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MEDIA INFLUENCE MATRIX: SLOVAKIA

Technology, Public Sphere and Journalism

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About CMDS

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

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Slovakia has been a fast adopter of new technologies. During the past decade, internet and mobile penetration in the country has exploded, significantly changing news consumption and access to information. The country has a mobile penetration of over 130%, one of the highest in Europe, as many Slovaks use more than one mobile SIM card.

Changing lifestyle and more affordable services allow Slovaks to boost their media diet on mobile devices. Unlike a decade or so ago, post-paid mobile subscriptions, allowing online surfing at leisure, at home or abroad, are now dominant. Nearly 83% of Slovaks are online via a mobile device. Internet services have also become one of the main drivers for growth on the Slovak electronic communications market accounting for nearly a fifth of this market in 2017, a jump from 10% five-six years before. However, the turnover in the electronic communications market is constantly declining, which is a sign of both saturation and dwindling prices due to increased competition. That is likely to affect first and foremost local telecoms and internet service providers, the key infrastructure operators and distributors of content and communication services.

On the internet content market, foreign players are dominant: Google is leader on the browsing and searching market and Facebook is by far the most popular social network, with nearly 68% of Slovaks using it. The most competitive local player in the internet market is Zoznam.sk, a search engine that offers aggregated content, email and many other services. Unlike Google, Zoznam.sk also produces news content (though a lot of it is tabloid fare), which gives them a big advantage in the news media market. Ringier Axel Springer, a Swiss-German publisher, is increasingly powerful in the digital news market. It moved its attention in recent years from Azet.sk, a search engine that was competing with Zoznam.sk, focusing instead

on the news portal Aktuality.sk, which has become the most visited website in Slovakia.

Although the remit of regulators does not cover companies like Google and Facebook, the position of international technology companies in Slovakia is highly endangered. Authorities have been adopting laws that will force them pay taxes on all revenue generated in Slovakia. They also want Facebook and other foreign technology companies to open a local office in Slovakia (as Google has done already) if they want to invoice Slovak customers.

A younger generation of Slovak professionals, coming from the IT and digital services sector, is emerging and changing the industry. New associations of creative industry people and outspoken technology entrepreneurs are gaining more clout in society and even politics. Several IT professionals and entrepreneurs, including the head of Google Slovakia, Rasto Kulich, support Progressive Slovakia (Progresívne Slovensko), a progressive political party launched in late 2017. The party scored a major success when its candidate Zuzana Caputova won the election in March 2019 to become Slovakia's president. She is the first woman to hold Slovakia's presidency and, at 45 years old, the youngest president in the history of Slovakia.

Generally, in spite of usual lobbying practices for commercial gains, the technology sector in Slovakia is apolitical. With the exception of O2 Slovakia, which has ownership connections with PPF, a powerful financial group operating that has links with politicians across Central and Eastern Europe, none of the tech players has ownership links with politicians and political parties.

Although news media have a relatively low outreach on social networks, all of them rely on social media, particularly on Facebook, to

distribute content. However, an experiment run by Facebook in 2017, consisting of removal from its main feed of posts generated by professional media clobbered news media in Slovakia. Some of them experienced day-to-day declines of 60% in their user interaction (Facebook's definition of likes, shares or comments).

Of all foreign technology companies, only Google got involved directly in supporting Slovak journalism. Through its grant-making project Digital News Initiative (DNI), it has given some €1.2m to locals to develop journalism projects in Slovakia. Although Google's funding helped a couple of Slovak projects get off the ground, it hardly influenced the balance of power in the Slovak news market.

TECHNOLOGY OVERVIEW

New technologies are rapidly spreading in Slovakia while old, analog forms of communications are abandoned. Slovaks have become increasingly mobile during the past decade. The number of fixed telephone lines continued their slump: between 2011 and 2017, Slovakia lost nearly 240,000 fixed telephone lines. In parallel, the Voice over Internet Protocol (VoIP) has become a more popular form of communication. The number of VoIP subscriptions nearly trebled between 2010 and 2018. In 2018, over 52% of all fixed lines in Slovakia were VoIP subscriptions, according to data from the Slovak transport and construction ministry.

Slovak voice business, old-school

Fixed-line telephony in Slovakia, 2011-2018

Indicator	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Total number of fixed telephone lines (FTLs), including VoIP	948,801	875,048	880,554	841,809	797,417	762,045	709,885	684,681
of which residential	724,776	684,424	646,324	625,315	600,512	595,501	560,895	538,824
FTLs per 100 inhabitants (%)	17.6	16.2	16.3	15.5	14.7	14.0	13.0	12.6
Percent of households with FTLs (%)	38.1	36.9	34.9	33.7	32.4	32.2	30.3	29.1
Number of VoIP subscriptions	127,878	145,566	175,633	225,338	274,778	335,874	338,616	360,661
of which residential	99,700	117,046	144,023	183,569	222,012	274,151	282,218	296,997

Source: Ministry of Transports and Construction Slovakia

Slovaks have fully embraced mobile communications in the past two decades. The mobile penetration was a stonking 133% in mid-2017, which meant that many Slovaks have more than one mobile subscription. As mobile services have become more affordable, Slovaks increasingly take up post-paid mobile subscriptions, which allow them to browse or make calls at leisure, giving them also more freedom to consume content on the internet. In 2017, nearly 71% of Slovakia's mobile market consisted of post-paid subscriptions. Friendlier roaming rates have also boosted the number of mobile subscriptions that allow people to use their phones abroad. That led to an increase in the use of mobile phones and growing consumption of online content on mobile devices.

A mobile nation

Mobile telephony in Slovakia, 2011-2018

Indicator	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Mobile subscriptions*	5,983,059	6,094,466	6,208,412	6,378,095	6,675,553	6,989,902	7,117,753	7,241,702
Mobile subscriptions per 100 inhabitants (%)	110.7	112.6	114.6	117.6	123.1	128.6	130.8	132.9
Mobile subscriptions: prepaid	1,929,921	1,859,802	1,831,444	1,823,330	1,889,334	2,041,848	2,195,428	2,104,043
Mobile business subscriptions	1,358,446	1,430,854	1,493,329	1,570,100	1,643,902	1,708,612	1,753,427	1,824,429
Mobile cellular subscriptions: post-paid	4,053,138	4,234,664	4,376,968	4,554,765	4,786,219	4,948,054	4,922,325	5,137,659
Mobile cellular subscriptions with roaming	4,993,690	5,390,107	5,168,697	5,236,507	5,443,698	5,699,034	5,820,210	6,024,659
Mobile cellular subscriptions with M2M**	-	-	-	421,411	512,508	591,504	648,363	797,755

*Total (including post-paid + prepaid);

**M2M stands for Machine-to-Machine equipped SIM cards allowing devices and sensors to communicate with each other and with other Internet-enabled devices.

Source: Ministry of Transport and Construction Slovakia

Access to internet has also increased significantly in the past decade. The internet market in Slovakia is dominated by mobile. At the end of 2018, mobile internet had a penetration of over 86%. The number of mobile broadband subscriptions more than trebled since 2010. Fixed broadband internet has also seen steady growth, but at a much slower speed than mobile broadband.

Slovak internet universe

Number of internet subscriptions in Slovakia, 2011-2018

Indicator	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Fixed broadband Internet subscriptions	953,098	1,045,490	1,109,060	1,191,216	1,273,812	1,336,541	1,404,973	1,507,998
Fixed broadband Internet subscriptions per 100 inhabitants (%)	17.6	19.3	20.4	21.9	23.4	24.6	25.8	27.7
Total numbers of mobile broadband Internet subscriptions	1,746,406	1,915,242	2,729,679	3,331,968	3,685,683	4,300,524	4,501,833	4,688,623
Mobile broadband Internet subscriptions per 100 inhabitants (%)	32.3	35.4	50.4	61.5	67.7	79.1	82.7	86.0

Note: data for end of year

Source: Ministry of Transport and Construction Slovakia

The electronic communications market has been declining for more than five years. Between 2011 and 2016, the revenue generated by electronic communications services plummeted by nearly 15% to €1.68bn. The share of the country's electronic communications market in the national GDP has also dipped during the period to 2.1%.

Revenue in both fixed telephone services and mobile communications declined, but mobile communications clearly dominates the market with a turnover of over €1bn, which represented more than 60% of the total electronic communications market in 2017. Internet plays a major role in revenue generation. Income from sales of internet services accounted for less than a fifth of the total communications market in 2017, but the segment has been growing steadily. In the mobile market, the post-paid services are the largest revenue generator, but their share has been steadily decreasing since 2011.

Monetizing technology

Revenue in the Slovak electronic communications market, in € '000, 2011-2017*

Indicator	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Revenue from all electronic communication services	1,949,183	1,870,295	1,771,582	1,688,879	1,659,472	1,653,521	1,683,643
Share of electronic comm. revenue in GDP (%)**	2.8	2.6	2.4	2.2	2.1	2.0	1.9
Revenue from fixed telephone services including VoIP, of which:							
Revenue from residential subscribers	198,889	168,479	150,208	136,871	125,681	115,976	85,586
Revenue from telephone calls, in that:							
local calls	11,985	9,703	7,569	5,391	3,677	2,617	1,996
national long distance calls	8,321	6,782	5,288	3,736	2,529	1,785	1,308
Revenue from subscription charges	3,657	2,921	2,278	1,655	1,148	833	688
Revenue from connection charges	102,870	93,557	85,284	78,215	72,821	68,665	64,630
Revenue from outgoing calls - national	580	372	356	301	288	503	400
Revenue from incoming calls - national	24,571	20,645	18,219	15,345	12,113	10,438	8,363
Revenue from outgoing calls - international	8,836	5,948	4,018	1,939	1,950	1,803	1,672
Revenue from incoming calls - international	11,816	9,167	8,163	5,980	3,839	3,131	2,518
Revenue from mobile communications, of which:							
Revenue from connection charges	5,867	6,885	8,819	9,609	8,657	6,985	3,435
Revenue from prepaid services	1,271,021	1,211,388	1,105,936	1,026,499	1,017,929	975,622	1,024,725
Revenue from post-paid services	7,556	2,287	1,733	1,376	1,325	1,272	1,994
Revenue from outgoing calls - international	145,200	146,335	129,535	117,218	109,092	107,930	116,581
Revenue from incoming calls - international	1,059,352	1,021,044	936,330	878,634	865,973	866,420	855,660
Text and multimedia services	44,584	37,059	39,017	35,702	29,320	27,967	29,758
	19,978	21,812	21,262	13,966	9,911	7,230	9,249
	115,756	109,119	100,906	102,539	102,655	100,074	97,714

Table continues on next page

Indicator	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Other							
Revenue from Internet	212,189	217,344	224,477	235,124	267,943	295,756	307,920
Revenue from leased lines	35,950	38,061	41,145	37,757	28,749	49,903	45,242
Revenue from data transmission	71,027	69,420	77,455	81,012	65,901	68,416	66,378
Revenue from CATV services	47,044	47,752	46,694	45,947	37,816	43,405	44,224
Revenue from satellite services	37,625	46,116	45,508	44,952	45,265	44,331	46,653
Revenue from audiotex	7,949	7,404	9,069	14,694	10,121	6,321	5,329
Revenue from any other electronic comm. services	56,522	54,159	62,532	59,214	60,067	53,791	57,587

*VAT not included;

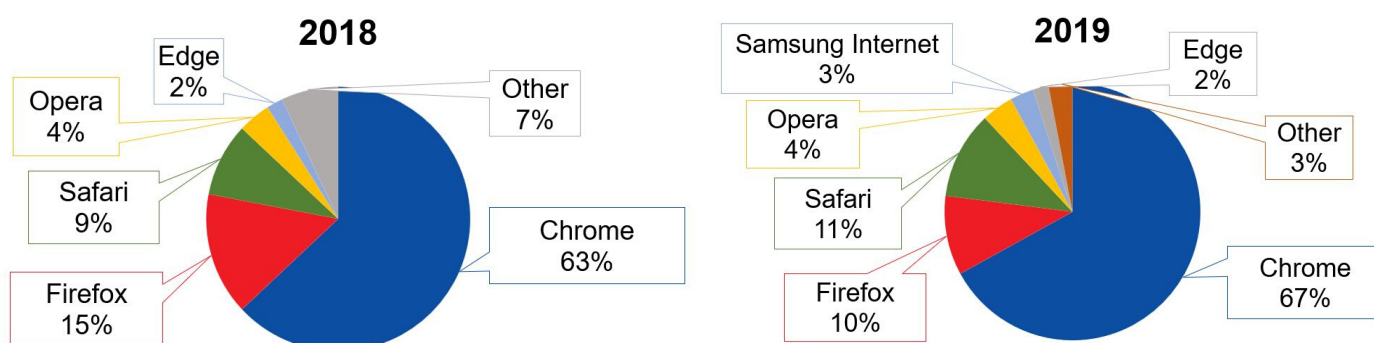
**in current prices

Source: Ministry of Transports and Construction Slovakia

Google dominates the Slovak online browsing and search market. The market share of Google's browser Chrome has been growing in recent years in Slovakia reaching 67% in 2019, according to data from StatCounter. In the search market, Google has an even stronger position, accounting for some 98% of the online searches carried out in Slovakia in 2019.

Where are Slovaks browsing?

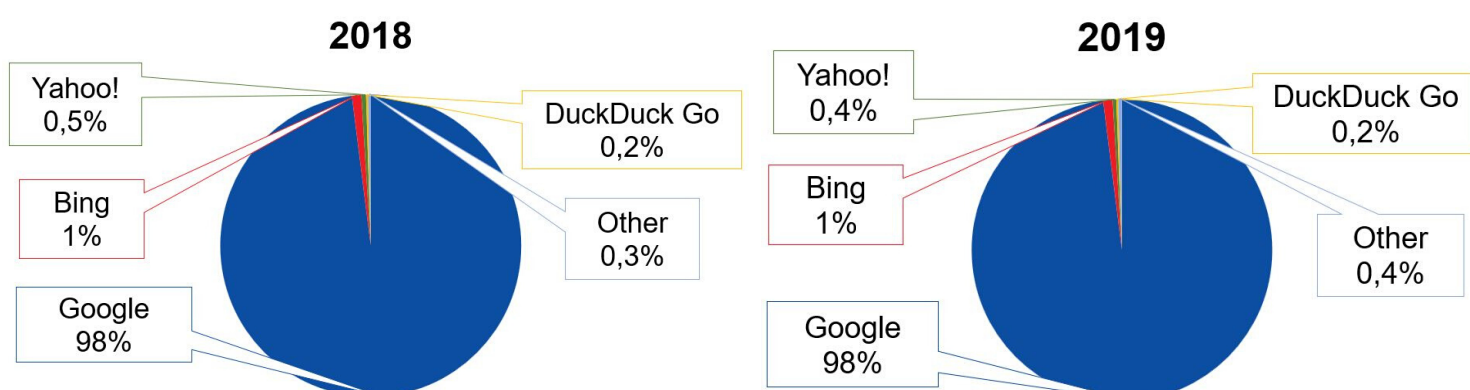
Browser market share (%) in Slovakia, 2018-2019



Source: StatCounter

How are Slovaks searching online?

Search engine market share (%) in Slovakia, 2018-2019

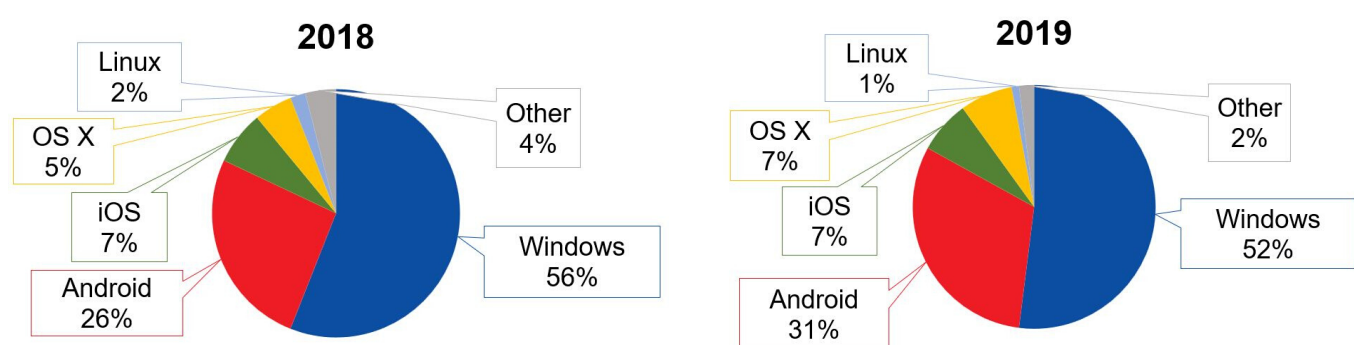


Source: StatCounter

Slovaks largely use Windows on their devices. Microsoft has a share of roughly 52% of the operating system market in Slovakia. It is followed by Android with some 31%, and growing. Samsung is estimated to control some 28% of the mobile phone handset market in Slovakia. However, Chinese-made gadgets have become increasingly popular in recent years, with Huawei very close to dethroning Samsung as the top selling mobile company in Slovakia.

Where are Slovaks browsing?

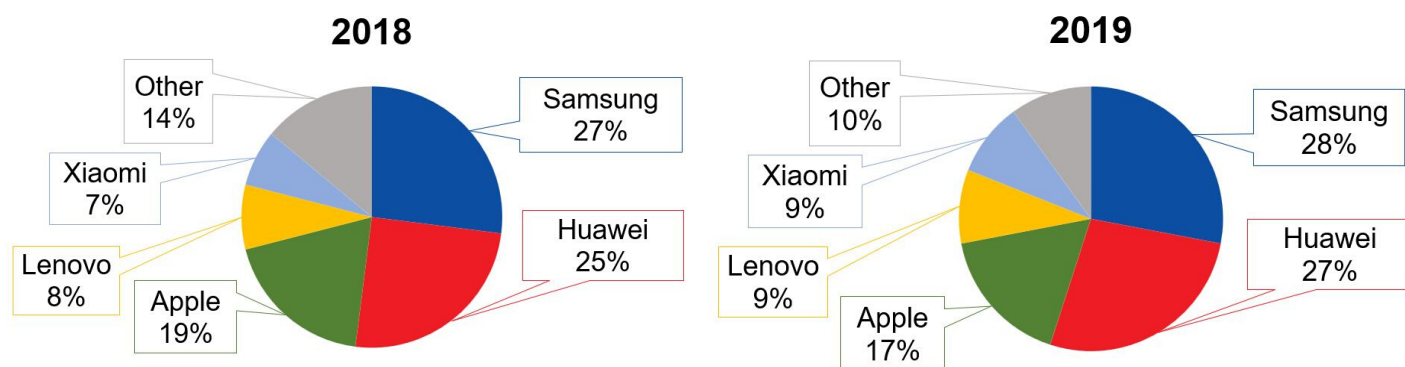
Browser market share (%) in Slovakia, 2018-2019



Source: StatCounter

Slovaks and their gadgets

Mobile vendor market in Slovakia, share (%), 2018-2019



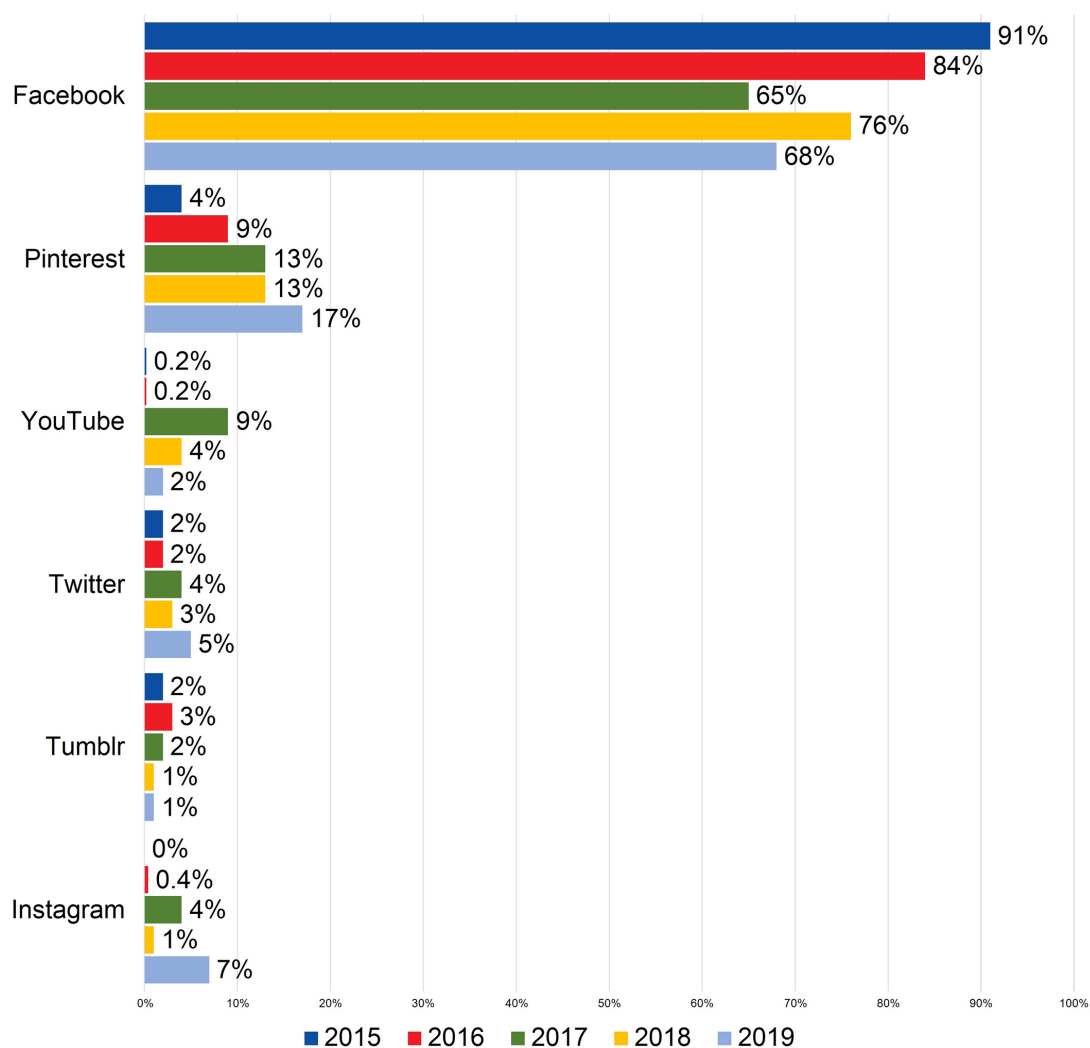
Source: StatCounter

Facebook is by far the most popular social media in Slovakia with a market share of nearly 68% in 2019, according to data from StatCounter. However, its popularity has rapidly declined in the past few years. Some five years ago, it was preferred by over 90% of the Slovaks and faced some weak competition from Pinterest, Tumblr and Twitter. While Twitter and Tumblr have grown only sluggishly in the past two-three years, Instagram has significantly boosted its share of the Slovak social media market. YouTube also had a period of rapid growth in 2016-2017, but it then lost its appeal.

Some 2.6 million Slovaks were on Facebook in 2019, according to data from a source at Facebook in Dublin who would not want to be named in the report. That is nearly half of the Slovak population.

Where are Slovaks socializing?

Social media use in Slovakia, market share (%), 2015-2018*



*data for end of year

Note: Those accounting for the missing percentage to 100% include reddit, StumbleUpon, Google+, VKontakte and LinkedIn

Source: StatCounter

ROLE OF TECHNOLOGY IN MEDIA AND JOURNALISM

Overview of Key Players

Internet and mobile

The main internet and mobile ecosystems companies present in Slovakia are mostly international players. Google dominates the search market locally, Samsung and Apple are the largest players in the mobile ecosystems market and Facebook is the largest player in social media. They, however, are facing stiff competition from local players, namely Zoznam.sk, one of the largest internet portals in Slovakia. Of all those players, Microsoft, Apple and Samsung are not involved directly in production and distribution of news media content in Slovakia.

The big players in internet and mobile

Key players in the Slovak internet and mobile market, breakdown by services

Company	Email service	Messaging and VoIP	Mobile ecosystems	Search	Social network & blog	Video & photo
Apple	✓	✓	✓			
Azet	✓			✓		
Facebook		✓			✓	✓
Google	✓		✓	✓		✓
Microsoft	✓	✓		✓		
Samsung			✓			
Twitter					✓	✓
Zoznam	✓			✓		

Source: CMDS

Azet



The internet portal Azet.sk was operated by an eponymous Zilina-based company until 2016 when the Swiss-German publisher Ringier Axel Springer purchased the portal. According to the latest available data published by the company, Azet.sk pulled in sales revenues of over €14m in 2015, according to data from the Slovak Trade Registry. The company had a constant growth in revenue during the past decade, which was the key reason why Ringier Axel Springer bought the company. In 2016, the company operating

Azet was merged with Ringier Axel Springer SK. However, in recent years, Ringier shifted its focus on Aktuality.sk, its main news outlet, which has recently become the most visited website in Slovakia. Azet, a generalist portal, in Slovak, equipped with a search engine and offering news aggregated from all Slovak media, an email service, and pages with information in a broad range of topics and categories, has thus lost much of its visitorship, completely dropping out of the top most visited sites in the country.

Facebook



Facebook does not have a physical presence in Slovakia and its name is not registered as such in the local trade registry. Some tasks related to content in Slovak are handled from Facebook's Warsaw office that covers Central and Eastern Europe, which was launched in 2016. Robert Bednarski is the office's first director. Bednarski worked for Ringier Axel Springer Polska, the Polish subsidiary of Ringier Axel Springer. Until 2015, when he took over the job at Facebook, he was the CEO of Grupa Onet.pl, the most popular portal in the country, owned by Ringier Axel Springer.

One of the Facebook's employees in charge of Slovakia, among other countries and topics, was Andy Krasny. He said in 2016 that Facebook did not plan to open a local operation in Slovakia, preferring to run its Slovak business from Poland.

In an interview in 2016 with Biznisklub, a business network in Slovakia, Krasny would not say whether the queries received by Facebook from Slovak users were handled by robots or humans. "If you report something, it is not guaranteed that the content will be removed because it may not violate our policies," Krasny said. "Our content reviewers may ask you why you think [a respective] post violates the policy." [1]

He added that Slovakia was a "key market" for Facebook in the region. Before the opening of the Warsaw office, many of the tasks related to Central and Eastern European countries were handled from the Facebook office in Dublin. Some of the Slovakia-related services in Facebook are still handled from Ireland.

Google



Fully owned by Google International, Google Slovakia has an office in Bratislava. The two executive managers of the Google Slovak subsidiary are Kenneth Hohee Yi, a lawyer working for Google in America, and Paul Terence Manicle, a Dublin-based Google employee, according to data extracted by CMDS from corporate documents.

The Google office in Slovakia is led by Rasto Kulich, a Harvard-educated Slovak, who helped co-found the company locally. Along with other businessmen and IT professionals, Kulich has been supporting Progressive Slovakia (Progresívne Slovensko), a social-liberal, progressive and pro-

[1] "Rozhovor s Andym Krasnym: Čo pripravuje Facebook na Slovensku a ako funguje?" (Interview with Andy Krasny: What is Facebook planning for Slovakia and how does it work?), 20 Dec 2016, available online at <https://biznisklub.sk/rozhovor-s-andym-krasnym-co-pripravuje-facebook-na-slovensku-a-ako-funguje>

European political party launched in late 2017.[2] Most of the leaders driving the growth of Progressive Slovakia are young businessmen, innovators and IT professionals. For example, Ivan Stefunko, the party's president, is a technology entrepreneur who studied political science in Banská Bystrica and Paris. Zora Jaurova, one of the party's vice-presidents, is an expert in creative industries and cultural policies. She manages the Creative Industry Forum, Slovakia's creative industry professional association.

Google Slovakia constantly increased its revenues in the past five years to nearly €1.5m in 2017, according to data from the trade registry in Slovakia. Slovak tax authorities claim that Google does not disclose all the income it generates in Slovakia as a way to reduce its tax payments. The company has finished in the black every year between 2011 and 2017. Google Slovakia has a staff of four.

The global behemoth

Google Slovakia: key financial data (€), 2011-2018

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Sales revenues (€)	706,000	1,739,000	2,103,125	1,862,441	1,501,659	1,271,166	1,299,101	1,498,154
Net profit (€)	42,000	59,200	89,389	74,399	48,255	49,062	48,401	64,940
Tax on income (€)	9,824	68,958	67,627	65,826	62,977	46,809	47,833	52,088

Source: CMDS based on data from the Slovak Trade Registry

Twitter



There is no information about Twitter in Slovakia. According to journalists consulted for this report, the company has not established any physical presence in the country to date.

Zoznam



Zoznam.sk is the true pioneer of Slovak internet. It launched in 1997 as the first Slovak search engine. Its founders were Ivan Debnar and Ivo Lukacovic (who also founded the sister site Seznam.cz in the Czech Republic). The site Zoznam.sk was purchased in 2005 by Slovak Telekom.[3] The financial group Penta Investments is said to have interest in buying the portal, but the firm's representatives would not comment on that.[4]

[2] Dusan Mikusovic, "Progresívne Slovensko môže mať prvého poslanca, do hnutia smeruje Martin Poliačik" (Progressive Slovakia can have its first MP, Martin Poliacik is heading the movement), DennikN, 5 Dec 2017, available online at <https://dennikn.sk/963197/progresivne-slovensko-bude-mat-prveho-poslanca-do-hnutia-vstupuje-martin-poliacik/?ref=list>

[3] "Slovak Telekom kúpi portál Zoznam.sk" (Slovak Telekom buys the portal Zoznam.sk), Lupa.cz, 21 Jul 2005, available online at <https://www.lupa.cz/clanky/slovak-telecom-koupi-portal-zoznam-sk/>

[4] "Penta má zájem o druhý slovenský server Zoznam.sk" (Penta has interest in the second largest Slovak server Zoznam.sk), Mediaguru.cz, 20 Nov 2014, available online at <https://www.mediaguru.cz/clanky/2014/11/penta-ma-zajem-o-druhy-slovensky-server-zoznam-sk/>

Similar to Azet.sk in terms of content, aggregation methods and services, Zoznam.sk lost its leading position to Azet.sk in 2008. In the past two years, however, as Azet's owner, Ringier, has focused on another of its websites, Zoznam.sk became again larger than Azet. However, it's not anymore the leading portal in Slovakia as Aktuality.sk, owned by Ringier, gets now the highest visitorship.

The Slovak internet pioneer

Zoznam.sk: key financial data (€), 2011-2018

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Sales revenues (€)	5,539,049	5,904,369	6,519,879	6,823,440	7,797,012	9,219,975	9,254,309	8,959,262
Net profit (€)	122,874	342,575	79,594	20,836	123,035	159,795	263,425	342,430
Tax on income (€)	44,748	-15,085	36,574	28,499	65,580	84,160	99,631	126,871

Source: CMDS based on data from the Slovak Trade Registry

Telecoms

The Slovak telecom and internet market is dominated by three players, Slovak Telekom, Orange Slovensko and O2 Slovakia, the only telcos in Slovakia with annual sales in excess of €100m. Their combined sales exceed €1.2bn.

By far the largest player in the market is Slovak Telekom, the former state-owned telecom monopoly, which is controlled by Deutsche Telekom. Most of the big players on the telecommunications market are in foreign hands. The biggest Slovak-owned player is Swan-Benestra. The two companies completed their merger in early 2019. Together they formed the largest domestically owned alternative operator in Slovakia.[5]

[5] "Slovakia will have a new telecoms operator", The Slovak Spectator, 3 April 2018, available online at <https://spectator.sme.sk/c/20795267/slovakia-will-have-a-new-telecoms-operator.html>

The sales battle

Sales revenues of prominent telecommunication operators and internet service providers in Slovakia, ranked by 2018 sales, 2013-2018

Company	Ownership	Country of ownership	Sales revenue (€ '000)					
			2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Slovak Telekom	Deutsche Telekom Europe (100%)	Germany	782,510	700,106	707,056	668,786	650,756	604,983
Orange Slovensko	Atlas Services Belgium (100%)	Belgium	n/a	580,156	560,623	427,419	415,571	375,146
O2 Slovakia	O2 Czech Republic (100%)	Czech Republic	197,751	198,984	205,668	208,889	220,421	229,739
Swan*	DanubiaTel (100%)	Slovakia	n/a	n/a	4,440	48,430	48,775	55,764
UPC Broadband Slovakia	UPC Slovakia Holding I and II (50% each)	Netherlands	45,682	45,124	44,249	44,825	45,047	47,530
Towercom	ST Networks Holdings (100%)	Luxembourg	52,697	54,056	55,395	55,845	49,687	47,223
Slovanet	SNET Group (100%)	Slovakia	3,648	42,931	34,252	42,408	37,531	39,931
Benestra*	Carduelis (100%)	Netherlands	45,913	45,137	46,274	45,145	41,491	39,606
Digi Slovakia**	Slovak Telekom (100%)	Germany	28,043	29,553	33,437	35,283	36,024	38,109
Swan Mobile	DanubiaTel (100%)	Slovakia	62,340	72,901	54,975	7,127	14,758	21,881
Antik Telecom	Igor Kolla (70%), Miroslav Antal (30%)	Slovakia	9,056	9,505	10,239	11,213	13,032	13,837
Energotel	Four local power providers	Slovakia	12,718	13,269	13,735	13,188	12,035	11,656
Marlink	Marlink (100%)	Norway	5,202	5,277	6,014	5,541	6,199	5,961
RadioLAN	Filip Krizko (51%), Juraj Hajtas (20%), Juraj Petrula (29%)	Slovakia	1,332	1,842	2,924	3,495	4,409	5,364
VNET	Locally owned	Slovakia	2,672	3,044	3,325	3,653	4,472	5,001
DSi Data	Jaroslav Dravecky (50%), Rastislav Dravecky (50%)	Slovakia	2,527	2,685	2,856	3,058	3,535	4,266
Satro	Frantisek Kaduch (25%), Frantisek Kaduch (50%), Marek Michalik (12%), Iveta Michalikova (12%)	Slovakia	4,435	4,252	4,108	3,960	3,795	3,718

*in 2019, Swan merged with Benestra, the new company operating as Swan;

**Sales of Digi Slovakia are included also in Slovak Telekom's financial report

Source: CMDS based on company data and data from Slovak Trade Registry

Orange Slovensko has been for years the most profitable company in the Slovak telecommunications market. However, thanks to an increase of over 66% in its net profits, Slovak Telekom became the most lucrative telco in the country in 2018, with net earnings of more than €106m.

Smaller players have been faced with financial difficulties in recent years, which were reflected in their bottom line. Since 2015, an increasing number of operators, particularly smaller ones, have seen deepening losses. Swan, for example, during the period 2016-2018 accumulated losses of over €21m. Benestra finished in the red for six years in a row between 2013 and 2018, accumulating losses of over €18m during the period.

Of telecoms and profits

Net profit of prominent telecommunication operators and internet service providers in Slovakia, ranked by 2018 earnings, 2013-2018

Company	Net profit (€ '000)					
	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Slovak Telekom	47,686	40,682	68,744	61,232	66,637	106,302
Orange Slovensko	114,516	103,062	88,249	81,700	92,221	74,297
O2 Slovakia	34,971	32,624	43,308	41,705	47,186	50,775
Digi Slovakia	-3,247	4,110	4,693	5,824	5,023	5,446
Energotel	996	1,728	2,348	1,562	1,293	1,410
Antik Telecom	1,142	1,153	438	-393	1,278	1,159
Marlink	170	224	208	325	423	465
VNET	29	44	12	118	121	325
Satro	225	30	-153	-177	-180	87
RadioLAN	27	-120	2	27	36	35
DSi Data	200	74	26	48	9	25
Slovanet	162	1,070	502	-312	246	-360
Benestra	-3,810	-4,463	-3,669	-2,177	-2,014	-2,032
UPC Broadband Slovakia	-2,693	2,712	-1,118	-938	-7,415	-6,648
Towercom	11,193	6,525	-2,560	-1,604	-5,486	-7,908
Swan	n/a	n/a	-600	-6,581	-7,613	-8,204
Swan Mobile	467	940	42,671	-18,686	-18,235	-16,848

Source: CMDS based on company data and data from Slovak Trade Registry

Technology Companies & Government

The technology sector remains a politics-free industry. Technology companies, especially telecoms, invest significant time and money in lobbying regulators, but there are no ownership links between large players and politicians. Large financial groups such as J&T or Penta Investments have not expanded into technology yet. The sole exception is PPF Group, controlled by Czech magnate Petr Kellner, which controls the telecom operator O2 Slovakia via O2's mother company located in the Czech Republic.

There is no specific regulatory regime for online content in Slovakia. The Council for Broadcasting and Retransmission (RVR), Slovakia's broadcast watchdog, started to regulate online content, but its remit is limited to audiovisual products posted online. The RVR does not regulate social media, but is gradually expanding its regulatory remit to include technology companies. In its latest reports, the list of entities regulated by RVR included telecom operators such as Orange Slovensko and Slovak Telekom. (*See Internet regulators in the Government, Politics and Regulation chapter of this report*)

But in spite of this regulatory vacuum, state authorities are increasingly targeting technology companies, especially foreign ones. Finance minister Peter Kazimir from Smer-SD party said that the government was planning to tax IT giants like Google and Facebook.[6] Mr Kazimir claims that the two companies generate together as much as €80m in ad revenue in Slovakia, but fail to pay due taxes on that amount. According to Juraj Valis, a tax expert interviewed by Hospodarske Noviny,[7] Google and Facebook pay taxes on local expenses instead of locally generated income. But without international cooperation (mainly help from tax offices in other countries), it will be hard for the Slovak tax watchdog to assess how much these companies should pay, Valis said.

According to a report from the European Commission, Google paid in 2018 a tax of roughly 0.82% of its revenue in the European Union (EU).[8] The Commission announced in 2018 plans to start taxing IT companies. Much support for it comes from France and its president Emmanuel Macron.[9]

A new law on income tax that took effect in Slovakia in 2018 introduced obligations on digital platforms that offer services in Slovakia to register as a local taxpayer. The law affected immediately the transport platform Uber and the accommodation portals Air B&B and Booking.com.[10] If platforms do not register, then the government is going to tax the locals who offer services of digital platforms: Uber drivers and home owners who rent their places. The companies reacted by registering, but they argued that most of the income generated through their business goes to the locals, staying in Slovakia. That is a reason, digital platforms argue, for not taxing the platforms.

[6] Olivia Lacenova, Kristina Votrubova, "Kazimír proti gigantom. Zdaní Google a Facebook" (Kazimir against giants. He wants to tax Google and Facebook), HN Online, 8 Jan 2018, available online at

<https://finweb.hnonline.sk/ekonomika/1671238-kazimir-zdani-google-a-facebook>

[7] "Slovakia may tax Google and Facebook", The Slovak Spectator, 9 Jan 2018, available online at

<https://spectator.sme.sk/c/20734333/slovakia-may-tax-google-and-facebook.html>

[8] Alicia Gonzalez, "Europe's tax war with the tech giants", El Pais, 2 Mar 2018, available online at

https://elpais.com/elpais/2018/03/01/inenglish/1519908569_345579.html

[9] Bjarke Smith-Meyer, "Commission eyes €5 billion annual windfall with new digital tax", Politico, 21 Mar 2018, available online at <https://www.politico.eu/article/commission-eyes-e5-billion-annual-windfall-with-new-digital-tax/>

[10] Lucia Yar, "Slovensko už zdaňuje digitálne platformy, chystá sa na internetových gigantov aj kryptomeny" (Slovakia already taxes digital platforms, prepares for internet giants and crypto-currencies), EurActiv, 16 January 2018, available online at <https://euractiv.sk/section/digitalizacia/news/slovensko-uz-zdanuje-digitalne-platformy-chysta-sa-na-internetovych-gigantov-aj-kryptomeny/> (accessed on 20 September 2019).

The Slovak government announced that the new fiscal legislation will target Facebook and Google next. Google is registered in Slovakia. Its local subsidiary, Google Slovakia paid a total tax of nearly €52,000 on revenues of some €1.5m in 2018, according to data from the local trade registry. Facebook is processing its taxes on income generated in Slovakia through its Ireland-registered office. According to Dave Wehner, a financial director with Facebook, the company is planning to pay more taxes in the country where the revenue is generated. However, that is likely to happen first in only the 30 countries where Facebook has a local office, including Germany, France, Italy, Poland and Sweden.[11]

In a separate legal development, Slovak authorities approved provisions, which took effect in May 2018, forbidding Facebook to accept registrations on its network from teenagers under 16 years of age without their parents' consent. The provisions are part of the law on protection of personal data, which was approved by the Slovak Parliament in November 2017.[12] Internet companies are legally obliged to verify that parents' consent was given to teenagers who want to register on Facebook. It is not yet clear how they are supposed to do that.

Technology Companies & Media

Local Telecoms

Among local telecoms, Slovak Telekom is the key player involved in both production and distribution of news content online. Slovak Telekom controls the largest search engine in Slovakia, Zoznam.sk, and Topky.sk, a tabloid portal funded mostly through advertising. Topky.sk covers a broad range of topics, including domestic affairs, international news, sports, economy and culture. Topky.sk ranks among the most visited sites in Slovakia with 1.63 million users in 2018. Zoznam.sk, which is a much bigger platform, publishes news content primarily from Topky.sk, helping thus beef up Topky's traffic.

Internet Companies

Facebook

Social media play an important role in news distribution in Slovakia. The biggest social media by number of users is Facebook. It is widely used by Slovak news media outlets to share content and increase exposure.

However, in terms of popularity, news media on Facebook is nowhere close to celebrities, human interest and practical advice websites. The top position belongs to Miroslav Stoch, a Slovak footballer, with 1.37 million fans, according to statistics from Socialbakers, a web analytics firm.

[11] Mark Scott, "Facebook to overhaul how it pays tax worldwide", Politico, 18 Dec 2017, available online at <https://www.politico.eu/article/facebook-tax-digital-europe-revenue-sales-corporate-ireland-david-wehner/>

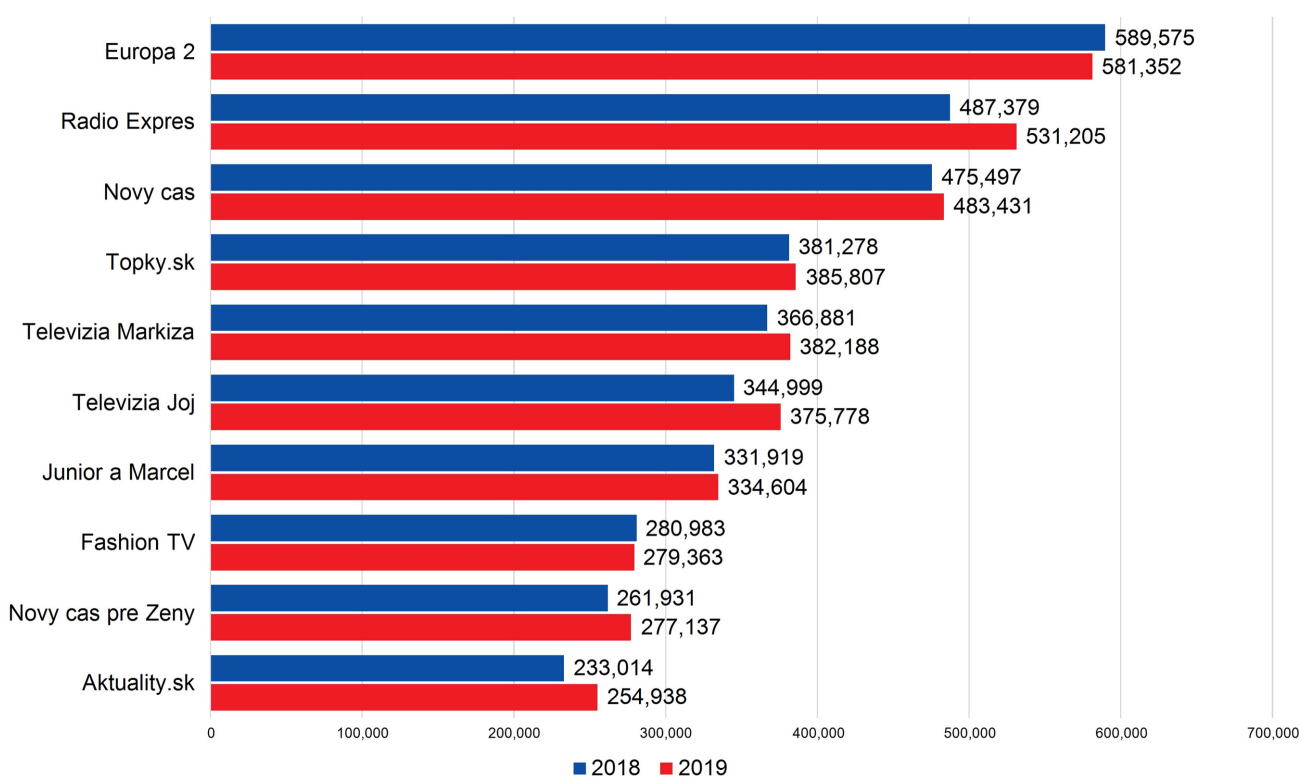
[12] "Parlament rozhodol: Na facebook do 16 rokov len so súhlasom rodičov" (Parliament decided: on 16-year old on Facebook only with the consent of the parents), Noviny.sk, 30 Nov 2017, available online at <https://www.noviny.sk/slovensko/283348-parlament-rozhodol-na-facebook-do-16-rokov-len-so-suhlasom-rodicov>

It is followed by *Dobre rady a napady* (meaning “good advice and ideas” in Slovak), a site publishing practical advice on health and beauty, home decoration and other family life-related topics. *Dobre rady a napady* is published by the company iSITA, which operates a slew of human interest and practical advice websites, but also three local news websites, which cover Bratislava, Nitra and Zilina. iSITA has boosted its revenue from a couple of thousands of euros in 2014 to over €520,000 in 2017.

When it comes to media, two radio stations, Europa 2 and Radio Expres, dominate on Facebook with roughly 580,000 and 531,000 followers, respectively. They are followed by two tabloid titles and two television stations.

Most liked

Ranking of the most popular media on Facebook in Slovakia, 2018-2019



Source: Socialbakers

The reach of Slovak news media on Facebook is low. Only two of the most popular media in Slovakia reach more than 20 in 100 Facebook users. Both of them are radio stations that attract people thanks primarily to their music-dominated output. The most popular serious news outlet on Facebook, *Aktuality.sk* reaches an average of 10 in 100 Facebook users.

Journalists interviewed for this report say that the reach of Slovak news media on Facebook is higher than the number of “likes” because news content is widely shared through networks of friends. Moreover, many users, even staunch readers of a specific news outlet, do not bother to click the “like” button, which is not as fashionable as it used to be some years ago.

Nevertheless, the traffic generated by Facebook is extremely important for the eyeballs-hungry news media in Slovakia, according to journalists interviewed for this report. No wonder then that Slovak journalists blew a gasket when Facebook, in a 2017 experiment that was run in six countries including Slovakia, removed professional media from Facebook’s main news feed, limiting content on that feed to personal posts and paid ads.

The experiment badly hit the media in the six countries. Data from CrowdTangle, a Facebook-owned analytics site, showed that “interactions” on most of the Slovak media pages on Facebook tumbled by 60% overnight.[13] Facebook defines “interactions” as engagements such as likes, shares or comments. Small media outlets and NGOs in particular were hit hard by the experiment as they cannot afford to buy ads. Slovak outlets survived, but in other countries where the test was run, like Guatemala, news media could hardly recover after this test.

That was a strong indicator of the power that Facebook exerts in local news markets. Filip Struharik, a journalist working for DennikN, who studied the impact of the 2017 Facebook experiment, says that the test should prompt news media to think differently about Facebook and change their strategy. Struharik explains that in spite of the decline in the Facebook reach, the traffic on the main news sites remained almost unchanged during the experiment. He says that the Facebook Pages are not as important as journalists thought. “What’s important are influencers and people who share your stories.”[14]

Google

Google has a major influence in the Slovak news media through its own video-sharing platform YouTube, which some two years ago was the second most popular social network in Slovakia. However, its popularity has declined since 2018. The reach among Slovak media remains low. Only two media houses in Slovakia, TV Joj and Televizia Markiza, have more than 100,000 YouTube subscribers. The two boosted significantly the number of their subscribers in the past year to over 754,000 and 566,000, respectively. Third came at a distance RadioExpres with some 84,400 subscribers in 2019.

Most watched on YouTube

Ranking of the most popular media on YouTube in Slovakia, by number of subscribers, 2018-2019

Outlet	Number of subscribers		Total views of uploaded videos	
	2018	2019	2018	2019
Televizia Joj	209,412	754,000	414,000,094	1,057,333,454
Televizia Markiza	89,797	566,000	74,830,833	659,580,176
RadioExpres	55,178	84,400	45,363,456	71,762,450
HBO CZ SK	36,487	45,200	54,814,809	72,413,948
TopSpeed.sk	28,640	56,400	18,233,047	30,898,231
Fun Radio	33,647	44,900	26,084,835	34,672,970
Dennik N	12,694	20,800	12,011,283	17,376,298
Radio Europa 2	6,116	11,500	5,746,883	7,611,913
Google Cesko a Slovensko	n/a	n/a	8,370	4,062,166

n/a: not available; Source: Socialbakers

[13] Alex Hern, “Downright Orwellian: journalists decry Facebook experiment's impact on democracy”, The Guardian, 25 Oct 2017, available online at <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2017/oct/25/facebook-orwellian-journalists-democracy-guatemala-slovakia>

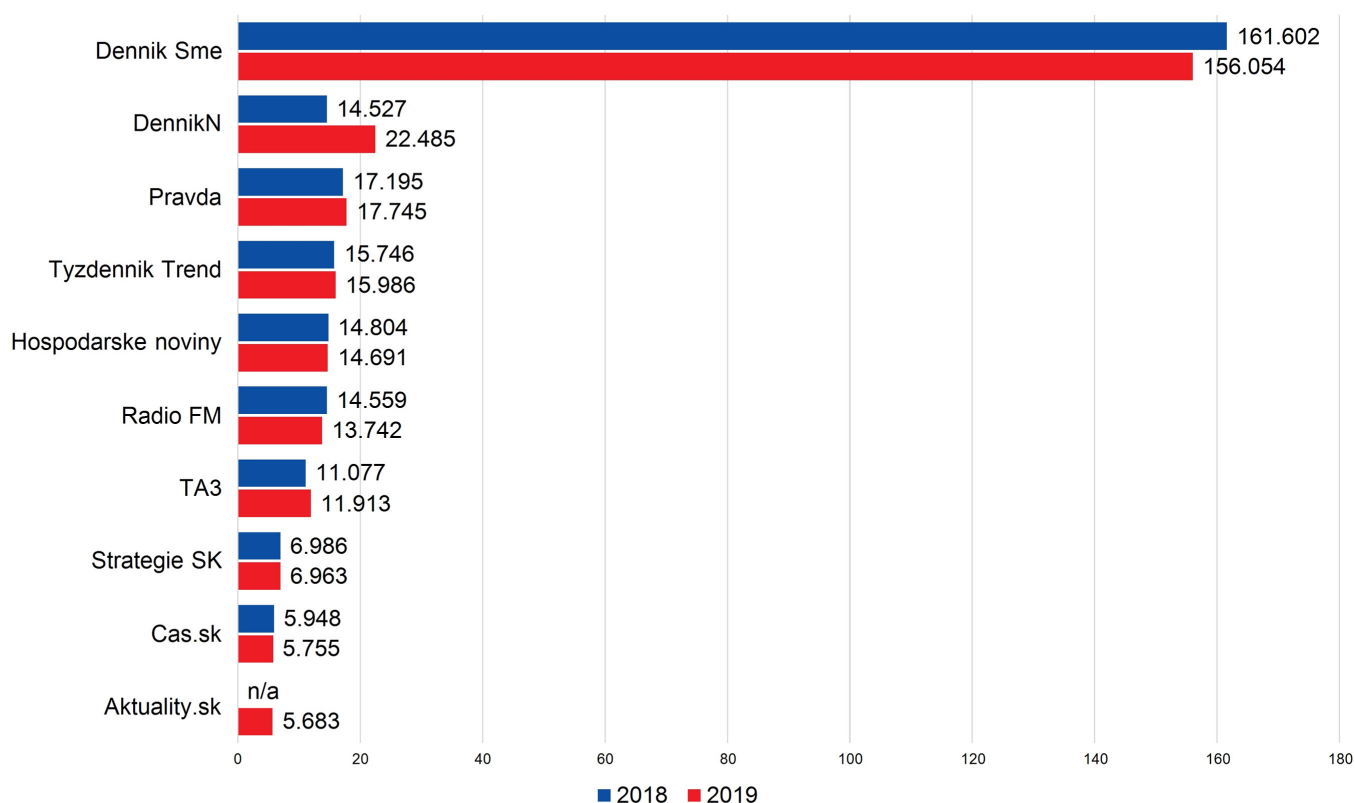
[14] Filip Struharik, “Facebook has hurt mainstream media more than fake news sites”, Medium, 17 Dec 2017, available online at <https://medium.com/estadodelasredessociales2017/facebook-has-hurt-mainstream-media-more-than-fake-news-sites-113277bada8>

Twitter

In spite of its low reach compared to Facebook, Twitter is broadly used in the Slovak journalistic community. The most popular Slovak accounts on Twitter belong mostly to celebrities such as Peter Sagan, a Slovak bicycle racer, Marian Gaborik, an ice-hockey player, or Dominika Cibulkova, a tennis player. The most popular Slovak media outlet on Twitter is the daily Sme, which is the seventh most followed account in the country with over 156,000 followers, a decline some 5,000 followers between 2018 and 2019. By far the fastest growing player on Twitter is DennikN, which in a single year gained almost 8,000 new followers, jumping from nowhere to the second most followed media account in Slovakia on Twitter.

The loudest tweets

Ranking of the most popular media on Twitter in Slovakia, 2018-2019



n/a: not available; Source: Socialbakers

The Fake News Market

Generally, the impact of Facebook on Slovak media and journalism is very negative, according to journalists interviewed for this report. Instead of supporting quality journalism, the network promotes extremist, lowbrow content able to generate clicks and shares. DennikN's Struharik found that the average number of interactions on the 50 largest Slovak media on Facebook fell by 52% and the average number of interactions on serious news pages declined by 39%. In contrast, the average number of interactions on disinformation sites and pages that promote hate speech declined by only 27%.[15]

[15] Filip Struharik, cit.

That is a worrying trend especially in a country where disinformation is apparently thriving. The number of bogus websites has dramatically increased in Slovakia in the past five years. Most of them are flogging a nationalistic, pro-Russian, anti-EU/NATO/USA and anti-immigration worldview.

Some of these fake news websites are going to bat for right-wing, nationalist parties. For example, Hlavne Spravy (which means “Headline News” in Slovak), is known for supporting the far-right People’s Party-Our Slovakia (LSNS). The site writes stories based largely on fabricated data and misinformation. In 2017, Hlavne Spravy published a poll showing that Marian Kotleba, LSNS’ head, was going to win in the regional elections that took place in autumn 2017. It turned out that the company that carried out the poll, Visit BB, did not even exist. Kotleba lost in the 2017 elections, but recent polls showed that his party is the third-most popular in the country. More worryingly, it is the most popular party among Slovak youth.[16]

A high number of Slovaks, particularly young people, believe what these bogus websites write, according to Tomas Cizik, a researcher at the Bratislava-based Center for European and North Atlantic Affairs, who studies bogus sites in Slovakia. Cizik, who teaches high-school students how to spot fake news, says that young people “are not aware that they’re reading fake stories and conspiracy theories.”[17]

One of the most problematic aspects of online disinformation in Slovakia is the tacit support of politicians. Journalist Andrej Matisak of DennikN says that the country’s former prime minister, Robert Fico encouraged disinformation by not saying anything that would irk Russia and its leadership. “From the annexation of Crimea and the war on Eastern Ukraine, Prime Minister Fico never, ever said something like, ‘Russian soldiers are fighting against Ukraine’.”[18]

The popularity of bogus websites has led to the emergence of a lucrative fake news market that feeds an increasing number of people and companies. “Snake Oil Spills Onto the Web,” a 2019 report on Slovakia in the CMDS’ Business of Misinformation series found a competitive fake news market that generates healthy profits. Some 57% of the websites analyzed in the report were created between 2013 and 2016.[19] “The Slovak misinformation and disinformation website scene appears to be run by multiple independent entities using various business models to sustain operation,” Jozef Michal Mintal, the report’s author, wrote.

The report identified four key sources of revenue that keep these platforms afloat: tax designations (money contributed by Slovak citizens from their tax liability, as allowed by law), sales of goods and services (including books, dietary supplements and mugs, among many things), crowdfunding and advertising. Of all, advertising and e-commerce seem to sustain most of the country’s disinformation sites. Some 77% of the 49 websites analyzed in the study either display ads or sell goods and services.

[16] “Mladí najviac veria Kotlebovi. Takto by dopadli volby, ak by volili ľudia do 40 rokov” (Youth mostly trust Kotleba. That is how the elections would look like if people up to 40 years of age voted), Hospodarske noviny, 8 Dec 2016, available online at <https://slovensko.hnonline.sk/873190-mladi-slovaci-do-40-rokov-podporuju-najviac-kotlebovcov-ukazala-studia>

[17] Michael Colborne, “How Fake News Helped Slovak Extremists Become Reality”, Codastory.com, 25 Oct 2017, available online at <https://codastory.com/disinformation-crisis/information-war/how-fake-news-helped-slovak-extremists-become-reality>

[18] Emily Tamkin, “Fake News’ Fights Back”, Foreign Policy, 20 Dec 2017, available online at <http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/12/20/fake-news-fights-back/>

[19] Jozef Michal Mintal, “The Business of Misinformation: Slovakia. Snake Oil Spills Onto the Web”, CMDS, 2019, available online at <https://cmds.ceu.edu/sites/cmcs.ceu.hu/files/attachment/basicpage/1662/businessofmisinformationslovakia.pdf> (accessed on 1 September 2019).

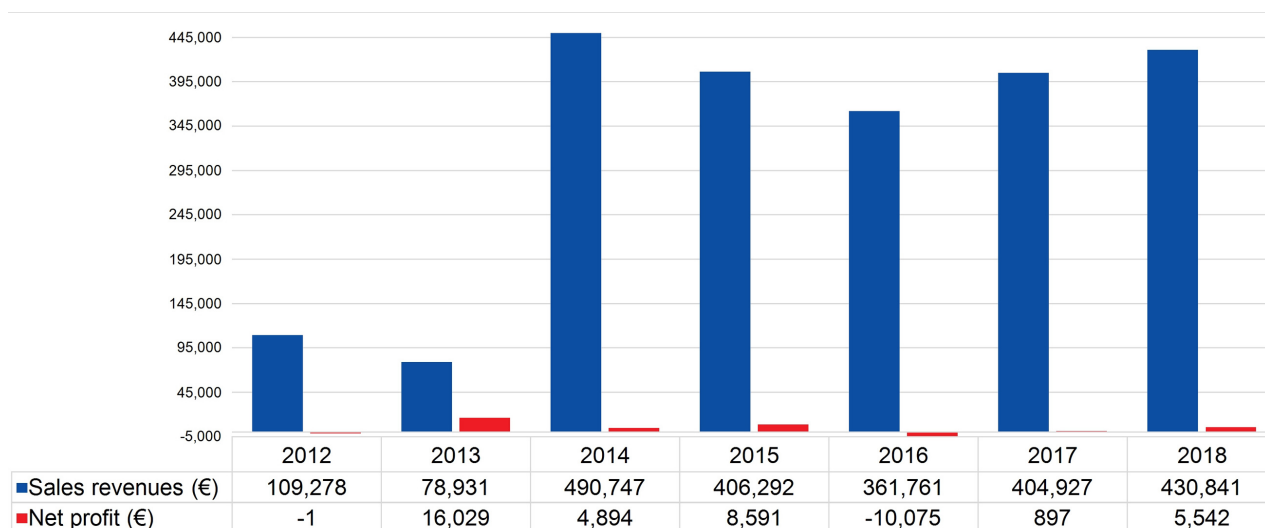
One of the most profitable fake news websites in Slovakia is Zem a Vek, published by Tibor Eliot Rostas, a musician and visual artist who worked for the TV station Markiza in the 1990s.[20] In 2012, he founded the company Sofian, which is the publisher of Zem a Vek. Married with two children, Rostas turned the website into a profitable business to feed his family. Its turnover quadrupled from 2012 to more than €430,000 in 2018.

The website Hlavne Spravy is edited by Robert Sopko who runs the website through the company Heureka Evolution. Sopko runs this site from his flat in a block of flats in Kosice. His stories attract hundreds of thousands of readers. The MP Boris Kollar, founder of the party Sme Rodina (translated as “we are family”) in 2015, often cites the website. Sme Rodina won 11 seats in parliament in the 2016 elections.[21] Hlavne Spravy started as a one-man show led by Sopko, but in recent years it has increased its pool of contributors. Writers are paid €5 per article and an extra €1 when their article gets any 1,000 views over 5,000 views, according to an insider who worked for the website.[22]

Some of the bogus websites targeting the Slovak public generate revenues through advertising, but there are many such websites that are financing themselves through crowdfunding. Zvedavec.org, one of the oldest bogus portals in the region, established in 1999 by Vladimir Stwora, a Czechoslovak émigré residing in Canada, generates funding mainly through donations from readers. Stwora was sentenced in 2011 by a Prague court to six months in prison for publishing on its website an article that questioned the Holocaust.[23] Slobodny Vysielac, a news-focused website, is the most successful when it comes to crowdfunding, generating roughly €100,000 a year from people’s donations, according to the Mintal’s report.

Real cash for fake news

Sofian: key financial indicators, 2012-2018



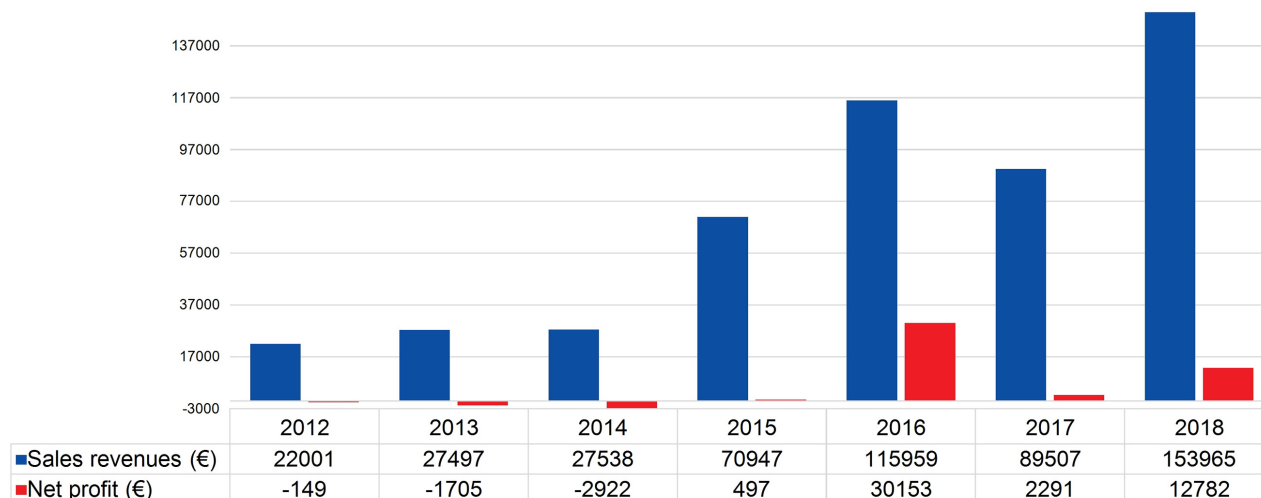
Source: CMDS based on data from the Slovak Trade Registry

[20] Jan Bencik, “Falošný lesk a morálna bieda Tibora Rostása” (The fake luster and moral misery of Tibor Rostas), DennikN, 28 Dec 2014, available online at <https://dennikn.sk/blog/9518/falosny-lesk-a-moralna-bieda-tibora-rostasa/>

[21] Vladimir Snidl, “Kto riadi proruský web Hlavné správy? Muž, ktorý neodmieta ani eurofondy” (Who leads the pro-Russian website Hlavne Spravy? The man who does not refuse EU funds either), DennikN, 2 Aug 2016, available online at <https://dennikn.sk/521950/kto-riadi-prorusky-web-hlavne-spravy-muz-ktory-neodmieta-ani-eurofondy-2/>

[22] Ria Gehrero, “Undercover at a Slovak fake news website”, NewsMavens, 15 Jan 2018, available online at <https://newsmavens.com/news/aha-moments/1041/undercover-at-a-slovak-fake-news-website>

[23] “Soud pravomocně potrestal Čechokanadana za zpochybňování holokaustu” (Court definitively sentenced a Czech-Canadian man for questioning the Holocaust), 29 Sep 2011, available online at https://zpravy.idnes.cz/cechokanadan-vladimir-stwora-dostal-za-text-zpochybnujici-holokaust-definitivne-podminen-y-trest-ia9-/krimi.aspx?c=A110929_161338_krimi_zep

Heureka Evolution: key financial indicators, 2012-2018

Source: CMDs based on data from the Slovak Trade Registry

Some politicians now and then speak about fake news, but they have not taken any concrete steps to combat misinformation. Slovak President Andrej Kiska told the European Parliament in 2017 that EU should be more active in fighting the Russian propaganda.[24] Journalists interviewed for this report are in agreement that, in fact, the government should not try to regulate fake news because that will give authorities carte blanche to meddle in content regulation, which is going to have a negative effect on independent reporting.

A strong response to misinformation though came from the digital advertising industry. The digital marketing agency Net Success in cooperation with Seesame, a competitor, established in 2016 the website *Konspiratori.sk* (meaning “conspirators” in Slovak) that keeps tabs on fake news websites targeting the Slovak market. A total of 40 organizations, mostly marketing and PR agencies, but also technology firms, support the project. The initiative is aimed at convincing advertisers, particularly large ones, to scotch their ads on dubious websites where content is “far from representing ethical and balanced news.”[25]

Konspiratori.sk has a board that reviews on a regular basis websites reported via an online form by any concerned reader. The decision to include a website on the *Konspiratori*’s black list is made according to a set of rules that takes into account the score (from 1 to 10 where 10 indicates high likelihood that a website is a disinformation portal) that each board member gives to a site. In 2019, a list of 162 websites were featured on *Konspiratori.sk* as fake news sites, an increase by 42 websites compared to 2018.

The composition of the review board is diverse, consisting of people coming from a range of fields including political science, journalism, medicine and history. Publishers are also supportive of the

[24] “Slovak President Kiska tells MEPs: EU needs strong leaders with passion for the cause”, European Parliament News, 15 Nov 2017, available online at <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/press-room/20171110IPR87823/slovak-president-kiska-eu-needs-strong-leaders-with-passion-for-the-cause>

[25] “Začal sa boj proti konšpirátorským webom. Značky im odstrihnú inzerciu” (The fight against conspiracy websites started. Brands to cut their advertising), Medialne.sk, 18 Apr 2016, available online at <https://medialne.etrend.sk/marketing/zacal-sa-boj-proti-konspiratorskym-webom-znacky-im-odstrihnu-inzerciu.html>. See more about the initiative also at <https://www.konspiratori.sk/en/why-this-initiative.php>

initiative. Alexej Fulmek of the Slovak publishers association is an honorary member of the review board. According to the founders of Konspiratori.sk, the impact of the site has been constantly growing. An increasing number of people are responding to their invitation to report fake news websites. Their readership is also growing thanks to a series of campaigns online aimed at dissuading advertisers from putting their money on fake news sites. In its first year, Konspiratori.sk ran a total of 17,000 online campaigns.[26] More importantly, the number of big advertisers joining the initiative has been rapidly growing. They include the oil refinery Slovnaft, carmaker Hyundai and the fashion retailer Alain Delon.[27]

Financial Support

Other than their potential as a distribution platform, foreign internet companies do not have any other form of direct cooperation with Slovak news media. An exception is Google, which through its Digital News Initiative (DNI) project, has given funding to develop journalism projects in Slovakia. DNI spent a total of €115m over the course of three years on supporting creativity in digital journalism and business models development in 30 European countries.

Launched in 2015, DNI awarded three grants in Slovakia by April 2018. Two were won by N Press, the publisher of DennikN, to develop an open-source tool for subscription business, and one went to vot.sk, a project aimed at creating a website and an app that would give readers context for news they are faced with every day. In total, Google awarded as part of this project some €1.2m to Slovak media. Most of it, nearly 96% of that, was given to N Press.

[26] “Konšpiratori.sk uviedli „Bullshit Detector“. Upozorní na pochybné weby” (Konspiratori.sk launched Bullshit Detector. It warns about dubious sites), Medialne.sk, 4 May 2017, available online at <https://medialne.etrend.sk/internet/konspiratori-sk-uviedli-bullshit-detector-upozorni-na-pochybne-weby.html>

[27] “Konšpiratori.sk pridali ďalšie pochybné weby, tipy však prišli aj na Sme či Denník N” (Konspiratori.sk added more dubious sites, but reports about Sme or DennikN also came in), Medialne.sk, 12 Jul 2016, available online at <https://medialne.etrend.sk/internet/konspiratori-sk-pridali-dalsie-pochybne-weby-tipy-vsak-prisli-aj-na-sme-ci-dennik-n.html>



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