Chapter 10

Solid performance, but democratic deficits remain

Conclusions

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A concluding assessment of the indicators used to measure the performance of leading news media within and for mature democracies allows for a brief comparative analysis of the participating countries. In 2011, ten countries participated in the Media for Democracy Monitor (MDM) project (Trappel et al., 2011); nine of them were again part of the sample in 2021. Therefore, a longitudinal analysis is possible for exactly half of the current sample, whereas nine countries participated for the first time in 2021. The sample is limited to countries with a stable democratic tradition, and the MDM is designed to evaluate the contribution of leading news media in a political environment where media freedom is guaranteed and prevails. By excluding countries with a less profound democratic tradition, or in the process of democratisation, the focus of the study rests on the performance of media organisations and media companies, rather than on the legal and political affordances.

Why, then, is Hong Kong part of the sample? Invitations to participate in the MDM 2021 were issued in 2019. At that time, the protest movement in Hong Kong had started, but elections still prevailed as a core instrument of political participation and decision-making. Furthermore, press freedom was largely respected by the authorities, and the research team from Hong Kong confirmed unfettered working conditions of journalists. By the time of writing and publishing this book, however, conditions have dramatically changed, and the press has lost much of its free and independent status. The empirical research on the leading news media in Hong Kong took place before and partly during the dismantling of journalistic freedoms. Therefore, the Hong Kong analysis documents the status quo ante.

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Nordic countries perform best in 2021

This monitoring project does not culminate in a country ranking. The translation of the collected data – both from interviews and secondary sources – into numbers and scores should not lead to a horse race competition on which country scores highest. Therefore, we do not publish a country ranking. Nonetheless, the scores attached to each indicator allow for clustering the countries. Four countries constitute the cluster with the highest conformity to democratic norms and values encapsulated within each indicator. Denmark, Sweden, Finland, and the UK reached around 80 per cent of all available scores of the MDM. The second-best cluster includes Canada, Finland, Germany, and the Netherlands (some 70%). The largest group of countries –Austria, Belgium (Flanders), Iceland, Italy, Portugal, South Korea, and Switzerland – reached some 60 per cent of possible scores. At the low end of the scale, Australia, Chile, Greece, and Hong Kong cluster around 50 per cent of all scores, or even below. These results largely correspond to the findings of the MDM 2011, when Sweden performed best.

Digitalisation well managed

In a more general perspective, the 2021 set of data provides for a positive message: leading news media are serving democracies rather well. While this overall finding might not be surprising, it does not necessarily reflect the expectations of the research teams. The decade from 2011 to 2020 has delivered massive digitalisation of communication at large, and of mass media in particular. Given the many shades of media crises (Curran, 2019; Trappel et al., 2015) occurring in parallel with the emergence of digital platforms as global giants (Birkinbine et al., 2016), the performance of leading mass media could have well eroded. This has not been the case. Taken together, the country analyses delivered similar results for all three dimensions. For *the Freedom / Information (F)* dimension, 69 per cent of all scores were reached by the (then) ten countries in 2011, and 65 per cent ten years later (by 18 countries). Similarly, the overall scores did not significantly change for the other two dimensions over time. Therefore, the first general finding of MDM 2021 is that the leading news media managed to cope with the digital challenge and found ways to maintain their performative strengths despite economic, political, and technical challenges.

Freedom and information: Wide reach, poor gender equality

A closer look at the three dimensions and the country-specific performance unveils both strengths and weaknesses. The first positive message from the *Freedom / Information (F)* dimension is the continuous interest of citizens in

news, which follows from adequate and successful presentation of the news by leading media. Second, the availability of news media is very high in almost all countries. Only the huge countries Australia and Canada, as well as Italy, do not see the news media distributed evenly throughout their territories. Third, the awareness of the negative effects of harassment against journalists on democracy is high in most countries, particularly in the top clusters of the sample. Deficits in this respect have been recorded in Australia, Chile, and Hong Kong.

The most pronounced weakness and deficit among all indicators of the 2021 MDM edition concerns gender equality in media content (Indicator F9). Not a single country reports full respect for gender parity and awareness, and two countries even reported that gender equality, as well as fundamental rules on gender equality in reporting, are not respected at all. This result demonstrates once again the fundamental disrespect when it comes to fair and equal gender representation in the leading news media. It is a clear and unambiguous call for newsrooms to reconsider their internal practices.

Similarly, but less pronounced, internal gender equality within newsrooms constitutes a problem for democratic norms and values. On average, only 59 per cent of all scores have been reached, with only Sweden as a role model for other countries. Again, the bottom tier of the sample performs particularly poorly.

Some noticeable progress has been made with regard to internal rules for harnessing democratic practices in newsrooms. For the nine countries participating in both years, score fulfilment increased significantly, indicating some growth of democratic culture within larger media organisations.

Equality and interest mediation: Diverse, affordable, but concentrated

Within the *Equality / Interest Mediation (E)* dimension, the structural indicator for affordable public and private news media (E5) performs particularly well. The democratic requirement of easy access to news and information is met by almost all countries (with the exception of Portugal). Another positive result of the MDM 2021 concerns the diversity of news formats. Evidently, leading news media provide citizens with an abundance of news formats, thereby fostering information plurality and equality.

However, diversity is critically challenged by the high level of media concentration, both at the national and the regional and local level. At the national level, not a single country reports concentration levels below 0.40 (CR), and in about one-third of the countries, competition appears weak, with few media conglomerates controlling the news media markets. Digitalisation has also not delivered significantly to balancing media ownership concentration at the regional and local level. Taken together, the 18 countries reach only 56 per cent

of all possible scores, with Canada and Portugal scoring best, and almost half of the other countries scoring poorly. Also, in the long-term perspective (for nine countries), ownership concentration remains a major problem for democracy.

Regarding content monitoring instruments (Indicator E6), making transparent biases in the news, the 18 countries perform very diversely. While in some countries (Canada, Germany, and Italy), media content is regularly monitored, in other countries, such monitoring does not exist at all (South Korea) or is underdeveloped. Interestingly, most of the tier-one countries are found among the latter group of countries.

Compared with 2011, significant progress has been made with regard to the respect for a national code of journalistic ethics, possibilities for citizens to participate in the news process, and rules and practices on internal pluralism. These advancements can at least partly be explained by new technical opportunities, such as digital chats and forums, as well as digitally-enabled virtual spaces for exchange, including the use of digital platforms by leading news media.

Control and watchdog: High watchdog esteem, but journalistic jobs insecure

The indicator on journalists' self-perception as watchdogs (C7) is among the top-3 highest-scoring indicators of the entire monitor. It appears that journalists identify themselves highly with their mission as investigative reporters and that this democratically crucially important norm is well established within the mission statements of newsrooms. Throughout the decade under scrutiny, the watchdog role of journalists has strongly increased its importance, reaching even 85 per cent of the possible scores in the nine countries participating in both years, compared with 67 per cent in 2011. Less pronounced, but still above average, are scores for available resources for watchdog journalism, which have also grown in leading news media. Along with this self-understanding as investigative reporters, journalism professionalism is considered well developed. This indicator (C4) reflects almost perfectly the country cluster, with tier-one countries scoring the maximum and the lowest tier performing poorly.

By contrast, however, and of great concern, journalists' job security is at stake throughout the sample. Less than 50 per cent of scores have been reached. Not surprising, not a single country reports a high degree of professional security for journalists, and half of them observe frequent changes of employment and only occasional long-term contracts. Such precarious labour conditions constitute a major threat to the democratic performance of leading news media, as job security is considered a prerequisite for holding the powerful to account. Subsequently, scores for the indicator concerning the independence of the news media from powerholders (C2) are relatively low as well.

Methodical reflection on the instrument

The MDM is designed to be an inclusive qualitative research instrument, striving to integrate all relevant sources. Its purpose is first and foremost to enable learning from one country to another and from one media outlet to the next. Furthermore, the monitor compares countries, and some of them also over time. It is meant to inform the debate among academics, politicians, journalists, and the interested public at large. To this end, country information is collected and evaluated by qualified and experienced teams of academic scholars with no restriction on where information is gathered. Best data sources differ from country to country, and the expert teams know best where to find them. In addition, interviews have been conducted with representatives of the leading news media under scrutiny and other relevant actors in the field, mostly journalism unions. All information has been collected according to the 30 indicators, grouped in three theoretically reasoned and justified dimensions.

This approach has the advantage of inclusivity. The best available information is included in the report and helps in drawing an accurate picture of the country. While some information can be validated by interviews, and vice-versa, research economics did not allow for more reliable methods, such as participatory observation in newsrooms or content analysis.

Another challenge are scores. Although the instrument delivered plausible results for all three dimensions, and also across the decade, there remains a substantial element of personal and subjective assessment. The research teams met and discussed indicator after indicator to arrive at a joint and shared view, but each team member has its own view reflected in the scores. For this reason, we insist that the instrument is qualitative, and any attempt to classify countries in a ranking should bear this in mind.

Overview of all indicators and all countries

Below, the results for each indicator are presented, along with the motivation given for the score. All indicators are displayed afterwards in one large table to facilitate comparative learning (see Table 1). An accessible Excel version of Table 1 is available to download as a supplementary file. In the indicator descriptions, international country codes (top level domains) are designated to each country:

- AT = Austria
- AU = Australia
- BE = Belgium (Flanders)
- CA = Canada
- CH = Switzerland
- CL = Chile
- DE = Germany
- DK = Denmark
- FI = Finland
- GR = Greece
- HK = Hong Kong
- IS = Iceland
- IT = Italy
- KR = South Korea
- NL = the Netherlands
- PT = Portugal
- SE = Sweden
- UK = the United Kingdom

Dimension: Freedom / Information (F)

Indicator F1 *Geographic distribution of news media availability*

Country	Motivation for score	points 2011	points 2021
AT	A wide and stable variety of news media is available to Austrian citizens. There is a small regional bias between rural areas and the Vienna region. The distribution of news media remains variable concerning media types.	3	3
AU	Due to Australia's geography and population distribution, regional areas are less well-served than the metropolitan centres, where all media are available. Regional newspapers have significantly contracted, and this accelerated with Covid-19.	2	2
BE	All types of media are distributed and available throughout the whole of Flanders, with a broad variety of news offered by diverse media companies.	–	3
CA	Because of Canada's immense landmass and population distribution, large northern and rural parts of Canada's regional areas are not well served by the news media when compared with the country's large urban areas where considerable news media is available in both digital and analogue forms.	–	2
CH	News media are widely available in all language regions of Switzerland with no major restrictions, despite strong horizontal press concentration since 2000.	3	3
CL	There is a large variety of media, complemented by access to it for the citizens in the country. Nationwide media coexists with regional media.	–	3
DE	There is a multiplicity of news sources widely available all over the country.	3	3
DK	A wide variety of news media are broadly available all over Denmark.	–	3

FI	Despite significant changes in the delivery of news, the mainstream news media is accessible throughout the country without any major regional divides.	3	3
GR	In the Greek media market, news media are widely available all over the country, with supply often superseding existing demand. It is a media landscape characterised by high level of public access. Newspapers are mostly located in Athens, being national in scope; however, some regions still prefer, either as a first or a secondary choice, the local press. There are also both regional and local radio stations, with the most influential radio stations located in Athens and in Thessaloniki. Television is available through terrestrial, satellite, or digital (broadband) transmission. Most of the media content, albeit not in its entirety, is offered free of charge.	–	3
HK	Hong Kongers are kept informed by a wide variety of news media. High levels of public access and the efficient use of technology to gather and distribute news and information characterise the news media.	–	3
IS	The mainstream news media are accessible throughout the country and there are no major regional differences. The number of news media available to Icelandic citizens is somewhat limited though, due to the smallness of the population and hence its media market.	–	3
IT	A wide and stable variety of news media is available to Italian citizens. Some parts of the country are not served by local or regional news media. The distribution of news media varies along different media and news outlet types.	–	2
KR	Traditional news media are available nationwide. Backed by strong digital infrastructure, multiplatform delivery via online portal, YouTube podcasts and news outlet websites ensures widespread news media availability.	–	3
NL	A wide variety of news and information media is still available to all Dutch citizens, although several news outlets were shut down. Regional and local news coverage varies from region to region.	3	3
PT	Relevant news media are generally available to all citizens.	3	3
SE	The media landscape has become more crowded and competitive.	3	3
UK	News media are widely available throughout the four nations of the United Kingdom in broadcast, print, and online form. While the local newspaper industry is under pressure, there are few areas where dedicated local coverage is not available to citizens.	3	3

Indicator F2 *Patterns of news media use (consumption of news)*

Country	Motivation for score	points 2011	points 2021
AT	Newspapers and public service television remain the prime sources of information concerning political issues. Among the younger population, the digital Internet platforms increase their news relevance. Overall, the interest in news is high, but gaps are widening between soft and hard news followers.	2	2
AU	The Australian citizen is well supplied with news from different sources. However, the print media sector, already highly concentrated, is also in structural decline.	3	2
BE	In general, interest in news is high, with a notable decline in interest among the younger generations. Although news consumption via traditional media is still popular, shifts to online media are on the rise.	–	2
CA	Despite challenges in smaller markets, Canadians have access to a wealth of news sources.	–	3
CH	The Swiss population still uses traditional media such as the press, television, and radio to inform about news, but the Internet and social media have become the main source of information, especially for young people.	3	2
CL	The protests that erupted in Chile emphasised the amassing tendency for a frequent consumption of news, but it is tainted with distrust, especially for online and television news and with a small readership of printed newspapers, leaving radio as the most credible medium.	–	2
DE	The German citizen is well supplied with news from different sources.	2	3
DK	Public service television and online newspapers remain the prime sources of news and information in Denmark. Some age gaps in media use exist, particularly with regard to Danes under 25, who continue to consume news, but prefer to receive their news through social media.	–	3
FI	Consumption of traditional media and supply of news content are slowly declining, but in cross-national comparison, the mainstream news media still reach a very high proportion of the population in Finland. News is more highly valued in times of crisis.	2	3
GR	A considerable majority of the population is reached by news media, with some gaps between the young and old. Although there is an abundance of choices, media consumption in Greece remains low compared with the rest of Europe, and uneven within the population. Greek media mostly reach the elites, while significant minority segments of the population experience deep inequalities of representation and access to the media.	–	2

HK	90 per cent of the Hong Kong population consume news every day, with online and television being the main news media. Demographic factors contributed to different news consumption patterns.	–	3
IS	Online news and television news are the prime sources of news for Icelanders. Interest in news is high, irrespective of gender and in all age groups. There is a considerable age difference in platforms used, and among the 18–24-year-old age group, social media is a very popular source of news.	–	3
IT	Almost the entire Italian population accesses the media for information, and over 80 per cent of Italian citizens access information regularly. Only 5 per cent of Italians are not informed at all. Older people tend to consume only one news-media type, while younger people are more prone to searching for information from different sources or media.	–	2
KR	The changing media use patterns reflect the digital turn in the media industry of South Korea. With 92.3% of the adult population getting news from either television or Internet portal, interesting patterns emerge between different age groups. Legacy media are in greater use among older population, while Internet-based media are major news source for the younger population.	–	2
NL	On average, eight out of ten Dutch nationals turn to the news on a daily basis, varying from seven out of ten in the younger age group (18–34 years) to nine out of ten in the oldest age group (55+). The average daily reach figures – not only for print media but also for television and radio – have declined in the last decade. The public broadcaster is seen as an important news source both online and offline.	3	2
PT	Consumption of news is less than that of entertainment or fiction, especially given the overwhelming presence of television. Accessing news through social media is an increasing trend.	2	2
SE	News consumption has lessened and become more fragmented.	3	2
UK	News consumption remains high, with varied and diverging patterns of media use among different age groups. Decline in consumption of print journalism in the past decade has been significant, though the growth of online audiences offsets this to a degree.	3	2

Indicator F3 *Diversity of news sources*

Country	Motivation for score	points 2011	points 2021
AT	Editors-in-chief and journalists emphasised the predominant role of journalistic research over news agency and public relations material. National and international collaboration is increasing.	2	3
AU	The Australian newspaper industry (print and online) is highly concentrated, impacting the availability of diverse news voices.	2	1
BE	In the news-making process, news agencies are mostly used by the leading news media as a secondary or tertiary source. Internal content syndication is common practice.	–	2
CA	Canada's English-speaking audiences have a wide — national and international —array of news sources. French-speaking Canadians have less. All Canadian news organisations have scaled back their foreign correspondents. Moreover, critics charge — and many of the journalists interviewed for this study concede — that Canada's news media tends to index too much of its coverage to elite (non-diverse) sources.	–	2
CH	The diversity of news sources has become smaller because of media concentration, especially since 2000.	3	2
CL	Daily journalism includes mostly official sources, with nuances varying between each publication outlet. Television is the one medium that introduces more diversity with citizen sources. The daily agenda, work rhythm, and the part and counterpart logic, sees influence in their lack of deep reflection on source selection.	–	2
DE	The variety of sources in news production is restricted in the sense that non-elite discourse and diversity of the social and cultural heterogeneity of society are reflected less. Some news agencies dominate the market. Investigation is mostly conducted in special units and is limited to large flagship media outlets.	2	2
DK	Diversity of news sources is relatively high but limited by reliance on a single national news agency and a decreasing number of foreign correspondents.	–	2
FI	The role of syndicated content from the national news agency is diminishing, while the influence of public relations material and recycled content from other media outlets is increasing.	2	2

GR	There is a limited variety of formats across media, and few formats are available. Research, as well as findings from interviews conducted with journalists and editors-in-chief on the issue of sources used by leading news media in Greece revealed a uniform use of sources, albeit with some room for further investigation by the journalists. Moreover, the findings revealed differences among media outlets on how dependent they are on source material and the level of investigation they engage in.	–	1
HK	The respondents stressed that they performed independent research on publicity materials and did not rely on news agencies over local news sources. However, there were serious issues relating to political censorship, especially through the selection or omission of sources, among some media organisations.	–	2
IS	Editors-in-chief and journalists emphasised the predominant role of journalistic research over news agency and public relations material. National and international collaboration is increasing.	–	2
IT	Within the Italian news media system, approximately seven out of ten news stories are based on just one source. Government sources enjoy considerable importance, and personal contacts are one of the most-used sources. News agencies and press releases are also referred to. No systematic data is available concerning the use of press releases.	–	1
KR	The national news agency plays a dominant role, and the number of foreign correspondents is on the fall. Despite a number of different news sources that journalists rely on, certain gender and minority groups are under-represented and sources tend to be selected on the basis of the congruence of the political position of the given news media.	–	2
NL	Editors-in-chief and journalists emphasised the crucial importance of checking news sources, especially in the case of social media. Exchange of information, be it international, national, or regional, is increasing. Much like the public broadcaster, reflection of societal reality in news was part of the mission of all news media organisations.	3	3
PT	There is little diversity of news sources, with a high dependency on a single national agency. Some investigative journalism is present, but not on a large scale.	1	1
SE	There is an increased understanding of the importance of diversity of news sources, but elite dominance persists.	2	2
UK	News agencies are widely used by UK journalists, and there has been consistent evidence of the infiltration of public relations material into journalism, but journalists and editors have a high degree of autonomy in the pursuit of stories and sources.	2	2

Indicator F4 *Internal rules for practice of newsroom democracy*

Country	Motivation for score	points 2011	points 2021
AT	Newsroom democracy is established by editorial statutes, which are common in Austrian newsrooms. But journalists have limited influence on decisions about hiring the editor-in-chief.	1	1
AU	There are no written rules for newsroom democracy in the Australian media.	1	1
BE	Discussions between editors(-in-chief) and journalists take place on a daily basis. The majority of journalists affirm that they are heard in these discussions. Management elects new editors-in-chief, with journalists having no say in these decisions. Meanwhile, a lack of guidelines or legislations to support and promote advancement of female journalists and journalists of minority groups continue to remain.	–	1
CA	While there are no written rules for newsroom democracy in Canada's media system, journalists do have input and freedom.	–	2
CH	The newsroom practices, especially of Swiss leading newspapers, are not guided by clear and explicit democratic structures. And journalists have only limited influence regarding the selection of the editor-in-chief.	1	2
CL	Media structure in Chile is hierarchical. Journalists can participate in the discussion of content and may advance in their careers, but the editors and directors have the power to make decisions.	–	1
DE	Newsroom democracy is established by editorial statutes, which are common in German newsrooms. But journalists have limited influence on hiring decisions for editors-in-chief.	1	1
DK	Newsroom democracy in Denmark is well established. However, it is informal and carried out more in the professional culture rather than written down in formal, internal rules.	–	2
FI	Finnish journalists seem to have a relatively high level of autonomy in their daily work, but any formal structures or practices supporting internal democracy are not common.	2	2
GR	Journalists are heard and participate in decision-making, but do not have the power to make decisions. In Greek newsrooms, internal democratic practices are applied in rudimentary ways, with journalists merely having the opportunity to be heard, at best, and at worst, being deprived of any engagement with the decision-making processes. The appointment of editors-in-chief and other managerial positions are decisions left to the discretion of a media organisation's managers and owners. Moreover, Greek journalists' voices have no tangible impact on how news topics are ultimately framed.	–	1

HK	Democratic practices in newsrooms varied between different media organisations. Generally speaking, newsroom journalists did not have a say in appointing the editor-in-chief or other positions. However, some newsroom journalists had a greater role in portraying and framing political issues than others.	–	1
IS	Journalists have much say concerning how issues are framed. They seldom have any influence on decisions about hiring the editor-in-chief.	–	2
IT	National and internal rules are in place to guarantee equality, impartiality, objectivity, and internal democratic practices in the newsroom. By law, all news media with at least ten journalists are expected to have a newsroom council (and a trustee for smaller companies). The publisher of a news organisation appoints editors-in-chief who then nominate managing editors.	–	2
KR	Although leading news media are politically polarised, journalists can reasonably voice their views on the selection and framing of the news. Affirmative policies regarding female journalists are not yet set as a part of general newsroom culture.	–	2
NL	Newsroom democracy is provided for by editorial statutes, which are common in Dutch newsrooms. Journalists are represented via a newsroom council that influences decisions such as hiring an editor-in-chief or news chief. Most new media platforms draw up an editorial statute.	2	3
PT	Several laws and mechanisms for journalists' democratic participation exist, but they are not always followed in practice.	2	2
SE	Journalists have influence on editorial matters.	2	2
UK	Newsrooms in the UK continue, on average, to be hierarchical, with editorial coordination concentrated among senior roles at the expense of ordinary journalists. The appointments of editors-in-chief rarely involve journalists.	1	1

Indicator F5 *Company rules against internal influence on newsroom/editorial staff*

Country	Motivation for score	points 2011	points 2021
AT	The separation of newsrooms from management is formally practised by all media organisations in this media sample and can be interpreted as common in the Austrian media system.	2	3
AU	Media proprietors have long been dominant figures, also in newsroom decisions.	1	1
BE	The majority of Flemish journalists report a high degree of editorial independence. However, the interviewees mentioned an ambivalent relationship between journalism and marketing sometimes. The line between journalistic content and branded content seems to be blurring.	–	2
CA	The influence of media proprietors is more subtle than direct in newsroom decisions.	–	2
CH	The media representatives of the leading Swiss newspapers attach great importance to separating business-entrepreneurial decisions and journalistic work processes. In practice, this hardly ever succeeds, as business decisions have a major impact on the daily work of the editorial staff and editorial cultures.	2	2
CL	Internal pressures exist between management boards and editors-in-chief and directors, but these do not directly reach journalists, who confirm the exercise of freedom in their work. The 2019 protests implied an exceptional internal pressure within different forms of media.	–	2
DE	Newsroom journalists enjoy independence on editorial decisions. The management, sales department, and newsrooms are separated most of the time. Although there was one severe case of political influence in public service media, this was resolved by a constitutional court proceeding.	2	2
DK	The degree of independence of Danish newsrooms is high; editorial decisions remain in the domain of the editorial staff, but there is increasing collaboration between editorial and commercial departments.	–	2
FI	The autonomy and independence of the newsroom remains a central value in Finnish journalistic culture.	2	2
GR	Management and sales department meet newsroom staff regularly. In Greek media organisations, although newsrooms, management, and sales department are separated, internal manipulation is still exerted through unspoken pressures that lead to self-censorship by journalists. It implies a subconscious adoption of the editorial stance preferred by the ownership. Pressures from the advertising department are far less considerable, with most journalists being unaware of the main advertising sponsors in most cases.	–	1

HK	The separation of newsrooms from management is not practiced by any of the media organisations sampled, and there is a diversity of relationships between media owners and the newsroom. In Hong Kong, generally speaking, newsrooms are totally separated from the advertising department.	–	2
IS	Main news media all have established rules to guard their newsrooms from internal influences. Journalists mostly enjoy editorial independence.	–	3
IT	Management units, sales departments, and newsrooms are formally separated, and the National Journalistic Employment Contract states that the powers of the editor-in-chief "are determined by agreements stipulated between the publisher and the editor-in-chief", who is responsible for elaborating the editorial line with a degree of autonomy. There are nevertheless (rare) situations where pressure is exercised by owners or sponsors.	–	2
KR	Independence from advertisers is held as a principle, and many reporters do not encounter daily pressures. But higher-ranking journalists do feel pressure and have to sometimes arrange something for advertisers, via the advertising and sales department.	–	2
NL	Editorial bylaws endorse the chief editor's final responsibility and protect the strict separation between editorial staff on the one hand, and management and shareholders on the other. However, concentration in the newspaper market has increased significantly over the last ten years, and editors-in-chief are getting more involved in managerial tasks.	2	2
PT	The degree of independence of the newsroom against ownership is high in leading media, but weak in small news outlets.	2	2
SE	The management and the newsroom are separate most of the time.	2	2
UK	Newsrooms and management are generally separate, though changing business practices in UK newspapers is leading to a more porous boundary between the editorial and commercial arms of media companies.	2	2

Indicator F6 *Company rules against external influence on newsroom/editorial staff*

Country	Motivation for score	points 2011	points 2021
AT	Editors-in-chief strictly denied the direct influence of external parties on newsroom work and content, although such attempts were occasionally reported. The amount of public advertising compromises editorial freedom for some leading news media.	2	1
AU	The strong position of Australian media proprietors protects the newsroom from external influence.	3	3
BE	No interference from advertisers or sponsors in their daily news reporting was mentioned by Flemish journalists. Meanwhile, knowledge of income stream of their news brands was limited. Also, it was reported that many politicians tried to influence journalists on a regular basis.	–	2
CA	There are very few external influences on newsrooms in Canada.	–	3
CH	There are at least some informal rules in media companies to deal with external advertising influences. At the same time, however, problematic forms of advertising, such as "native advertising", have increased.	1	1
CL	Chilean media depends highly on advertising, which has led to scenarios of low revenue resulting in firing of journalists and editors. Despite this, journalists defend their autonomy from commercial interests.	–	2
DE	Leading news media in Germany receive their income from diverse sources. There is no single large advertiser.	2	2
DK	Danish newsrooms are well shielded from external commercial influence. The increasing relevance of native advertising does, however, pose a potential gateway for increasing external influence.	–	3
FI	Direct influence by external parties on newsroom decisions is still not seen as a major problem.	2	2
GR	Newsrooms depend on a few major advertisers or sponsors. Leading media companies in Greece – either for reasons of political or ideological standpoints, or due to journalistic integrity and professionalisation – have the potential to resist outside pressures. However, there have been cases where media houses have experienced boycott or pressures because of their reporting. Most journalists are unaware of the main sources of advertising income with the very small Greek advertising market having shrunk during and after the economic crisis, leading to dependence on fewer advertising sponsors.	–	1

HK	The external influence on newsrooms varies among news media organisations. Some respondents reported no direct influence of external parties on their newsroom work and content, although advertising boycotts due to political concerns have affected revenues.	–	1
IS	All main news media outlets have rules thwarting the direct influence of external parties on newsrooms and media content. Editors and journalists alike strictly deny such influence. No advertisers can be said to have dominance in leading news media. Leading Icelandic news media houses separate newsrooms from their advertising departments. All declare explicitly in their formal editorial rules that the interests of advertisers shall never be considered in news production.	–	3
IT	The Department of Information and Publishing of the Presidency of the Italian Council supports, through direct contributions, the editorial activity of newspapers and periodicals. Politics remains the main "external" factor influencing the quality of the journalistic product. Moreover, Italian newsrooms depend on a few large advertisers or sponsors. In this respect, legal provisions are in place to guarantee editorial independence, but the boundaries between information and advertising often tend to blur.	–	1
KR	Partly due to the structure of the economy, in which a few conglomerates dominate the demand for advertising space, and partly due to declining paid subscription for the news, leading news media depend more on advertising revenue. They also must be creative in devising other indirect advertising products such as advertorials, branded content, and so on.	–	1
NL	Direct influence from external parties on newsroom work and content is strictly forbidden, although advertisers occasionally attempt to gain influence. Given their smaller markets, local, regional, and niche news media are at higher risk of external influence.	2	2
PT	Although news media generally receive revenues from a multitude of advertisers, they are increasingly permeable to advertising formats, allowing some confusion between the editorial and commercial areas.	1	1
SE	There is less external pressure as subscriptions are becoming the single most important revenue source.	3	3
UK	Broadcast news in the UK is largely insulated from commercial pressures, although political interference in public service broadcasters has grown in the past decade. Commercial news outlets have a wide range of advertising partners, though there is some evidence of editorial favourability to certain industries.	2	2

Indicator F7 *Procedures on news selection and news processing*

Country	Motivation for score	points 2011	points 2021
AT	Institutionalised means of criticising journalistic working habits only exist in a few newsrooms and are not regularly practised.	1	1
AU	Although no formal rules on how to select and process news exist, informal rules are followed in the news selection and processing.	1	1
BE	Every leading Flemish news media has their own procedures on news selection and news processing, with freedom to discuss strategies. Editors have the loudest voice and most times they decide if an article is ready for publication.	–	2
CA	There are very few external influences on newsrooms in Canada.	–	2
CH	News selection and news framing became more audience oriented. But there is variation according to the type of media, for example, public versus private broadcast or elite versus popular versus free press.	2	2
CL	Routine is the main element when selecting news, with relatively small space for reflection. Decisions are mainly taken in editorial meetings and the conversations between journalists and editors during the day.	–	2
DE	Internal debate on news production is practised more than once every day and is part of journalistic routines.	2	2
DK	Most news media have formal procedures for news processing. For news selection, however, the formal procedures are far less detailed.	–	3
FI	Despite radical reforms of strategy for news production and distribution, the ways of processing and selecting the news have not yet been revolutionised.	2	2
GR	Internal debate on news production is practiced more than once every day and is part of journalistic routines. Leading news media follows informal rules and procedures, consisting of meetings between the editors-in-chief, when selecting news topics. The primary factor in this selection seemed to be the political stance of the organisation. In managing news derived from social media, certain processes of verification were in place, however, nearly all media outlets lacked a fact-checking department.	–	2
HK	Only a few media organisations have formal rules or training on news selection and news processing. Most of the respondents emphasised that new journalists learn through experience and by following the newsroom practices of senior staff.	–	1

IS	Internal debate is mostly limited to daily news meetings and the procedures concerning news selection and news processing are usually informal and not based on formalised rules.	–	1
IT	Italian journalism does not have procedures for news selection, nor media accountability measures. There is almost an overabundance of codes of ethics, but these codes are not compulsory, nor widely respected and, when norms are violated, there are no strict sanctions. The Worlds of Journalism Study shows that Italian journalists perceive having little autonomy in deciding which topics to work on and how to frame their news.	–	1
KR	Rules and routines, albeit informal, do exist and there are abundant debates in newsrooms.	–	2
NL	In the absence of formal news or document selection rules that might outline a definition of what is and what is not news, meetings and discussions held by editorial staff can be considered as informal selection procedures.	2	2
PT	Rules and standards for news processing exist, but they are not always present in day-to-day routines. The pressure of online breaking news and the dependence on clicks by the audience, as well as the permanent presence of social media, leaves almost no room for debates.	2	1
SE	Newsroom practices are in line with formal rules.	3	3
UK	Broadcast news in the UK is governed by a series of regular procedures on news selection and processing. Newspapers also supply detailed guidelines to journalists on newsgathering and verification.	2	3

Indicator F8 *Rules and practices on internal gender equality*

Country	Motivation for score	points 2011	points 2021
AT	Employment conditions among male and female journalists are equal in terms of conditions and pay.	–	2
AU	After decades of reforms and changed policies, women remain less paid, less promoted, and harassed.	–	1
BE	Equal conditions of employment and benefits for both genders are ensured and even enshrined in regulations. However, male journalists earn more and are promoted more often than their female colleagues.	–	1
CA	Addressing gender equality in a structural way in Canada's news media remains a challenge.	–	2
CH	Gender equality has improved significantly, but there are still more male journalists working in the politics department and especially in higher positions in newspapers.	–	2
CL	There is a notorious gap in participation in higher positions, where women face greater challenges to work than men. There is also a difference in salaries between genders.	–	1
DE	Media organisations are more aware of gender inequalities than they were a decade ago. However, systematic measures to even out gender imbalances, like supporting female talent or fighting the gender pay gap, remain on the agenda. However, informal efforts to eliminate them exist and have already succeeded in some respect.	–	2
DK	Gender differences in terms of salary and positions persist, albeit to a lower degree than in other sectors and in other countries. There is relatively little emphasis on achieving gender equality through formal rules and initiatives, but in recent years, awareness has increased and large media organisations are beginning to explicitly articulate their goals on internal gender equality.	–	2
FI	Gender equality is protected by law and women have equal opportunities to proceed and develop their careers as journalists. However, the division of work tends to be very stereotypical in practice.	–	2
GR	Inequalities exist and remain. The organisations slowly move towards eliminating them. The Greek media do not acknowledge the existence of gender issues; therefore, there are no rules applied to address them. According to male journalists, all news employees enjoy the same treatment irrespective of gender. However, women journalists' accounts reflect images of income inequalities based on gender, as well as difficulties in climbing the ladder of rankings within a media organisation.	–	1

HK	Employment conditions, including salaries, are equal for male and female journalists.	–	2
IS	Employment conditions among male and female journalists are mostly equal in terms of conditions and pay. Women are under-represented in decision-making positions in media companies.	–	2
IT	Although the overall situation of gender equality in the country has improved over the past 15 years, the reality of journalism in Italy shows that gender inequalities are still widely present in the sector, and there is still a lack of awareness amongst professionals. Patterns of inequality persist in women's participation in news reporting, job guarantees, pay gaps, and glass ceiling barriers to career advancement.	–	1
KR	Inequalities still remain. An unequal cultural milieu and poor daycare support are partly to blame for the remaining inequalities, especially in relation to the promotion of female journalists.	–	2
NL	Employment conditions among male and female journalists are equal in terms of conditions and pay.	–	2
PT	Employment conditions are basically equal between men and women, although there is still a lower presence of female journalists in senior managing positions, which causes some gender pay gaps.	–	2
SE	There are more women in top positions and newsrooms.	–	3
UK	Despite recent improvements in the representation of women in the very top editing and managerial roles, women continue to be underrepresented in managerial roles, and a substantial gender pay gap remains.	–	2

Indicator F9 *Gender equality in media content*

Country	Motivation for score	points 2011	points 2021
AT	There is growing sensitivity among journalists for gender equality in media content, but no formal rules apply. Stereotypes prevail in visual gender representation.	–	1
AU	Women in sports has seen greater coverage than ever, but there is room to expand how and how much the media is covering women and their concerns.	–	1
BE	No rules or guidelines regarding the promotion of gender equality in media content apply, with only the Flemish public broadcaster imposing gender quotas. Our interviewees seemed to be aware of the underrepresentation of women in media, but none indicated the need for regulation or monitoring.	–	1
CA	Acknowledging gender inequalities in media content is not enough. Canadian news organisations must approach the problem of promoting free expression and the inclusion of diverse voices in a more meaningful and structural way.	–	1
CH	Women have received more media coverage in the last decade, but men are still more prominent, especially in the political news sections of the Swiss media.	–	1
CL	The difference in sources and roles assigned to men and women is noticeable in Chile. This issue concerns academia and several entities. Despite available guidelines, it is still not apparent in the journalistic profession.	–	0
DE	German media became increasingly sensitive to gender and diversity issues, but no formal or legal regulations are in force.	–	1
DK	Danish news media has no codified rules securing gender equality in media content, but an increased awareness of the issue exists.	–	1
FI	The leading Finnish news media organisations strive towards increased gender equality in media content online by using a tracking system. However, challenges remain, as the surrounding society is truly not equal.	–	2
GR	There are no specific rules on gender equality in reporting, and each journalist decides whether or not it is respected in reporting. In leading news media organisations, a culture of safeguarding gender equality in their content is lacking. This is reflected in the lack of rules regarding gender balance or parity in reporting, a phenomenon stemming from the lack of awareness that gender sensitivity in reporting is crucial in order to make media reflect upon the plurality of society's voices.	–	0

HK	Past research has found that media construction of gender stereotypes remained prevalent in Hong Kong. The respondents accepted the importance of gender equality, but they did not see it as a serious concern and were not particularly aware of gender equality when reporting news.	–	1
IS	Journalists agree that gender equality in media content is important, but no formal rules apply except at the public broadcasting service. Women are under-represented as news subjects.	–	2
IT	Italian news media are increasingly presented and produced by female journalists, yet it is still mostly men that make the news as subjects, while women continue to be marginalised in the news agenda. In comparative studies, Italy still scores below the European and global average, but some recent positive developments are worth mentioning.	–	2
KR	Leading news media are only just beginning to be more inclusive in content construction in factors such as source distribution and selection of columnists. The current lack of diversity can be attributed partly to the overall social state, as South Korea has immense gaps in gender equality in the professional sphere and social status.	–	1
NL	Although there is a growing sensitivity among journalists for gender equality in media content, media professionals overestimate the number of women in the news. No formal rules apply. The public broadcasters (at local, regional, and national level) do not follow a quota system, although they are supposed to represent women in a balanced way.	–	2
PT	There is an overwhelming dominance of male actors and protagonists in the news.	–	1
SE	The accepted principles are not always practised.	–	2
UK	There is an imbalance in the frequency of female voices as expert sources in UK news coverage, and in the portrayal of women in certain outlets, though several news organisations, particularly broadcasters, have engaged in policy reviews and have introduced new policies and procedures to address the problem.	–	2

Indicator F10 *Misinformation and digital platforms (alias social media)*

Country	Motivation for score	points 2011	points 2021
AT	Misinformation on digital platforms is of minor relevance and importance so far, and defence mechanisms are not yet developed.	–	1
AU	Misinformation is spreading aggressively on social media, and its impacts are reverberating in current crises.	–	1
BE	Concerns about misinformation are rising among Flemish journalists. It has become more prevalent on social media. Fact-checking and double-checking of information is seen as part of the job. A few Flemish organisations are specialised in fact-checking.	–	3
CA	While Canadian newsrooms are worried about disinformation and misinformation, there are few recent examples of coordinated efforts to misinform the population.	–	3
CH	Misinformation and false information have been recognised, and most editorial offices defend themselves with special internal units or collaboration with external fact-checking organisations.	–	2
CL	Having teams dedicated to fact-checking is still an emerging process within the Chilean journalistic routine. The social protests of 2019 promoted and accelerated the establishment of these practices.	–	2
DE	In most leading German news media, there exist specially trained experts to monitor misinformation. In only a few cases are algorithm-based tools used, as traditional means of fact-checking are considered more valuable.	–	2
DK	There is high awareness on the issue of misinformation on digital platforms in Denmark; the actual amount of fake news and disinformation campaigns on social media appears, however, to be comparatively low. Defence mechanisms are in place, but they mostly rely on established journalistic fact-checking, while algorithmic and data-driven solutions are only slowly being tested by few media.	–	2
FI	The leading Finnish news media rely primarily on internal processes and traditional practices of good journalism as defensive weapons against misinformation. They have also invested in improving the media literacy of their audiences.	–	2

GR	Regular internal meetings to discuss potential misinformation. There is no common approach applying to all the Greek media regarding the issue of misinformation. The process of careful crosschecking is the typical action of Greek journalists in order to deal with misinformation. Most media organisations do not have fact-checking departments, nor have they established official collaboration with external fact-checking organisations.	–	1
HK	There are no formal defense mechanisms or regular training for defeating fake news, although all of the respondents admitted that misinformation on digital platforms is a serious problem, particularly in times of social unrest and the Covid-19 pandemic.	–	2
IS	Misinformation on digital platforms is of minor relevance and importance so far, and defence mechanisms are not developed and not seen as a priority.	–	1
IT	Italian leading news media have not developed particular expertise and practices to identify misinformation and avoid spreading fake news. Among the newsrooms examined, the most common habit is to address the problem at the individual level. Outside news media organisations several actors and agencies are involved in projects aimed at fighting misinformation.	–	2
KR	There are special rules and checks for reporting something from social media or the Internet, especially when quoting someone based on social media posts.	–	2
NL	Misinformation is a crucial issue in Dutch newsrooms. Only a few media outlets check online comments using algorithmic tools. Sufficient training is provided.	–	2
PT	There are a number of fact-checking mechanisms in some newsrooms, as well as monitoring initiatives regarding "fake news" and disinformation. The need to deal carefully with social media is a major concern in most news media.	–	2
SE	Doubtful information is usually checked.	–	2
UK	Journalists demonstrate a high regard for the need for social media verification in their work. While print media do not publicise guidelines for social media verification, broadcast newsrooms tend to have detailed procedures in place, particularly for international coverage.	–	2

Indicator F11 *Protection of journalists against (online) harassment*

Country	Motivation for score	points 2011	points 2021
AT	Journalists generally rely on support and protection by their employers in case of harassment.	–	3
AU	Online harassment has become a mainstay of being a journalist online. Despite its implications for journalists, little has been done to stem the tide.	–	1
BE	Flemish journalists mention a rise of (online) harassment and intimidation, but knowledge about what to do against this and where to go to file complaints is limited.	–	2
CA	No specific laws protect Canadian journalists against online harassment. News organisations apply an ad hoc approach to helping their journalists when they become the target of online trolls.	–	2
CH	Online harassment of journalists became a problem in the last years, but Swiss journalists are protected by assistance, for example, by specialised internal (legal) centres.	–	2
CL	The protection of journalists is irregular, depending on each employer and on the context.	–	1
DE	Journalists can rely on their employers in such cases, but the news media organisations decide whether they will assist on a case-by-case basis.	–	2
DK	There is increasing awareness for the issue of online harassment, and internal policies to address the issue are in place – although not always well implemented in practice. The trade union provides an ample level of assistance and guidance.	–	3
FI	All the largest news media organisations in Finland have their own internal protocols and guidelines for protecting their journalists against external interference and harassment. Meanwhile, freelancers may get help from a special fund. Online harassment is also going to be criminalised.	–	3
GR	Journalists can rely on their employers in such cases, but cost or other reasons sometimes compromise the assistance provided by news media organisations. In case of harassment, the main type of support offered to journalists from their media organisations is legal support. However, not all journalists feel adequately protected or there are cases where they felt no level of support towards them, especially for women journalists.	–	2
HK	Journalists generally rely on the support and protection of their employers in cases of harassment. The HKJA and other news worker groups have made a joint declaration against police harassment of journalists.	–	1

IS	Journalists can usually rely on support and protection from their employers in case of harassment, but guidelines are often lacking.	–	2
IT	Italy features as the country in Europe where journalists' safety is most threatened by online harassment, personal assaults, and intimidation, often connected to reporting on organised crime and mafia issues. No specific protection mechanism has been adopted against online harassment or threats (apart from the legal guardianship in the exercise of the journalistic profession); no mechanisms exist to protect women professionals from on- and offline harassment.	–	1
KR	Cyberstalking is a huge problem in South Korea. Most firms protect their employees and try to prevent traumatic experiences, especially for less-experienced journalists.	–	2
NL	(Online) harassment is an increasing problem in the Netherlands. *Persveilig.nl* was launched as a contact point to address problems. In general, journalists are supported and protected by their employer's legal department.	–	3
PT	There have been no such situations in the country; it is not an issue (at least for now).	–	3
SE	In the face of increasing harassment, there is now better security for all staff.	–	3
UK	UK journalists with formal contracts enjoy a range of support mechanisms relating to abuse and harassment online. Legal protections also apply in some cases. Freelance journalists, however, report little or no access to support networks.	–	2

Dimension: Equality / Interest mediation (E)

Indicator E1 *Media ownership concentration national level*

Country	Motivation for score	points 2011	points 2021
AT	Ownership concentration on a national level remains remarkably high, as a few big media companies divide the market among them.	1	1
AU	Australia has a high media ownership concentration on a national level for offline media, which tends to be repeated online.	1	1
BE	Belgium as a whole has a very diverse multilingual media landscape, but with only very few overlaps in brands and company ownership between, notably, the Dutch- and French-language communities and media markets.	–	2
CA	The issue of news concentration has been the subject of successive government studies for 50 years, with very little change. The digital environment has provided a wealth of viewpoints, introducing new problems.	–	2
CH	Only a few media companies dominate the print media market in the four language regions, while the public service broadcaster SRG SSR leads the electronic sector in all language regions.	2	2
CL	A highly concentrated market with media holdings.	–	1
DE	The television audience market is extremely concentrated with a strong counterweight of public service broadcasters. Print and radio markets are not very highly concentrated.	2	2
DK	The level of media ownership concentration in Denmark is relatively high and primarily the result of Denmark being a small media market (as Danish is only spoken in Denmark).	–	2
FI	The national media market is relatively concentrated, with only a handful of companies dividing the market in each sector. Since 2011, mergers and acquisitions within the industry have continued, but the overall concentration ratios have remained stable.	2	2
GR	There is a moderate concentration ratio, with some market dominance by large companies – CR3 is between 0.40 and 0.70. Despite the fact that Greece has more media outlets than the market can sustain, the level of ownership concentration is dangerously high. The main reason for this is the vulnerable media legislation, whose limitation on horizontal concentration in broadcast media and newspapers permits a specific modus operandi of the market.	–	2
HK	Hong Kong is a city; therefore, this indicator is not applicable.	–	2

IS	Competition is limited in the small Icelandic media market, and four big media companies are overall dominant in all news media sectors. There is, however, no cross-ownership to speak of in the media sector.	–	1
IT	The Italian landscape shows moderate media ownership concentration, with some market-dominant positions by large companies.	–	2
KR	A higher concentration ratio (CR3) is observed when the news media market share is calculated based on news consumption (47.3%) rather than production (38.2%).	–	2
NL	Ownership concentration on a national level is remarkably high, with only five large media companies sharing the market among them.	2	1
PT	There are three or more competitors for every area. There is some concentration in a few media groups, but various relevant titles still exist outside those groups.	2	2
SE	The previously existing oligopoly situation continues to be in place.	2	2
UK	Ownership concentration in the newspaper industry has increased in recent years, and commercial radio is dominated by a small number of companies. The BBC, while publicly owned, is dominant in broadcasting overall, and broadcast news provision is almost entirely provided by the BBC, ITN, and Sky News.	2	2

Indicator E2 *Media ownership concentration regional (local) level*

Country	Motivation for score	points 2011	points 2021
AT	On a regional level, ownership concentration is remaining remarkably high. In most Austrian regions, one newspaper is dominant; the public service broadcaster still dominates the local radio market.	1	1
AU	Australia's demographic distribution and resulting economy of scale have led to a high media ownership concentration on a regional level.	0	1
BE	The Flemish media market is highly concentrated. In recent years, a wave of mergers and acquisitions led to the total number of leading media companies dropping from nine to just five.	–	1
CA	Local media continues to struggle but does not suffer from the same ownership concentration as the national news services.	–	3
CH	The strong concentration of newspapers at regional level has increased significantly. Moreover, almost all private regional radio and television stations are owned by the dominant media groups.	1	1
CL	One company dominates newspapers, but media ownership is diversified at the regional level.	–	2
DE	On a regional level, ownership concentration remains remarkably high. In most German regions, one newspaper is dominant, and the public service broadcaster still dominates the local radio market.	2	2
DK	There is a relatively high degree of media ownership concentration at the regional level in Denmark after a period of market consolidation in the last decade.	–	2
FI	Apart from newspapers, the leading news media houses in Finland are more nationally oriented. There are no significant regional or local television channels. Dominant regional newspapers generally face no direct competition in their own market area.	1	1
GR	More than two media companies address most relevant regions. Following the media market deregulation and the abolition of state monopoly on broadcasting, regional television stations entered the media field in the early 1990s without receiving official licences, as was also the case for the national television stations. Later on, indicative of the harsh crisis afflicting the media market, is the fact that more than 50 regional television stations closed down over the period of the economic recession.	–	2

HK	The Hong Kong government has a restrictive licensing policy that results in a broadcasting oligopoly in Hong Kong. TVB has long held a virtual monopoly on the free-television market. Across all media organisations, there is no major concentration of ownership under a single giant media conglomerate. However, there is another form of ownership concentration, that of a small number of businessmen with vested interests in mainland China. They have operated across the news media with the same political and economic constraints, although the situation is currently in the process of being challenged by the rise of online and alternative media.	–	2
IS	In most Icelandic regions, there is one dominant local media outlet, and in many areas, only one outlet published. The national media is instrumental for people getting news in general.	–	1
IT	The Italian national and local news media landscape is not easy to analyse, as it is hard to disentangle the local from the national dimension. The overall level of concentration is moderate.	–	2
KR	The ownership concentration at the regional level largely matches the national level, although there may be some regional preferences for specific news outlets.	–	1
NL	The same two large players dominate both the national and regional newspaper markets. By contrast, concentration in the regional radio and television market is considerably lower.	1	1
PT	Ownership concentration at the regional level is very low, with many dozens of small newspapers belonging to different owners	3	3
SE	Regional media empires have emerged.	2	2
UK	The UK local press has become more concentrated over the past 20 years, but a significant “long tail” of smaller publishers still exists. Broadcast news, as at the national level, is dominated by the BBC and Sky News, though the local radio and hyperlocal sector has a wide variety of providers.	1	2

Indicator E3 *Diversity of news formats*

Country	Motivation for score	points 2011	points 2021
AT	Austrian news media provide for a large variety of different news formats, from headline news online to long-reads in newspapers and background features on radio and television. All different categories are covered, including local, national, and international news as well as politics, economy, current affairs, culture, and sport sections.	3	3
AU	News and information formats are under pressure.	2	2
BE	Radio, television, and newspaper news maintain a strong dominance in Flanders. Regular online news is catching up rapidly but is nearly all owned by legacy players. Online-only news media only operate in the fringes.	–	2
CA	There is great diversity of formats for Canadian news.	–	3
CH	The diversity of different media products as well as different formats of news presentation is still sufficient. But there are clear tendencies towards a stronger orientation on reader interests, with more tabloidisation of news, especially in the print media.	2	2
CL	A media landscape that achieves innovation, but it is still at an early stage as for the variety of formats and consolidation of the same.	–	2
DE	News formats are abundantly available, and citizens can choose from a very long list of news formats in all media sectors. Popular news formats offer snackable and mobile news with special apps. News formats are of high quality, and a majority trusts them.	3	3
DK	There is strong diversity in news formats in Denmark on all platforms and in both privately owned and public service media.	–	3
FI	Most major news formats are widely available in Finland, with new formats being generated online by both legacy and online-only outlets.	3	3
GR	Few formats are available, and public attention is focused on dominant news formats. Deprived of substantial investments on innovative ventures, the news media of Greece are characterised by conventional news formats. The transition to the online environment has been slow, clumsy, and in some cases, questionably user friendly.	–	1

HK	Hong Kong has a large variety of different news formats covering different regions of focus, including local news, Chinese and Asian news, and world news, as well as all news sectors, such as politics, finance, culture, entertainment, and sports. With regard to news formats, other than traditional long-form and feature stories, many new media formats are now emerging in what is becoming a small and competitive market. These include animated news, virtual-reality news, and live-streamed news broadcasting.	–	3
IS	Icelandic news media provide for a large variety of different news formats, from headline news online to long-reads in newspapers and background features on radio and television. All different categories are covered, including local, national, and international news, as well as politics, economy, current affairs, culture, and sports sections.	–	3
IT	The diversity of news formats in Italy is quite rich. A high degree of abundance characterises different media sectors, with positive results for democracy.	–	2
KR	The popularity of smartphones to access news while on the move has contributed to the emergence of "card news" as a convenient, visualised news format. New and innovative formats of news presentation have started to take off, especially geared towards younger audiences who are used to the fast-paced and eclectic news available on social media platforms.	–	2
NL	Dutch news media range across a wide array of different news formats, from headline news online to long-form reads in newspapers and discussion programmes on radio and television.	2	3
PT	There is an increasing homogenisation of formats, leading to less diversity in the public offer.	1	1
SE	There is an abundance of news formats of different types.	3	3
UK	The UK news landscape is characterised by a wide range of news formats across all platforms.	3	3

Indicator E4 *Minority/Alternative media*

Country	Motivation for score	points 2011	points 2021
AT	The availability and institutionalisation of minority media depends on whether the minority is legally recognised. Overall, a wide range of minority media are available; however, their reach is limited.	2	2
AU	Australia offers an abundance of broadcast and print media in languages other than English.	3	3
BE	There are no news outlets directly addressing minority groups. Public broadcaster VRT does offer a portion of its online news in English, French, and German though.	–	1
CA	Efforts have been made to establish a minority and alternative media sector within the wider news system.	–	3
CH	Swiss linguistic minorities are well served by the Swiss mass media. The public broadcaster SRG SSR guarantees that all official languages and cultures are covered with information. And some alternative media exist as well. But there is still almost no special media for minorities with migrant backgrounds.	2	2
CL	There are media and initiatives for several specific communities, but usually they are born out of those same groups and tend to be niche.	–	2
DE	Large and mid-size minority groups are increasingly recognised by existing media, but, compared to the diversity of society, minority media are rather a niche-phenomenon, and only a few large and powerful minorities operate their own media.	3	2
DK	The only officially recognised minority group in Denmark, the Germans, have their own media. Other minorities are less visible and represented in the Danish media landscape.	–	2
FI	The supply of media content in Swedish and Sámi languages is extensive in relation to the size of the population in Finland, but other minority and alternative media organisations are limited.	2	2
GR	The existing media houses recognise large and mid-size minority groups and they operate their own media. Since the early 1990s, various attempts have been made to establish fair representation of minority groups in media outlets. However, governmental policies of no-recognition and counterfeit representation of ethnic groups by traditional media left a lot to be desired.	–	2

HK	Minority ethnicities are generally under-represented and negatively portrayed in Hong Kong. The sole public service broadcaster has worked on programs for the purposes of cultural diversity and produced programs for ethnic minorities. The rise of the Internet provides an opportunity for ethnic media and for platforms on which minorities can interact.	–	1
IS	There is no minority media to speak of in Iceland. A few news media outlets have news in English or Polish to cater to the country's growing immigration populations.	–	1
IT	Minority and alternative media play an important role in the Italian news media market, particularly for linguistic minority groups, to whom the Italian Constitution guarantees provision of relevant news access by both public and private initiatives. The plurality of non-commercial and civic information initiatives, often connected to the so-called third sector, is also meaningful.	–	3
KR	Minority and alternative media are extremely scarce, and news media specialising in investigative journalism are still very small in comparison with legacy media. However, the rise of Internet news has given these news outlets greater reach.	–	0
NL	The public broadcaster aims at inclusive broadcasting. Minority groups, among them ethnic minorities, can make their voices heard. In this regard, some forms of media are doing better than others. Cultural diversity and diversity of opinion remain thorny issues.	3	2
PT	Relatively little attention is paid to minorities in the mainstream media, and they have little media of their own.	1	1
SE	Minority and alternative media reach a limited audience.	1	2
UK	The BBC devotes significant funding to minority-language news in Scotland and Wales, and the BBC Asian Network is also aimed at minority audiences. Commercial minority media covering many language groups and communities are licensed by Ofcom and several are available in print and online.	3	3

Indicator E5 *Affordable public and private news media*

Country	Motivation for score	points 2011	points 2021
AT	All news media have moderate sales prices compared to the average income of Austrian households. Prices for cultural expenditures have remained stable, or have even been decreasing, over the past ten years.	3	3
AU	Media are readily affordable in Australia but there is still a reluctance by some demographics to pay for news.	3	3
BE	The public broadcaster is funded directly through Flemish taxpayers' money, whereas research has shown that Belgians pay considerably more for broadband access than their neighbours.	–	2
CA	Prices vary, but Canadians can access news.	–	2
CH	Switzerland is one of the richest countries in the world, and its mass media is relatively cheap and affordable for almost everybody. But "over-information" on the Internet is a factor for certain people, who don't want to pay anymore for journalistic media products.	3	3
CL	Subscriptions to the main printed and digital newspapers are expensive for the average salary, but the rest of the media are affordable for the people	–	2
DE	All news media are quite cheap compared to the average income of a German household.	3	3
DK	Public service media are relatively affordable. Newspapers – both print and online – are relatively expensive.	–	2
FI	The prices for media services in relation to household income remain affordable.	3	3
GR	Price excludes only few households from receiving news – Prices of services are relatively low, while the majority of news content is offered free of charge. However, the cost of news media is still relatively high for an average household.	–	2
HK	Newspapers, online news outlets, and television broadcast news can be accessed at low prices in relation to the average monthly income. In fact, most media outlets' news content is freely available online, and Hong Kong has very high Internet and mobile phone penetration rates.	–	3
IS	All news media can be considered affordable for the average household in Iceland. The price of a "basic package" of the most common media outlets can be considered low when measured by average spending power.	–	3

IT	In Italy, the price represents an entrance barrier for few households in terms of access to information. Although almost all of the Italian population accesses the media, and over 80 per cent of citizens access information every day, lower education and economic levels can lead to the exclusion or marginalisation of certain segments of the population from the news consumption.	–	2
KR	Accessing news is relatively easy in South Korea, with news articles and television news programmes provided free of charge online most of the time. Various forms of news are accessible as long as one has a personal computer or a smartphone. Channel reception fees, cable, and smartphone plans are generally affordable.	–	3
NL	News media have moderate sales prices compared to the average income of Dutch households.	3	3
PT	Prices are decreasing and much free content is available, but the cost of news media is still relatively high for an average household. In the sensitive area of telecommunications (cable television, Internet access, mobile phone), prices are increasing, while they are decreasing in most other European countries.	2	1
SE	Media spending is dominated by non-news media.	3	2
UK	News in the UK (across all platforms) is generally affordable compared to average household income. Online output by several national and most regional outlets is free to access online.	3	3

Indicator E6 *Content monitoring instruments*

Country	Motivation for score	points 2011	points 2021
AT	Publicly available institutionalised and independent media monitoring instruments are rare in Austria.	1	1
AU	Australia has a number of monitoring instruments, but largely of a self-regulatory nature.	2	2
BE	The Flemish government-owned media watchdog only assesses the media market on economical parameters, but might soon be given the questionable task of assessing the impartiality of the public broadcaster.	–	1
CA	There is no formal monitoring.	–	0
CH	Efforts to monitor the media in Switzerland on a regular basis are institutionalised in OFCOM. Supervision is carried out on a regular basis, but of the broadcasting media.	1	1
CL	There is more than one external instance, which functions in a case by case manner, but media do not self-monitor permanently for the citizenship.	–	1
DE	Continuous content monitoring is regularly provided and published by independent organisations, scholars, and media organisations.	3	3
DK	Content monitoring instruments are not widely implemented in the Danish media industry.	–	1
FI	There have been some content monitoring initiatives by the media houses themselves, universities, and public bodies. However, they are mostly irregular and non-systematic. In some regards, the data basis for systematic monitoring has eroded in recent years.	1	1
GR	Content monitoring is done irregularly and occasionally by various organisations. The NCRTV is the monitoring body for broadcasting media, a regulating entity independent from, but supervised by, the government. Thematic observatories, as well as university departments focusing on media and communication studies, also conduct relevant monitoring procedures and research projects regarding news media content.	–	1
HK	Independent media monitoring instruments and institutionalised regulation of media are rare in Hong Kong.	–	1
IS	Publicly available institutionalised and independent media monitoring instruments are rare in Iceland.	–	1
IT	Monitoring instruments for media content in the Italian landscape are numerous and diversified. In this scenario, the presence of Agcom, which works to protect pluralism also through a series of monitoring activities, should be highlighted.	3	3

KR	Public and civic monitoring bodies provide content monitoring regularly and offer easy public access to decisions and statistics online.	–	1
NL	The Dutch Media Authority publishes the Media Monitor, an annual report that analyses ownership relations and markets, with a specific focus on pluralism in news media. The Dutch Journalism Fund strongly focuses on research and monitoring news media, including those related to local and regional news.	3	3
PT	There are different monitoring instruments and they are publicly available, but some complaints about their inaction or passivity arise now and then.	3	2
SE	Content monitoring is done occasionally.	1	1
UK	The UK has no public media monitor, though piecemeal monitoring is conducted by NGOs and academic units, some self-monitoring mechanisms are operated by broadcasters, and there are some transparency obligations on regulated media that comprise informal monitoring instruments.	2	1

Indicator E7 *Code of ethics at the national level*

Country	Motivation for score	points 2011	points 2021
AT	The self-governed code of ethics for print media is well respected. For audiovisual and Internet-based media no national code exists (only company rules).	1	2
AU	The journalists' code of ethics is well-known in the print industry but needs to be updated to better suit new online environments.	2	2
BE	There is no code of ethics at the national, Belgian level, but rather at the Dutch- and French-speaking levels specifically. Journalists refer to these codes frequently, and they are taught in journalism studies.	–	3
CA	While most news organisations have a code of ethics or set of journalistic standards of practice during their work, there is no national code of ethics in Canada.	–	1
CH	Although there is a code of ethics formulated by the Swiss Press Council, it has only a limited effect in the everyday life of journalists.	1	1
CL	There is more than one entity in charge of media ethics; however, they are not relevant referents for the daily exercise of journalism.	–	1
DE	A code is implemented and frequently used by all leading news media.	3	3
DK	National media have high ethical standards and procedures on a formal as well as informal level.	–	3
FI	All leading news media organisations in Finland have committed to the common code of ethics, overseen by CMM.	3	3
GR	A code exists, but not all leading news media respect it. In Greece, there are five journalism associations, which compose the Pan-Hellenic Federation of Journalists' Association, covering the whole country geographically and representing both newspapers and electronic media. There is also the Internet Publishers Association, representing the publishing companies of primary digital content. Each of them has issued their own Code of Ethics. However, they mostly share common norms on how journalism should be exercised. Despite journalists' declarations of loyalty and adherence to the journalistic Code of Ethics, research has shown that they are less sincere than it is thought. In leading news media, there are many cases where loose interpretation of the Code of Ethics proves to be a common practice among journalists, showing disrespect towards ethical standards.	–	2

HK	There exists a self-governed code of ethics, yet not all media organisations adhere to it. Interviewees stressed that they respect the code of ethics, although its details generally escaped them.	–	2
IS	A code of ethics exists at the national level and is respected by most news media outlets.	–	2
IT	In Italy, the journalistic profession and deontology are characterised by a relevant number of codes pertaining to different aspects, and establishing principles and norms, but these are seldom known or explicitly considered guidelines in newsroom practice.	–	2
KR	Codes of ethics exist both at the national and the firm levels. Newsroom practice does not always match what is laid out on paper.	–	2
NL	Most media organisations comply with the guidelines of the Press Council and the Code of the Association of Editors-in-Chief or observe a code of conduct of their own.	2	2
PT	A national Code of Ethics exists, but not all leading media respect it.	2	2
SE	The code of ethics is implemented and frequently used.	3	3
UK	UK news media are variously covered by five separate codes of ethics that apply nationwide. Broadcast news provision is underpinned by legislation.	2	3

Indicator E8 *Level of self-regulation*

Country	Motivation for score	points 2011	points 2021
AT	Self-regulation occurs rather informally; institutionalised or codified rules and procedures are rare.	1	2
AU	While the self-regulatory system is far from perfect, a fair attempt is made to implement it.	2	2
BE	Most news media have their own editorial statutes, deontological codes, and newsroom council or ombudsperson. In case of unethical journalistic behaviour, citizens can file a complaint with the journalism councils in both regions.	–	2
CA	An established broadcasting self-regulator for private broadcasters.	–	2
CH	Although there are many measures and instruments for corporate and editorial self-organisation, they contribute little to media accountability of companies and journalists.	2	2
CL	Internal self-regulation exists associated with a culture shared by journalists and editors within a medium, with clear dogmas, but are rarely written down.	–	1
DE	Leading news media have self-regulation instruments in place but only use them occasionally.	2	2
DK	The level of self-regulation is high in Denmark and part of a professional newsroom culture.	–	3
FI	The common code of ethics overseen by CMM is the backbone for self-regulation in all leading news media organisations in Finland. Beyond these national guidelines, the existence of additional internal guidelines and self-regulation instruments varies from one organisation to another.	2	3
GR	Self-regulation instruments exist, but are not notified. There is some "oral culture" in newsrooms. In the leading news media organisations of Greece, there seems to be no standard procedures or formal internal rules reflecting a typical self-regulation system. The interviewed journalists reported the dominance of an "oral culture" in newsrooms based on self-censorship and informal self-regulation practices. In this context, media organisations enforce their ideological orientation to which journalists must conform. Conflicting narratives and controversial topics are often settled through collective consensus in the newsroom.	–	1
HK	Self-regulation occurs rather informally; institutionalised or codified rules and procedures are rare.	–	1
IS	Self-regulation occurs rather informally, with the public service media a notable exception.	–	2

IT	Though the Italian legislation does not explicitly require the adoption of self-regulatory mechanisms, several leading media newsrooms adopt internal codes of ethics.	–	2
KR	Each news media outlet has its own mission statement, and most have codes of ethics or conduct. Readers' rights instruments and ombudspersons are present in many of the leading news media outlets but are not found very widely and often serve as customer service of sorts.	–	2
NL	The Press Council, which examines complaints about media coverage, is a self-regulatory organisation. Self-regulation can also be found in the open debate culture on fairness, balance, and impartiality in the newsrooms.	3	2
PT	Some self-regulation mechanisms exist on the level of the main news media, but their presence is less visible than in the past.	2	1
SE	Self-regulation instruments are in place.	2	3
UK	The UK print and online news media are subject to self-regulation. Broadcast regulation is managed by a statutory corporation that is not directly controlled by the state, though its guidelines are underpinned by statute.	2	2

Indicator E9 *Participation*

Country	Motivation for score	points 2011	points 2021
AT	Audience participation happens by posting comments online in some web-editions of newspapers and by analogue letters to the editor. Austrian newsrooms are not open to citizens' participation.	1	2
AU	Though there is an ongoing level of interaction between journalists and the public, there is no formal participation mechanism in the news process.	1	2
BE	Citizens cannot truly contribute to news reporting, and the option to comment on websites has been scaled back in favour of comments on social media.	–	1
CA	While some avenues remain open, others have closed to greater public contributions.	–	2
CH	As a consequence of social media, the leading Swiss news media created possibilities for feedback, but still hesitate to incorporate the participation of media users actively in the news process.	1	2
CL	There are limited instances for citizen participation in media and editors are critical of the quality of the discussion provided by the audiences.	–	2
DE	After a period of openness, newsrooms tend to close commentary functions again after masses of inappropriate or outright hateful user comments. Selected news items are still open for comments from the public, but under the supervision of a moderator.	2	2
DK	News media in Denmark invite participation from the public and value comments, tips, and letters to the editor.	–	2
FI	News media has generally shifted from anonymous and open commenting to moderated comments sections. Social media, too, has increased dialogue between journalists and audiences.	2	3
GR	Newsrooms always closed some space for comments online, but in online forums, not underneath news items. In Greece, the transition to online journalism does not necessarily mean a rise in the interaction between the audience and newsrooms. The trend is that online news platforms close off their comments sections under the fear of legal action. Radio seems to remain the sole medium where audience members can participate without having their voices or comments edited or filtered out.	–	1
HK	Hong Kong newsrooms are not open to participation by the general public. Audience participation in the newsroom is very limited.	–	2

IS	Audience participation in news mostly consists of posting comments online through social media and letters to the editor.	–	2
IT	Italian leading news media do not seem to be truly open and accessible to the public, since readers and audiences are rarely involved in the information production process. An increased awareness of the importance of using social media among information professionals goes together with limited management of the relational elements of digital platforms.	–	2
KR	Citizen participation is convenient and active. News outlets offer various online channels through which the public can comment, share user-generated content, and engage in public discussions.	–	3
NL	Audience participation happens by posting comments in some online newspaper editions or via Facebook pages, and by e-mails to the editor-in-chief or the ombudsperson.	3	3
PT	People are not particularly encouraged to participate in the news process, in spite of some improvements in the online context, where the possibility for commentary is generally available.	1	2
SE	Participation is only sometimes welcome.	2	2
UK	Different news organisations in the UK offer different avenues of participation for audiences. Many comments sections have been scaled back or removed due to difficulties in moderating abuse.	2	2

Indicator E10 *Rules and practices on internal pluralism*

Country	Motivation for score	points 2011	points 2021
AT	Most Austrian newsrooms do not have codified rules on internal pluralism – public service television being the exception. Leading newsrooms are undertaking efforts to extend the range of voices represented by the media.	1	2
AU	There is evidence of internal diversity but little of internal pluralism.	1	1
BE	There is a lack of designated rules and guidelines applicable to presenting opinions of journalists within the same newsroom. Overt diversity in viewpoints is most notable at the fringe online-only news media.	–	1
CA	A wide variety of rules and practices exist when it comes to ensuring that news organisations include a wide variety of perspectives.	–	2
CH	Media organisations strive for pluralism. Their editorial statutes should ensure that different views are brought to bear and reported from different perspectives. However, the diversity in newsrooms leaves much to be desired.	2	2
CL	There are no rules for internal pluralism, but there are opportunities for deliberation. In any case, in a polarised scenario, the issue of inner pluralism generates tension.	–	1
DE	No internal formal rules are in place, but newsroom meetings are a regular practice to discuss and check for pluralism.	2	2
DK	The internal pluralism in Denmark is based more on practices than rules and most often discussed in relation to professional journalistic values.	–	2
FI	Internal pluralism is generally encouraged and valued, but aside from general professional guidelines and values, there are few formal rules.	2	2
GR	It is the personal responsibility of the editor-in-chief or chief producer to check for internal pluralism. Plurality is the default practice for the public service broadcaster ERT. On the other hand, commercial broadcasters are mostly tied to a specific political orientatio, presenting a mono-dimensional policy in terms of internal pluralism. Thus, plurality in media is achieved through quantity of partisan perspectives, rather than through diversity of opinions inside a single medium.	–	1

HK	Some Hong Kong newsrooms, including public service broadcasting stations, have codified rules on internal pluralism, but they do not necessarily follow the rules. A large majority of leading newsrooms are making efforts to extend the range of voices represented by the media. However, a third of respondents suggested that their companies engaged in self-censorship and did not give experts from all sides equal chances to present their case.	–	1
IS	Icelandic newsrooms do not have codified rules on internal pluralism, but journalists try to make sure that there is diversity in the range of voices represented.	–	2
IT	Pluralism of viewpoints is regularly controlled by the Communications Guarantee Authority (Agcom). Private television broadcasters respect the par condicio during election periods, while the public service is obliged to allocate air time proportionally to all the political forces in Parliament.	–	2
KR	Codes of ethics and guidelines mandate the inclusion of different relevant viewpoints, and some level of internal pluralism is observed in the newsroom. However, there is no methodical system in place to ensure the reflection of various voices.	–	2
NL	Most news media organisations enjoy a culture of openness with room for discussion on internal pluralism, although this is still a matter of individual interests of journalists. No formal rules are in place.	2	2
PT	Internal pluralism is fairly well promoted in the main news media, and they give voice to various groups.	3	3
SE	There are no formal rules, but a regular debate is ongoing.	2	2
UK	UK broadcast news is subject to strict rules on impartiality and the representation of views on any programming dealing with controversial or political matters. Newspapers are free to be partisan but usually provide at least some space for opposing voices or views.	2	2

Dimension: Control / Watchdog (C)

Indicator C1 *Supervising the watchdog "control of the controllers"*

Country	Motivation for score	points 2011	points 2021
AT	Self-observation by journalists in the media and public debates about journalism have increased. But apart from some independent initiatives, no systematic media observation is done in Austria.	2	2
AU	Australia has a number of independent observers of the news media.	3	2
BE	Different independent supervisors scrutinise the Flemish (news) media, each of them monitoring a different field in journalism. Most of these "controllers of the controllers" publish their findings and elaborate reports on platforms freely accessible to the public. Self-regulation is also common on the level of media organisations and their brands, with a few media organisations even installing an independent ombudsperson.	–	2
CA	Several independent observers scrutinise Canada's news media.	–	2
CH	There is no external "control of the controllers"; at most there is individual ethical self-control in newsrooms. The judgements of the Press Council in this regard on the basis of the Code of Ethics are generally without consequence at both the corporate and editorial levels. Media criticism and media journalism barely take place anymore.	2	1
CL	There are different instances to oversee whether the media fulfils their journalistic function.	–	2
DE	Media performance and content are publicly discussed in the media. Over the last decade, online fora and the journalistic enterprises of critical journalists have become a watchdog force to be reckoned with.	2	2
DK	Media performance is often publicly discussed in media, and media themselves are a topic for critical journalistic coverage in special magazines and sometimes very rarely in media scandals.	–	2
FI	Independent media criticism in Finland is weakly institutionalised.	1	2

GR	Media performance is often publicly discussed in the media or online forums – some forms of journalistic coverage of the media. In Greece, the most prevalent institutionalised mechanism to control the performance and role of the news media is the NCRTV, which occasionally has been regarded as ineffective. Although media performance is often discussed in the media or in online forums, this discussion is often merely descriptive or based on the subjective perception of the criticiser, leading to unfocused or unsystematic critique lacking in depth. The most usual context where media performance is investigated and discussed comprehensively and systematically is the academic one.	–	2
HK	There are no institutionalised mechanisms for scrutinising the performance of leading news media, although universities, media bloggers, and professional journalists' bodies serve as independent observers monitoring their performance, especially in terms of self-censorship and news credibility. The performance of the media is always subject to debate.	–	1
IS	Self-observation by journalists in the media and public debates about journalism are not frequent, but sometimes occur in relation to specific issues. No systematic news media monitoring is done in Iceland.	–	1
IT	Professional as well as scientific debates on watchdog journalism and its practices are quite rare in the Italian media landscape, yet some meaningful initiatives fuel discussions and expose problematic situations.	–	2
KR	There exists ample media outlets and people who scrutinise journalists' behaviour, although the majority of the time it is one-note criticism by the other side of the political spectrum. But the general audience has exposure to both sides, which has the negative side-effect of increasing cynicism.	–	3
NL	There is no independent institution in the country that systematically monitors media performance, although the website *denieuwereporter.nl* and Media Ombudsman Foundation (MON) are inviting citizens and media professionals to think about the media's role as a watchdog.	2	2
PT	There are institutionalised mechanisms to control media performance as a watchdog, but these issues are not very present in public debates.	2	2
SE	Media performance is often discussed.	2	2
UK	Though UK news outlets have in the past been criticised for a reluctance to investigate or scrutinise their peers, several publications and broadcast channels have dedicated media beats, including indirect scrutiny through news review programmes. NGOs play a significant role in scrutinising the media industries and their regulatory structures.	2	3

Indicator C2 *Independence of the news media from powerholders*

Country	Motivation for score	points 2011	points 2021
AT	By law, journalists' independence is protected, but ownership structures limit this freedom in practice.	1	1
AU	Legal instruments to guarantee greater independence from power holders are relatively new. However, defamation law continues to be used as another pathway by the rich and powerful to silence critics.	2	2
BE	Flemish media organisations enjoy editorial independence, as set out in the Belgian Constitution and the media decree. Journalists declare being satisfied with the level of autonomy of their redaction. Nevertheless, politicians trying to influence the press is common practice.	–	2
CA	Legal instruments, democratic traditions, and journalistic standards and practices protect the Canadian news media's independence.	–	3
CH	For the leading media, pressure from external interest groups is part of their daily business. But regional and local media also have to cope with this challenge.	2	2
CL	The industrial view encompassing the Chilean media system has led to its property becoming mainly corporate. However, there are views about politics and society that reach the people in charge of the newsrooms.	–	2
DE	Independence from powerholders is guaranteed by law and widely respected, though there was one important case of undue influence by powerholders.	2	2
DK	No formal or ownership-related influence looms over leading news media houses, but political parallelism is a factor for newspapers.	–	3
FI	Independence of the Finnish news media from powerholders is generally strong, but it is increasingly tested.	2	2
GR	Strong formal or ownership-related influence of powerholders is exerted on leading news media. Leading news media houses in Greece are owned by powerful entrepreneurs, coming from other sectors of the economy, who use media companies as an effective instrument of serving their business interests.	–	0
HK	By law, the freedom of the press is protected, but press freedom continually deteriorates because of political pressure.	–	1
IS	Law and internal rules protect journalists' independence, but ownership structures indicate that political and economic interests still play a big role in some leading news media.	–	1

IT	Independence of news media is a critical aspect in the Italian context, where journalism evolves from longstanding relations with political and economic powers.	–	1
KR	Although it may look like a free press on the surface, leading South Korean news media are not completely free from the influence of government and conglomerates.	–	1
NL	The Dutch news media enjoy relative independence from the powers that be. Media ownership concentration increased in the last decade, with more media titles held by a single owner.	1	1
PT	Various laws and regulations guarantee some independence, but real practice shows some difficulties.	2	2
SE	The independence of private and public news media is well protected from power holders.	3	3
UK	UK broadcasters are broadly insulated from interference, despite recent government pressure on the BBC. Commercial news organisations are owned by media companies, and there is no recent tradition of party, church, or industry-owned news organisations.	3	2

Indicator C3 *Transparency of data on leading news media*

Country	Motivation for score	points 2011	points 2021
AT	Ownership structures are transparent online, but some important information on media and advertising markets is lacking.	1	2
AU	Data on media are rarely a topic of debate.	1	1
BE	Data on leading news media is easily accessible online, with the only difficulty sometimes being unravelling the complex power structures and revenue streams.	–	2
CA	There is little discussion about media system transparency.	–	2
CH	Detailed information on the ownership structure and decision-making processes of private commercial media organisations is not available. Only listed companies must meet minimum transparency requirements.	1	1
CL	By law, every media publishes information about their ownership, but only a few give more details.	–	2
DE	Transparency data on large parts of the media system is recorded and available to the public online.	3	3
DK	Some data is published regularly, but not everything is easily accessible. Transparency requires data collection from several different sources, and it does not provide a uniform basis of comparison for all the leading news media.	–	2
FI	Relevant information about the media system is publicly available, but it is difficult to find.	2	2
GR	Information regarding ownership of leading news media is published once every year, but is available online. Leading news media's transparency of data, in terms of operational status and ownership identity, is undermined by a type of regulation that favours concealment of their funding flow and their ownership status. Therefore, citizens retain a blurred image of the media field. The release of relevant reports, available to the general public, is not compulsory, and therefore, transparency of information depends on the discretion of the media outlet.	–	2
HK	Not all news media outlets have disclosed their ownership structures, circulation information, and advertising revenues. Only the media organisations listed on the stock market have disclosed this information under the Securities and Future Ordinance.	–	2
IS	Information about media ownership is transparent online. Important data on the media market is, however, often lacking.	–	2

IT	Data on leading news media are generally available but, in some cases, these are incomplete and not easily accessible to citizens.	–	2
KR	Most of the information is available in accessible formats.	–	3
NL	On its *mediamonitor.nl* website, the media authority describes the current media ownership relations.	3	3
PT	Information on news media exists and is easily accessible, namely after the creation of a "Transparency Portal".	3	3
SE	Information is easily available online.	2	2
UK	Information on media companies, including accounts, ownership, and board composition, is compiled by the government and available to view online. Publicly traded companies and some broadcasters publish detailed revenue information annually, and Ofcom provides several annual market reports.	2	3

Indicator C4 *Journalism professionalism*

Country	Motivation for score	points 2011	points 2021
AT	The share of higher education among journalists is increasing, but time and resources for professional journalism, as well as job satisfaction, are on the retreat.	2	2
AU	Most journalists receive professional training.	2	2
BE	The majority of Flemish journalists acquired a degree of higher education. However, less time and resources for professional journalism are available. This contributes to a general decline in overall job satisfaction.	–	2
CA	Most Canadian journalists receive professional training.	–	2
CH	Journalists have a high level of education and professional skills, but many do not have enough direct experience, for example, of (local) politics. Journalism professionalism is being challenged as well by increased working pressure and decreased resources, for example, for investigations.	2	2
CL	Although professional education is high at the university level, the work scenario is precarious, offering little time and resources for journalists to improve their skills.	–	1
DE	German journalists have a high level of education and a prevailing professional ethos, and resources are still sufficient in leading news media.	1	3
DK	The journalism professionalism in Denmark is high with strong professional ethos.	–	3
FI	Strong professional ethos and a high level of unionisation characterise the news media.	3	3
GR	Limited journalistic resources do not allow for high professional ethos. The profession of journalism in Greece has been distorted by the financial crisis and the subsequent and larger crisis distressing the media industry. Interventions in editorial decisions on the part of politics and media owners are a long-lasting malpractice hindering the development of journalism in the country.	–	1
HK	Reporters generally have strong educational backgrounds and hold similar professional ethics and principles. About half of the interviewees believed that their companies allot satisfactory time and resources for investigative research.	–	2
IS	The share of higher education among journalists is increasing, but time and resources for professional journalism are on the retreat.	–	2

IT	The requirements to access the newsrooms are selective, although the professionalisation of Italian journalists is generally not high and mostly not related to their educational background. Younger professionals are expected to have many skills and competences – editing, writing, screen, and radio – and are requested to perform many tasks, though mostly occupying precarious positions.	–	2
KR	The infrastructure, such as professional organisation, solidarity, opportunities for training, values of investigative journalism, and so forth, is in place. Whether these are fully utilised in the intended way is another question.	–	2
NL	The Dutch newsrooms have become highly professionalised over the past decades. Close examination of the work done, and being done, is a regular feature of editorial meetings. However, this mostly occurs on an ad hoc basis. Only a few news media organisations have an ombudsperson.	3	2
PT	Professional ethos is not too strong in absolute terms, considering the heterogeneity of the professional group. Professionalism is sometimes compromised by a lack of resources.	2	2
SE	There is a high degree of professionalisation.	3	3
UK	Journalism qualifications are now widely held, and training, including ethics training, is freely available and used by a majority of journalists. Some journalists report increasing newsroom pressures as exerting a detrimental effect on their quality of work.	2	2

Indicator C5 *Journalists' job security*

Country	Motivation for score	points 2011	points 2021
AT	Journalists stay for a long time with their employers and are formally well protected by several laws. Economic pressures affect experienced journalists.	2	2
AU	It is difficult to provide job security for journalists in this time of change.	1	1
BE	A lot of Flemish journalists worry about job security, even though professional journalists are protected by law. Due to financial pressure, journalists are more and more forced to work as freelancers, lacking protection measures. Older journalists fear being fired because of their higher wages.	–	2
CA	Job security is elusive in Canada's news media.	–	1
CH	In the wake of the general media crisis and the Covid-19 crisis in spring 2020, job security was not guaranteed, and journalists lost their jobs. Such uncertainties are greater in commercial media than in public broadcasting.	2	1
CL	Academics describe work conditions as "precarious". Wages are low. The crisis faced by this industry has enhanced this situation.	–	0
DE	Journalists' job security depends on economic situations. Once employed, journalists normally remain employed for a long time. However, fixed and long-term contracts are thinning out, and there is an increased proportion of freelancers, who then must bear the brunt of economic disruptions.	1	2
DK	Journalists' job security in Denmark is generally high compared with other countries. However, the older generations have more secure job positions and privileges than their younger counterparts.	–	2
FI	There are few specific legal provisions that apply only to journalists: but general legal provisions and labour contracts that cover the field provide journalists relatively strong occupational protection.	2	2
GR	Leading news media change their journalistic staff frequently; employment for a longer period of time is not the rule. In contradiction to the past, due to sharp decline in media revenues, the journalism profession is characterised by non-permanent or occasional contact positions, which is a shared working regime between genders. At the same time, on the juridical level, there are no special legal measures or tools protecting journalists against dismissal.	–	1
HK	Journalists tend to work for their employers briefly, and the main reason is low wages.	–	1

IS	Economic pressures mean that many experienced journalists have been laid off. Job security is low and short-term contracts common.	–	1
IT	Job security varies a lot between the different categories of journalists, as well as in relation to where in the country the profession is exercised. Many gaps are found in terms of payments and protection schemes.	–	1
KR	Longer term contracts are still the norm. But new hires under the same terms are declining.	–	2
NL	In general, the Association of Journalists controls the basic working conditions of professional journalists in the Netherlands.	2	2
PT	There is a relatively high level of job security in the legal framework, but the economic crisis and the weakness of media outlets make job security much more fragile in practical terms.	2	1
SE	Conditions are good but there are fewer permanent positions.	2	2
UK	Journalists are more likely than not to be in stable employment, but economic pressures, particularly at the local level, have led to recent cuts and made many jobs precarious. Journalists generally enjoy contractual protections and whistleblowing channels if pressured to breach professional ethics codes.	1	2

Indicator C6 *Practice of access to information*

Country	Motivation for score	points 2011	points 2021
AT	Although the Constitution guarantees freedom of information, the absence of a freedom of information act impedes access to public information and exacerbates journalistic work.	2	1
AU	The law provides access to public information, but practical problems persist.	1	1
BE	According to the Belgian Constitution and media decree, every Flemish citizen can request information from committees or boards under the jurisdiction of the Flemish Government. However, Flemish journalists rarely make use of this feature, due to impracticalities and lack of usefulness of acquired information.	–	1
CA	While laws offer access to public information, problems with Canada's freedom of information laws persist. Moreover, Canadian officials and the legal system often blunts journalists' efforts to obtain information.	–	2
CH	Journalists in Switzerland generally have free access to most public information held by government and administration, but not to companies and associations. There are still restrictions and obstacles.	3	2
CL	There is a law for freedom of information, but under 50 per cent of journalists evaluate it positively. Specific knowledge is required to use it effectively.	–	2
DE	Public information is accessible by law, but not in reality. Journalists need to spend time and effort to get access.	2	2
DK	Traditionally, Danish news media have enjoyed a relatively high widespread access to public information. However, a revision of the law in 2013 led to several restrictions that, despite debate and criticism, are still in place today.	–	2
FI	There is an existing law that, in principle, provides open access to public information, but problems remain in practice.	2	2
GR	Public information is accessible by law, but not in reality. Journalists must spend time and effort to gain access. Although in theory public information is accessible by law, in actual practice this is not the case, given that the accessing public documents presents considerable problems or difficulties. These restrictions affect the quality of investigative journalism, which at times is not truly revealing, or is ad hoc or only partially revealing.	–	2

HK	Article 27 of the Basic Law guarantees Hong Kong residents freedom of speech, the press, and publication. It is becoming more difficult for journalists to access public information. There are significant differences between promises and practices.	–	1
IS	Public information is accessible by law, but not always in reality. Journalists often must spend time and effort to get access.	–	2
IT	Recent meaningful developments have recognised the principle of freedom to access public information (law decree 97/2016) and therefore strengthened the possibility for citizens and journalists to access public information. Despite the promises of open government, access to information presents numerous shortcomings. During the Covid-19 pandemic, even the possibility to monitor public administration's acts was reduced.	–	2
KR	Public information is fully open upon request.	–	3
NL	One of the most important sources of news is government, with Dutch legislation on the public nature of government records giving citizens (and hence journalists) the right to access government data. The way in which the law functions as well as the lengthy procedures involved are strongly criticised.	1	1
PT	No legal barriers exist to accessing public information, with a law guaranteeing access to public documents, but access is sometimes difficult in practice.	2	2
SE	Old traditions still work.	3	3
UK	Detailed access to information legislation is in place in the UK and open to all citizens. There are some restrictions on availability and evidence showing that certain government departments in practice tend to withhold requested information, at least initially.	2	2

Indicator C7 *The watchdog and the news media's mission statement*

Country	Motivation for score	points 2011	points 2021
AT	Significant value is attributed to the watchdog function of media in Austria.	2	3
AU	Australia's media sees itself as a watchdog.	3	3
BE	Flemish journalists declare being the watchdog of democracy is of utmost importance, with media organizations welcoming and supporting investigative journalism. However resources and time invested in investigative journalism are declining.	–	2
CA	Canadian journalists see themselves as a watchdog.	–	3
CH	The mission statements or editorial statutes of the media contain hardly any reference to the role of the media as democratic "watchdogs" in the interests of civil society and are of little importance in the everyday work of media professionals.	2	2
CL	There is a certain notion about the watchdog role of journalism, but this tends to be relegated to specialised units or specific practices within daily coverage, where other roles are more dominant.	–	2
DE	Investigative and watchdog journalism is, in most cases, part of the self-conception of leading news media. Austerity measures and the economic situation of the media, however, often don't leave enough resources for journalists to exercise it.	1	2
DK	All leading news media refer to the watchdog role and work to exercise it.	–	3
FI	The significance of the watchdog role is widely recognised by Finnish media organisations.	2	3
GR	Media market investigative and watchdog journalism is part of the self-conception of leading news media, but journalists rarely have resources to exercise it. The mission statements of the leading news media organisations in Greece contain no particular or separate references to investigative journalism or watchdog performance of journalists against the abuse of power and corruption. They just incorporate the conventional rules of journalistic ethics, as defined by the JUADN, a professional association of daily newspapers and broadcasting journalists based in Athens.	–	2
HK	The mission statements of news organisations do not contain provisions for acting as watchdogs. However, Hong Kong newsrooms value the watchdog function of media.	–	2
IS	The watchdog function of media in Iceland has grown significantly in recent years, and some outlets and programmes have investigative journalism as their brand. Investigative journalism is, however, expensive, and media outlets are grappling with resource constraints.	–	2

IT	Investigative journalism is one of the missions of the news media. In spite of formal recognition and specific efforts in practice, media formats and daily news agenda often put constraints on this core news media function.	–	2
KR	Mission statements exist, but a lack of resources prevents the prioritisation of such missions over routine news production.	–	2
NL	The media themselves decide on the extent to which they play their role as watchdog, on the basis of their distinctive characteristics.	3	3
PT	News media only indirectly refer to the watchdog function in their mission statements.	1	1
SE	Watchdog journalism exists where possible.	2	3
UK	UK broadcasters are obliged to perform certain functions fulfilling the watchdog role of journalism and devote significant resources to investigative journalism. Many newspapers specify their watchdog functions in mission statements or adhere to standards codes that emphasise the importance of the public interest in their work.	2	3

Indicator C8 *Professional training*

Country	Motivation for score	points 2011	points 2021
AT	Supply of further education is abundant in Austrian newsrooms, but course attendance is not.	2	2
AU	Some mid-carrier training is on offer.	1	1
BE	Additional training and education are offered by almost all media organizations. However, they are not obliged to offer this, and journalists cannot be forced to partake.	–	2
CA	Most media organisations offer some sort of training.	–	2
CH	Supply of professional training offerings in journalism is not a problem in Switzerland, but there are no specified or even obligatory strategies and concepts in most media and editorial offices. As a consequence, professional training is a discretionary matter and its attendant demand seems to be quite moderate.	2	2
CL	There is a large offer for journalists, but their work conditions do not allow them to specialise as much as they would want to.	–	2
DE	In Germany, there are sufficient opportunities for journalism training. Journalists in well-established and economically sound news media are better off than their colleagues in weaker media.	2	2
DK	Continuous "knowledge" training for journalists in news media are available and are usually funded by the employer.	–	3
FI	The importance of continuous professional training is broadly acknowledged, but journalists do not have opportunities enough to participate in it.	2	2
GR	Training opportunities are not regularly provided. However, those who wish to participate find ways and means to do so. In Greece, the need for continuous and systematic professional training on watchdog and investigative journalism or on Big Data analysis is not embedded within leading news media organisations' culture. Therefore, there is a lack of internally institutionalised means permitting training courses or training networks. Although there are some exceptions to this prevalent trend, the issue of training is a matter of personal decision on the part of journalists disconnected from the media outlet's policy.	–	1
HK	Most of the newsrooms in Hong Kong have not institutionalised continuing professional education. Most newsrooms neither regularly provide training nor request that their journalists take courses.	–	1
IS	There are not many higher education opportunities in Iceland for journalists, and course attendance is low.	–	1

IT	Professional training is mostly provided by the twelve schools across the country that are recognised by the Order of Journalists, and by sustained activities of the Order itself. Media companies differ widely in terms of their investment in courses and training.	–	3
KR	High-quality training opportunities are available within South Korea and even abroad. It is not easy for reporters to carve out time for such education, but managers do make efforts to provide opportunities to whoever wants them.	–	3
NL	Training courses are offered by the Dutch Association of Journalists (NVJ) and the Association of Investigative Journalists (VVOJ). Some media (companies) have set up their own training structures. Training opportunities depend on the news medium.	1	2
PT	Journalists' training is not a high priority among leading news media, except for technical skills attached to the new convergence efforts.	1	1
SE	The idea of training is applauded, but not practised often.	2	2
UK	Professional training is generally available to UK journalists, and the majority who do undertake training are funded by their employers when doing so. Larger news organisations such as the BBC operate their own internal training schemes.	3	3

Indicator C9 *Watchdog function and financial resources*

Country	Motivation for score	points 2011	points 2021
AT	Austrian newsrooms are positive and try to provide resources for investigative reporting to the extent possible, but funds are strictly limited.	2	2
AU	Commitment to investigative journalism is the Australian media's way to brand themselves.	3	2
BE	Resources for investigative journalism have substantially declined. Every leading news media house has tried to do investigative journalism, but the majority do not have journalists working full-time on long-term projects.	–	1
CA	While many news organisations say they are committed to enterprising and investigative journalism, fewer resources are making it harder to produce good journalism.	–	2
CH	For a long time, leading daily media were financially successful. For some time now, there has generally been less staff available for traditional reporting, but with the creation of research desks, there are now slightly more resources available for research and investigative journalism.	1	1
CL	There are some media houses that produce investigative journalism, but they have decreased for economic reasons.	–	1
DE	Journalistic investigation is perceived as more important than a decade ago, but resources are rare. Investigative journalism tends to be outsourced to special units. The number of investigations is clearly limited by financial means and focused on those topics that guarantee high attention.	2	2
DK	Leading news media give high priority to well-funded investigative journalism	–	3
FI	While the watchdog function is seen as being crucially important, resources for investigative critical journalism are scarce.	2	2
GR	Investigative journalism happens, but it is the exception rather than the rule. In leading news media organisations in Greece, although investigative journalism is recognised as a task of great importance, lack of the financial resources since the period of recession has minimised the potential of the newsroom to perform their watchdog functions systematically.	–	1
HK	Over half of the interviewees stated that their media companies have provided specific and sufficient resources for performing investigative journalism.	–	2
IS	News media in Iceland lack resources to conduct quality in-depth reporting, and analysis on their daily reporting and investigative reporting is seriously hampered for lack of time and finance.	–	2

IT	Investigative journalism is acknowledged and valued, also by professionals. However, the limited availability of financial and organisational resources constrains this function to being a niche component of editorial routines. Transnational partnerships (like Lena and European Investigative Collaboration) and civic initiatives partly compensate for the limited support by media companies for investigative practices.	–	2
KR	There is a consensus that increasing investigative journalism is the way forward, but this has not been realised in practice. Some media have only now started to have a separate division to deal with investigations.	–	1
NL	Dutch newsrooms provide resources for investigative reporting as much as possible – no more, no less. The Dutch Journalism Fund subsidises specific projects on a temporary basis, as well as investigative journalism.	1	2
PT	Journalistic investigation has some priority, but the number and extent of investigations are limited by financial means.	1	2
SE	There are increased differences between national and regional or local media.	2	3
UK	While broadcast newsrooms continue to have significant resources to devote to investigative journalism, economic pressures are limiting the capacity of some – but not all – commercial news organisations to engage in costly investigative or international journalism.	2	2

Table 1 *Overview of scoring for all indicators and all countries*

Indicators	Cross-country 2011	Cross-country 2021 (9 from MDM 2011)	Cross-country 2021 (all)	
Freedom / Information (F)				
(F1) Geographic distribution of news media availability	97%	96%	94%	
(F2) Patterns of news media use (consumption of news)	83%	74%	78%	
(F3) Diversity of news sources	67%	67%	63%	
(F4) Internal rules for practice of newsroom democracy	47%	56%	54%	
(F5) Company rules against internal influence on newsroom/editorial staff	60%	67%	67%	
(F6) Company rules against external influence on newsroom/editorial staff	63%	63%	63%	
(F7) Procedures on news selection and news processing	63%	63%	61%	
(F8) Rules and practices on internal gender equality	–	–	59%	
(F9) Gender equality in media content	–	–	41%	
(F10) Misinformation and digital platforms (alias social media)	–	–	63%	
(F11) Protection of journalists against (online) harassment	–	–	70%	
Total points (max. 33)	**–**	**–**	**–**	
Percentage	**69%**	**67%**	**65%**	
Equality / Interest Mediation (E)				
(E1) Media ownership concentration national level	57%	56%	57%	
(E2) Media ownership concentration regional (local) level	47%	52%	56%	
(E3) Diversity of news formats	77%	85%	81%	
(E4) Minority/Alternative media	73%	70%	63%	
(E5) Affordable public and private news media	97%	89%	83%	
(E6) Content monitoring instruments	63%	56%	46%	
(E7) Code of ethics at the national level	70%	78%	72%	
(E8) Level of self-regulation	67%	70%	65%	
(E9) Participation	60%	74%	69%	
(E10) Rules and practices on internal pluralism	60%	67%	59%	
Total points (max. 30)	**–**	**–**	**–**	
Percentage	**67%**	**70%**	**65%**	
Control / Watchdog (C)				
(C1) Supervising the watchdog "control of the controllers"	67%	67%	65%	
(C2) Independence of the news media from powerholders	60%	63%	57%	
(C3) Transparency of data on leading news media	67%	74%	72%	
(C4) Journalism professionalism	73%	78%	70%	
(C5) Journalists' job security	57%	56%	48%	
(C6) Practice of access to information	63%	59%	61%	
(C7) The watchdog and the news media's mission statement	67%	85%	80%	
(C8) Professional training	60%	63%	65%	
(C9) Watchdog function and financial resources	57%	67%	61%	
Total points (max. 27)	**–**	**–**	**–**	
Percentage	**63%**	**68%**	**64%**	
All Indicators				
Total points (max. 90)	**–**	**–**	**–**	
Percentage	**66%**	**68%**	**65%**	

	AT	AU	BE	CA	CH	CL	DE	DK	FI	GR	HK	IS	IT	KR	NL	PT	SE	UK
	3	2	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	3
	2	2	2	3	2	2	3	3	3	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2
	3	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	3	1	2	2
	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	3	2	2	1
	3	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2
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	2	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	3	2
	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	2	0	1	2	2	1	2	1	2	2
	1	1	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2
	3	1	2	2	2	1	2	3	3	2	1	2	1	2	3	3	3	2
	21	**15**	**21**	**24**	**21**	**18**	**22**	**26**	**25**	**15**	**19**	**24**	**17**	**21**	**26**	**20**	**27**	**23**
	64%	**45%**	**64%**	**73%**	**64%**	**55%**	**67%**	**79%**	**76%**	**45%**	**58%**	**73%**	**52%**	**64%**	**79%**	**61%**	**82%**	**70%**
	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	2
	1	1	1	3	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	3	2	2
	3	2	2	3	2	2	3	3	3	1	3	3	2	2	3	1	3	3
	2	3	1	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	3	0	2	1	2	3
	3	3	2	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	3	2	3	3	1	2	3
	1	2	1	0	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	3	2	1	1
	2	2	3	1	1	1	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3
	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	3	3	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	3	2
	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	3	1	2	2	2	3	3	2	2	2
	2	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	3	2	2
	19	**19**	**16**	**20**	**18**	**15**	**24**	**22**	**23**	**15**	**18**	**18**	**22**	**18**	**22**	**18**	**22**	**23**
	63%	**63%**	**53%**	**67%**	**60%**	**50%**	**80%**	**73%**	**77%**	**50%**	**60%**	**60%**	**73%**	**60%**	**73%**	**60%**	**73%**	**77%**
	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	3	2	2	2	3
	1	2	2	3	2	2	2	3	2	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	2
	2	1	2	2	1	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	2	3
	2	2	2	2	2	1	3	3	3	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	2
	2	1	2	1	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	2
	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	3	1	2	3	2
	3	3	2	3	2	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	3	1	3	3
	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	1	1	1	3	3	2	1	2	3
	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	3	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	3	2
	17	**15**	**16**	**19**	**14**	**14**	**20**	**23**	**20**	**12**	**13**	**14**	**17**	**20**	**18**	**16**	**23**	**22**
	63%	**56%**	**59%**	**70%**	**52%**	**52%**	**74%**	**85%**	**74%**	**44%**	**48%**	**52%**	**63%**	**74%**	**67%**	**59%**	**85%**	**81%**
	57	**49**	**53**	**63**	**53**	**47**	**66**	**71**	**68**	**42**	**48**	**56**	**56**	**59**	**66**	**54**	**72**	**68**
	63%	**54%**	**59%**	**70%**	**59%**	**52%**	**73%**	**79%**	**76%**	**47%**	**56%**	**62%**	**62%**	**66%**	**73%**	**60%**	**80%**	**76%**

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