

Where is journalism heading?/ Four models of news ecologies emerging in Europe

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Financial sustainability of independent journalism

State funding (government subsidies, state advertising, tax incentives)

Commercial funds (advertising): a). tech companies cut of the ad spend; b). the rise of a corrupt web of financial distribution; c). significant state influence in the advertising market

Audience wallets : transition from the newspaper's copies to subscriptions/memberships and other forms of consumer contributions

Philanthropic/donor funding

a). media with a mission: ensure diversity and pluralism, b). support a specific agenda, c). assist media achieve sustainability

The platformized/corporate model

Geography: Western European countries (France, Spain, Germany, Austria, Ireland)

Main sources of funding: Commercial advertising (tech subsidies), audience wallets, targeted philanthropic funding

Ownership: Business - oriented, conglomerate - type, medium to high concentration

Journalism: Relative independence, but also regimentation; tech agreements are not a long - term solution

Type of operation: Strong corporate structure, significant power over government

The public interest model

Geography: Nordic countries

Main sources of funding: new forms of taxation: protection mechanisms for a PSP/PSM sector, strong advertising market

Ownership: Business - oriented, medium to high concentration, strong sense of market

Journalism: Independent, public interest oriented

Type of operation: Balance commercial - public

The captured model

Geography: Eastern/Southeastern European countries (Hungary, Bulgaria, Serbia, Turkey)

Main sources of funding: state funding dominant, the *tunnel/funnel* system, disruption of advertising market, key target for philanthropic/donor funding

Ownership: State - controlled, high levels of financial corruption, high levels of concentration, family relations, nepotism

Journalism: Propaganda, instrumentalization

Type of operation: High government control

The atomized model

Geography: Eastern/Southeastern European countries (Western Balkans, Romania, Bulgaria sometimes)

Main sources of funding: State funding, commercial revenues, widespread **informal payments**, target for philanthropic/donor funding

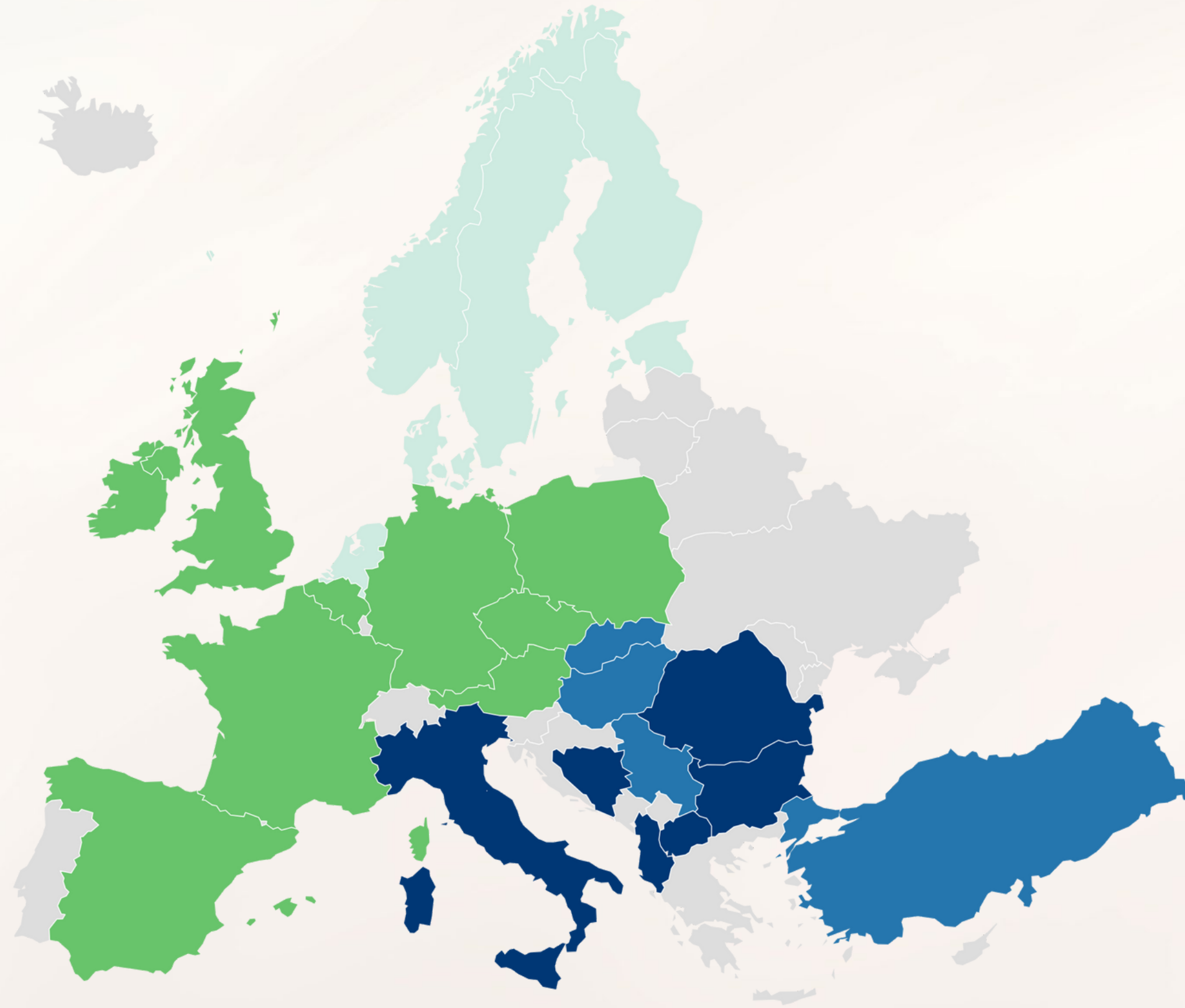
Ownership: Mercenary journalism (“journalism for sale”), fragmentation, private interests - driven

Journalism: Highly instrumentalized/Destruction of the journalistic language

Type of operation: Wealth - led, weaponized journalism, high state interventionism (direct or indirect)

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Corporate Public interest Captured Atomized



Negative implications for the health of the info -sphere

Widening gap between news media ecologies across Europe: loss of the journalistic referentiality

Dominant propaganda narratives: the government control in the media on the rise, emergence of new forms of propaganda and disinformation

Instrumentalization of journalism: wealth- and politics-driven journalism

Audience disconnect: news fatigue, news avoidance

Tech pressure on local content providers

Positive implications for the health of the info -sphere

New forms and formats of communications: localism, community-led

Financial value of journalism: The Guardian (GBP 233m / 2023); Mediahuis Belgium (€ 322m turnover; profit € 50m / 2023); Ringier Romania (€ 23m / 2022), Agora Poland (€ 320m / € 19m / 2023)

Independent news media: increasingly resilient niches, powerful investigative journalism networks

Addressing the independent journalism problem

- **Philanthropies:** Corrective vs reactive: who supports the core news sector?
- **Investors/media funds:** Building positions in the media market: Pluralis
- **Advertisers:** Reset the thinking mode in the advertising sector: Ethical Media Alliance
- **Governments:** Misuse of public funding

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