham & Dahlgren, Peter (ed.) (2000), Television Across Europe: A Comparative Introduction. Sage: London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.
- Wiio, Juhani (2001), Televisio [Television]. In Kaarle Nordenstreng and Osmo A. Wiio (ed.), Suomen mediamaisema [The Finnish Media Landscape], pp. 114-131. WSOY: Vantaa.
- Wiio, Juhani (1999), Managing Strategic Change in the Changing Radio and Television Market: A Finnish Example 1985-1998. YLE Audience Research: Helsinki.
- Williams, Raymond (1974), Television: Technology and Cultural Form. Fontana / Collins: Bungay, Suffolk.
- Åberg, Leif (2000), Viestinnän johtaminen [Communication Management]. Inforviestintä: Keuruu.
- Ytreberg, Espen (2002), Continuity in Environments: The Evolution of Basic Practices and Dilemmas in Nordic Television Scheduling. *European Journal of Communication*, Vol. 17, 3(2002), 283-304.
- Ytreberg, Espen (2001), Programskjemaarbeid i NRK Fjernsynet: Beslutningsprosesser i et maktsentrum [Scheduling in NRK Television: Decision Processes in a Power Centre]. National report for a joint Nordic study "Scheduling in Nordic public service television", Media Studies, Department of Media and Communication, Publications, No. 40 (2001). University of Oslo: Oslo.
- Ytreberg, Espen (2000), Scheduling in Nordic Public Service Television. General Description of an Ongoing Research Project. *Nordicom Review*, Vol 21, 1(2000), 25-34.

Ytreberg, Espen (1999), Allmenkringkastingens autoritet, Endringer i NRK Fjernsynets tekstproduksjon 1987-1994 [The Authority of Public Service Broadcasting, Changes in the Text Production of NRK's Television in 1987-1994]. Media Studies, Department of Media and Communication, Publications. University of Oslo: Oslo.

OTHER REFERENCES & SOURCES

Newspapers and Magazines:

Apu 22.1.1993, Arne Wessberg, TV2:n johtaja [Arne Wessberg, TV2's director].

Astikainen, Risto (2000), Mihin johtaa Ylevisio? [Where does YLE Vision lead?] Journalisti, No. 13, 4.8.2000.

Hellman, Heikki (1992), Kanavajako, katsojakato? [Dividing channels, losing viewers?] Helsingin Sanomat 31.12.1992.

Aamulehti 25.11.2001, Ylen on karsittava viihdettä ja väkivaltaa [YLE must reduce entertainment and violence].

Aamulehti 25.2.2001 (by Taneli Heikka), Teknokraatilla on tehtävä — Yleisradion toimitusjohtajan haastattelu [A technocrat has a mission — an interview of YLE's Director General].

Aamulehti 30.4.1993, Kiitos ja hyvästi Aarno Kaila? [Thank you and good bye Mr. Aarno Kaila?].

Aamulehti 12.11.1992 (by Riitta Kurkijärvi), TV1 kaataa vanhat rakenteet [TV1 will fall down the old structures].

Hämäläinen, Timo (2000b): BBC:n julkinen palvelu jatkuu [The BBC's public service continues]. Helsingin Sanomat 30.9.2000.

Hämäläinen, Timo (2000a), Kutistuvan vähemmistön ohjelmaa [Programming for a shrinking minority]. Helsingin Sanomat 26.6.2000.

Helsingin Sanomat 9.12.1997 (by Leena Virtanen), Uudet päälliköt TV1:n faktalle ja fiktiolle [New heads for TV1's fact and fiction].

Helsingin Sanomat 25.1.1993, Suomen televisiosta tuli ällistytävä sotku [Finland's Television became an amazing mess].

Helsingin Sanomat 25.1.1993, TV1 hävisi alkuillan kisan [TV1 lost competition in early evening].

Helsingin Sanomat 26.1.1993, "Romahdus" oli täysin odotettu ["The crash" was fully anticipated].

Helsingin Sanomat 24.4.1992, Ylen uudistajat sekoittavat vanhaa pakkaa [YLE's reformers shuffle an old pack].

Ilta-Sanomat 15.1.1993, Paasilinna puuttuu Uutistunnin ongelmiin [Mr. Paasilinna will interfere in News Hour's problems].

Satakunnan Kansa 20.11.1992, TV2 tarjoaa ohjelmia suurelle yleisölle ja erityisryhmille [TV2 will offer programmes for the big audience and special groups].

YLE's Internal Sources:

Gartz, Astrid. Correspondence 28.2.2002

Hoffrén, Arto (1998a), TV-toimialan siirtyminen kohti tulevaisuuden organisointumista: 1998-2002 [YLE Television heading towards future organisation: 1998-2000]. A memo for TV2 Board Meeting, 20.1.1998.

Hoffrén, Arto (1998b), TV2:n faktaohjelmien uusi organisaatio [The new organisation of TV2's factual programmes]. For the TV2 Board Meeting, 3.4.1998.

Interviews with programmers, schedulers and selected producers at TV1, TV2 and YLE Television (see the list in Chapter II of the book).

Kakkosposti 5 [TV2 News 5], concerning personnel briefing on 19.5.1999. TV2, 20.5.1999.

Kanavaprofilointi [Channel profilisation]. A planning document of YLE Television, 5.5.2000.

Kirje kaikille kakkoslaisille heinäkuussa 1997 [An Open Letter to All at TV2]. TV2, July 1997.

Koskimies, Ilkka (1999), TV1:n ohjelmakaavion rakenne [The structure of TV1's schedule]. TV1, Programming Department, 14.10.1999.

Kyrönseppä, Kari & Hatakko, Jorma (1997), Tilausjärjestelmä — ehdotus TV1:n toimintamalliksi [The commissioning system — a proposal for TV1's model of operation]. A report for the Director of Programmes, TV1, 28.2.1997.

Kärkkäinen, Päivi (1999), Toimenkuvat [Description of job positions]. TV2, 8.9.1999.

Liiton Arkki, No 4/1997 (by Jussi Harmaala), Mikä ihmeen tilausjärjestelmä? [Wonders about the commissioning system].

Linkki 7.8.2002, Tehtäväjaot selvät [Managers' responsibilities cleared].

Linkki 17.10.2001, Teemana TV:n osaamiskeskukset [The theme is TV's skill centres].

Linkki 5.11.1997, Tilausjärjestelmä järkeistää suunnittelua [Commissioning system will rationalise programme planning].

Minkkinen, Sirkka. Correspondence 27.2.2002 and 1.3.2002.

Muistio TV1:n ohjelmasuunnitteluseurannan seminaarista 23.2.1998 [Memo on TV1's follow-up seminar for programme planning 23.2.1998]. TV1, Planning Department, 3.3.1998.

Muistio TV1:n ohjelmistosuunnittelun seminaarista 10.3.1998 [Memo on TV1's seminar for programme planning]. TV1, Planning Department, 17.3.1998.

Pakarinen, Jyrki (2000), YLEn tv-kanavien profilointi 2001 [Profilisation of YLE's television channels in 2001]. A planning document, 14.4.2000.

Pihanurmi, Vesa (1998), Ohjelmisto- ja kaaviorakenteiden kehitystarpeita 1999- [Development needs of programming and schedule structures]. Memorandum, YLE Audience Research, 2.6.1998.

Puohiniemi, Martti (1999), Suomalaisten perusarvot, muutos ja mediamaiseman jännitteet [Basic values of Finns, change and tensions of media landscape]. Invited address for TV2's seminar, 5.3.1999.

Records of TV1 Board Meetings 1999-2000.

Records of TV1 Programme Meetings 1999-2000.

Records of TV2 Board Meetings 1999-2000.

Records of TV2 Programme Meetings 1999-2000.

Siikala, Tapio (1999), Where Do You Go YLE? Invited comment in a seminar organised by the Old Foxes (a club for the retired YLE journalists), 11.10.1999.

Strategiset hankkeet [Strategic projects]. An appendix to YLE's Three-Year-Plan 1999-2002. Draft 11.5.1999.

Syksyn 2000 ohjelmisto [Autumn 2000 Programming]. TV1: Helsinki.

Tilausjärjestelmän toimintaprosessin kuvaus [Description of the commissioning process]. Appendix to TV1's Working Order, 16.9.1998.

TV1 julkisen palvelun tehtävästä [TV1 about public service mission]. TV1, 12.3.1997.

TV1:n työjärjestys [TV1's Working Order], 16.9.1998.

TV1:n työjärjestys [TV1's Working Order], 14.11.1995.

TV1 Three-Year-Plans for 1998-2000, 1999-2001, 2000-2002.

TV1 Personnel Plan for 1999, approved by TV1's Board Meeting on 6.10.1998.

TV1:n toimintamallista [About TV1's model of operation]. The Union of Radio and TV Journalists RTTL, TV1 Section, Annual Meeting 15.11.1999.

TV2 eli meidän Kakkonen [Our TV2]. A newsletter for the promotion of TV2's image spots (by Pirjo Talvio), 6.10.2000.

TV2:n ohjelmistostrategia [TV2's programming strategy]. Internal training report by Mikko Alestalo, Maija Innanen, Päivi Kärkkäinen, Tuomo Metsäketo and Lauri Rechardt; prepared for JOKO 58 management training course (by the Helsinki Business School).

Vuosi 1998 — tulevaisuuden ensimmäinen vuosi tv-toimialalla [Year 1998 — the first year of future in YLE Television]. YLE Television, Seminar 12.-13.1.1998.

YLE Annual Reports (1990-1999). YLE: Helsinki.

Yleisradion johtamisjärjestelmien ja organisaation uudistaminen [Reforming YLE's management and organisation]. YLE Administrative Council Meeting 27.10.1993, Records, Appendix 29.

Yleisradion perusorganisaation vahvistaminen ja siihen liittyvät toimenpiteet [Strengthening YLE's basic organisation and consequent actions]. YLE Administrative Council Meeting 27.5.1998, Records, Appendix 17.

Yleisradion budjetti 1999 / YLE Budget 1999. YLE: Helsinki.

Yleisradion budjetti 2000 / YLE Budget 2000. YLE: Helsinki.

Yleisradion organisaatio / YLE's Organization (1995). YLE: Helsinki.

YLE 1999-2001 [YLE three-year-plan 1999-2001]. YLE Board, 19.5.1998.

YLE:n kolmivuotissuunnitelma, Analyysi kehityshaasteista [YLE's three-year-plan, An analysis of challenges for development]. YLE Board, Strategy Meeting 23.3.1999.

YLE Visio 2001-2003 [YLE Vision 2001-2003]. YLE 1.9.2000.

Österlund, Marina (1991), Ohjelmiston suunnittelu ja yhdysvaltalainen kaavio-teoria [Programme planning and the US scheduling theory]. A draft for YLE Corporate Development, 25.3.1991.

Österlund-Karinkanta, Marina. Correspondence 13.6.2000.