

Media and Journalism
Research Center

ANNUAL REPORT 2025

Research and policy work in a
changing information sphere

MJRC

MEDIA&JOURNALISM
RESEARCH CENTER

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Table of Contents

A Word from the Director

Research: Mapping Power and Influence	1
Media Influence Matrix and Global Media Finances Map	1
State Media Monitor	2
Media and Politics	2
Research: Audiences, Communities and Narratives	3
Local Signal	3
Who's Listening?	3
Media Content Analysis Series	4
Policy and Reform	5
Media Capture Monitoring Report	5
Media Freedom and Reform in Lebanon	5
Academic Publishing and New Ideas	6
New Ideas in Media and Communication	6
Countries in Focus	7
People, Fellows and Expert Network	8
MJRC Fellowship	8
MJRC Young Researchers Programme	9
Our Expert Hub	10
Funding Journalism in Captured Environments	11
MJRC Funding Programme	11
Recognition and Field Influence	12
MJRC as a Reference	12
Communications and Community	13
Audio Briefs	13
Media and Journalism Exchange	13
Followers and Digital Reach	14
Finances	15




A Word from the Director

As we close 2025, MJRC stands at an important turning point. The year was not only one of continued research output and institutional growth; it was also the year in which we prepared the centre for a new information order. Journalism remains central to our mission, but the field around it is changing at exceptional speed. Power over information is moving from visible media institutions to a wider and less transparent infrastructure of platforms, AI systems, data brokers, regulators, investors, political actors and automated interfaces that increasingly decide what people see, trust and remember.

In 2025, MJRC responded to this transformation by widening its lens. We continued to document media ownership, funding, regulation and capture, while expanding our work towards the broader systems through which information is produced, distributed, manipulated and authenticated. This shift is reflected in the 2026-2028 strategy we developed after a review and consultation process involving experts, journalists, technologists and policy practitioners across 40 countries. The strategy sets a clear direction: MJRC will increasingly map provenance and influence across the entire information sphere, not only within journalism narrowly defined.

That new direction was visible throughout 2025. The Media Influence Matrix moved towards a more dynamic, database-driven model and integrated the Global Media Finances Map. Financial Signals began translating company accounts and ownership data into regular analytical insights. The State Media Monitor continued to serve as the most extensive global reference on state and public media. The Media Capture Monitoring Report, produced with the International Press Institute, tracked how European systems are responding to the European Media Freedom Act and to the continuing risks of media capture.

We also launched and developed new workstreams that speak directly to the changing field. Local Signal began mapping how people are informed in everyday community settings. Who's Listening? shifted attention from media outlets to the social, political and cultural environments in which audiences form trust and act on information. The Media Content Analysis Series used data-driven methods to study how major media cover severe humanitarian crises. New Ideas in Media and Communication gave MJRC a peer-reviewed, open-access academic platform for research that pushes the boundaries of the field.



These developments matter because the major challenges facing journalism are no longer limited to ownership concentration, political pressure or financial fragility, although all three remain urgent. We are now also dealing with more complex forms of media capture, the collapse of narrative coherence under the weight of automated content, the fragmentation of audiences into smaller and more opaque communities, policy overload with weak implementation, and the automation of research and editorial work. MJRC's task is to make these changes visible, measurable and understandable.

At the same time, we remained committed to people: the researchers, journalists, fellows, students and partners who make this work possible. Our Young Researchers programme continued to nurture new voices in media research. The Media and Journalism Exchange developed as a fast-growing professional community for collaboration and knowledge sharing. Our audio briefs, project websites and social channels helped us carry complex research beyond specialist audiences.

The coming years will require institutions that can combine human expertise with computational tools without surrendering judgement, ethics or independence to automation. MJRC is preparing for that role. Our ambition is to become a hybrid intelligence lab for the information sphere: grounded in field knowledge, strengthened by data, open to technological innovation, and committed to protecting the human core of journalism.

Thank you to our partners, fellows, researchers, young scholars, advisers and the MJRC team whose work made 2025 possible. The information environment is becoming more complex, but our purpose remains clear: to understand who shapes information, how influence circulates and how trust can be rebuilt.

Marius Dragomir

Director, Media and Journalism Research Center



Research: Mapping Power and Influence

Media Influence Matrix and Global Media Finances Map

Launched in 2017, the Media Influence Matrix examines how changes in policy, funding and technology are reshaping journalism. Over the years, it has produced 42 in-depth reports across 22 countries, building a broad comparative picture of how media systems operate around the world. Originally designed around narrative country reports focused on regulation, funding and technology, the project evolved in 2025 from static, text-based analysis into a more dynamic, database-driven model with the launch of a revised methodology.

As of 2025, the project has expanded to include the Global Media Finances Map (GMFM), bringing together country profiles, data on media funding and ownership, methodological tools and comparative research to show more clearly how power operates in today's information ecosystems.

Throughout 2025, we published several studies under the Media Influence Matrix and Global Media Finances Map umbrella. In April, we released *A Comparative Financial Analysis of Dominant Media Groups in Belgium*, which explores the financial performance and ownership structures of the country's leading media companies. In May, we published *Political Interference and Financial Outcomes: Analysis of Hungarian Media Companies*, a report examining how political influence intersects with the financial performance of 20 media companies in Hungary.

In July, we released *Charting Google's European Footprint: Revenue Streams, Profit Pools and Market Presence*, a study of Google's financial and market presence across Europe between 2020 and 2023, drawing on company filings and national statistics from EU member states where data were available. In October, we published *Technology, the Public Sphere and Journalism in Russia*, an in-depth study of how Russia's digital transformation has reshaped its information ecosystem.

As part of this work, we also introduced *Financial Signals*, a regular digest that highlights key insights from the Global Media Finances Map. Each edition draws on newly published company reports to surface patterns, contradictions and structural developments in the economics of journalism and media.

State Media Monitor

The State Media Monitor offers a pioneering framework for classifying state and public media based on three dimensions that strongly affect independence: funding mechanisms, ownership and governance structures, and editorial independence. As one of the world's most extensive databases on state-affiliated media, the Monitor is continually updated by a global network of independent experts in 170 countries.

Widely cited by domestic and international media outlets, it has also become a trusted reference for media regulators crafting new policy frameworks and for technology companies seeking to make informed decisions about labelling state media on digital platforms.

In June, we published a new article examining five public media systems: Spain, Greece, Slovenia, Slovakia and Poland. The piece explored a simple but important question: does political ideology shape how governments treat public media, or is there a broader tendency across the board to use it as a political tool?

In July, we continued the series with a focus on Asia, looking at seven public media outlets in Bhutan, South Korea and Taiwan. The article explored how these organisations navigate government pressure and internal challenges while trying to maintain editorial independence.

In October, MJRC released the 2025 edition of the State Media Monitor, a global overview of state and public media systems. It tracks funding, governance and, most importantly, how independent these institutions are in practice.

Media and Politics

In March, we released Syria's New Power Dynamics, a report by Tobias Höring examining the country's shifting political landscape. The study explores the evolving balance of power in Syria and the complex challenges that continue to shape its path towards democracy.

Research: Audiences, Communities and Narratives

Local Signal

In August, we launched Local Signal, an MJRC initiative and a key pillar of our 2026-2028 strategy. The project examines how people actually get informed in their everyday lives and places journalism within the wider information environment.

Instead of focusing only on lists of media outlets, Local Signal takes an ecosystem approach. It maps not only newsrooms, but also public institutions, civic and cultural organisations, political actors, sports clubs, creators and influencers, community events and commercial players, all of which shape what people pay attention to.

The goal is practical: to build a living, usable evidence base that communities, journalists, researchers and funders can draw on to better understand how trustworthy local information flows.

At the end of August, as part of this work, we spent time inside Moldovan diaspora groups on Facebook, Telegram, OK and other platforms, observing how people interact and communicate, and complementing this with a series of interviews.

Who's Listening?

In 2025, as part of its renewed strategic direction, MJRC launched Who's Listening?, a research initiative designed to unpack the complex dynamics of diverse audiences and communities. Unlike MJRC's traditional media mapping projects, this initiative shifts the lens towards the social, political and cultural environments that shape the audiences media organisations hope to reach.

The project explores how people engage with, consume, create and share information in everyday life, and the extent to which that engagement is still driven by professional journalism and established media outlets.

In May, we launched Hooked on the Feed: An Analysis of How Facebook, TikTok, and X Shape Information Consumption in Eastern Europe. Developed by the Thomson Foundation and MJRC, the study explores how fast-changing audience habits are reshaping journalism and news consumption in Hungary, Romania and Poland.

In March, we published War of Words: How Soldiers in the Ukraine Conflict Stay in the Know, a report based on interviews with soldiers involved in the ongoing war in Ukraine. The study explores where Russian and Ukrainian combatants get their news and updates, offering insight into the information sources they rely on amid the uncertainty of conflict.

Media Content Analysis Series

As part of its 2026-2028 strategic plan, MJRC launched the Media Content Analysis Series, a research initiative that combines new technologies with in-house expertise to design and carry out in-depth analyses of content from media outlets, social media and other digital platforms.

In 2025, we released the Humanitarian Crisis Coverage Report, a data-driven study examining how influential media outlets report on ten of the world's most severe humanitarian crises, from Sudan and Ethiopia to Ukraine and Gaza. The project analysed 78,667 news articles and helped demonstrate how visibility, framing and editorial attention are unevenly distributed across crises.

Policy and Reform

Media Capture Monitoring Report

In 2024, MJRC joined forces with the International Press Institute (IPI) to launch the Media Capture Monitoring Report (MCMR), an annual assessment of media capture across EU member states. The initiative evaluates how national legislation and practice align with the European Media Freedom Act (EMFA), a landmark EU framework intended to curb media capture and safeguard media freedom.

The 2025 edition became especially important because most core provisions of the EMFA entered into application on 8 August 2025. In response, MJRC and IPI launched a new series of country reports assessing both media capture risks and EMFA compliance in practice.

Across the year, the series covered Hungary, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Slovakia, Finland, Spain and Poland, followed by a comparative European overview in December. The reports scrutinised the independence of media regulators and public service media, the misuse of state resources to influence media content, and the erosion of media pluralism through political and state influence over news media.

The project reinforced MJRC's position as a go-to source for evidence-based analysis of media capture in Europe, while also showing that the effectiveness of the EMFA will depend not only on legal adoption, but on implementation, enforcement and political will.

Media Freedom and Reform in Lebanon

MJRC continued its policy work in Lebanon in 2025 through the EU-funded project Support to Media Reform in Lebanon to Enhance Freedom of Expression, implemented in partnership with Maharat Foundation and Legal Agenda. The project seeks to create policy-level entry points for meaningful media reform in Lebanon, drawing on European standards while adapting them to local legal, political and institutional realities.

The initiative engages key national actors, including members of parliament, government ministries, judges, legal professionals, academics and media practitioners, with the aim of supporting reforms that strengthen freedom of expression in a sustainable and context-sensitive way.

MJRC's contribution focused on comparative policy expertise, legal and regulatory analysis, and the translation of European experience into tools that can inform Lebanese reform debates. During this programme cycle, the project produced and disseminated studies on social media and elections, election supervision, journalist protection and other areas central to media freedom reform.

Academic Publishing and New Ideas

New Ideas in Media and Communication

In June, MJRC launched New Ideas in Media and Communication, a peer-reviewed, open-access academic journal designed to publish work that brings genuinely new perspectives to the study of media, journalism, communication, technology and public life. The journal gives MJRC a dedicated academic space for research that challenges established assumptions, opens new lines of inquiry, or connects media scholarship to emerging transformations in the information environment.

The first issue opened with a paper examining three closely connected elements essential to addressing Russian disinformation effectively. In August, the journal published an article on journalism's struggle for authority and relevance in an environment shaped by platform visibility, identity-based communities, and strategic communication by state and commercial actors.

In September, MJRC released a study on AI chatbots in China and the West. The research tested identical prompts on Chinese systems, including DeepSeek, Doubao and Ernie Bot, and on leading Western AI models, comparing how different systems respond to sensitive questions and how they operate as information hubs.

Countries in Focus

MJRC's research strategy rests on two core pillars: comparative analysis and a dedicated focus on countries where media research remains scarce or underdeveloped. The geographical reach of our work is shaped not only by strategic priorities but also by the availability of local researchers and resources, particularly as we continue to extend our footprint across the globe.

In 2025, the centre deepened its presence in Asia, looking at seven public media outlets in Bhutan, South Korea and Taiwan. We also worked on conflict and humanitarian contexts, publishing studies focusing on Ukraine, Gaza, Sudan, Ethiopia and other crisis settings. In the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), our work advanced on multiple fronts: we released a new report on Syria and expanded our ongoing research and advocacy collaboration in Lebanon.

Meanwhile, our European research portfolio grew significantly. Through initiatives including the Media Capture Monitoring Report, Media Influence Matrix, State Media Monitor and Global Media Finances Map, MJRC broadened its mapping and analysis efforts, covering the vast majority of countries across the continent.

People, Fellows and Expert Network

MJRC Fellowship

The MJRC Fellowship is built around a collaborative research model, in which fellows pursue original projects developed in close coordination with the centre's team. Fellows benefit from intellectual mentorship, programmatic support and access to MJRC's publication platforms, including the MJRC publication series and academic outlets curated by our institutional partners. The centre also maintains an active affiliation with the University of Santiago de Compostela, fostering strong academic synergies.

To date, MJRC has engaged 10 fellows in research spanning a wide spectrum of topics, including:

- the role of critical journalism in holding autocratic regimes to account under repressive conditions;
- the impact of social media on political polarisation;
- the use of network analytics and natural language processing to map polarisation and media structures;
- real-time audience reactions to disinformation as an alternative to post-facto corrections;
- the convergence of media and activism in the MENA region amid renewed authoritarianism;
- patterns of media capture in Sri Lanka; and
- the evolving legal challenges of propaganda and hate speech, particularly in online and audiovisual spaces.

In 2025, our fellows and experts contributed both to MJRC's institutional work and to leading external publications. Cerasel O. Cuteanu examined Romania's latest foreign-policy misstep in an article published on our Medium blog. Andrei Richter published new research in the *Journal of Romanian Studies*, analysing efforts in Moldova to develop legal responses to propaganda from Russian and Belarusian media, and authored an article for the *Oxford Research Encyclopedias* on freedom of expression within international organisations.

Meanwhile, Simone Benazzo published in the *International Journal of Communication*, looking at journalistic resistance in Poland and Slovakia and how independent media respond to authoritarian pressure. Our fellows are also routinely involved in MJRC's broader research agenda. For example, we drew on the expertise of Andrei Richter and Adriana Mutu to contribute to the Lebanon media reform project, reflecting our commitment to integrating fellow-driven insight into institutional workstreams.

MJRC Young Researchers Programme

The MJRC Young Media Researchers Programme is a training and mentorship initiative designed to identify, nurture and elevate emerging talent in the field of media research. Launched in early 2023, the programme equips young scholars with the tools, knowledge and critical perspective needed to navigate today's complex media ecosystems and make meaningful, evidence-based contributions to the field.

Open to students from a wide range of academic disciplines, including media studies, journalism, communication, sociology, psychology and data science, the programme thrives on interdisciplinary exchange. This diversity contributes to a rich learning environment and encourages participants to approach media research from fresh and varied perspectives.

In 2025, we welcomed five early-career researchers, each of whom dedicated the year to projects aligned with MJRC's strategic focus areas. Three participants successfully published original research through the centre's programmes and platforms:

- In April, Manon Verougstraete published an analysis of Belgium's key media industry players as part of the Global Media Finances Map.
- In June and July, Rayhan Jasin authored two articles based on State Media Monitor research and co-authored, with Marius Dragomir, the 2025 Global Overview of the State Media Monitor project.
- In September, Siya Zhang published a study on how AI chatbots in China function as information hubs when responding to sensitive queries, with a focus on whether and how Chinese Communist Party ideological priorities influence user-facing outputs.
- Tekla Sigua contributed to the Mapping EU Spending on Media Projects initiative, which aims to build a data-driven map of media-related projects funded by the EU.
- Pius Fozan contributed to research on SLAPP mapping, supporting efforts to document and analyse strategic lawsuits against public participation targeting journalists and media actors.

Our Expert Hub

The Media and Journalism Research Center (MJRC) is a legally registered entity, incorporated under Estonian law. It maintains an academic cooperation agreement with the University of Santiago de Compostela (USC) in Spain, reinforcing its commitment to scholarly rigour and institutional collaboration.

The centre's day-to-day operations are overseen by a dedicated core team, led by the MJRC Director and supported by staff responsible for communications, publishing, IT infrastructure and administrative coordination.

MJRC is also home to a diverse global network of experts, supporting cross-border collaboration and knowledge exchange. During 2025, a total of 154 experts were contracted by MJRC to work on research and policy projects.

Funding Journalism in Captured Environments

MJRC Funding Programme

MJRC's funding work entered a new phase in 2025. Since 2020, the centre had used its research expertise and international network to channel funding from private foundations to independent media operating in highly captured or fragile environments. That model helped direct resources to outlets facing sustained political, economic and legal pressure, while also generating practical lessons about how media support can be designed in countries where conventional donor mechanisms often fail to reach the most vulnerable actors.

In 2025, this programme was deliberately redesigned. The Open Society Foundations (OSF), which had been the leading supporter of this line of work, exited the programme, and MJRC closed its Hungary-focused support track after completing the relevant obligations and learning cycle. Rather than treating this as a simple contraction, the centre used the transition to reassess the model, its risks and its long-term value.

The redesigned approach moves MJRC away from a primarily sub-granting function and towards a more strategic support mechanism rooted in research, diagnosis and tailored intervention. The new model focuses on identifying independent media and journalistic initiatives most exposed to capture, mapping the structural pressures they face, and designing support packages that can combine funding, research, mentoring, visibility and methodological assistance.

This shift reflects a broader change in the field. In many countries, the challenge is no longer only to keep individual outlets alive, but to understand the political, financial, technological and audience conditions that determine whether independent journalism can remain socially relevant. MJRC's future funding work will therefore be more selective, evidence-driven and integrated into its wider research agenda on media capture, information integrity and the transformation of journalism.

By the end of 2025, MJRC's funding and support work had covered four countries where journalists and media outlets were struggling with capture.

Recognition and Field Influence

MJRC as a Reference

Throughout 2025, the work of the Media and Journalism Research Center continued to receive significant recognition across publications, reports, media articles and international conferences. Below is a curated selection of highlights. For a comprehensive list of references and media citations, visit the Citation Station on our website.

- Our research on media capture in Europe was referenced in an analysis commissioned by the Asociación de Periodistas de Madrid, Spain's largest professional association of journalists, and authored by Adriana Mutu, Ph.D.
- MJRC Director Marius Dragomir participated in a conference on the impact of propaganda and misinformation on modern democracies, hosted by Perry World House at the University of Pennsylvania, where he shared insights from the State Media Monitor project.
- The Media Capture Monitoring Report, created in collaboration with the International Press Institute (IPI), was featured in an op-ed by Oliver Money-Kyrle for The Review of Democracy, the online journal of the CEU Democracy Institute, supported by the Open Society University Network.
- At a European Parliament media seminar on EMFA implementation, Veronika Munk highlighted both MJRC's work and the International Press Institute's reports on media capture.
- In 2025, Marius Dragomir received the Media and Democracy Karol Jakubowicz Award for his work on the Media Capture Monitoring Report.
- Marius Dragomir and Minna Aslama Horowitz authored an article for Tech Policy Press on the fate of independent media in an era of media capture, AI and digital authoritarianism.
- Our partners at the Public Media Alliance featured the State Media Monitor 2025 study in a dedicated editorial.
- A paper on how regional public broadcasters in Europe embrace, or resist, innovation, co-authored by Marius Dragomir, Talia Rodríguez Martelo and José Rúas Araújo, was published in the European Journal of Communication.
- Marius Dragomir published Funding Without Strings: The Case for IJ4EU's Investigative Journalism Support Model in Journalism Practice, offering a critical assessment of how the IJ4EU model supports cross-border investigative journalism while safeguarding editorial independence.
- Marius Dragomir also co-edited Governance Models in Public Service Media with Ana María López-Cepeda and Carmen Costa-Sánchez. Published by Routledge, the volume examines how European public service media can update governance models while protecting their public mission and social value.
- A British Academy report published ahead of the BBC's 2027 Charter renewal included a contribution by MJRC on Spain's public service media system.

Communications and Community

Audio Briefs

In 2025, MJRC introduced audio briefs as a new way to make its research more accessible beyond the written report format. Published through the MJRC Spotify podcast, the series translates selected findings from projects such as the State Media Monitor, the Media Capture Monitoring Report and the Global Media Finances Map into concise, listenable formats for researchers, journalists, policymakers, students and wider audiences interested in media systems, ownership, influence and accountability.

The audio briefs form part of a broader communications shift: MJRC is increasingly treating dissemination as a research function in itself, ensuring that complex evidence reaches the communities that can use it, discuss it and challenge it.

Media and Journalism Exchange

In 2025, MJRC launched the Media and Journalism Exchange (MJX) as a trusted professional space for journalists, researchers, students, policy specialists, contributors and people interested in the future of media and public communication. Designed as a curated community rather than a general social network, MJX supports knowledge sharing, collaborative research, ethical participation in projects and direct exchange between people working across the information field.

The platform quickly became one of MJRC's most important community assets and is developing into one of the fastest-growing professional spaces in the field. Its value lies not only in scale, but in the quality of the network it brings together: people with local knowledge, field experience, research expertise and practical insight into how journalism, technology, regulation and audiences are changing.

MJX also became a home for new forms of knowledge exchange, including The Secure Internet Observatory Monthly Signal, a curated briefing that tracks critical developments in digital security, privacy, technology and emerging trust infrastructure, with a particular focus on their implications for journalism, media freedom and data protection. MJX also hosts a space where projects and research assignments can be commissioned to member experts.

Followers and Digital Reach

MJRC maintains an active and growing presence across LinkedIn, Facebook, X/Twitter, Instagram, its institutional newsletter and its project websites.

In 2025, our social media audience included:












- 8,250 followers on LinkedIn;
- 1,600 on Facebook;
- 1,230 on X/Twitter; and
- 538 on Instagram.

Our weekly LinkedIn newsletter, The Week in 500 Words, had 4,200 followers in 2025, its second year, expanding our reach among media professionals and researchers.

In terms of digital reach, MJRC's work in 2025 attracted more than 2,025,000 users, including 1.8 million deduplicated users, across our four primary digital platforms: our main institutional website and the websites of our research projects.

MJRC DIGITAL REACH ACROSS PLATFORMS

30-day active users and year-on-year growth

	30-DAY ACTIVE USERS	YEAR-ON-YEAR GROWTH / NOTE
 MJRC Main Website <small>(www.journalismresearch.org)</small>	 586,300	 40% growth
 State Media Monitor <small>(www.statemediamonitor.com)</small>	 1,329,800	 172% growth
 Media Influence Matrix / Global Media Finances Map <small>(www.globalmediaownership.com)</small>	 93,800	 354% growth
 Media Power Monitor <small>(www.mediapowermonitor.com)</small>	 15,200	n/a*

*relaunched in 2025 in a new format after a 12-month hiatus

Finances

MJRC remained financially independent in 2025, operating through a mixed model of philanthropic support, civil-society and institutional partnerships, and commercially generated research income. The broad structure of our funding remained broadly consistent with previous years, with most resources linked to philanthropic, non-profit and project-based support, and a smaller share generated through consultancies and commissioned research.

2025 was a transition and investment year for the centre. Following the conclusion of a major sub-granting cycle and the redesign of the MJRC Funding Programme, the organisation focused its resources on core research, policy work, digital infrastructure, expert networks, new publications, and the development of new platforms. In total, MJRC deployed more than €280,000 across research delivery, expert work, project services, operations, and institutional development during the year. Of this, almost €250,000 went directly into services and project-delivery costs, reflecting the centre's model of working with a broad international network of specialists rather than maintaining a large permanent payroll. Across 2024 and 2025, MJRC deployed over €800,000 in operating and project expenditure, demonstrating the scale of activity achieved during this first phase of institutional growth.

MJRC also ended 2025 with a clean and resilient balance sheet. Total liabilities were reduced sharply to only €2,253, while the centre maintained positive equity of €42,024. This gives MJRC a stable base from which to enter the 2026–2028 strategic period with a stronger institutional model, a broader research agenda, and growing capacity to combine philanthropic grants, commissioned work, data services, and future licensing or certification income.

In line with our institutional values, MJRC does not accept direct government funding. All available resources are reinvested into the centre's research, innovation, public-interest projects, and community development.

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Artificial Intelligence (AI) Disclosure Statement No AI tools were involved in drafting or shaping the analytical content of this report. Claude was used to generate a graph used in the report.