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 Islt 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

^[2] Paula Kennedy, "The relentless march of the Hungarian government's propaganda machine," EJO, 20 May 2019, available online at https://en.ejo.ch/media-politics/the-relentless-march-of-the-hungarian-governments-propaganda-machine (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

| | | | Num | per 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 (% c | of total numbe | r 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

^{**}North America, Australia & New Zealand

^{**}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.

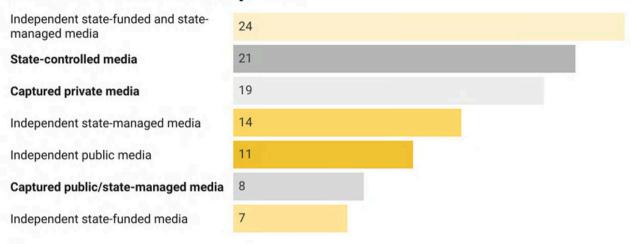
Combined, the four models of independent state media in our matrix (independent public media, independent state-managed, independent state-funded and independent state-funded and state-managed media) account for some 54% of all state media in Europe.



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.

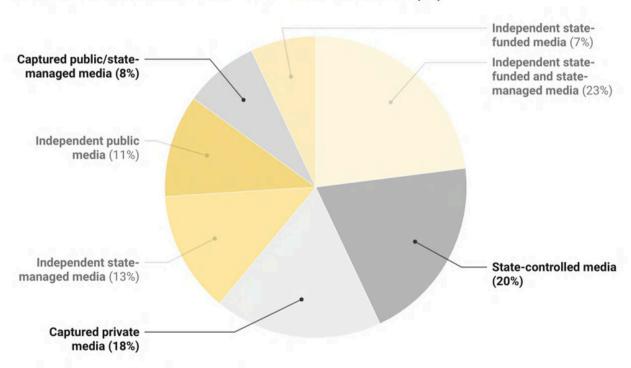
Overview of State Media in Europe

Number of Media Companies



Source: Marius Dragomir, 2021 • Created with Datawrapper

Share of Total Number of Media Outlets (%)



Source: Marius Dragomir 2021 • 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

^[4] Media Landscapes: Austria, available at https://medialandscapes.org/country/austria/policies/media-legislation (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.

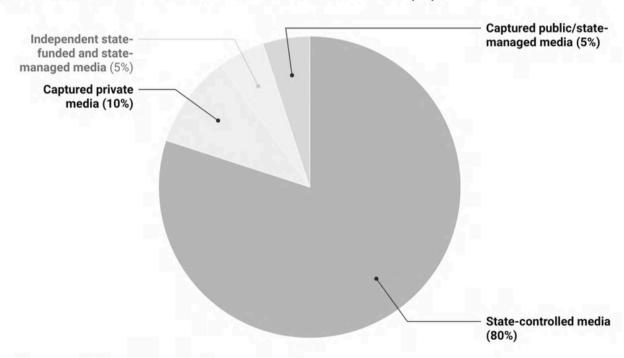
Overview of State Media in Eurasia

Number of Media Companies

| 47 |
|----|
| 6 |
| 3 |
| 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.

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

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

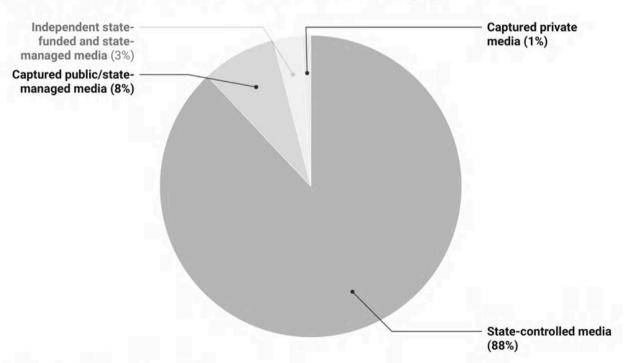
Overview of State Media in Sub-Saharan Africa

Number of Media Companies

| State-controlled media | 94 |
|--|----|
| Captured public/state-managed media | 9 |
| Independent state-funded and state- managed media | 3 |
| Captured private media | 1 |

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.

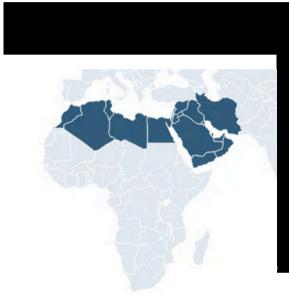
Hendriek Bussiek, a media expert who authored a spate of reports on African broadcasting, wrote: "Government control over national broadcasters is evident. National broadcasters largely have their boards appointed by the government. They are owned, supervised and maintained by the government and often 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.

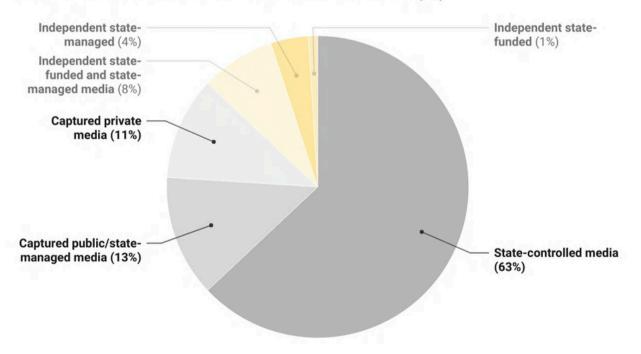
Overview of State Media in MENA

Number of Media Companies

| State-controlled media | 47 |
|--|----|
| Captured public/state-managed media | 10 |
| Captured private media | 8 |
| Independent state-funded and state- managed | 6 |
| Independent state-managed | 3 |
| Independent state-funded | 1 |
| | |

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.



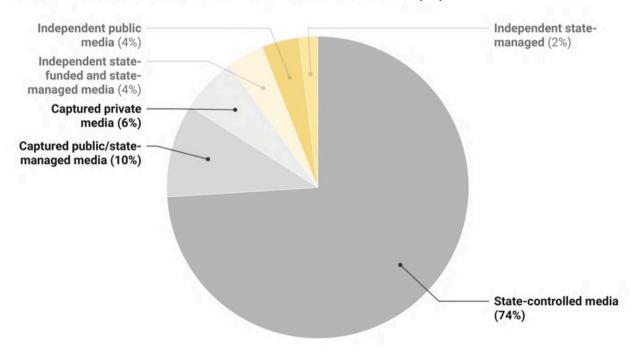
Overview of State Media in Asia

Number of Media Companies

| State-controlled media | 94 |
|--|----|
| Captured public/state-managed media | 12 |
| Captured private media | 8 |
| Independent state-funded and state- managed media | 5 |
| Independent public media | 5 |
| Independent 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 https://www.npr.org/2020/06/22/881755421/trump-administration-labels-4- more-chinese-news-outlets-foreign-missions (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.



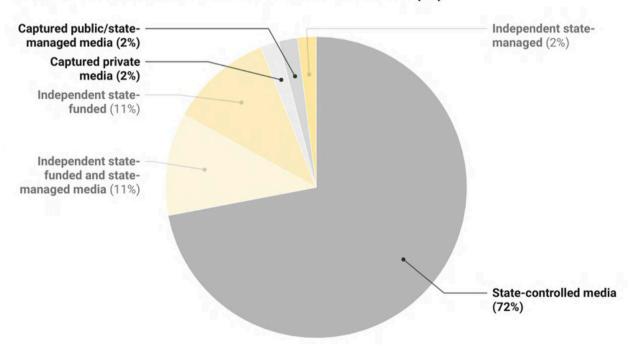
Overview of State Media in Latin America

Number of Media Companies

| State-controlled media | 47 |
|--|-------------|
| Independent state-funded and state- managed media | 7 |
| Independent state-funded media | 7 |
| Captured private media | 1 |
| Captured public/state-managed media | 1 |
| Independent state-managed media | 1 |
| Occupation Description (Control of the Control of t | l Determine |

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?

Thestate media in the world isfarfrom being healthy. Thenumber 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 |
|-------------------|--|--|
| 2 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 |
| + Denmark | Danish Broadcasting Corporation (DR) | Independent state- managed media |
| | TV2 | Independent state- managed media |
| ← 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 |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| Albania | 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 |
| L atvia | Latvijas Radio (LR) | Independent state-funded and state-managed media |
| | Latvijas Televīzija (LTV) | Independent state-funded and state-managed media |
| Lithuania | 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 |
| 2-lyear | 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 (AGI | 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 |
| ⊉ 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 |
| 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 |
| ⊕ 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 |
| 3 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 |
| M. | 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 Télévision Togolaise (TVT) | State-controlled media |
| | | 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 |
| 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 |
| = Iraq | Iraqi Media Network | State-controlled media |
| ∑ Israel | 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 |
|-----------------|---|--|
| E 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 |
| C 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 |
| ⊌ 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 |
| C 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 |
| 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 |
| ♦ 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 |
| 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)

| Philippines News Agency Radio Television Malacañang (RTVM) | State-controlled media State-controlled media |
|--|--|
| (RTVM) | State-controlled media |
| | |
| Mediacorp | State-controlled media |
| Singapore Press Holdings (SPH) | Captured public/state- managed media |
| Channel 5 | State-controlled media |
| мсот | 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 |
| 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 |
| | Channel 5 MCOT National Broadcasting Services of Thailand Radio Thailand Satun Thai Public Broadcasting Service Hanoi Radio Television Ho Chi Min Television (HTV) Nhan Dan Regional and specialized media Sài Gòn Giải Phóng |

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 |
| (5) P | 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 |
| South Korea | 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 |
|-------------------------|--|--------------------------------|
| € 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 |
| ⊗ 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 |
| ⊋ El Salvador | 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 |
|---------------------|--|------------------------|
| S 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 |
| 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 |
| Chile | Televisión Nacional de Chile (TVN) | Captured public/state- managed media |
| ← Colombia | Radio y Televisión Nacional de Colombia (RTVC) | State-controlled media |
| | Televisión y Radio de la Universidad Nacional de Colombia | Independent state-funded media |
| e 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 |
| ← Peru | Empresa Peruana de Servicios Editoriales (Editora Perú) | State-controlled media |
| | Instituto Nacional de Radio y Televisión de Perú (IRTP) | State-controlled media |
| ≗ Uruguay | Servicio de Comunicación Audiovisual Nacional (SECAN) | State-controlled media |
| Fui | 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 inNorth America, Australia andNew 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 |

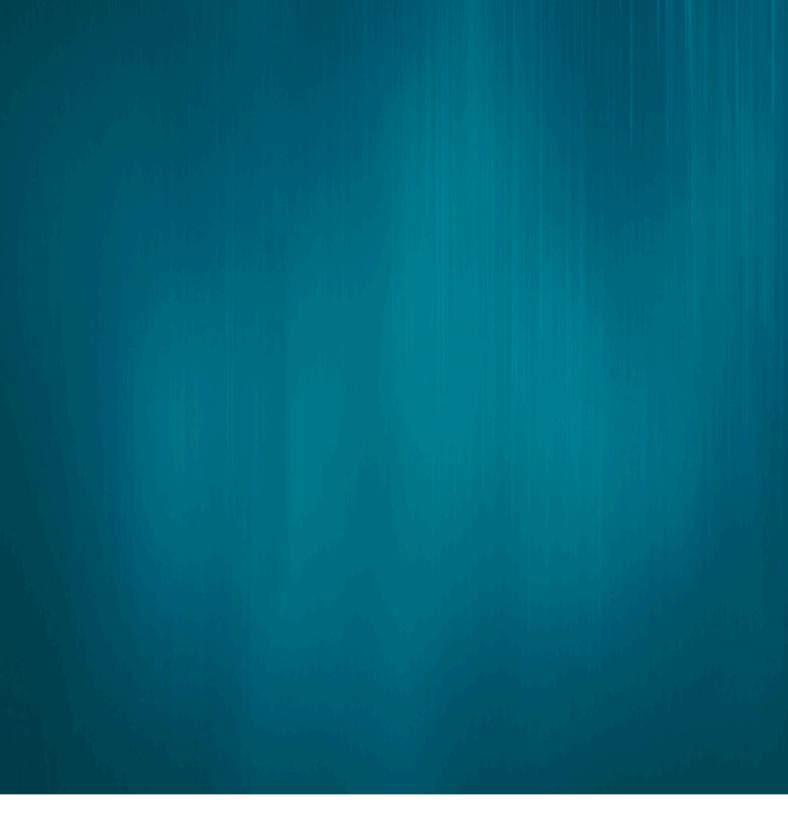
State Media inNorth America, Australia andNew Zealand

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







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