# The State of State Media

A Global Analysis of the Editorial Independence of State Media and an Introduction of a New State Media Typology

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## **About CMDS**

The Center for Media, Data and Society (CMDS) is a research center for the study of media, communication, and information policy and its impact on society and practice. Founded in 2004 as the Center for Media and Communication Studies, CMDS is part of Central European University's (CEU) Democracy Institute and serves as a focal point for an international network of acclaimed scholars, research institutions and activists.

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The charts and maps were created with Datawrapper and Infogram.

# State Media:

# Why Are They Important and Why Is It Important to Study Them?

Governments have historically played a major role in the media, financing, managing or regulating media outlets. With radio and television broadcasting rising to prominence in the 20th century, the role of the government in the media further increased.

Broadcasters need frequencies to operate. The radio spectrum, the cluster of frequencies used for various types of communication, is owned by governments, which distribute those frequencies based on a set of rules and regulations established by state bodies.

In the process, governments all over the world retain part of the frequencies for radio and television outlets administered by the state. In some countries, those outlets are funded or owned by the government but are ensured editorial autonomy. In other countries, the government maintains a strong foothold in those media, using them as propaganda outlets.

On the other hand, governments also own print media (including their online operations) in a number of countries as part of the official public communication strategy. In some authoritarian states such as China or Vietnam, the press is owned and to a large extent funded by the government to act as propaganda channels for the government. In the countries in Central and Eastern Europe that were run by communist regimes until 1990, most of the print media companies have since been privatized. In some African nations, governments own print media enterprises, but as state resources have been dwindling in recent years, they have pushed them to generate more commercial funding.

Debates about the role of the government in the media have intensified at various times in the modern history of broadcasting. Promoters of the ideal of public service in the media usually extol the values of public service media encapsulated in the Reithian concept[1] of public broadcasting envisioned as a tool of educating the masses. This concept was the base on which the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) was built a century or so ago.

Some debates have focused on the mission and impact of government-run international media operations such as the BBC, American Congress-funded Voice of America and Radio Free Europe, France24, Al Jazeera, the Chinese government media or Russian government-funded RT. They all have been stepping up efforts and boosted their investments in recent years in their move to influence the global agenda.

In the past three decades, numerous countries from regions as diverse as Central and Eastern Europe, Africa, Middle East and North Africa or Asia, have tried to transform their state media operations into independent public service media. Few succeeded as governments have been unable to give up their control over these outlets either because they did not want to lose a platform where they can promote their policies and interests or because they tried to build these media organizations on public media models imported from abroad without taking into account the specificities of their local media environment.

In recent years, the debate about the role of the state media has seen new tensions as many governments have revved up spending in the media and the overall media environment has fundamentally changed, with new, more powerful and versatile forms of communication being created and proliferated at a rapid pace.

At the same time, the impact of state media on global and local audiences has increased and diversified during the past decade or so. The participation of the state in the media has taken new, more complex forms. In some countries, they command vast audiences. In others they have access to an infrastructure that allows them to reach people that no other media can reach. Many of them enjoy privileges such as large state subsidies that no other media outlets have access to. While government support for the media is not necessarily a bad thing, the use of state resources to control the editorial agenda of media outlets is.

[1] Sian Nicholas, "The Reithian legacy and contemporary public service ethos," in Conboy, M., & Steel, J. (Eds.). (2015). The Routledge Companion to British Media History (1st ed.). Routledge.

This dilemma, how to ensure support for state media without hurting their editorial autonomy, is the crux of the debate around the role that state media should play in a society.

Studying the complexity of today's state media requires sophisticated research methods and tools as well as new categories able to capture the variety of existing state media and offer an understanding of how the way they are established and operated affects their editorial performance.

This paper has two goals. One is to introduce a new taxonomy for state media that takes stock of the latest developments in the media and communication field. The second is to present the latest trends in state media globally, with a focus on how these operations are funded and managed, and how their editorial autonomy is protected.

The paper draws on data and information on state media in 151 countries collected over the course of the last four years as part of the Media Influence Matrix project of the Center for Media, Data & Society (CMDS). It also uses historical data collected by the paper's main author, Marius Dragomir, through older research projects including Television Across Europe and Mapping Digital Media. (See *Methodology*)

#### Introducing A New Tool to Study State Media

To understand the influence and impact of the state media, distinguishing between the worst (state-controlled outlets) and the best (independent public service media) is not sufficient. In fact, using this reductive dichotomy to judge state media can be counterproductive because it fails to capture nuances related to how state media perform editorially and how that performance is influenced by different geographical contexts, or political and economic situations in various periods of time.

In other words, between the state-controlled media model, consisting of media outfits built and used as propaganda channels, and the independent public service media model, consisting of media outlets created to operate independently and serve the public interest, there are more variants that have to be studied in order to fathom the impact that state media have on the media sector and on the society in general.

To identify these variants, we created the **State Media Matrix**, a typology of state media that allows classification of state media according to three key factors that affect the independence of the state media: funding, ownership/governance, and editorial autonomy.

**Funding** influences to a large extent the performance of a state media outlet. State media outlets usually rely on various forms of public funding, but some of them also draw on commercial financing (i.e. advertising or sponsorship).

There are two categories of public funding that are most common in state media. One is direct state support: these are either government subsidies awarded to media upon approval by authorities, or state advertising, a form of state financing where public cash is used to commission services from media outlets (normally to buy ad space). The second is indirect state support: these are revenues generated from various forms of taxation or contributions by the public (i.e. levies on commercial media, taxes or license fees).

The first form of public funding creates a tight dependency between the government and the media outlet. Experience also shows that the amount of direct state support can help cement this dependency: the higher the share of the state subsidies in the budget of a state media outlet is, the less independent that outlet is.

As a result, the funding-related factor in our Matrix ("predominantly state-funded") defines a situation where media outlets receive direct state support amounting to at least 50% of their annual budget.

The type of ownership and governance also plays a key role in how a state media outlet performs editorially. Most state media are owned by the government via government bodies (ministries, agencies, state institutions). In some cases, they are controlled by state-owned companies. There are also cases of state media that, in fact, do not have any form of actual ownership, being run as a part of a state institution (for example, as a department in the ministry of communication). In countries where the government tries to cut the ownership dependency between the government and state media, various forms of public ownership (foundations, trusts) have been introduced.

When it comes to the governing structures of the state media, the composition of these governing bodies, including the mechanisms of appointment of their members, plays a crucial role in how the editorial autonomy of those media is protected (or not). The state bodies that own the media usually tend to have control over their governing boards by retaining the right to appoint the members of those bodies. The politicization of the process of appointment of the state media governing structures is a powerful instrument of control of those media's editorial agenda. In contrast, in countries where the supervisory bodies of the state media are appointed by a more diverse group of institutions and people (state bodies with a more diverse participation of political actors, civil society organizations, academia, professional organizations, individual experts, etc.), the state control is less pronounced.

In conclusion, the control of governing structures and ownership factor in our Matrix is defined as the situation where at least one of the two is true: the state media is majority owned by a government body or the majority of its governing body members are appointed by government or government-controlled institutions mostly on political grounds.

Finally, editorial control, a key determinant of state media independence, is defined as the situation where the journalists of a state media outlet are not in a position to make editorial decisions independently, a result of direct or indirect control exerted by authorities or allied entities over the outlet's editorial decision-making process.

Of the three independence-related factors in the State Media Matrix, editorial control is the most difficult to assess as it is influenced both by internal factors (predominance of state funding or state control of ownership and governance can directly affect the editorial autonomy of a media outlet) and external ones (indirect pressures from government officials, companies associated with the government, influential politicians, etc.).

Direct editorial control by the state is usually attested by official government documents (statuses, laws, decrees, internal editorial rulebooks stating the

obligations of the state media to represent the government's interests in their programming). Indirect state control consists of pressures made by state authorities or entities affiliated with them that allow them to influence the editorial content of the media outlet.

Guarantees of editorial independence include:

- a). Internal editorial statutes or legal documents specifically barring authorities from interfering with the editorial content of the media outlet and rules ensuring that these commitments are complied with;
- b). Mechanisms of independent assessment or oversight of the editorial content of a media outlet that validate its independence such as ombudsperson, programming councils, complaints mechanisms.

It is important to stress that the mere existence of such statuses and oversight mechanisms is not sufficient to ensure editorial autonomy. For editorial statutes to work, for example, they must be accompanied by concrete mechanisms that enable the management of the state media outlet to stave off any pressures. For assessment or oversight bodies to function properly, they have to first be independent and second have a certain level of power that allows them to pressure the management of the media outlet to respect the editorial independence of their journalists. If the members of such bodies are appointed, for example, by authorities or the politicized governing bodies of the media outlet, they are unlikely to fight for the organization's editorial independence. At the same time, if there are no obligations imposed on the management of the state media to take into consideration the findings and recommendation of these programming councils or experts, the existence of these oversight mechanisms is simply pointless.

Using these three main factors, we identified seven state media models that are characterized by various degrees of independence.

At the opposite ends of the spectrum we have the **state-controlled media** and the **independent public media models**.

The former features the absolute form of state control in the media where media outlets are entirely dependent on state funding, are managed by

government-appointed bodies or directly by state authorities, and follow an editorial line imposed or approved by state authorities. In many cases, their editorial coverage is sanctioned by censorship boards. This model is widespread in the world, in countries such as China, several Southeast Asian nations, numerous Middle Eastern states, most of Africa as well as a slew of countries in Central and Eastern Europe and Latin America.

In contrast, the independent public media model is the ideal form of media created with a mission to serve the public interest. Although it is designed through legal acts adopted by authorities or plans endorsed by politically elected bodies, the independent public media model is anchored in financial and governance mechanisms that insulate these media, to the largest extent possible, from government meddling and other pressures. Moreover, the editorial autonomy of these media is often guaranteed by various codes and regulations, or accountability and oversight instruments. This model is rare, on the brink of extinction in many parts of the world. It can be found in several Western European countries (UK, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, some Nordic countries), and a few nations in Central and Eastern Europe and Asia.

In between the two "pure" extremes, we have five hybrid models. If we take editorial independence as the differentiating factor, we can group the hybrids into two categories:

- independent media (those operating independently of the government when it comes to their editorial agenda); and
- captured media (those editorially controlled by the government).

In the hybrid independent media category, we have three classes of state media. One, arguably the closest to the independent public model, is the **independent state-managed media model**. These media outlets are majority owned by the government, yet they are not reliant on state subsidies and enjoy editorial autonomy.

This is a rare model, found mostly in Western Europe (Channel 4 in the UK, NRK in Norway, DR in Denmark, France Televisions, Radio France and France Medias Monde in France), Central and Eastern Europe (the news agencies CTK in Czechia and TASR in Slovakia, and the public broadcasters RTVSLO in Slovenia and RTSH in Albania) and elsewhere (Antara news agency in Indonesia, TVNZ

public broadcaster in New Zealand and Costa Rica's public media SINART).

The independent state-managed model very much resembles the independent public media model, its sole distinctive component being the state influence in governance and ownership. The same can be said about the **independent state-funded model** whose characteristics are the predominance of state financing, lack of state influence in governing bodies and editorial autonomy. Equally rare, this model can be found in some Latin American countries (the university broadcasters in Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, and Colombia), and Europe (Cyprus News Agency, the public broadcasters in Estonia, ERR, and the Netherlands, NPO). Public broadcasters in Australia (ABC and SBS), New Zealand (Maori Television), Canada (CBC) and Jamaica (PBC) also fall in this category.

Finally, the independent state-funded and state-managed media model characterizes outlets that are owned or governed by the state and predominantly funded by the state but that preserve their editorial independence. Although such a situation might look paradoxical (what government funds and manages a media outlet without trying to control it?), there are cases of outlets that embody this model. That happens either because there are strong rules and regulations in place preventing the government from interfering with the editorial agenda of the supported outlets or simply because authorities take a more progressive approach to media and understand the benefits of having editorially independent media.

Media in this category include Sidwaya publishing house and news agency in Burkina Faso, the newspaper publisher SNPECI in Cote d'Ivoire, the public broadcasters TBS in Taiwan, IPBC in Israel, Teleradio-Moldova in Moldova, UA:PBC in Ukraine, LTV and LR in Latvia, most of the regional public broadcasters in Spain, VRT, RTBF and BRF in Belgium, the public radio IMER in Mexico and US Agency for Global Media (USAGM), the operator of a raft of American-owned global broadcasters such as Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty and Voice of America.

In the hybrid captured media category, we have two classes of media outlets.

The **captured public/state-managed media model** is characterized by government control over governing structures and/or ownership, and editorial

coverage. These media outlets are usually on the brink of becoming fully state-controlled, which happens when the government is also intervening in the funding model. When it comes to the performance of these media outlets and the quality of their content, the difference between them and state-controlled media is in most cases imperceptible.

#### This group includes:

- Newspaper publishers that are managed by state bodies, but fund themselves through commercial revenue including various newspaper companies in Africa (such as Sociedade de Noticias in Mozambique, Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) in Zambia, Zimpapers in Zimbabwe, News Time Corporation in Ghana and the publisher of the newspaper Le Soleil in Senegal) or elsewhere (such as Singapore Press Holdings (SPH), Associated Newspapers of Ceylon in Sri Lanka, Jordan Press Foundation, SRMG in Saudi Arabia or some Chinese newspapers operated abroad);
- Public service media whose editorial coverage is controlled by the government in places as diverse as Pakistan (PTV), Sri Lanka (SLBC and SLRC), Japan (NHK), United Arab Emirates (a slew of broadcasters), and Europe (public media such as RTVS in Slovakia, HRT in Croatia, ERT in Greece, RAI in Italy, and RTS in Serbia);
- Media conglomerates that run both broadcast media outlets and print media such as Medianova in Angola, Shanghai Media Group in China, Dubai Media Incorporated (DMI) and various commercially funded Russian media groups known to be close to the Russian government such as Gazprom Media or National Media Group.

On the other hand, the **captured private media model** is characteristic for media outlets that are editorially controlled by state authorities without any direct form of state ownership or formal state-appointed governing bodies. This model is illustrative of an important trend that has characterized the media systems in an increasing number of countries over the past decade: media capture, a phenomenon where people serving in state institutions, jointly with directly or indirectly affiliated or controlled private businesses, in many cases oligarchic structures, gain editorial control in a large number of privately held

media companies. This model has two variants: one where media outlets rely on funding from the state coffers and a second one where media outlets do not rely on such financing (although from time to time it's believed that they receive some financing from state authorities).

In some ways, the captured private media model is an outlier (especially the non-funded, non-owned variant) as it lacks formal links with state institutions. It is also the most difficult model to document as the editorial control of these media outlets is achieved over lengthy periods of systematic pressures and via numerous intermediaries (owners or groups of owners). For example, the Hungarian government controls nearly 500 media outlets through a foundation that is believed to have links with the Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban. Officially there is no state ownership in these media outlets and although many of them receive money from the government in the form of state advertising, formal links with state bodies are lacking. Yet, a spate of journalistic investigations carried out during the past decade or so have unearthed ties between the owners of these media outlets and the Hungarian government.[2]

It has to be stressed that the captured private media model should not be confused with politicized or politically controlled media. Characterized by forms of ownership controlled by political actors or groups, politicized or politically controlled media outlets exist almost everywhere. To fit the captured private media model as defined in this matrix, media outlets must have an element of persistent, systemic control of the editorial coverage by entities (individuals or institutions) that have a link with state authorities.

The captured private media model is usually found in countries with a tradition of state interventionism in the media. They include Morocco, Cambodia, Azerbaijan, Jordan, Qatar, Turkey or Serbia. In Europe, the cases of Hungary and Poland, where right-wing governments have been taking over an increasing number of privately owned media companies during the past five to ten years, are the most representative of this model. Both countries also have state-controlled media outlets (the failed public media broadcasters MTVA in Hungary, and TVP and Polish Radio in Poland).

In some countries, the captured models (both public/state-managed and private ones) can be a stepping stone to the state-controlled media model. In Egypt, for example, three massive media conglomerates, the National Media

<sup>[2]</sup> Paula Kennedy, "The relentless march of the Hungarian government's propaganda machine," EJO, 20 May 2019, available online at <a href="https://en.ejo.ch/media-politics/the-relentless-march-of-the-hungarian-governments-propaganda-machine">https://en.ejo.ch/media-politics/the-relentless-march-of-the-hungarian-governments-propaganda-machine</a> (accessed on 20 August 2021).

Authority (NMA), the National Press Authority (NPA) and the Egyptian Media Group (EMG), have been created by the government to centralize most of the country's media under state control. Some of the media outlets included in these structures, although editorially captured, were not owned by the government. The creation of these companies essentially consolidated the position of the Egyptian state in the media sector.

#### **State Media Matrix: A Typology of State Media**

Model	Predominantly state-funded	Control of governing structures and ownership	Editorial control
State-controlled media	Yes	Yes	Yes
Captured public/state- managed media	No	Yes	Yes
	Yes	No	Yes
Captured private media	No	No	Yes
Independent state-funded and state-managed media	Yes	Yes	No
Independent state-funded media	Yes	No	No
Independent state-managed media	No	Yes	No
Independent public media	No	No	No

Source: Marius Dragomir, 2021

# Key Findings

The government's control in the state media has reached extremely high levels, according to data gathered in our State Media Matrix. Nearly 80% of the 546 state-administered media companies in 151 countries covered by this report lack editorial independence, analysis of the State Media Matrix data shows. More than 80% of the 436 media outlets whose editorial agenda is controlled by the government in various ways are media companies that fall into our state-controlled media category comprising outlets predominantly funded, managed and editorially controlled by the government.

Of the 110 state media that have editorial independence, only 18 qualify as independent public service media. Most of them, a total of 11 outlets, are based in Europe, and most of the independent public media in Europe, a total of seven, are based in five Western European countries (Austria, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, UK). The rest of them are one in Southern Europe (Portugal) and three in Central and Eastern Europe (Czechia and Lithuania).

In contrast, there are no independent public media outlets in Eurasia, Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and MENA, a strong indicator of the widening gap between the quality and reliability of news and information in the West and the poor output of high-quality news output in the rest of the world.

On the other hand, state media in Europe are faced with numerous threats as governments and political groups are stepping up efforts to gain more control of the media.

First, although Europe has a high number of independent state media, many of them are in the independent state-funded and state-managed category, which is the most at risk from an editorial point of view. A total of 24 media outlets in this category in Europe present the highest risk to lose their editorial independence and slide into the state-controlled category.

Second, Europe is faced with a high incidence of cases of captured media outlets, 27 media outlets, a third of all such cases worldwide. A total of 19 of them are media outlets with private ownership, mostly oligarchic structures that have ties with state authorities, that follow an editorial line ostensibly supportive of the government.

The vast majority of the European captured media are located in the Central Eastern Europe and Turkey region, a sign of the declining media freedom in Europe's post-communist nations and in Turkey. They include countries such as Croatia with a captured public service broadcaster, Hungary, Poland and Turkey with a slew of captured privately owned media companies, and Serbia, with both. It is also notable that the public media in Poland, Hungary and Turkey fall in the state-controlled category, which shows the extreme degree of media capture in these countries.[3]

The two other captured cases in Europe are in Greece and Italy, and they are both public media players, which have been under the control of the government since time immemorial.

Other parts of the world with a high incidence of media capture cases are Asia and MENA region where the state media are in a much worse situation than in Europe due to the much larger state control. In Asia and MENA, for example, the state-controlled type of media outlet accounts for 74% and 63% of all their state media, respectively, much higher than 20% in Europe.

## Global overview of state media by typology and number of media outlets

			Numl	ber of media o	outlets			Total
	SC	CPS	CPr	ISFM	ISF	ISM	IPM	TOTAL
Europe	21	8	19	24	7	14	11	104
Eurasia	47	3	6	3	0	0	0	59
Sub-Saharan Africa	94	9	1	3	0	0	0	107
MENA	47	10	8	6	1	3	0	75
Asia	94	12	8	5	0	3	5	127
Latin American*	47	1	1	7	7	1	0	64
NAAN**	0	0	0	3	4	1	2	10
Total	350	43	43	51	19	22	18	546

SC: State-controlled media; CPS: Captured public/state-managed media; CPr: Captured private media; ISFM: Independent state-funded and state-managed media; ISF: Independent state-funded media; ISM: Independent state-managed media; IPM: Independent public media \*Including the Caribbean

Source: CMDS, 2021

## Global overview of state media by predominant typology as share (%) of total

Share (% of total number of outlets)

					,		
	SC	CPS	CPr	ISFM	ISF	ISM	IPM
Europe	20	8	18	23	7	13	11
Eurasia	80	5	10	5	0	0	0
Sub-Saharan Africa	88	8	1	3	0	0	0
MENA	63	13	11	8	1	4	0
Asia	74	10	6	4	0	2	4
Latin American*	72	2	2	11	11	2	0
NAAN**	0	0	0	30	40	10	20
Global share	64	8	8	10	3	4	3

SC: State-controlled media; CPS: Captured public/state-managed media; CPr: Captured private media; ISFM: Independent state-funded and state-managed media; ISF: Independent state-funded media; ISM: Independent state-managed media; IPM: Independent public media \*Including the Caribbean

Source: CMDS, 2021

<sup>\*\*</sup>North America, Australia & New Zealand

<sup>\*\*</sup>North America, Australia & New Zealand

# Regional Trends

#### **Europe**

Europe is characterized by a high incidence of independent state media, by far the highest in the world.

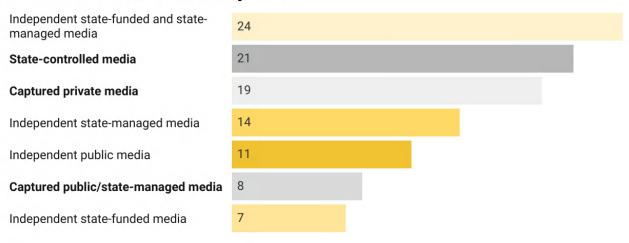
Combined, the four models of independent state media in our matrix (independent public media, independent state-managed, independent state-funded and independent state-funded and state-managed media) account for some 54% of all state media in Europe.



Of all, the independent state-funded and state-managed media model is the most spread in Europe. The European continent is also home to the most developed public media systems in the world, with 11 independent public media corporations.

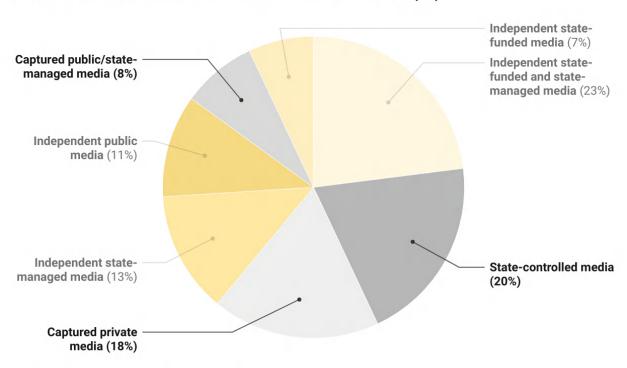
#### Overview of State Media in Europe

#### **Number of Media Companies**



Source: Marius Dragomir, 2021 • Created with Datawrapper

#### **Share of Total Number of Media Outlets (%)**



Source: Marius Dragomir 2021  $\cdot$  Created with Datawrapper

What is striking about Europe is a still-wide gap between west and east. More than 40% of the independent state media in Europe and seven out of the 11 independent public media outlets are based in Western and Northern Europe (for more about the regional classification, see *Annex. Global list of state media*). Nonetheless, even the independent state media in the west are facing risks. In Denmark, political parties, especially those on the right, have been attempting to trim the budget of the public broadcaster DR, raising fears of political control. In Austria, although the law prevents politicians from becoming members of the Foundation Council, the highest governance body at the Austrian public broadcaster ORF, the station has come under increased political attacks in recent years [4] as right-wing parties in particular, critical of the ORF, have repeatedly called for the license fee to be abolished, a move that is expected to end the station's independence.

In spite of such attacks, however, the state media in Western and Northern Europe continue to command high levels of trust and produce high-quality programming, often protecting their independence thanks to a vibrant civil society that reacts against attempts by politicians and state authorities to control the media.

In contrast, the state media in Central and Eastern Europe and Turkey continue to act mostly as government mouthpieces, accounting for more than 85% of all state-controlled and state-captured media in Europe. That is the result of more than three decades of repeated failures to reform the state media in the region after the collapse of communism in 1990. Less than a quarter of the 54 state media in the region are independent. They include news agencies such as BTA in Bulgaria, CTK in Czechia and STA in Slovenia. Only two countries feature the independent public media model, namely Czechia (Czech Radio and Czech Television) and Lithuania (LRT).

A very concerning trend in the region is the rise of the private capture model where state authorities and political parties in power gain control over the editorial agenda of numerous privately owned media outlets. Not only that all 19 media groups fitting this model are based in four countries in this region, namely in Hungary, Poland, Serbia and Turkey, but some of these groups are media conglomerates consisting of large portfolios of media outlets (including broadcast and print media and internet portals), which have an enormous market power. For example, KESMA in Hungary runs around 500 media outlets

<sup>[4]</sup> Media Landscapes: Austria, available at <a href="https://medialandscapes.org/country/austria/policies/media-legislation">https://medialandscapes.org/country/austria/policies/media-legislation</a> (accessed on 7 September 2021).

in all segments. Common for these four countries is also the control over the national public media, MTVA in Hungary, TVP and Polskie Radio in Poland, RTS and RTV in Serbia, and TRT in Turkey.

But in spite of the dire situation of the state media in Central and Eastern Europe and Turkey region, there is still room for worse. Since 2019, for example, the public broadcast group RTVSLO and the news agency STA in Slovenia have been under attack as right-wing parties have tried to erode their financial stability.

Finally, the Southern Europe region does not do much better than the Eastern Bloc. With the exception of a few of independent news agencies (in Cyprus, Greece and Portugal), a sole outlet fitting the independent public media model (RTP in Portugal) and the network of regional television channels in Spain that retain their editorial independence (in spite of a raft of other problems), the state maintains its control over the state media in all these countries (CyBC and BRTK in Cyprus, ERT in Greece, RAI in Italy, PBS in Malta and RTVE in Spain).

# Regional Trends

#### **Eurasia**

In the Eurasian region, consisting of former Soviet Union countries, the political and historical ties between these nations are also visible in the similarities of their media landscapes, characterized by a prominent role of state in media.

The state media operations in these countries, many of which are traditional media such as television and radio, are numerous and reach a large audience.



Their popularity makes them attractive for governments, which use them as tools to propagate their agenda.

Some 95% of the 59 state media in the region are editorially controlled by the government, an extremely high rate by any standard. Of those media, 80% fall into the state-controlled media model, and the rest are captured media models such as Channel One, Gazprom Media and National Media Group in Russia, funded predominantly by ad revenue and fitting the captured public/state-managed model, or a slew of media outlets from Azerbaijan including Azad Azerbaijan, Lider TV or ARB Media Group, which fall in the captured private media category.

Each of the 59 state media companies covered by the study in Eurasia runs a variety of news outlets, including newspapers, television and radio stations, and

portals, an indication of the sheer scale of the government's presence in the region's media. Moreover, the influence of the government media has been spreading beyond the region primarily thanks to Russia, which has developed over the past decade not only a powerful domestically-oriented state-controlled media system, but also a sophisticated propaganda machinery catering to foreign audiences.

In Russia, the state controls 13 media companies, most of them mouthpieces for Kremlin, which influence other countries in the region due to their popular rebroadcasting, for example Mir in Belarus and Kazakhstan, and Channel One in Moldova. In addition to that, the influence of Russian media has recently extended to Western countries where they function merely as tools to spread pro-Russian propaganda, disinformation, and anti-Western narratives[5]. This has prompted some countries to take action against Russian media. For example, Lithuania banned the broadcasting of the All-Russia State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company (VGTRK).[6]

In recent years, however, identifying Russian influence in the foreign media has become increasingly difficult as the Russian government has been assiduously building a growing network of foreign-oriented media operations, of which the government remains secretive. Many online portals are hard to track and document, making it difficult for journalists and experts to detect state control. As a result, the number of media outlets that operate outside the Russian borders, affiliated in one way or another with the Russian government, is believed to be much higher than what has been documented so far.

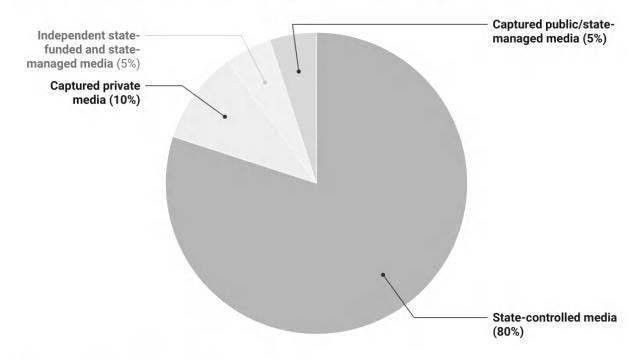
#### **Overview of State Media in Eurasia**

#### **Number of Media Companies**

State-controlled media	47	
Captured private media	6	
Captured public/state-managed media	3	
Independent state-funded and state- managed media	3	

Source: Marius Dragomir, 2021 • Created with Datawrapper

#### **Share of Total Number of Media Outlets (%)**



Source: Marius Dragomir 2021 • Created with Datawrapper

All of the countries in our Eurasia sample have very little, if any, safeguards to enforce editorial independence. Countries in the region, including Azerbaijan, Belarus, Russia, and all Central Asian nations covered by this study, have some of the most restrictive and dangerous media environments in the world. Media workers are facing harsh government control, risking fines and threats on a regular basis if they don't toe the line.[7]

Most state media are run by those in power, governed directly by the state or by state-run institutions. The rest are owned by powerful businessmen and oligarchs who usually have ties with the ruling politicians. For example, Novyny Holding, which is an example of the captured private model (without state-management) is owned by a businessman who is reportedly close to President Vladimir Putin.[8] All other captured private media in the region operate out of Azerbaijan and are owned by the family or close allies of the country's president.

The few examples of editorially independent state media in the region are the Public Radio of Armenia, which, following the mass protests in the country in 2018, has managed to gain more independence, the National Public Broadcasting Company (UA:PBC) in Ukraine, which has experienced improved editorial independence after the adoption of the Law on Public Television and Radio in 2014, and Teleradio-Moldova, which enjoys protection through the Audiovisual Services Code as well as an Ombudsman supervising its editorial performance. To some extent, Teleradio-Moldova and UA:PBC have enjoyed more editorial independence in recent years, arguably because they have low audiences, which makes them less attractive for the government.

<sup>[7]</sup> Carl Schrek, "Russian TV Deserters Divulge Details On Kremlin's Ukraine 'Propaganda'," RFERL, 7 August 2015, available online at <a href="https://www.rferl.org/a/russian-television-whistleblowers-kremlin-propaganda/27178109.html">https://www.rferl.org/a/russian-television-whistleblowers-kremlin-propaganda/27178109.html</a> (accessed on 11 August 2021).

<sup>[8]</sup> Liubomyra Remazhevska and Maksym Savchuk, "The Sweetheart Oil Deal Funding Ukraine's Top Pro-Kremlin Politician," OCCRP, 25 March 2021, available online at <a href="https://www.occrp.org/en/investigations/the-sweetheart-oil-deal-funding-ukraines-top-pro-kremlin-politician">https://www.occrp.org/en/investigations/the-sweetheart-oil-deal-funding-ukraines-top-pro-kremlin-politician</a> (accessed on 11 August 2021).

# Regional Trends

#### **Sub-Saharan Africa**

Sub-Saharan Africa is overwhelmingly dominated by the state-controlled media model, with some 97% of 107 state media outlets in Sub-Saharan Africa (see Annex. Global list of state media) being state-controlled or captured public/state media, which is by far the highest incidence of state control in the world.

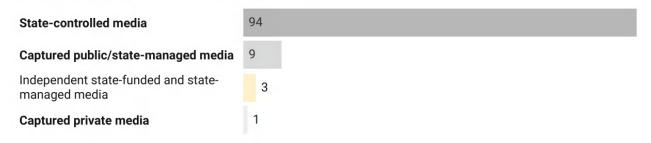
There are only three exceptions. One is Sidwaya, a media company run by



the government of Burkina Faso that consists of several print publications and the Burkina Agency of Information (AIB), the country's flagship news agency. Although it relies on funding from the government and is subordinated to the Ministry of Communication and Relations with Parliament, there are no formal editorial rules forcing the media outlets run by Sidwaya to grant favorable coverage to authorities. State authorities exert some influence in Sidwaya, yet we could not identify in the past seven years any instances of editorial control by the government. The other two exceptions are Société nouvelle de presse et d'édition de Côte d'Ivoire (SNPECI), a state-owned publishing house in Côte d'Ivoire whose main publication is Fraternité Matin, a widely read tabloid newspaper that enjoys editorial freedom in spite of frequent pressures from high officials, and Agence Ivoirienne de Presse (AIP), the official news agency in Cote d'Ivoire, headquartered in Abidjan, which is predominantly funded by the government and subordinated to the Ministry of Communications, yet remains editorially autonomous.

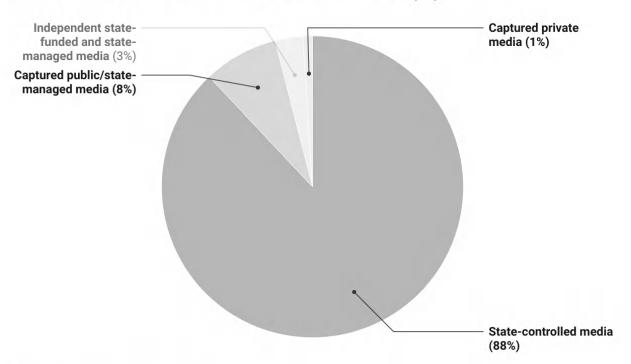
#### Overview of State Media in Sub-Saharan Africa

#### **Number of Media Companies**



Source: Marius Dragomir, 2021 • Created with Datawrapper

#### **Share of Total Number of Media Outlets (%)**



Source: Marius Dragomir 2021 • Created with Datawrapper

This considerable state control in the African media is the result of a long period of failed experiments aimed at building vibrant public service media across the continent, but also of the lack of financial sustainability on the African media markets, which forced many publishers to accept the state intervention to stay afloat.

Hendriek Bussiek, a media expert who authored a spate of reports on African broadcasting, wrote: "Government control over national broadcasters is evident. National broadcasters largely have their boards appointed by the government. They are owned, supervised and maintained by the government and often run as government departments, with employees having the status of civil servants.[9]

Africa also has one of the highest rates of state ownership in the print media. Nearly a fifth of all media players canvassed by our research are print media publishers in countries such as Burundi (Publications de Presse Burundaise, PPB), Mozambique (Sociedade de Notícias), Tanzania (Tanzania Standard Newspapers), Zanzibar (Zanzibar Newspaper Corporation, ZNC), Angola (Edições Novembro E.P.) or Namibia (New Era), among many others.

Finally, news agencies across most of Africa remain heavily state-controlled. A quarter of all state-controlled news media in Sub-Saharan Africa are government-controlled.

# Regional Trends

# Middle East and North Africa (MENA)

In the MENA area, consisting of 19 countries, most of the state media are editorially controlled by authorities: 65 of the total 75 state media outlets, or 87% of them.

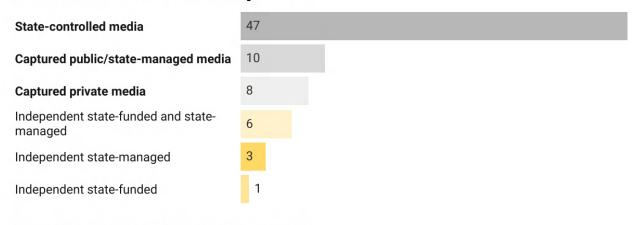
The few exceptions include Tunisia and Israel where the state media enjoy some more editorial freedom. In Tunisia, the revolution in 2010-2011 led to significant media reforms and considerably more editorial freedom



even for the state-owned Établissement de la télévision tunisienne (ETT), previously known as a tool of government propaganda. In Israel, the two state media companies, Israeli Public Broadcasting Corporation (IPBC) and Galatz, although under constant political pressures, are both independent, according to our matrix.

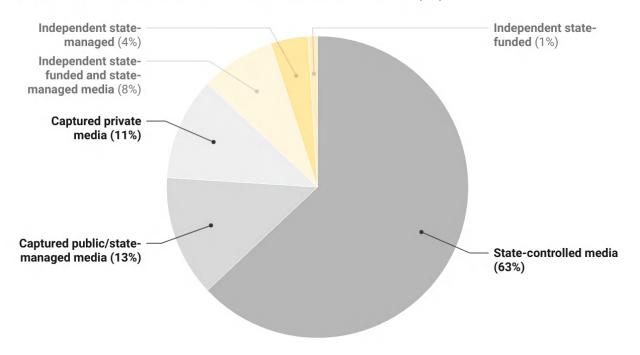
#### **Overview of State Media in MENA**

#### **Number of Media Companies**



Source: Marius Dragomir, 2021 • Created with Datawrapper

#### **Share of Total Number of Media Outlets (%)**



Source: Marius Dragomir 2021 • Created with Datawrapper

At the same time, the MENA region is still home to a few heavily state-controlled media systems, including Libya and Egypt in the Northern African region and Bahrain, Iraq, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Yemen and the Palestine Territories in the Middle East. In these countries, journalists are faced with numerous restrictions including laws that enable jailing critical journalists for spreading fake news, the most favorite pretext lately used by the governments in the region to lock up journalists. Even in those countries with more independent state media, the overall media landscape is becoming more and more polarized. For example, the political crisis triggered by the resignation of the Tunisian prime minister in July 2021 is likely to have a significant impact on the independence of the media.

One key factor that influences the media in the region is the lack of stability. Even if they manage to protect their independence for a while, media companies are constantly at risk of falling under government control. Particularly in the region's failed states (Yemen, Syria, Libya), state media are hardly able to operate independently. In these countries, it is even difficult to properly identify state media as numerous entities, including political factions and warlords, declare themselves to be the highest state authorities.

Finally, the MENA region has also seen the rapid growth of a cluster of pan-Arabic and global media players, many of which are funded or managed by governments. Most of them were founded in the region's wealthy emirates, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the UAE. At the same time, Egypt has been also investing in the satellite television sector in its ambition to influence the region. Although these media outlets often produce high-quality news reporting, they remain in majority under the control of the authorities that fund them, rarely, if at all, daring to criticize their country's leadership.

# Regional Trends

#### Asia

The government plays a disproportionately high role in the state media in Asia. Only 10% of a total of 127 state media institutions that were canvassed by our research in Asia enjoy editorial independence. In the case of the rest, the government exerts significant power, nearly three quarters of all the state media in Asia fitting the state-controlled media category in our matrix.



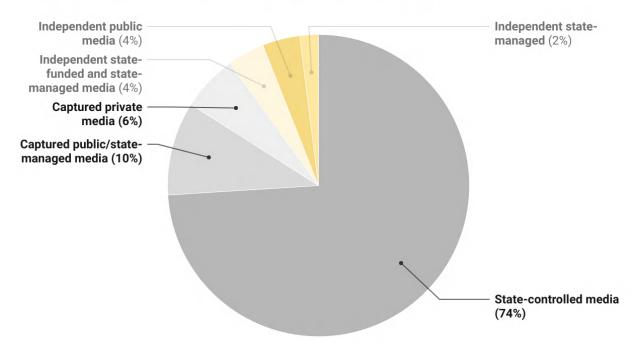
#### Overview of State Media in Asia

#### **Number of Media Companies**

State-controlled media	94
Captured public/state-managed media	<b>1</b> 2
Captured private media	8
ndependent state-funded and state- nanaged media	5
ndependent public media	5
ndependent state-managed media	3

Source: Marius Dragomir, 2021 • Created with Datawrapper

#### **Share of Total Number of Media Outlets (%)**



Source: Marius Dragomir 2021 • Created with Datawrapper

Asia features some of the closest and most controlled media systems in the world, with countries like China, North Korea, Laos, and Vietnam where the government controls almost all the media outlets in operation. At the same time, China has taken an outsized role in influencing the media narratives elsewhere in various ways.

On the one hand, a number of Chinese state-owned media outlets have been consistently boosting their content for foreign audiences in recent years, often drawing the ire of various western governments unhappy about the spread of Chinese propaganda on their own soil. The American government, for example, has taken action in recent years against these media outlets, labeling them as "foreign missions", which requires them to report their personnel and real estate properties to the State Department.[9]

On the other hand, China has increased efforts to extend its control over various media outlets run in foreign countries in an attempt to either reach out to the Chinese communities in the diaspora or influence the local narratives, or both. The Chinese New Zealand Herald and Phoenix TV network are such examples. At the same time, the decline of media freedom in Hong Kong is to a large extent the result of the aggressive Hong Kong strategy of the Chinese government aimed in recent years at controlling dissent by any means.

As in the case of Russia, the influence of the Chinese government in the media abroad is believed by experts to be much wider than the cases identified thus far. Through our research we have identified over 20 more media outlets in various countries where the Chinese government is believed to have editorial control. However, lacking sufficient evidence, we have not included these media outlets in this project's database. (See Methodology below)

On the more positive side, some isolated examples of independent state media have been identified across the continent, including Radio Television Afghanistan (RTA), Kuensel Corporation in Bhutan, Antara news agency in Indonesia and the Thai Public Broadcasting Service (whose independence goes through ups and downs depending on the level of pressure from authorities).

Finally, the two countries with by far the most independent state media in the region are South Korea and Taiwan, homes to a raft of broadcasters and news agencies that enjoy editorial freedom and less to no government interference.

[10] John Ruwitch, Michele Kelemen, "Trump Administration Labels 4 More Chinese News Outlets 'Foreign Missions'," NPR, 22 June 2020, available online at <a href="https://www.npr.org/2020/06/22/881755421/trump-administration-labels-4-more-chinese-news-outlets-foreign-missions">https://www.npr.org/2020/06/22/881755421/trump-administration-labels-4-more-chinese-news-outlets-foreign-missions</a> (accessed on 11 July 2021).

Japan and Macao used to be on that list, yet government pressures in recent years have had a negative impact on the editorial performance of the public media in these two countries.

# Regional Trends

#### Latin America and the Caribbean

The state control model is dominant across Latin America and the Caribbean, with almost three quarters of the 64 state media companies operating in the region falling in this category. The nations with the highest levels of state control in the region are Cuba, Venezuela and Nicaragua where the government exerts influence over most of the media outlets operating in the country.



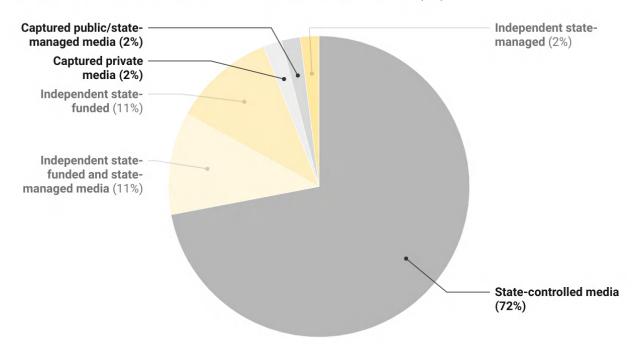
### **Overview of State Media in Latin America**

#### **Number of Media Companies**

Sta	te-controlled media	47
	ependent state-funded and state- naged media	7
Ind	ependent state-funded media	7
Cap	otured private media	1
Cap	otured public/state-managed media	1
Ind	ependent state-managed media	1

Source: Marius Dragomir, 2021 • Created with Datawrapper

### **Share of Total Number of Media Outlets (%)**



Source: Marius Dragomir 2021 • Created with Datawrapper

Compared to other parts of the world, the Latin America and the Caribbean region has more independent state media entities, including PBC Jamaica, Canal Once, IMER and Canal 22 in Mexico, SINART in Costa Rica, RTA in Argentina and Televisión y Radio de la Universidad Nacional de Colombia.

Specific for Latin America is the presence of a university media sector (consisting of broadcasters financed from the state budget but run independently by universities such as UCR in Costa Rica, Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala, UTV in Honduras and TV Radio Unam in Mexico), and of an indigenous population-focused media sector (where some of the outlets are financed by the state such as Canal 5 TV Maya in Guatemala, Sistema de Radiodifusoras Culturales Indígenas (SRCI) in Mexico and Sistema Nacional de Radios de los Pueblos Originarios in Bolivia).

# State Media: Where To Next?

The state media in the world is far from being healthy. The number of independent state media continued to shrink in the past decade as reforms to transform these media into independent public media organizations have mostly failed all over the globe. At the same time, in their attempts to keep up with the latest trends in the media field, governments stepped up efforts to build stronger and more influential media organizations whose main purpose is to promote and propagate their views, interests and policies.

Although that has led to a massive growth of the state media as a sector, it did not lead to more independence, improved quality of reporting or diversity of content. On the contrary, it further spurred political polarization and encroached upon the quality of news reporting.

As governments across the world are now engaged in a harsh information war following an extremely turbulent period characterized by a series of profound economic and health crises as well as a steep decline of democracy, the future of state media looks bleaker than ever. Only in a couple of months in 2021, a round of political developments such as the resignation of the Tunisian government and the power takeover by the Taliban in Afghanistan are expected to have a negative impact on the independence of the state media in these countries.

At the same time, the continuous transformation of the media and communication sphere triggered by the rapid tech advancement, which influences how people consume and engage with the media, is forcing independent state media, especially public service broadcasters, to adjust to the new realities. In many cases, these changes, such as the adoption of new funding models or governing structures, are likely to fundamentally alter the very concept of public service media as it was understood in the broadcast era of the last century. The impact of these transformations on the editorial independence of the public media organizations will decisively shape their future.

This being said, it is precisely these threats to the independence of state media and the shambolic state in which so many state media in the world are that should prompt experts, journalists, civil society and progressive political forces to renew efforts aimed at rebuilding the public service media into resilient organizations able to protect themselves from government pressures.

Without such a concerted effort, the imbalance between a small group of developed countries whose audiences have access to a rich, fact-based news and information diet and high-quality content, and a vast array of nations whose people are fed with propagandistic information is going to irremediably amplify.

# Methodology

The methodological foundation for this study is the State Media Database that was created by Marius Dragomir in 2004 and updated as follows:

- a). Global update (2006, 2010, 2013, 2020-2021);
- b). Latin America (2006, 2012);
- c). European countries, North America, Australia and New Zealand (2005, 2009, 2012, 2013, 2015, 2017, 2020);
- d). Sub-Saharan Africa (2014);
- e). Asia (various regions including parts of Eurasia) in 2005, 2008, 2012, 2015, 2019;
- f). MENA (2015, 2019).

The key criteria used in the creation and structure of the State Media Database are threefold: a). funding; b). management and governance; c). editorial control.

The methods used to categorize the state media are the following:

#### Step 1: Collection of data on

# a). Funding: the budget of state media and the source of funding Sources:

Tier 1 sources: annual reports of state media, legal acts that establish the funding model of state media

Tier 2 sources: media articles, NGO reports, academic reports

Tier 3 sources: interviews with media experts or sources in the media outlet, information from investigative reports

#### b). Management and governance

Sources:

Tier 1 sources: annual reports of state media, legal acts that establish the governance model of state media

Tier 2 sources: media articles, NGO reports, academic reports

Tier 3 sources: interviews with media experts or sources in the media outlet, information from investigative reports

#### c). Editorial control

Sources:

Tier 1 sources: legal acts or statutes that establish the mission of the outlet as a state propaganda unit, public statements by government officials establishing the propaganda role of the outlet

Tier 2 sources: media articles, NGO reports, academic reports Tier 3 sources: interviews with media experts or sources in the media outlet, information from investigative reports, content analysis (in specific geographical contexts)

#### Step 2: Data analysis

Using the data gathered in each country and the criteria described in this paper, the media outlets have been categorized according to the models in the State Media Matrix.

#### **Research limitations**

This paper is based on our latest collection of data between March 2020 and June 2021. It has used to a large extent the information gathered in the Media Influence Matrix project that has been run by the Center for Media, Data & Society (CMDS) since 2017, but also data collected through a network of 41 partners organizations and local experts.

The media is a very dynamic field, hence some media outlets can rapidly "upgrade" or "downgrade" to another State Media Matrix model, changes that cannot be captured in a paper of this kind. There is a chance that, at the time of publication, some media outlets qualify for another State Media Matrix model because of changes in their status or political developments at national level that happened between the time of data collection and the drafting of the paper. Yet, the overall trends captured in this paper are not significantly affected by such incongruities.

# Annex.

# A Global List of State Media

# **Western and Northern Europe (1/2)**

Country	Media company	Typology
Austria	Österreichischer Rundfunk (ORF)	Independent public media
• Belgium	Belgischer Rundfunk (BRF)	Independent state- funded and state- managed media
	Radio-télévision belge de la Communauté française (RTBF)	Independent state- funded and state- managed media
	Vlaamse Radio- en Televisieomroeporganisatie (VRT)	Independent state- funded and state- managed media
<b>Denmark</b>	Danish Broadcasting Corporation (DR)	Independent state- managed media
	TV2	Independent state- managed media
<b>←</b> Finland	Yleisradio Oy (YLE)	Independent state- managed media
() France	ARTE	Independent state- managed media
	France Médias Monde	Independent state- managed media
	France Télévisions	Independent state- managed media
	Radio France	Independent state- managed media
	TV5 Monde	Independent state- funded and state- managed media

# **Western and Northern Europe (2/2)**

Country	Media company	Typology
Germany	ARD	Independent public media
	Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen (ZDF)	Independent public media
() Ireland	Raidió Teilifís Éireann (RTE)	Independent state- managed media
Netherlands	Nederlandse Publieke Omroep (NPO)	Independent state-funded media
	RNW Media	Independent state-funded media
** Norway	Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation (NRK)	Independent state- managed media
Sweden	Sveriges Radio	Independent public media
	Sveriges Television (SVT)	Independent public media
• Switzerland	Swiss Broadcasting Corporation (SRG SSR)	Independent public media
United Kingdom	British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)	Independent public media
	Channel 4	Independent state- managed media

# **Southern Europe (1/3)**

Country	Media company	Typology
Cyprus	Bayrak Radio and Television Corporation (BRTK)	State-controlled media
	Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation (CyBC)	State-controlled media
	Cyprus News Agency (CNA)	Independent state-funded media
	TAK-Cyprus	State-controlled media
Greece	Athens-Macedonian News Agency (AMNA)	Independent state-funded media
	Hellenic Broadcasting Corporation (ERT)	Captured public/state- managed media
() Italy	Radiotelevisione italiana (RAI)	Captured public/state- managed media
* Malta	Public Broadcasting Services (PBS)	State-controlled media
Portugal	Lusa News Agency	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	Rádio e Televisão de Portugal (RTP)	Independent public media
Spain	Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals (CCMA)	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	Corporació Valenciana de Mitjans de Comunicació (CVMC)	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	Corporación Aragonesa de Radio y Televisión (CARTV)	Independent state-funded and state-managed media

# **Southern Europe (2/3)**

Country	Media company	Typology
Spain (cont.)	Corporación de Radio Televisión de Galicia (CRTVG)	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	Corporación de Radio y Televisión Española (RTVE)	State-controlled media
	Corporación Extremeña de Medios Audiovisuales (CEXMA)	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	EFE	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	Ens Públic de Radiotelevisió de les Illes Balears (EPRTVIB)	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	Euskal Irrati Telebista (EiTB)	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	Radio Televisión Canaria (RTVC)	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	Radio Televisión Ceuta (RTVCE)	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	Radio Televisión Madrid (RTVM)	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	Radio y Televisión de Andalucía (RTVA)	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	Radiotelevisión de Castilla–La Mancha (RTVCM)	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	Radiotelevisión de la Región de Murcia (RTRM)	Independent state-funded and state-managed media

# **Southern Europe (3/3)**

Country	Media company	Typology
Spain (cont.)	Radiotelevisión del Principado de Asturias (RTPA)	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	Televisión Melilla	Independent state-funded and state-managed media

# **Central, Eastern Europe & Turkey (1/4)**

Country	Media company	Typology
<ul><li>Albania</li></ul>	Albanian Telegraphic Agency (ATA)	State-controlled media
	Radio Televizioni Shqiptar (RTSH)	Independent state- managed media
Bosnia and Herzegovina	FENA	State-controlled media
	PSB System of BiH	State-controlled media
Bulgaria	Bulgarian National Radio (BNR)	State-controlled media
	Bulgarian National Television (BNT)	State-controlled media
	Bulgarian News Agency (BTA)	Independent state- funded and state- managed media
© Croatia	HINA	State-controlled media
	Hrvatska radiotelevizija (HRT)	Captured public/state- managed media
► Czechia	Czech News Agency (CTK)	Independent state- managed media
	Czech Radio	Independent public media
	Czech Television	Independent public media
Estonia	Eesti Rahvusringhääling (ERR)	Independent state- funded media

# Central, Eastern Europe & Turkey (2/4)

Country	Media company	Typology
Hungary	About Hungary	State-controlled media
	Central European Press and Media Foundation (KESMA)	Captured private media
	Demokrata	Captured private media
	Index	Captured private media
	Magyar Hirlap	Captured private media
	Media Services and Support Trust Fund (MTVA)	State-controlled media
	TV2	Captured private media
<b></b> Latvia	Latvijas Radio (LR)	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	Latvijas Televīzija (LTV)	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
<ul><li>Lithuania</li></ul>	Lithuanian National Radio and Television (LRT)	Independent public media
Montenegro	Radio and Television of Montenegro (RTCG)	State-controlled media
Poland	Belsat	Independent state-funded media
	Gazeta Polska	Captured private media
	Polish Press Agency (PAP)	Captured public/state- managed media

# Central, Eastern Europe & Turkey (3/4)

Country	Media company	Typology
Poland (cont.)	Polskie Radio	State-controlled media
	Sieci	Captured private media
	Telewizja Polska (TVP)	State-controlled media
Romania	Agerpres	State-controlled media
	Romanian Radio Broadcasting Company (SRR)	State-controlled media
	Romanian Television	State-controlled media
Serbia	Kopernikus Corporation	Captured private media
	Kurir	Captured private media
	Politika	Captured public/state- managed media
	Radio Television of Serbia (RTS)	Captured public/state- managed media
	Radio Television of Vojvodina (RTV)	Captured public/state- managed media
	Tanjug	Captured private media
	Vecernje Novosti	Captured private media
Slovakia	Radio and Television of Slovakia (RTVS)	Captured public/state- managed media
	TASR	Independent state-managed media

# Central, Eastern Europe & Turkey (4/4)

Country	Media company	Typology
Slovenia	Radiotelevizija Slovenija (RTVSLO)	Independent state-managed media
	Slovenian News Agency (STA)	Independent state-funded media
C Turkey	Albayrak Media	Captured private media
	Anadolu Agency	State-controlled media
	Ciner Yayın Holding	Captured private media
	Demiroren Group	Captured private media
	Dogus Holding	Captured private media
	Hayat Gorsel	Captured private media
	Ihlas Media Holding	Captured private media
	Turk Media	Captured private media
	Türkiye Radyo ve Televizyon Kurumu (TRT)	State-controlled media
	Turkuvaz Media Group	Captured private media

#### Russia

Country	Media company	Typology
Russia	All-Russia State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company (VGTRK)	State-controlled media
	Channel One Russia	Captured public/state- managed media
	Gazprom Media	Captured public/state- managed media
	Maffick Media	State-controlled media
	Mir	State-controlled media
	National Media Group (NMG)	Captured public/state- managed media
	Novyny Holding	Captured private media
	Public Television of Russia (OTR)	State-controlled media
	Rossiya Segodnya	State-controlled media
	Rossiyskaya Gazeta	State-controlled media
	RT	State-controlled media
	TASS	State-controlled media
	Zvezda	State-controlled media

# Central Asia (1/2)

Country	Media company	Typology
Kazakhstan	Eurasia	State-controlled media
	Former President media	State-controlled media
	Government press	State-controlled media
	Kazinform	State-controlled media
	Khabar Agency	State-controlled media
	Municipality media	State-controlled media
	Qazaqstan Radio and Television Corporation (RTRK)	State-controlled media
Tajikistan	Government press	State-controlled media
	Khovar	State-controlled media
	Tajik Radio	State-controlled media
	Televizioni Tojikiston	State-controlled media
Turkmenistan	State Publishing Office	State-controlled media
	Turkmen Radio	State-controlled media
	Turkmen TV	State-controlled media
	Turkmenistan State News Agency (TDH)	State-controlled media

# Central Asia (2/2)

Country	Media company	Typology
Uzbekistan	Government press	State-controlled media
	National Television and Radio Company of Uzbekistan	State-controlled media
	Uzbekistan National News Agency (UzA)	State-controlled media

#### **Caucasus**

Country	Media company	Typology
Armenia	Armenpress	State-controlled media
	Public Radio of Armenia	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	Public Television of Armenia	State-controlled media
Azerbaijan	ARB Media Group	Captured private media
	Azad Azerbaijan (ATV)	Captured private media
	Azerbaijan Television and Radio Broadcasting	State-controlled media
	Azertac	State-controlled media
	Lider TV and Radio Azerbaijan	Captured private media
	Public Television and Radio Broadcasting Company	State-controlled media
	Real TV	Captured private media
	SOCAR Media	State-controlled media
	Space Independent TV and Radio Company	Captured private media
	State press	State-controlled media
	Yeni Azerbaijan	State-controlled media
# Georgia	Adjara TV and Radio Company	State-controlled media
	Georgian Public Broadcasting (GPB)	State-controlled media

### **Far East Europe**

Country	Media company	Typology
Belarus	Belarus Segodnya	State-controlled media
	BelTA	State-controlled media
	National State Television and Radio Company of Belarus	State-controlled media
	National TV	State-controlled media
	Stolichnoye Televideniye (STV)	State-controlled media
	Zvyazda	State-controlled media
Moldova	Gagauzia Radio Televizionu (GRT)	State-controlled media
	Moldpres	State-controlled media
	Teleradio-Moldova (TRM)	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
Ukraine	Government media	State-controlled media
	National Public Broadcasting Company of Ukraine (UA:PBC)	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	Ukrinform	State-controlled media

# Eastern Africa (1/4)

Country	Media company	Typology
Burundi	Burundi Press Agency (ABP)	State-controlled media
	Publications de Presse Burundaise (PPB)	State-controlled media
	Radio-Télévision Nationale du Burundi (RTNB)	State-controlled media
Djibouti	Agence Djiboutienne d'Information	State-controlled media
	Al-Qarn	State-controlled media
	La Nation	State-controlled media
	Radiodiffusion Télévision de Djibouti (RTD)	State-controlled media
Eritrea	Dimtsi Hafash Eritrea	State-controlled media
	Eri TV	State-controlled media
	Eritrean News Agency (Erina)	State-controlled media
	Government Press	State-controlled media
	Radio Bana	State-controlled media
	Radio Zara	State-controlled media
	Shabait	State-controlled media
	Tesfa News	State-controlled media

#### Eastern Africa (2/4)

Country	Media company	Typology
Ethiopia	Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC)	State-controlled media
	Ethiopian News Agency (ENA)	State-controlled media
	Ethiopian regional television	State-controlled media
	Walta Media and Communication Corporate	Captured private media
Kenya	Kenya Broadcasting Corporatoon (KBC)	State-controlled media
	Kenya News Agency	State-controlled media
Madagascar	Office de la radio et de la télévision de Malagasy (ORTM)	Captured public/state- managed media
Mozambique	Rádio Moçambique	State-controlled media
	Sociedade de Notícias	Captured public/state- managed media
	Televisão de Moçambique (TVM)	State-controlled media
Rwanda	Rwandan Broadcasting Agency (RBA)	State-controlled media
Somalia	Dalka	State-controlled media
	Radio Hargeysa	State-controlled media
	Radio Mogadishu	State-controlled media
	Somali National Television (SNTV)	State-controlled media
	Somaliland National Television (SLNTV)	State-controlled media

### Eastern Africa (3/4)

Country	Media company	Typology
South Sudan	South Sudan Broadcasting Corporation (SSBC)	State-controlled media
Sudan	Sudan News Agency (SUNA)	State-controlled media
	Sudan Radio	State-controlled media
	Sudan TV	State-controlled media
Tanzania	Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation (TBC)	State-controlled media
	Tanzania Standard Newspapers	State-controlled media
	Zanzibar Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC)	State-controlled media
	Zanzibar Newspaper Corporation (ZNC)	State-controlled media
• Uganda	The New Vision Printing & Publishing Company	Captured public/state- managed media
	Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC)	State-controlled media
Zambia	Industrial Development Corporation (IDC)	Captured public/state- managed media
	Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC)	State-controlled media
	Zambia News and Information Services (ZANIS)	State-controlled media

### Eastern Africa (4/4)

Country	Media company	Typology
Zimbabwe	New Ziana	State-controlled media
	Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC)	State-controlled media
	Zimpapers	Captured public/state- managed media

### Middle Africa (1/2)

Country	Media company	Typology
Angola	Angola Press Agency (ANGOP)	State-controlled media
	Edições Novembro E.P.	State-controlled media
	Medianova	Captured public/state- managed media
	Rádio Nacional de Angola	State-controlled media
	Televisão Pública de Angola (TPA)	State-controlled media
Cameroon	Cameroon Radio Television (CRTV)	State-controlled media
	SOPECAM	State-controlled media
Central African Republic	Agence Centrafricaine de Presse (ACAP)	State-controlled media
	Radio Centrafrique	State-controlled media
	Télévision Centrafricaine	State-controlled media
• Chad	Chad Press and Publishing Agency (ATPE)	State-controlled media
	National Office for Audiovisual Media (ONAMA)	State-controlled media
✓ Congo	Radiodiffusion Nationale Congolaise	State-controlled media

### Middle Africa (2/2)

Country	Media company	Typology
DR Congo	Agence congolaise de presse (ACP)	State-controlled media
	Radio Télévision National Congolaise (RTNC)	State-controlled media
Gabon	Agence Gabonaise de Presse (AGP)	State-controlled media
	Radio Television Gabonaise (RTG)	State-controlled media

#### **Southern Africa**

Country	Media company	Typology
Botswana	Department of Broadcasting	State-controlled media
	Department of Information	State-controlled media
<b>⊉</b> Lesotho	Lesotho National Broadcasting Services (LNBS)	State-controlled media
	Lesotho News Agency (LENA)	State-controlled media
Namibia	Namibia Press Agency (NAMPA)	State-controlled media
	Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC)	State-controlled media
	New Era	State-controlled media
South Africa	Government Communication and Information System (GIS)	State-controlled media
	South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC)	State-controlled media

# Western Africa (1/3)

Country	Media company	Typology
■ Benin	Agence Bénin Presse (ABP)	State-controlled media
	Office de Radiodiffusion et Télévision du Bénin (ORTB)	State-controlled media
	Office national d'imprimerie et de presse	State-controlled media
Burkina Faso	Radio Télévision du Burkina	State-controlled media
	Sidwaya	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
Côte d'Ivoire	Agence Ivoirienne de Presse (AIP)	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	Radiodiffusion Television Ivoirienne	State-controlled media
	SNPECI	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
3 Ghana	Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC)	State-controlled media
	Ghana News Agency (GNA)	State-controlled media
	Graphic Communications Group Limited (GCGL)	Captured public/state- managed media
	News Times Corporation (NTC)	Captured public/state- managed media
<b>⊕</b> Liberia	Liberia Broadcasting System (LBS)	State-controlled media
	Liberia News Agency (LINA)	State-controlled media

# Western Africa (2/3)

Country	Media company	Typology
Mauritania	Mauritanian News Agency (AMI)	State-controlled media
	Radio Mauritanie	State-controlled media
	TV de Mauritanie	State-controlled media
<b>♣</b> Niger	Agence Nigerienne de Presse (ANP)	State-controlled media
	Office de radiodiffusion et Télévision du Niger (ORTN)	State-controlled media
	Office national d'edition et de presse (ONEP)	State-controlled media
() Nigeria	Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN)	State-controlled media
	News Agency of Nigeria (NAN)	State-controlled media
	Nigerian Television Authority (NTA)	State-controlled media
	State-Level Media	State-controlled media
	Voice of Nigeria (VON)	State-controlled media
Senegal	Agence de Presse Sénégalaise (APS)	State-controlled media
	Radiodiffusion Télévision Sénégalaise (RTS)	State-controlled media
	Société Sénégalaise de Presse et de Publications (SSPP)	Captured public/state- managed media
The Gambia	Gambia Radio & Television Service (GRTS)	State-controlled media

# Western Africa (3/3)

Country	Media company	Typology
Togo	Agence Togolaise de Presse (ATOP)	State-controlled media
	Radio Kara	State-controlled media
	Radiodiffusion de Lome	State-controlled media
	Télévision Togolaise (TVT)	State-controlled media
	Togo-Presse	State-controlled media

# Middle East (1/5)

Country	Media company	Typology
Bahrain	Bahrain News Agency	State-controlled media
	Bahrain Radio and Television Corporation (BRTC)	State-controlled media
<b>□</b> Iran	Fars News Agency	State-controlled media
	Iranian Students News Agency (ISNA)	Independent state-funded media
	Islamic Republic News Agency (IRNA)	State-controlled media
	Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting (IRIB)	State-controlled media
	Keyhan Institute	State-controlled media
	Media captured by businesses related to the state	Captured private media
	The Islamic Ideology Dissemination Organization (IIDO)	State-controlled media
<b>₽</b> Iraq	Iraqi Media Network	State-controlled media
	Galatz	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	Israeli Public Broadcasting Corporation (IPBC)	Independent state-funded and state-managed media

# Middle East (2/5)

Country	Media company	Typology
Jordan	Al-Mamlaka	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	Jordan News Agency (PETRA)	State-controlled media
	Jordan Press & Publishing Company	Captured private media
	Jordan Press Foundation	Captured public/state- managed media
	Jordan Radio and Television Corporation (JRTV)	State-controlled media
	Radio Fann	State-controlled media
Kuwait	Kuwait News Agency (KUNA)	State-controlled media
	Kuwait Radio	State-controlled media
	Kuwait Television	State-controlled media
Lebanon	National News Agency (NNA)	State-controlled media
	Radio Liban	State-controlled media
	Télé Liban	State-controlled media
<b>७</b> Oman	Oman Establishment for Press, Publication and Advertising (OEPPA)	State-controlled media
	Oman News Agency (ONA)	State-controlled media
	Public Authority for Radio and TV of Oman	State-controlled media

# Middle East (3/5)

Country	Media company	Typology
Palestine territories	Al-Aqsa Media Network	State-controlled media
	Al-Hayat Al-Jadida	State-controlled media
	Felestin	State-controlled media
	Palestine News & Info Agency (WAFA)	State-controlled media
	Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation	State-controlled media
Qatar	Al Jazeera Media Network (AJMN)	State-controlled media
	Dar Al Sharq	Captured private media
	Dar Al-Watan Printing, Publishing and Distribution Company	Captured private media
	Gulf Publishing and Printing Company	Captured private media
	Qatar Media Corporation (QMC)	State-controlled media
	Qatar News Agency (QNA)	State-controlled media
Saudi Arabia	Middle East Broadcasting Center (MBC)	Captured public/state- managed media
	Saudi Broadcasting Authority (SBA)	State-controlled media
	Saudi Press Agency (SPA)	State-controlled media

# Middle East (4/5)

Country	Media company	Typology
Saudi Arabia (cont.)	Saudi Research and Marketing Group (SRMG)	Captured public/state- managed media
Syria	Al-Wehda Foundation for Press, Printing, Publishing and Distribution	State-controlled media
	General Organization of Radio and TV - Syria (ORTAS)	State-controlled media
	Syrian Arab News Agency (SANA)	State-controlled media
	Syrian Arab Publishing and Distributing Company	Captured private media
<b>C</b> UAE	Abu Dhabi Media (ADM)	Captured public/state- managed media
	Arab Media Group (AMG)	Captured public/state- managed media
	Dubai Media Incorporated (DMI)	Captured public/state- managed media
	Emirates News Agency (WAM)	State-controlled media
	International Media Investments (IMI)	Captured public/state- managed media
	Sharjah Broadcasting Authority (SBA)	Captured public/state- managed media
	Sky News Arabia	Independent state-managed media

# Middle East (5/5)

Country	Media company	Typology
Yemen	Yemen General Corporation for Radio and TV	State-controlled media
	Yemen News Agency (SABA)	State-controlled media
	Yemen TV	State-controlled media

### **State Media in MENA**

### Northern Africa (1/2)

Country	Media company	Typology
• Algeria	Algérie Presse Service (APS)	State-controlled media
	Établissement public de radiodiffusion sonore (EPRS)	State-controlled media
	Établissement public de télévision (EPTV)	State-controlled media
	Government press	Captured public/state- managed media
Egypt	Egyptian Media Group (EMG)	State-controlled media
	National Media Authority (NMA)	State-controlled media
	National Press Authority (NPA)	State-controlled media
C Libya	Al Rasmiyah	State-controlled media
	Libyan News Agency (WAL)	State-controlled media
Morocco	Agence Maghreb Arabe Presse (MAP)	State-controlled media
	Maroc Soir Group	Captured private media
	Media owned by royal family	Captured private media
	Société nationale de radiodiffusion et de télévision (SNRT)	State-controlled media
	SOREAD	Captured public/state- managed media

### **State Media in MENA**

#### Northern Africa (2/2)

Country	Media company	Typology
Tunisia	Confiscated media outlets	Independent state-managed media
	Établissement de la radio tunisienne	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	Établissement de la télévision tunisienne	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	Société nouvelle d'impression, de presse et d'édition (SNIPE)	Independent state-managed media
	Tunis Afrique Presse (TAP)	Independent state-funded and state-managed media

### Southern Asia (1/2)

Country	Media company	Typology
Afghanistan	Bakhtar News Agency	State-controlled media
	Department of State Newspapers	State-controlled media
	Radio Television Afghanistan (RTA)	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
Bangladesh	Bangladesh Betar (BB)	State-controlled media
	Bangladesh Sangbad Sangstha (BSS)	State-controlled media
	Bangladesh Television (BTV)	State-controlled media
	Bhutan Broadcasting Service (BBS)	State-controlled media
	Kuensel Corporation	Independent state- managed media
India	Prasar Bharati	State-controlled media
<b>♦</b> Nepal	Gorkhapatra Sansthan	State-controlled media
	Nepal Television Corporation	State-controlled media
	Radio Nepal	State-controlled media
© Pakistan	Associated Press of Pakistan (APP)	State-controlled media
	Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation (PBC)	State-controlled media
	Pakistan Television Corporation (PTV)	Captured public/state- managed media

### Southern Asia (2/2)

Country	Media company	Typology
Sri Lanka	Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Limited	Captured public/state- managed media
	Independent Television Network (ITN)	Captured public/state- managed media
	Lankapuvath	State-controlled media
	Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation (SLBC)	Captured public/state- managed media
	Sri Lanka Rupavahini Corporation (SLRC)	Captured public/state- managed media

### Southeast Asia (1/4)

Country	Media company	Typology
Brunei	Brunei Press Sdn. Bhd.	State-controlled media
	Pelita Brunei	State-controlled media
	Radio Television Brunei (RTB)	State-controlled media
Cambodia	Agence Kampuchea Presse (AKP)	State-controlled media
	Bayon Television	Captured private media
	Cambodian Broadcasting Service (CBS)	Captured private media
	Fresh News	Captured private media
	Kampuchea Thmey Daily	Captured private media
	Khmer Times	Captured private media
	National Television of Kampuchea	State-controlled media
	Nice TV	State-controlled media
	Phnom Penh Post	Captured private media
	Rasmei Kampuchea Daily	Captured private media
Indonesia	Antara	Independent state- managed media
	Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI)	State-controlled media
	Television of the Republic of Indonesia (TVRI)	State-controlled media

### Southeast Asia (2/4)

Country	Media company	Typology
O Laos	KPL	State-controlled media
	Lao National Radio (LNR)	State-controlled media
	Lao National TV	State-controlled media
	Le Rénovateur	State-controlled media
	Passasson	State-controlled media
	Vientiane Mai	State-controlled media
	Vientiane Times	State-controlled media
Malaysia	BERNAMA	State-controlled media
	Radio Television Malaysia (RTM)	State-controlled media
<b>⇔</b> Myanmar	Myanmar Radio and Television (MRTV)	State-controlled media
	Myawady Group	State-controlled media
	News and Periodicals Enterprise (NPE)	State-controlled media
Philippines	Intercontinental Broadcasting Corporation (IBC)	State-controlled media
	People's Television Network (PTV)	State-controlled media
	Philippine Broadcasting Service (PBS)	State-controlled media
	Philippines Information Agency (PIA)	State-controlled media

### Southeast Asia (3/4)

Country	Media company	Typology
> Philippines (cont.)	Philippines News Agency	State-controlled media
	Radio Television Malacañang (RTVM)	State-controlled media
Singapore	Mediacorp	State-controlled media
	Singapore Press Holdings (SPH)	Captured public/state- managed media
Thailand	Channel 5	State-controlled media
	MCOT	Captured public/state- managed media
	National Broadcasting Services of Thailand	State-controlled media
	Radio Thailand Satun	State-controlled media
	Thai Public Broadcasting Service	Independent public media
<b>♂</b> Vietnam	Hanoi Radio Television	State-controlled media
	Ho Chi Min Television (HTV)	State-controlled media
	Nhan Dan	State-controlled media
	Regional and specialized media	State-controlled media
	Sài Gòn Giải Phóng	State-controlled media
	Saigon Times Group	State-controlled media

### Southeast Asia (4/4)

Country	Media company	Typology
Vietnam (cont.)	Thanh Nien	State-controlled media
	Tien Phong	State-controlled media
	Tuoi Tre	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	Vietnam News Agency (VNA)	State-controlled media
	Vietnam Television (VTV)	State-controlled media
	VietNamNet	State-controlled media
	Voice of Ho Chi Minh City's People	State-controlled media
	Voice of Vietnam	State-controlled media
	VTC Digital Television	State-controlled media

### Eastern Asia (1/4)

Country	Media company	Typology
China	Asian Culture and Media Group	State-controlled media
	Caixin Media	Independent state-managed media
	China Daily Group	State-controlled media
	China International Publishing Group	State-controlled media
	China Media Group	State-controlled media
	China News Service	State-controlled media
	China Youth Daily	State-controlled media
	Chinese New Zealand Herald	Captured public/state- managed media
	Economic Daily	State-controlled media
	Global CAMG Media Group	Captured public/state- managed media
	Guangming Daily	State-controlled media
	Legal Daily	State-controlled media
	People's Daily	State-controlled media
	People's Liberation Army Daily	State-controlled media
	Phoenix TV	Captured private media
	Qiushi	State-controlled media

### Eastern Asia (2/4)

Country	Media company	Typology
China (cont.)	Shanghai Media Group (SMG)	Captured public/state- managed media
	Shanghai United Media Group (SUMG)	State-controlled media
	Xinhua (New China News Agency)	State-controlled media
Hong Kong	Hong Kong Commercial Daily	Captured public/state- managed media
	Radio-TV Hong Kong (RTHK)	State-controlled media
	Ta Kung Pao	State-controlled media
	Wen Wei Po	State-controlled media
• Japan	Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK)	Captured public/state- managed media
Macao	Teledifusão de Macau (TDM)	State-controlled media
Mongolia	Mongolian National Broadcaster (MNB)	State-controlled media
	Montsame	State-controlled media
North Korea	AM Radio	State-controlled media
	Chollima	State-controlled media
	Chongyon Jonwi	State-controlled media
	Choson Sinbo	State-controlled media

#### Eastern Asia (3/4)

Country	Media company	Typology
North Korea (cont.)	DPRK Today	State-controlled media
	FM Radio	State-controlled media
	Joson Inmingun	State-controlled media
	Korea 615	State-controlled media
	Korean Central Broadcasting Committee (KCBC)	State-controlled media
	Korean Central News Agency (KCNA)	State-controlled media
	Local newspapers	State-controlled media
	Mansudae TV	State-controlled media
	Minju Choson	State-controlled media
	Pyongyang Sinmun	State-controlled media
	Rodong Sinmun	State-controlled media
	Rodongja Sinmun	State-controlled media
<ul><li>South Korea</li></ul>	Korea Educational Broadcasting System (EBS)	Independent public media
	Korean Broadcasting System (KBS)	Independent public media
	Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation (MBC)	Independent public media

### Eastern Asia (4/4)

Country	Media company	Typology
South Korea (cont.)	Yonhap News Agency	Independent public media
Taiwan	Central News Agency (CNA)	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	Ministry of Foreign Affairs Media	State-controlled media
	Radio Taiwan International (RTI)	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	Taiwan Broadcasting System (TBS)	Independent state-funded and state-managed media

#### The Caribbean

Country	Media company	Typology
<b>€</b> Cuba	Cuban Institute of Radio and Television (ICRT)	State-controlled media
	Cuban News Agency (ACN)	State-controlled media
	Granma	State-controlled media
	Juventud Rebelde	State-controlled media
	Prensa Latina	State-controlled media
** Dominican Republic	Corporación Estatal de Radio y Televisión (CERTV)	State-controlled media
Haiti	Radio Télévision Nationale d'Haïti (RTNH)	State-controlled media
<b>⊗</b> Jamaica	PBC Jamaica	Independent state-funded media

#### Central America (1/3)

Country	Media company	Typology
Costa Rica	Sistema Nacional de Radio y Television (SINART)	Independent state- managed media
	Sistema Universitario de Radio y Televisión (UCR)	Independent state-funded media
	Diaro El Salvador	State-controlled media
	Radio/TV Legislativas	State-controlled media
	Sistema Nacional de Medios Públicos	State-controlled media
( ) Guatemala	Agencia Guatemalteca de Noticias (AGN)	State-controlled media
	Canal 5 TV Maya	Independent state-funded media
	Canal 9 del Congreso	State-controlled media
	Canal de Gobierno	State-controlled media
	Diario de Centro América	State-controlled media
	Radio Nacional TGW	State-controlled media
	Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala Broadcasting	Independent state-funded media
Honduras	Canal de la Universidad Autónoma de Honduras (UTV)	Independent state-funded media
	Canal del Congreso Nacional	State-controlled media

#### Central America (2/3)

Country	Media company	Typology
Honduras (cont.)	Fuerzas Armadas TV	State-controlled media
	Radio Nacional de Honduras	State-controlled media
	Televisión Nacional de Honduras	State-controlled media
• Mexico	Canal del Congreso	State-controlled media
	Canal Once	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	Instituto Mexicano de la Radio (IMER)	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	Notimex	State-controlled media
	Radio Educación	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	Sistema de Radiodifusoras Culturales Indígenas (SRCI)	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	Sistema Público de Radiodifusión del Estado Mexicano (SPR)	State-controlled media
	Television Metropolitana - Canal 22	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	TV Radio UNAM	Independent state-funded media
Nicaragua	Barricada	State-controlled media
	El 19Digital	State-controlled media

#### Central America (3/3)

Country	Media company	Typology
Nicaragua (cont.)	La Nueva Radio Ya	State-controlled media
	La Voz del Sandinismo	State-controlled media
	Radio Nicaragua	State-controlled media
	Radio Sandino	State-controlled media
	Sistema Nacional de Televisión	State-controlled media
<b>♣</b> Panama	Sistema Estatal de Radio y Televisión (SERTV)	State-controlled media

#### South America (1/2)

Country	Media company	Typology
• Argentina	Contenidos Públicos	State-controlled media
	Radio y Televisión Argentina (RTA)	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	Telam	State-controlled media
Bolivia	Bolivia	State-controlled media
	Bolivia TV	State-controlled media
	Bolivian Information Agency (Agencia Boliviana de Informacion, ABI)	State-controlled media
	Radio Illimani	State-controlled media
	Sistema Nacional de Radios de los Pueblos Originarios	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
Brazil	Empresa Brasil de Comunicação (EBC)	State-controlled media
<b>C</b> hile	Televisión Nacional de Chile (TVN)	Captured public/state- managed media
<b>←</b> Colombia	Radio y Televisión Nacional de Colombia (RTVC)	State-controlled media
	Televisión y Radio de la Universidad Nacional de Colombia	Independent state-funded media
Ecuador	Empresa Pública de Comunicación del Ecuador	State-controlled media
	Sistema de Información Legislativa	State-controlled media

#### South America (2/2)

Country	Media company	Typology
Paraguay	Dirección General de Medios del Estado	State-controlled media
<ul><li>← Peru</li></ul>	Empresa Peruana de Servicios Editoriales (Editora Perú)	State-controlled media
	Instituto Nacional de Radio y Televisión de Perú (IRTP)	State-controlled media
<b>≗</b> Uruguay	Servicio de Comunicación Audiovisual Nacional (SECAN)	State-controlled media
Venezuela	El Circuito Radial PDVSA	State-controlled media
	Fundación Audiovisual Nacional de Televisión ANTV	State-controlled media
	Misión Verdad	Captured private media
	Sistema Bolivariano de Comunicación e Información	State-controlled media

# State Media in North America, Australia and New Zealand

#### **North America**

Country	Media company	Typology
(*) Canada	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC)	Independent state-funded media
United States of America	National Public Radio (NPR)	Independent public media
	Public Broadcasting Service (PBS)	Independent public media
	U.S. Agency for Global Media (USAGM)	Independent state-funded and state-managed media

# State Media in North America, Australia and New Zealand

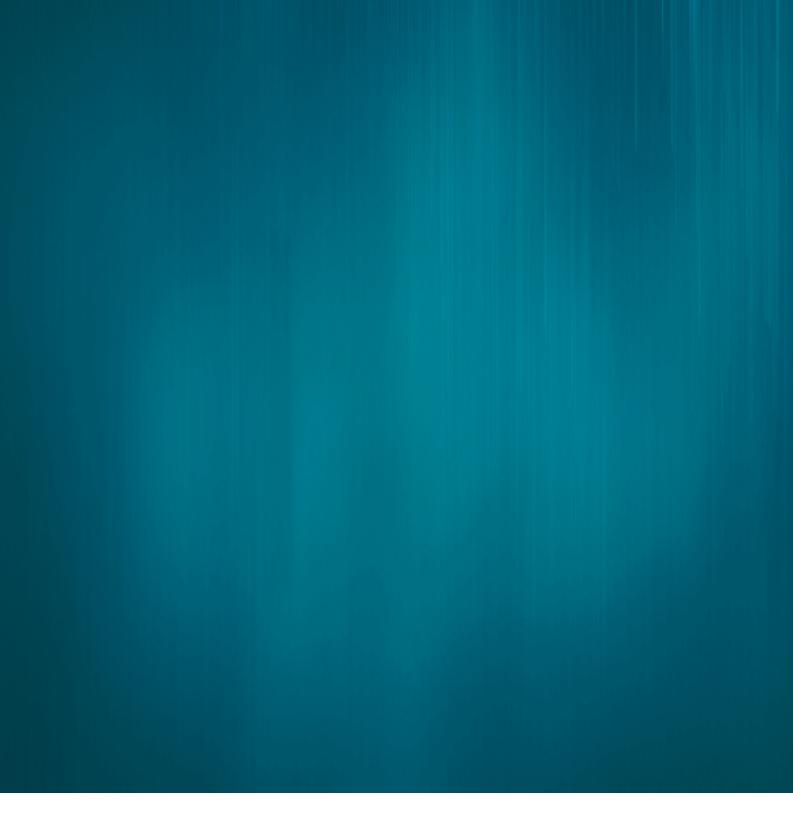
#### **Australia & New Zealand**

Country	Media company	Typology
Australia	Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC)	Independent state-funded media
	Special Broadcasting Service (SBS)	Independent state-funded media
New Zealand	Māori Television	Independent state-funded media
	Pacific Media Network	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	Radio New Zealand (RNZ)	Independent state-funded and state-managed media
	Television New Zealand (TVNZ)	Independent state-managed media

#### Global overview of state media by typology



- State-controlled media
- Captured public/state-managed media
- Captured private media
- Independent state-funded and statemanaged media
- Independent state-funded media
- Independent state-managed media
- Independent public media





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