SOCIAL INEQUALITIES AND MEDIA SUSTAINABILITY IN BRAZIL

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INTERNETLAB

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ABOUT INTERNETLAB

InternetLab is an independent interdisciplinary research center that promotes academic debate and the production of knowledge in the areas of human rights and technology. A non-profit organization, it acts as a point of articulation between academics and representatives of the public, private and civil society sectors, developing projects that address the challenges of designing and implementing public policies in new technologies, such as privacy, freedom of expression and issues linked to gender, race, sexuality and other social markers of difference.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS DOCUMENT?

The aim of this document is twofold. Firstly, this study presents an initial diagnostic framework on the sustainability of independent media in Brazil from an intersectional perspective, with special attention to the exercise of the right to communication by historically marginalized populations. Secondly, based on listening to interlocutors and collecting data, it seeks to present contributions to a multisectoral agenda that strengthens sustainability.

The starting point for this analysis is the disruption in journalism and communication that has been triggered by the adoption of digital technologies and accentuated by the advent of large internet platforms, which have led to changes in the production, distribution and consumption of information. These disruptive processes have affected the sustainability of both large traditional media conglomerates and independent media. This document is part of a set of research agendas being developed by InternetLab to analyze these processes and the debates surrounding them.
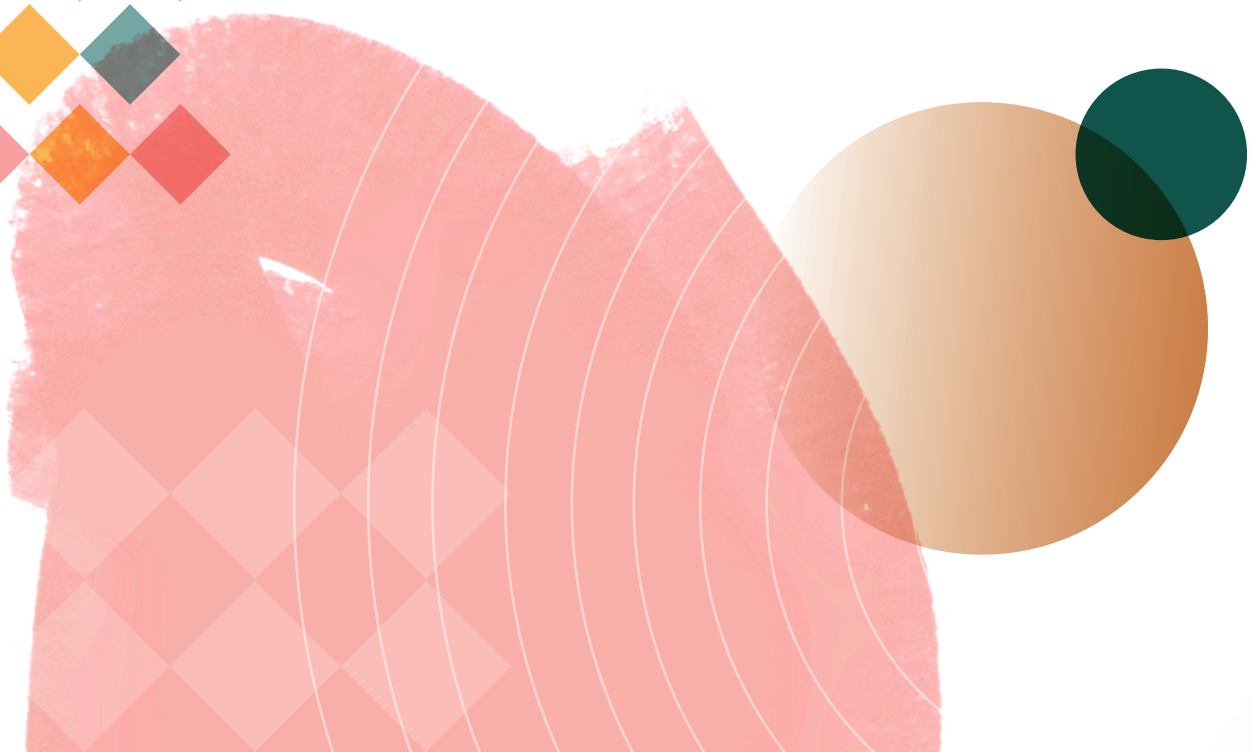
INTRODUCTION: WHERE DO WE START FROM?

From 2021 to 2023, InternetLab, in collaboration with the Wikimedia Foundation, implemented a *fellowship* program aimed at contributing to reflections on the production and dissemination of knowledge by black and indigenous individuals. During 2022, we organized a seminar in which we brought together various social agents involved in black and indigenous movements and the promotion of free knowledge, including representatives from academia, the third sector and civil society. As a result of this meeting, we published the study *"Transformação, desafios e estratégias após 10 anos da Lei de Cotas*, in which, by systematizing the contributions of these agents, we can deepen our understanding of the relationship between the internet and the search for equity in access to knowledge. In this document, we examine the past and future of the project to promote a more equitable production and dissemination of knowledge.

It was in this context that we identified a fundamental strategy in collaboration with the social agents mentioned: the **"urgent need to strengthen black and indigenous media"**. This strategy starts from the recognition that these media play a crucial role in disseminating, accessing and validating the knowledge produced by these communities. In other words, these media are recognized as essential for disseminating the knowledge generated by these populations, especially in the face of the barriers encountered in traditional production spaces, such as academia or journalism.

We therefore began two lines of research. Firstly, we decided to investigate how the content produced by black, indigenous and peripheral/territorial media in Brazil is incorporated into the Lusophone Wikipedia, which is the largest free online encyclopedia and one of the most accessed sites in the world. In this study, we observed a **low citation rate of these media on Wikipedia** and found that these specific media **have a shorter existence and performance compared to other independent media** (which makes them unreliable sources according to the standards developed by the Wikipedia community).

Based on this diagnosis, we launched a second line of research to understand the barriers and inequalities related to the sustainability of journalism and communication produced from such perspectives and territories. This study is the result of this latest endeavor and aims to understand how the structural inequalities of Brazilian society manifest themselves when it comes to media sustainability.

STRUCTURING THE MAPPING: METHODS AND OBJECTIVES

To do this, we followed a series of questions about the problem: What have been the main transformations in the independent journalism scene over the last 10 years? What are the main difficulties and barriers facing independent media initiatives today? What are the possible paths to sustainability and increased plurality for these outlets? Considering the historical scenario of inequalities in the distribution of and access to resources, what transformations, difficulties and paths have the state and philanthropy taken?

To answer these questions, we adopted a multi-method approach involving:

1. semi-structured interviews with professionals and organizations in the field of communication, journalism and philanthropy;

2. the collection of data from independent media funding initiatives and journalism projects;

3. analysis of public data

The preliminary phase of the research consisted of holding a seminar with actors from the field of communication and journalism who work in media that focus on racial, indigenous and peripheral/territorial issues. This meeting aimed to provide a kick-start for understanding the challenges and strategies for building a path of sustainability and plurality in the production of knowledge and journalism in Brazil. In addition, in-depth interviews were conducted with some black, indigenous and peripheral/territorial media, but also with representatives of independent media that focus on the gender debate or without any specific focus, representatives of philanthropic organizations and researchers on the subject. The aim of broadening the profile of the interviewees was to understand the different perspectives of the actors in the field.

We then began collecting data to identify existing initiatives, both private and public, to fund independent media and journalism projects. With regard to public policies, the search for information was carried out at the legislative level, by researching the existence of laws and bills to encourage journalism on the websites of the Legislative Chambers of the 26 Brazilian states and the Federal District. In the private sphere, data was collected on (i) philanthropic funds that finance journalism projects and (ii) financing formats for independent media in other countries.

The interviews made it possible to structure this report into sections corresponding to the answers given by the interlocutors. This study is therefore structured in two chapters. The first presents the diagnoses of the sustainability of independent media in Brazil identified by the interviewees. The second chapter will present the strategies and recommendations that most of the interviewees listed as possible paths to better sustainability in journalism when looking at independent media. After these two chapters, the study will conclude by developing some analytical considerations and possible paths for research that intends to analyze the sustainability of independent media in Brazil.

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UNDERSTANDING SOME CONCEPTS

While writing this material, we noticed a wide use of categories to classify the field and the media we interviewed or were referring to. Therefore, in this introduction, we will provide definitions of some of the terms that emerged. We will deal here with both the *emic* meanings[1] and the conceptual meanings found in bibliographies of the field. The aim here is not to exhaust the categories but to offer the reader an understanding of the background to the terms and their differences.

Highlighting the diversity of categories is in line with the purpose of this material to contribute - without claiming to be exhaustive - to reflection on how we can use definitions that don't exclude the range of actors involved in the making of communication in the country. In other words, which terms help us produce intersectional analyses when thinking about sustainability in journalism.

INDEPENDENT MEDIA

The concept of independent media is relational, taking on different meanings depending on the context. Although the debate on the concept is old, open and widely disputed in the field of communication, it is possible to identify some characteristics commonly associated with understanding the idea of independence in journalism, such as editorial and financial autonomy. In addition, independent media are often understood as a way of distancing themselves from the media labeled as "traditional" (in the sense of large media organizations with consolidation in time and imagery and greater availability of resources).

This concept was used by most of the interlocutors to define their media outlets, so we will use it to refer to the entire ecosystem worked on in this study.

TRADITIONAL MEDIA

Traditional media correspond to the media that have established themselves as the best-known purveyors of news through radio, television and printed newspapers. With the spread of the internet and new technologies, these companies have adapted to the digital environment, starting to circulate information on their own platforms and those of third parties, such as social networks. In Brazil, the term "traditional media" is strongly associated with large business groups, generally controlled by families with political or religious roots.

JOURNALISM

Journalism is the activity of collecting, interpreting and disseminating information of public relevance to the communities in which it operates. This information is transmitted periodically through different media, such as printed newspapers, radio, television and the internet. In addition, journalism reflects the social present and is impacted by different agents who compete for power and influence in the production, circulation and distribution of news.

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[1] The emic approach consists of the internal view of observers who are looking from the inside. In other words, it's about understanding a given culture based on its own references. Thus, when it comes to emic meanings, we want to understand them from the perspective of the interlocutors themselves.

PUBLIC INTEREST JOURNALISM

Public interest journalism promotes content with political and social relevance. In this way, it resembles a public good - in other words, a good available to society that no one can be excluded from benefiting from it and that one person's enjoyment does not prevent others from doing the same - which emphasizes the public relevance of information from the press. It is important to point out that some authors believe that public interest journalism is not exactly a public good, but a work that should be promoted and protected from commercial interests. This is especially true given that while the public good requires intervention to the extent that it is consumed, journalism must be offered independently of consumption.

COMMUNITY COMMUNICATION

Community communication is the activity of producing content about a particular territory/place. In this way, community communication is carried out by an agent who values local knowledge, reports on everyday life and denounces injustices in the context in which they live. It is therefore a communicator who works from the "inside" - and not from "above" - by producing and circulating news about specific spaces and populations. Like public interest journalism, community communication is permeated by the circulation of politically and socially relevant information. Finally, it is worth noting that community journalism promotes fundamental spaces for society, such as circles of dialogue and specialized communication channels between people and social actions.

INFLUENCER/CONTENT CREATOR

Digital influencers or content creators are agents who produce advertising pieces, texts, images, audios and videos for the internet through a platform and who achieve significant engagement through interaction with other users. Influencers have emerged as a new type of actor who actively participates in communication flows.

DIGITAL NATIVE MEDIA

Digital media consists of modern communication methods based on the use of electronic devices connected to the network. They are natively digital media - that is, they were born on the internet - and are dedicated to producing journalism. In this way, the concept of digital media covers a wide range of elements, including ubiquity, connectivity, a culture of participation and interactivity.

BLACK MEDIA

Black media are dedicated to producing stories, audiovisual content and news focused on the black population and made up mostly of black people in production and decision-making spaces. The concept of black media brings together the set of activities and communication formats that are essential for the dissemination of news, access to knowledge and the recognition of black people as agents in the information system. It is therefore about spaces aimed at disseminating information and knowledge produced by the black population, especially given the barriers that exist in traditional media spaces, such as the lack of representation and employability of black communicators. It is a condition for the configuration of this concept that the composition of the journalistic body of black media brings together mostly black people, since it is about the production of content based on lived realities.

This term was used as a self-classification of media outlets made up mostly of black people during the research. We will therefore use it throughout the text to refer to these outlets.

PERIPHERAL/TERRITORIAL MEDIA

The concept of peripheral media emphasizes the territorial issue. In other words, information is collected, interpreted and disseminated by a group located in a specific territory, outside the political, economic and cultural centers where traditional media groups are normally located and carry out their activities. These media are often cited in surveys related to measuring public trust in journalism and journalists as a group.

During the research, we heard from some outlets that were in peripheral territories or focused on producing news about indigenous communities, but were not made up mostly of black and/or indigenous people. The self-classification as peripheral or territorial media came up in the interviews and so we will also use this category as a reference in this research.

INDIGENOUS MEDIA

Just like black media, indigenous media include communication experiences that are fundamental to the dissemination, access and recognition of a specific population - in this case, the indigenous population. In this way, indigenous media are dedicated to producing content focused on the indigenous population and made up mostly of indigenous people in decision-making spaces.

Thus, like "black media", this term was used as a self-classification of media outlets made up mostly of indigenous people during the research. We will therefore use it throughout the text to refer to these media outlets.

NEWS/FACT CHECKERS

Fact-checkers are organizations and/or agents who attest to the veracity of a specific piece of information or event by observing events, consulting official databases and, finally, talking to experts and those involved in widely reported episodes.

DIAGNOSTICS ON THE SUSTAINABILITY OF INDEPENDENT MEDIA IN BRAZIL

A / **EXPANSION OF CONNECTIVITY AND ACCESS TO EDUCATION**

"*COIAB [...] understands that the internet today is this tool of resistance and also of denunciation.*"

Alana Silva
Coordenação das Organizações
Indígenas da Amazônia Brasileira - COIAB

> **" *I think there has been a real disruption, a rupture, a change from industrial journalism to a post-industrial model[...]You are trained to be a worker in the journalism industry and now you have the option of being your own content producer, distributor and manager of your own business because there is no longer a monopoly.* "**

Sergio Buarque
Marco Zero Conteúdo

> **" *We have a process of democratization of access to information with the emergence of the internet, so from the moment the internet emerges, people understand that they can produce content and disseminate it themselves.* "**

Maia Fortes
AJOR

According to our interlocutors, the main historical milestone that shapes the current scenario of independent media is the so-called "crisis of the traditional journalism model"[2] that was carried out by the "traditional media". The term "traditional media" refers to the few media outlets that, for a long time, were concentrated in large conglomerates, exercising broad control over the national scene. The history of this control over the media in Brazil and the crisis that began in the early 2000s, driven by the popularization of Internet connectivity, are the focus of many studies by researchers in the field of digital rights and communication[3]. However, this report focuses on the reports and repercussions of this crisis for independent media, which have editorial and financial autonomy, self-government and want to distance themselves from the traditional media. It is also worth pointing out that there are several projects that look at the historical evolution of black and peripheral/territorial media in Brazil, such as the library of ÌROHIN - Afro-Brazilian Documentation, Communication and Memory Center.

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[2] Quotation marks will be used to mark interlocutors' speeches or categories.
[3] BÜLOW, Marisa von. Remuneração do jornalismo pelas plataformas digitais. São Paulo: Cgi.br, 2023.

The internet was the main agent that made it possible to create new initiatives and this new format for producing journalism. The possibility of disseminating content online has drastically reduced costs, allowing for an "explosion" of media from different niches. **In addition, the creation of networks of communicators, especially in peripheral and indigenous territories, has been made possible by internet connectivity.**

Another important impact of digitalization on communication is the change in the way news is produced and distributed. With the ease of access to social networks and other online platforms, many journalists have used these channels to publicize their reports and interact with the public, thus creating relationship channels that are independent of a vehicle. One of the highlights of this new scenario is the dependence that these new outlets have on the big platforms. According to the interlocutors, independent media outlets have come to depend almost entirely on distribution from digital platforms to reach their audiences, due to their dependence on them to disseminate their content.

The research "Digital transformation and the dynamics of economic sustainability of public interest journalism"[4], produced by LCA in partnership with Internetlab, provides data on this aspect in the Brazilian scenario. The research shows that the prevalence of search engines as the main source of traffic for public interest media is an indication of the transformation in the media market. In this context, 30.7% of media outlets point to search engines as being responsible for more than 50% of all traffic. On the other hand, direct access via the outlet's website and newsletters are much less relevant sources of traffic, being predominant in only 4.4% of the outlets analyzed. From this perspective, the guide to the Brazilian digital media diet presents a series of indicators of the behavior of Brazilians on the internet and digital media consumption in the country that reinforce the observations of the research above. According to the guide, the majority of the Brazilian population uses the internet as a source of information, with 22% getting their information mainly from social networks and 21% from websites and online portals.

The process of digitization, therefore, can expand the emergence of independent media, but it also deepens the challenges related to the financing of social interest journalism, which already shows a high dependence on cross-subsidization with other types of journalistic content.

Another transformation, which is related to the expansion in the number of independent media in recent years - especially those that identify themselves as black, indigenous and peripheral/territorial - **has been the increase in access to higher education for historically vulnerable populations, a reflection of public policies created in the last 20 years.**

[4] The research is in print in the Internet & Society Magazine (2024).

"The quota policy and PROUNI formed a group of journalists who were also from this sector of society that had been made invisible, so these people want to produce content to show their reality. This is sensational. This is very strong and I think it also changes the context of journalism."

Maia Fortes
AJOR

After graduating, these professionals entered the job market, generating two major movements: 1) tensions and demands for greater diversity in newsrooms; 2) the proliferation of peripheral communication initiatives, with a focus on race, gender, sexuality and indigenous debates. One of the results of these movements, as Paula Miraglia from Nexo points out, was a certain increase in diversity in newsrooms: "the diversity that exists today was the result of a conquest by the black movements that it is necessary to increase diversity in newsrooms". On the other hand, to a certain extent, these professionals, who have never seen themselves represented in traditional media, see the possibility of creating a media outlet that produces content to **"show the reality of their experiences and territories"**. More than that, this professional analyzes other lives and experiences from their perspective.

This positive transformation, pointed out Natalia Viana, from Agência Pública, "has generated greater professionalization and, consequently, the proliferation and pulverization of initiatives". In this way, the massive arrival of these subjects who represent historically vulnerable populations in the independent media ecosystem requires a deeper analysis of the broad complexity of the country's structural inequalities when we think about sustainability.

The LCA-InternetLab survey also builds a profile of journalists in Brazil based on data from the IBGE, the Ministry of Labor, the PNAD and the Atlas da Notícia. In summary, it points out that the outlets offering public interest journalism in Brazil have a more independent profile, with a greater concern for the quality and depth of their reporting and a more diversified funding structure.

The study also points to an increase in the informality rate of the profession, even before the pandemic. In 2021, 45.9% of journalists in Brazil were employed by firms classified as large by the number of employees, i.e. those with more than 250 employees. In 2021, Brazil had 38,926 journalists, distributed regionally as follows: 45.6% in the Southeast; 21.9% in the Northeast; 14.2% in the South; 10.8% in the Midwest; 7.4% in the North. According to the study, the average Brazilian journalist has more years of education, a higher income and is relatively white. Women were the majority of journalists working in Brazil in 2021, representing 51.2% of professionals.

However, when we look at the profiles of journalists in the survey carried out by the Digital Journalism Association (AJOR), the profiles of journalists change when we look at self-declared "digital native media". The information from the survey indicates a greater participation of women (59.8%), non-whites (21.6%) and young people (45.9%) in AJOR-affiliated media, in relation to the total number of journalists in Brazil[5].

The 2023 survey *Raça, gênero e imprensa: quem escreve nos principais jornais do Brasil?* analyzes the racial and gender profile of those who occupy the pages of the country's main print media outlets, such as the newspapers Folha de São Paulo (Folha), Estado de São Paulo (Estadão) and O Globo. A total of 4,331 articles and columns written by 1,190 different people were collected. The content is distributed as follows among the newspapers analyzed: In terms of gender, women represent around a third of the sample. It is noteworthy that among the almost 1,200 people analyzed, only one trans woman was identified. In "Estadão" newspaper, the breakdown is as follows: 60.6% men and 35.7% women. In "Folha" newspaper, 59.7% men and 38% women. In "O Globo" newspaper, 58% men and 36.1% women.

In terms of age, women are concentrated in the younger age groups, while men are concentrated in the 50 and over age groups. The study raises two hypotheses for this data: (i) "the observed imbalance may have something to do with the cultural shift towards greater gender equality, which would affect the entry categories, i.e. the younger ones, more" and (ii) "newspapers have internal mechanisms that promote the exclusion of women throughout their careers".

In terms of race, it can be seen that **whites are the majority of content producers in all the newspapers, representing 84% of the total sample.** The second largest group is browns, with 6.1%, followed by blacks, with 3.4%. Indigenous people represent just 0.1%, behind yellow people with 1.8%. As in the case of gender, there is an over-representation of younger age groups in the brown and black groups, "which may indicate a greater openness of newsrooms to racial inclusion in recent times". However, this openness is small, and there is still a great deal of racial inequality.

Combining the factors of race and gender, the three newspapers have a common trend: **most of the content is written by white men, followed by white women, black men and black women. Indigenous people do not appear in the data**, as only one article by this group was identified during the analysis.

The study also looked at the training of journalists. In total, journalists by training occupy around 60% of the newspapers analyzed. It is noteworthy that, in the group of brown people, almost all of them are journalists. With regard to the subjects covered by journalists, it was found that the "highest proportion of articles written by black and brown women is on subjects related to social causes/movements (8%)".

Among the newspaper's permanent columnists, less than 10% are non-white. For the study, "it's as if black people (black and brown), who make up more than half of the Brazilian population, had nothing to say about politics, policies and the debate about values in our society". In the spaces of greater power, such as editors, there is an even more intense inequality, which is more strongly racial than gender-based. Among the country's main newspapers, Estadão has 100% white editors, and O Globo is close behind with 93%. Folha is no exception either, with 86% white editorial staff. In short, "the system of inequalities operates in

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[5] The Atlas da Notícia is an initiative to map outlets that produce news - especially local journalism - in Brazil. The data can be found on the project's website: https://www.atlas.jor.br/dados/.

[5] In partnership with the Matizes Institute, the Digital Journalism Association (AJOR) carried out a survey on the profile of the Brazilian digital journalism ecosystem and the strategic issues for the development of the field. The survey received responses from 91 AJOR member companies. In all, the questionnaire submitted to the companies is made up of 70 questions that address issues such as organizational composition, sociodemographic characteristics of employees and operational and financial information of the firms. The survey has not yet been published.

favor of whites, particularly white men, giving them enormous power to influence the process of shaping public opinion, which is so fundamental to the functioning of the democratic regime."

Despite the increase in the number of black and indigenous people in higher education and in journalism and communication courses, the data above does not reflect this change in traditional media newsrooms. The predominant presence of white men, especially in positions of deciding what will be published, indicates a system of inequalities that has a direct impact on the formation of public opinion in the journalistic sphere. Even though the digitalization of public debate has put journalism in check as a result of structural changes in communication, it should be noted that these are the news organizations that continue to hold a relevant position in the composition of information consumption in Brazilian society.

The discrepancies in the age groups point to possible barriers throughout their careers, raising questions about the effectiveness of racial and gender equality policies. The predominance of whites and the lack of significant representation of blacks and indigenous people also point to the need to broaden the discussion on racial inclusion in newsrooms. The persistent extreme inequality in prestigious positions in media outlets, despite the changes that have taken place in recent decades in the educational and professional landscape of journalism, points to the importance of creating specific policies to increase equity in newsrooms, in particular to increase diversity among the people who occupy these senior positions. These affirmative policies in the media are particularly important because many of the traditional media companies operate under a public concession regime, and should therefore be guided by the already consolidated principles of anti-discrimination in Brazil. Finally, it is worth pointing out that the lack of representation in positions of editorial influence contributes to these media having views that are not representative of Brazilian society, and that the adoption of affirmative policies could ensure greater plurality in newsrooms, guaranteeing a richer public space for debate.

In short, all this research points to and justifies, to a certain extent, the basis for the proliferation observed by the interlocutors of media initiatives led by the historically vulnerable population. The difficulty of accessing positions in the major media, together with the editorial line established by the white men who occupy the vast majority of positions of power in these organizations, makes it almost "obligatory" to create new organizations in order to have "a job and a voice", as Bianca Pedrina from Nós, Mulheres da Periferia put it.
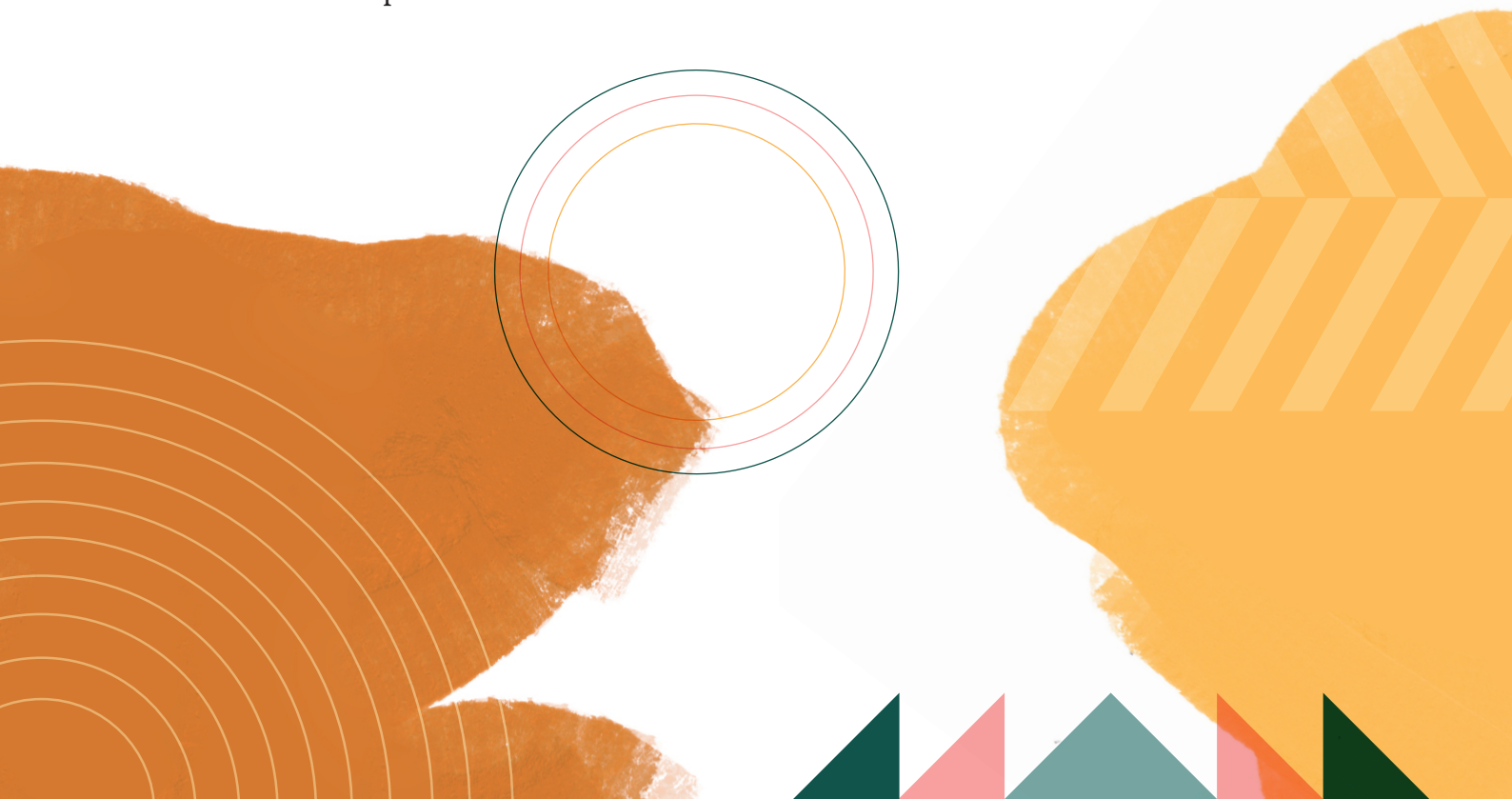
B / A BROAD AND COMPLEX ECOSYSTEM

"Community journalists have to be very aware that the community they're reporting on, the audience they're giving visibility to, goes beyond necessity[...] They may not like it, that audience won't engage with it, because they don't have a cell phone, they often don't have the internet, right? But you need to be faithful to that audience, you know?[...] I think this is the challenge for all collectives."

Marthiene Oliveira
Sargento Perifa

Indeed, the multiplication of media initiatives that call themselves black, peripheral/territorial and indigenous was a point highlighted by many of the participants in the survey. This multiplication, in connection with the expansion of access to higher education, already contributes to the ecosystem of media organizations in the country containing greater diversity and plurality by 2024.

According to most of our interviewees, the differences in socio-economic background, race and geographical location between these actors amplify a distinction that already exists in the field between journalism and community communication. During the interview, Adair Rocha, a professor at PUC/RJ and a researcher in the field of community communication, said that when we talk about community communication, we are referring to communication carried out in favelas, peripheries, indigenous and rural communities, because it is in these places that these initiatives are concentrated. Therefore, the intersection of economic, racial, territorial and gender aspects that differentiate community communication from journalism is already evident.

"Community communication is also a defense of identities and discoveries of identities."

Gizele Martins
Frente de Mobilização da Maré)

Another point raised by Adair and other interlocutors who present themselves as communicators is the relationship between community communication and social movements. When we look at media in the peripheries and favelas, for example, this relationship becomes evident. Gizele Martins, describing her career and that of her communication groups in the Maré favela, says that communicators become community leaders because of the absence of other figures and public authorities in the area. **This relationship between communication and activism meant that, for a long time, she believed that if the organization debated sustainability, funding and publicity, this would change its political ideology.** However, this year, she says, a "Coalition of Peripheral, Favela, Quilombola and Indigenous Media" was created which, at its core, debates sustainability, moving away from the previous idea that she and other organizations defended.

With the aim of mapping the difficulties and initiatives of media operating in the peripheries, Sargento Perifa, together with Marco Zero, created the the "Map of independent and peripheral media in Pernambuco". Mathiene Oliveira, founder of Sargento Perifa, emphasized during her interview that during the research they observed that most of the media were led by black women and related this leadership profile to the link between these groups and the communities themselves.

In addition to peripheral media, **indigenous media bring experiences and complexities that add other elements to the debate on the sustainability of journalism.** Firstly, a relevant characteristic of indigenous communication is its link with organizations, which are considered to be extensions of indigenous social movements. The increase in the debate on this issue, led mainly by young people linked to the COIAB Young Communicators Network, has stood out in recent years. We interviewed Alana Silva, the network's coordinator at the time, who explains: "We're not exactly a media outlet, but we end up being a source of information because we have a direct relationship with our nine grassroots organizations and COIAB's 64 grassroots regions […]. **Our role is to strengthen grassroots organizations.**" Alana, a communicator trained in a Latin American network of indigenous people, highlights the importance of communication and the barriers to access to education for indigenous people who wish to pursue this area.

The research *"Panorama do jornalismo digital no Matopiba e Amazônia Legal: potenciais e vulnerabilidades de um ecossistema de mídia resistente e estratégico"* conducted by AJOR, reinforces the difficulties of access to formal education in these regions. Only one organization reported that all its members are trained journalists, while eleven have journalism graduates, but also professionals from other fields. This multidisciplinary environment is not reinforced by an active decision on the part of the newsrooms, but involves the lack of journalism courses in some regions of the country.

Thus, the relationship between community communication and journalism goes through more complex layers of social inequalities, such as: access to education, income and internet access. In this sense, most of the interlocutors reaffirmed the **need to think about sustainability in journalism, understanding the specificities of Brazil, where various actors contribute to the production of information of public interest.** Paula Miraglia, from Nexo, rightly points out the need to recognize that she is producing journalism in a deeply unequal country, she says: "You're not producing journalism in a generic country, you're producing journalism in Brazil". In this sense, highlighting these differences is crucial to understanding and acting effectively in this environment, contributing to building legitimacy and enriching the repertoire.

This diversity of origins, self-definitions and links to social movements is linked to a central challenge pointed out by the interviewees: the difficulty these outlets have in recognizing their initiatives as "businesses". **The need to adopt an administrative perspective is a barrier highlighted by both the media outlets interviewed and the representatives of funders.**

> " *I've understood that we have to have a CNPJ. We were taught that we are a social movement, not a company or a social organization. We can no longer be considered a small group of social movements. We are, but we need to be seen as journalists in all their diversity, too.* "

Gizele Martins
Frente de Mobilização da Maré

Elaine Silva, a partner at Alma Preta and pointed out by other interlocutors as an important reference in this debate, highlights the urgency of educating the media about the importance of thinking about business models. Like other interlocutors, she says that insisting on exclusive funding from philanthropic foundations is unsustainable. Elaine emphasizes the need to consider a "more corporate" side, i.e. broadening dialogue with private companies and the advertising market, as a way of diversifying business models and thus improving sustainability. She notes a certain openness on the part of the media to this debate, albeit rather slowly.

This difficulty in thinking about business models is related by some interlocutors to the origin of many media outlets. For Graciela Selaimen, of Toriba Consultoria (who has worked for years in the field of philanthropy), the vast majority of recent independent media were created by a group of journalists and/or people who do popular communication, without professionals from other areas, such as administration and finance. In other words, these media are run by journalists who are, in addition to being journalists, editors, administrators, accountants, project managers, among other functions that are accumulated in an attempt to manage the vehicle. **Thus, despite the structural difficulties, one challenge is the need to think about an editorial model linked to the business model. However, it is a challenge to discuss this matter, considering that most of these media outlets have very few people on staff and are distant from these discussions.**

In addition to this reason, some interviews point to a deficiency in the basic training of journalists. Both in university education and in the possibility of business management courses aimed at this audience. It is also important to point out that the socio-economic background of the media outlets is a decisive factor when it comes to the difficulty of thinking about business models. After all, peripheral media face a series of barriers to dialog and establishing positions and partnerships within the corporate world, which goes beyond the training of the professionals who work at the outlets. The barrier to entry lies in contact networks and in willingness and experience in digital business.

AJOR's survey on digital journalism in Matopiba and Amazonas provides other quantitative data on this scenario pointed out by the interlocutors. According to the report, in terms of formalization, **the majority of organizations use the Company (for-profit) modality, followed by MEI (Individual Microentrepreneur) and Non-profit Organizations/Associations. The non-profit organizations are all in Amazônia Legal**, the same region as all the organizations that don't have a legal status (informal). It is important to note that the presence of non-profit journalistic organizations is relatively recent in Brazil, and the survey includes organizations that emerged before this proliferation.

In nine of the seventeen participating organizations, all the people working on their projects are paid monthly. Another four reported that some people are paid, but others work on a voluntary basis. Three organizations work only with freelancers. One organization reported that it only works with volunteers. In addition, many organizations are family businesses, which raises "questions about the professionalization of teams and management".

The answers regarding the organizations' revenues/sustainability varied. Eight of the 17 organizations interviewed said they had a balance between income and expenses, while another five were profitable or in surplus. By region, Matopiba has three of the seven companies with a balance and two with a surplus. The Amazônia Legal, on the other hand, has five of the ten companies in balance and three with more income than expenses. In this sense, from the data acquired, it is possible to infer that "there are more resources earmarked for the Amazônia Legal than for Matopiba, at least in terms of donations and funding from international foundations".

This mapping of the Amazônia Legal and Matopiba regions is also reflected in the data found in the internal survey of AJOR members, mentioned above. Of the 91 media outlets that answered the questionnaire, 46.2% are small businesses (with up to 9 employees) and 50.5% are small companies (with between 10 and 49 employees). The remaining 3.3% are medium-sized firms, with between 50 and 99 employees. In comparison, only 29.8% of the Brazilian journalism market are micro or small companies, while the other 70.2% are medium or large companies. Thus, the majority of social interest journalism in Brazil is made up of micro and small companies.

In relation to the contracting regime, the survey also indicated a high level of voluntary collaboration (23.5%) and temporary service contracts (46.2%), which demonstrates the economic, financial and operational barriers faced by social interest journalism in Brazil.

In this way, and based on the interviews conducted, **broadening the dialog about society's responsibility in maintaining journalism is seen as a solution for sustainability.** Some independent media are able to sustain part of their business model with the financial support of their readers. However, many interlocutors point out that this path is complex, as it requires a change in economic inequalities and income distribution. **Given the financial reality of a large part of the Brazilian population, paying for information or for the maintenance of quality media outlets is not feasible in the face of basic subsistence needs. Some media outlets manage to earn part of their income this way, but for territorial, peripheral or indigenous media outlets, this prospect faces many barriers.**

In an interview, Kátia Brasil, from Amazônia Real, points out some of these barriers and says that many leaders in many territories do not have access to information and many of them cannot afford it. As a result, Amazônia Real makes all its content available on its website. The notion that their interlocutors and news actors could not pay for access to information appears in other reports from indigenous and peripheral media.

This search for sustainability in journalism, focused on the independent media ecosystem, is permeated by complex challenges. Considering the structural differences between these media and the need for a more entrepreneurial outlook are crucial aspects. However, the voices of these media indicate a path of resistance and adaptation, seeking new models that reconcile the mission of public interest with the need to remain economically viable.

C / LACK OF PUBLIC POLICY
TO PROMOTE PUBLIC INTEREST JOURNALISM

It's no news that one of the biggest challenges for media outlets, especially new and small ones, is the lack of capital to carry out their projects. From issues ranging from a lack of access to traditional means of financing, such as investments and credit, to a lack of technical capacity to invest time and resources in developing products and new business models, journalistic productions are often compromised or even prevented from continuing due to these factors. Thinking about sustainability in public interest journalism therefore also means thinking about the availability of financial resources (from tax incentives to credit alternatives).

In this scenario, one of the main points identified in our interviews with professionals working in independent media is the need to create a specific public policy agenda for the public interest journalism and communication sector. An agenda that takes care to promote pluralism, editorial independence from public agents and the public interest.

The federal legislative mobilization for public initiatives to support the journalism market can be seen in projects dating from 2009 to 2013[6], which sought to create specific programs and lines of financing for the sector. Later on, in the 2020s, other federal proposals include arrangements for the remuneration of news outlets by digital platforms, in a debate that has yet to be concluded. Furthermore, these proposals are not restricted to the federal government, as states and municipalities also have the power to legislate on issues related to this possible agenda.

Given this scenario, in order to better understand the current legislative landscape in the country on encouraging journalism, we sought to map state laws on the subject in the 26 Brazilian states and the Distrito Federal[7]. Our search was carried out on the websites of the legislative assembly of each state and we used eight categories in the search bar: (i) "newspaper" AND "incentive"; (ii) "newspaper" AND "remuneration"; (iii) "newspaper" AND "sponsorship"; (iv) "newspaper" AND "funding"; (v) "communication" AND "incentive"; (vi) "communication" AND "remuneration"; (vii) "communication" AND "sponsorship" and (viii) "communication" AND "funding". These categories were chosen on the basis of the expressions we identified in the bills at federal level.

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[6] Three main initiatives were identified: (i) Bill No. 4961/2009, which sought to regulate the broadcasting of official advertising in so-called alternative, neighborhood or regional newspapers throughout the country, in exchange for a pecuniary consideration; (ii) Bill No. 5.409/2013, which provides for the sponsorship of programs, events and projects on community TV and (iii) a report by the Science and Technology, Communication and Informatics Committee of the Chamber of Deputies that analyzed ways of financing alternative media.

[7] GALEANO, Tayanne. Mapeamento de políticas estaduais e municipais de apoio ao jornalismo. AJOR: 2024 (in press).

A total of 4 (four) laws and 5 (five) bills were found to encourage media in general:

STATE	LAW	BILL
AMAPÁ	Law No. 0444, of January 4, 1999 - Program to Encourage Newspaper Reading in Schools	N/A
MATO GROSSO	Lei nº 6.616, de 28 de dezemebro de 1994 - Program to Encourage Newspaper Reading in Schools	N/A
RIO DE JANEIRO	Law No. 6,892, of September 23, 2014 - Allocation of funds to community radios and TVs for broadcasting institutional and advertising campaigns	Legislative Nomination No. 275 of 2018 - Allocation of official advertising funds for the publication of public interest campaigns in alternative newspapers, blogs, websites or electronic portals and on community radios and TVs
RIO GRANDE DO SUL	Law No. 14,541, of May 22, 2014 - State Policy to Encourage Local and Regional Media in the State of Rio Grande do Sul	N/A
PERNAMBUCO	N/A	Ordinary bill 317/2023 - "State Program to Promote Community Broadcasting Services"
SÃO PAULO	N/A	Bill No. 340/2013 - "State Policy to Encourage Local and Regional Media" Bill No. 924/2014 - State Policy to Encourage Local and Regional Media in the State.
MINAS GERAIS	N/A	Bill No. 3.083/2015 - Incentive Policy for Local and Regional Media in the State of Minas Gerais

In the states of Amapá and Mato Grosso do Sul, the laws concern programs to encourage the reading of newspapers in public schools and state that they can enter into agreements with newspaper companies to purchase materials. Both laws, however, date from the 1990s and there is no further information on the implementation of these programs. The Rio de Janeiro state law, on the other hand, provides for funds to be allocated to community radio and TV stations for the purpose of broadcasting artists, directors, actors and others involved in cultural movements and who have national and independent productions. However, there is no definition of community radios and TVs. The bill from the state of Pernambuco, along the same lines, aims to set up a program to promote community broadcasting services, and defines the service as laid down in federal law No. 9,612, of February 19, 1998[8].

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[8] Art. 1 - The Community Broadcasting Service is radio broadcasting, in modulated frequency, operated at low power and restricted coverage, granted to non-profit community foundations and associations, with headquarters in the locality where the service is provided.

The law in Rio Grande do Sul and the bills in the states of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Minas Gerais are similar and aim to establish a state policy to encourage local and regional media. In all cases, the state government allocates a budget sum to publicize works, announcements, public notices, programs, services and campaigns of public interest. In the Rio Grande do Sul legislation, local and regional media are considered to be: (i) periodicals, newspapers and printed magazines, with a circulation of between 2,000 (two thousand) and 20,000 (twenty thousand) copies published under the responsibility of individual entrepreneurs, micro and small companies and (ii) local and community radio broadcasting vehicles, duly licensed in accordance with Brazilian legislation. The São Paulo and Minas Gerais bills, in turn, consider regional and local media to be "periodicals, newspapers, printed magazines, internet media, radio and television, under the responsibility of individual entrepreneurs, micro and small companies". The Minas Gerais bill also adds that *"the media must have regional and local recognition, characterized by the fact that they disseminate material that is relevant to the regions of the state or to specific places or segments of Minas Gerais society"*. Rio de Janeiro's legislative indication, on the other hand, adopts a definition for "alternative newspapers"[9], "community radio"[10] and "community television"[11], but not for blogs, websites or electronic portals on the internet, whose only requirement is that, in order to compete for advertising funds, they must set up their own legal entity.

The bills in São Paulo, Minas Gerais and Rio de Janeiro were shelved due to the end of the legislature. In a quick Google search, a report indicated that Rio Grande do Sul's law was inspired by a 2012 program created by the state's Communication Secretariat aimed at redistributing the government's advertising budget, "but which was short-lived" [12].

Finally, a search for the terms "journalism incentive + state name" found some awards offered by the executive branch for journalistic reports in the states of Acre, Alagoas, Amapá and Amazonas. In general, the awards are aimed at work related to science, technology and innovation.

This brief overview of regulatory initiatives shows that the state has taken some steps - albeit brief ones - to help local and regional media. However, considering the socio-economic variables that the media present, these measures are not enough to contribute to the sustainable financing of these outlets.

In addition to the diagnosis of insufficient public policies for the sector, many of the interviewees emphasized that the lack of transparency and restricted access to government advertising resources is a second important diagnosis when looking at the state. Paula Miraglia, from Nexo, highlights the need to adopt "more transparent criteria", while Gizele Martins, from Frente de Mobilização da Maré, points out that "government publicity needs to be democratized". Graciela Selaimen, from Toriba Consultoria, added: "What is done with official advertising money at the level of city halls, for example, state governments, how can this distribution be questioned?". In this way, an important diagnosis and demand that emerged during the research was the need to ensure that the state (at multiple federal levels, from municipalities to the Union) understands and considers the consequences for public interest journalism of the decisions

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9 Art. 2 - For the purposes of this law, an alternative newspaper is considered to be one that has a circulation of at least 5,000 (five thousand) copies, or is known locally, and is characterized by being aimed at neighborhoods, regions and segments of society.

10 Art. 4 - For the purposes of this law, community radio is considered to be radio broadcasting on a modulated frequency, operated at low power and with restricted coverage, granted to non-profit community foundations and associations with headquarters in the place where the service is provided.

11 Art. 5 - For the purposes of this Law, community television is considered to be the public concession for the free use of entities within the cable TV system, as provided for in Law No. 8,977 of January 6, 1995.

12 WEINGRILL, N.; MOI, I. Necessidade de se pensar uma política pública que dê suporte para o ecossistema de informação no presente parece estar de fora de debate sobre regulação da mídia. Nexo Jornal, 2023. Disponível em <https://www.nexojornal.com.br/ensaio/2023/04/29/A-gente-quer-salvar-a-ind%C3%BAstria-ou-garantir-o-direito- %C3%A0-informa%C3%A7%C3%A3o>.

made within the scope of its action in buying media for the dissemination of works, announcements, public notices, programs, services and campaigns of public interest in these means of communication[13].

> " *I think the big challenge now is for us to be able to win at least 10% of all government funding for these organizations, I guarantee you that all independent media outlets would be able to get recurring value from the campaigns that the government launches. For example, to stay on the radar of the campaigns that the government is going to launch [...] So I'm going to try to fight for that share.* "

Elaine Toledo
Alma Preta

The final point of diagnosis brought up by the participants in this regard is the reference to and use of public policies for the culture sector, both those that have existed and those that are still in force. Faced with the absence of specific public policies to encourage the media, some media outlets have sought out and submitted proposals for public calls for proposals aimed at culture, as pointed out at the seminar held during the preliminary phase of this research. During the interviews, several media outlets reported that, initially, it took them a while to realize that they could apply for these calls for proposals, but once they did, they began to adapt their projects to meet the requirements. The transparent rules and legitimacy of the Lei Rouanet were decisive factors that led many of these media outlets to secure a significant part, or even all, of their budget through these calls for proposals. It was also pointed out that although cultural legislation initially favored the audiovisual sector, print media also found ways to raise funds within this legal framework. However, the need to create specific public policies for media, similar to those for culture, to ensure the financing and sustainability of the sector, was highlighted. In the next chapter, we develop contributions to the current scenario based on what has been explained in this section.

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[13] As part of the research series we are developing at InternetLab on the subject of sustainability in journalism, we are investigating public data from the Government Communication System of the Federal Executive Branch (SICOM) on the broadcasting of public advertising actions, in order to present how this distribution has been carried out in recent years.

D / THE ROLE OF PHILANTHROPY IN THE ECONOMIC SUSTAINABILITY OF JOURNALISM

> *" Journalism is essential for democracy [...] it is a national security strategy, it is an essential investment in citizenship and in the functioning of society. ""*

Natalia Viana
Agência Pública

The private philanthropic sector emerges in the speeches of the interlocutors as the main financial actor of independent media in Brazil today. Despite this, in general, philanthropy in Brazil is seen by most of the media heard in the survey as an agent that does not strategically understand the importance of journalism for democracy and human rights. In this way, journalism is approached in a transversal way in programmatic agendas, such as the environmental issue, for example. This instrumental view of journalism establishes a relationship between philanthropy and journalistic organizations, focusing on agendas and topics of institutional interest.

The centrality that philanthropy has for the interlocutors of this research is reinforced by the data from the aforementioned survey produced by AJOR with its members. The survey indicates that revenues from the sale of advertisements - via Google's AdSense or directly - account for only 10% and 8.6%, respectively, of AJOR members' income. On the other hand, funding from foundations and subsidies from third parties (grants) account for at least half of the income of around a quarter of the survey respondents.

In this sense, in order to better understand the criticisms raised by the interlocutors regarding the role of private philanthropic incentives in the field of journalism, we carried out a survey of foundations, funds and projects that finance media initiatives. A total of 63 funders and 89 calls were mapped. This data, in turn, was divided into two main categories for analysis: (i) national websites/funding calls and (ii) international websites/funding calls. For the national category, we selected funds that presented their information on the website and/or in the call for proposals in Portuguese. For the international category, we chose websites and/or calls for proposals that were not in Portuguese, but which allowed Brazilian media to participate. In this way, 43 funders and 55 national calls were found, i.e. in Portuguese, and 20 funders and 34 international calls - in other languages.

Based on this first selection, a comparative examination was carried out between the national websites/editorials and the international websites/editorials in relation to the following information: (i) the existence of formal obligations required of the institutions or requirements for those approved after receiving donations; (ii) the existence of cut-outs for minority groups, such as race, sexuality and gender; (iii) the average time taken to develop the projects; (iv) the total amounts transferred in the public notices and (v) the possibility of institutional investment with the funds.
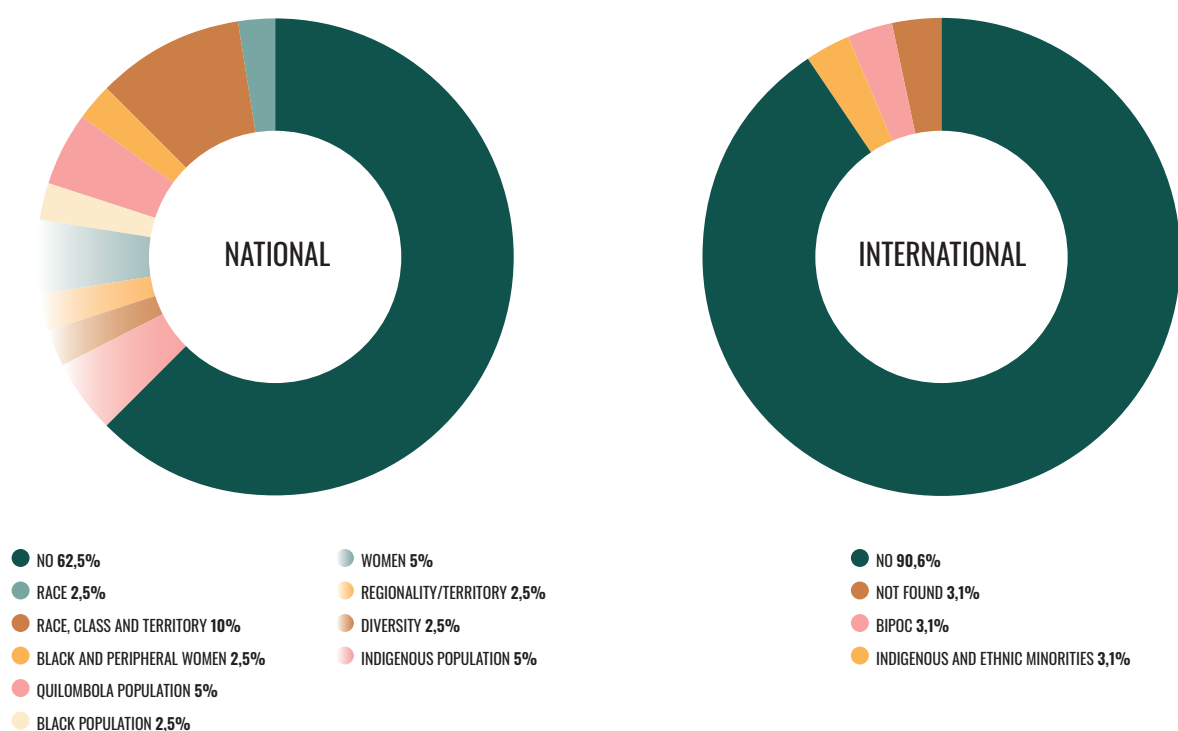
With regard to the formal obligations required of institutions or requirements for those approved after receiving donations, the idea was to check the relationship between systematization and availability of data, transparency and access barriers with regard to the accessibility of organizations to calls for proposals. Among the national ones, 19.5% of the cases required the existence of a legal entity in order to apply to the call for proposals. In another 15% of cases, there was a requirement for previous work in the area. Finally, in another 19.5% the information was not found. When we relate this data to the information from the interviews with the media, we realize that the absence of information does not mean the absence of requirements. In other words, the requirements often exist but are not made public.

Among the international calls for proposals, 30% required experience, previous work and references in the field. 12.5% required organizations to have annual revenues of at least 50,000 dollars. Finally, in 19% of cases the information was not found. To better understand this data, we tried to map the initiatives accepted by the calls for proposals we researched. However, we were unable to find this information. There is, therefore, a clear problem of transparency, which does not explicitly show the public the criteria that must be met in order to obtain funding, and also a barrier to access to formalization, due to requirements such as the existence of a CNPJ and a minimum income.
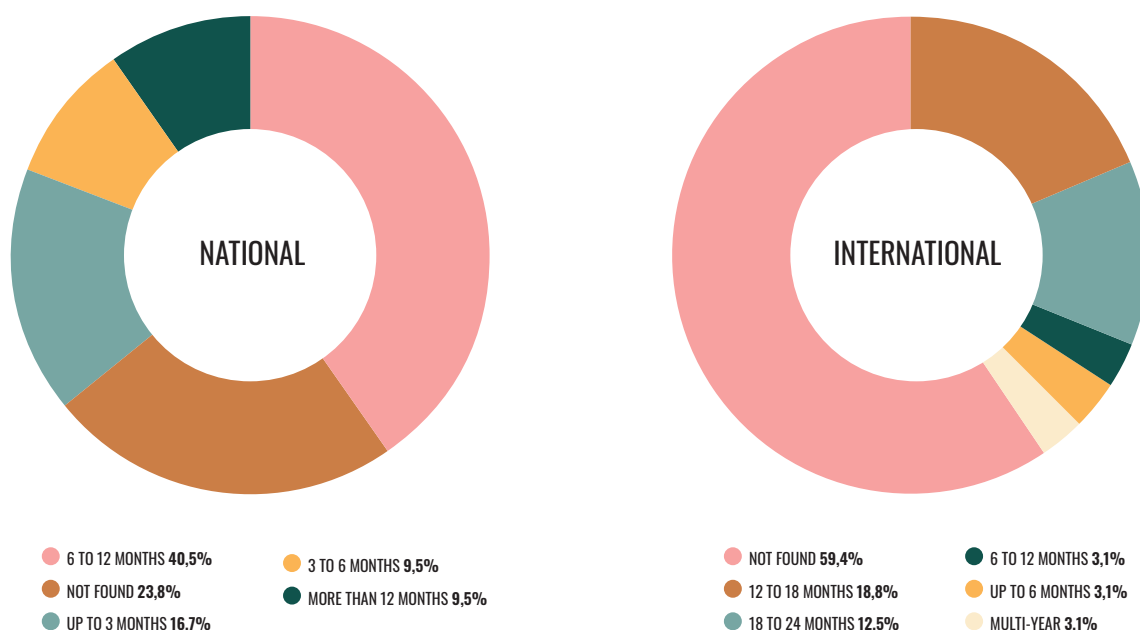
The provision of "cut-outs" for minority groups as the sole or tie-breaking criterion in the selection process is apparently still rare in the field of journalism: 62.5% of national calls for proposals make no provision for this. This figure is even higher for international calls for proposals, in which 90.6% of cases have no cut-outs and in another 3.1% the information was not found. For national calls for proposals, the largest section identified was "race, class and territory", with 10%, followed by 5% for "quilombola population", "indigenous population" and "women", and 2.5% for "race", "diversity", "regionality/territory", "black population" and "black and peripheral women". For the international ones, 3.1% of the calls for proposals included the category "BIPOC", which is an abbreviation for "Black, Indigenous and People of Color", and another 3.1% included the category "indigenous and ethnic minorities".

GRAPH 1
PERSPECTIVES

NATIONAL

INTERNATIONAL

NO **62,5%**
RACE **2,5%**
RACE, CLASS AND TERRITORY **10%**
BLACK AND PERIPHERAL WOMEN **2,5%**
QUILOMBOLA POPULATION **5%**
BLACK POPULATION **2,5%**

WOMEN **5%**
REGIONALITY/TERRITORY **2,5%**
DIVERSITY **2,5%**
INDIGENOUS POPULATION **5%**

NO **90,6%**
NOT FOUND **3,1%**
BIPOC **3,1%**
INDIGENOUS AND ETHNIC MINORITIES **3,1%**

With regard to the average length of projects, we found that national calls for proposals tend to have shorter periods of validity compared to international calls for proposals, which is related to what we heard in the interviews about the difficulty of continuing initiatives given the short and punctual funding. The maximum term for national projects is just over 12 months, appearing in 9.5% of cases. The vast majority have a duration of 6 to 12 months, appearing in 40.5% of cases, followed by 3 months in 16.7% of cases and 3 to 6 months in 9.5% of cases. On the other hand, among the international calls for proposals, the longest period found was the multi-annual period, in 3.1% of cases. The most frequent term, however, was 12 to 18 months in 18.8% of cases, followed by 18 to 24 months in 12.5% of cases, 6 to 12 months in 3.1% of cases and up to 6 months in another 3.1% of cases. It should also be noted that in both national and international calls for proposals, there is a high percentage of cases in which this information on deadlines was not found: in 59.4% of international calls for proposals and in 23.8% of national calls for proposals, the time limit is not indicated.

GRAPH 2
DURATION IN MONTHS

NATIONAL

- 6 TO 12 MONTHS **40,5%**
- NOT FOUND **23,8%**
- UP TO 3 MONTHS **16,7%**
- 3 TO 6 MONTHS **9,5%**
- MORE THAN 12 MONTHS **9,5%**

INTERNATIONAL

- NOT FOUND **59,4%**
- 12 TO 18 MONTHS **18,8%**
- 18 TO 24 MONTHS **12,5%**
- 6 TO 12 MONTHS **3,1%**
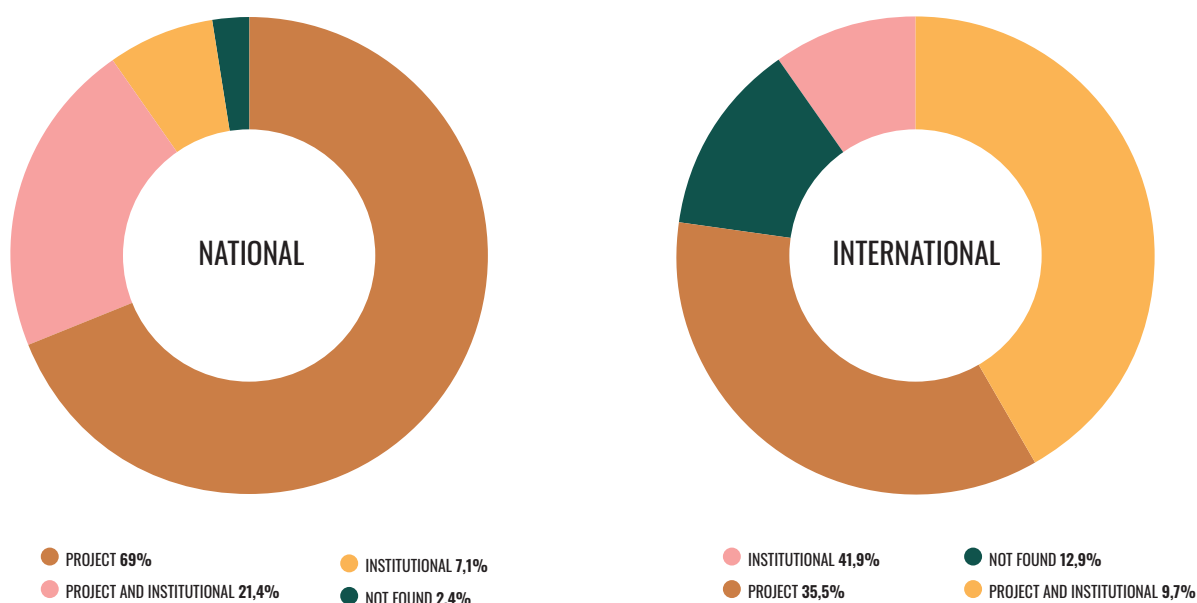- UP TO 6 MONTHS **3,1%**
- MULTI-YEAR **3,1%**

This discrepancy in the duration of projects in national and international funding is also reflected in the amounts transferred, which tend to be higher in international calls. Among the national ones, most of the funding is for more than 1 million reais, appearing in 22.7% of the cases; followed by 100,000 to 500,000 reais, in 18.2% of the cases; 20,000 to 50,000 reais, in 15.9% of the cases; 9.1% both for funding of up to 20,000 reais and between 500,000 and 1 million reais and 6.8% for amounts between 100,000 and 500,000 reais. In some cases, the call for proposals indicated that the amount would be allocated per project, with 2.3% of the cases being between 50 and 100 thousand reais and another 6.8% between 100 and 500 thousand reais. Among the international projects, the highest amounts transferred, both in 18.8% of cases, are between 1 million and 10 million dollars and between 200 and 500 thousand dollars. In another 12.5%, up to 20 thousand dollars are transferred. In 6.3% of cases, between 20 and 50 thousand dollars are transferred. In 3.1% of cases, more than 10 million dollars, between 500,000 and 1 million dollars and between 50,000 and 200,000 dollars. We also identified calls for proposals for international funding that indicate that the amount will be transferred per project: in 15.6% of cases, up to 20,000 dollars will be sent per project. Finally, it is worth noting once again the high percentage of international calls for proposals in which this information was not found: 15.6%, compared to 9.1% in national cases.

With regard to the possibility of institutional investment, i.e. investing the funds not only in the project but also in the institution itself, there is a big difference between national and international calls for proposals. At the national level, in 69% of the cases the amounts transferred must be invested exclusively in the projects, with the possibility of investing in both the projects and the institution only in 21.4% of the cases. Furthermore, in 7.1% of cases, the call for proposals transfers funds only for institutional investment. In other words, one-off investment in specific, short-term projects prevents the vehicle from building a sustainable projection in terms of structure and personnel.

At the international level, on the other hand, there is a better balance between institutional and project investment: in 41.9% of cases, the calls for proposals are for institutional investment and in another 35.5% for projects. In 9.7% of the calls for proposals, both institutional investments and projects are targeted. Finally, in 2.4% of national calls for proposals and 12.9% of international calls for proposals, no information was found on the possibility of institutional investment.

GRAPH 3
PROJECT AND INSTITUTIONAL SCOPE

NATIONAL

- PROJECT **69%**
- PROJECT AND INSTITUTIONAL **21,4%**
- INSTITUTIONAL **7,1%**
- NOT FOUND **2,4%**

INTERNATIONAL

- INSTITUTIONAL **41,9%**
- PROJECT **35,5%**
- NOT FOUND **12,9%**
- PROJECT AND INSTITUTIONAL **9,7%**

In addition to the comparative analysis between national and international websites/editorials, we also checked certain specificities of each of these categories. Among the national ones, we looked to see if the calls for proposals had specific calls for independent media. In 69% of cases, we identified specific calls for these media and in 31% of cases we did not. As for the international ones, we tried to identify (i) the languages of the selection process and the information available, (ii) the main companies/organizations and the main alternative media projects that were covered by the calls and (iii) when the funds started to include independent media in their portfolio.

With regard to language, it was possible to see that the vast majority of the information on the websites is in English, in 81.3% of the cases. In another 15.6% of cases, the information is in English, Spanish or French. And in a minority of cases, 3.1%, in English, Spanish and Portuguese. In the case of the text of the calls for tenders, the languages vary a little more, but English remains the predominant language in 51.6% of cases. Next, in 16.1% of the selection processes, the language is English, Spanish or French. Finally, in 3.2% of cases, the language of the selection processes is English, Spanish or Portuguese. It should also be noted that, once again, we come up against a question of transparency, since in 22.6% of cases, information about the language of the selection process was not found.

"Today we've been trying to start with our partners, but, for example, we don't have the resources today to do training at the grassroots [...] we have several partners who help us with translations, who mediate conversations with us, but we really feel the language barrier. Many of the organizations I'm talking about that access these financial resources speak English, they speak other languages.
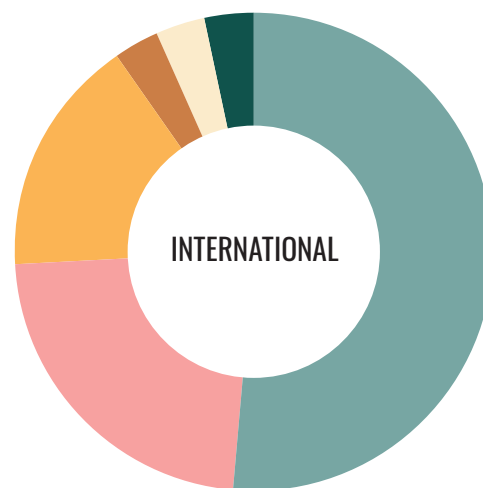
Alana Manchineri
Coordenação das Organizações Indígenas da Amazônia Brasileira - COIAB

GRAPH 4
LANGUAGE IN WHICH THE INFORMATION IS AVAILABLE

INTERNATIONAL
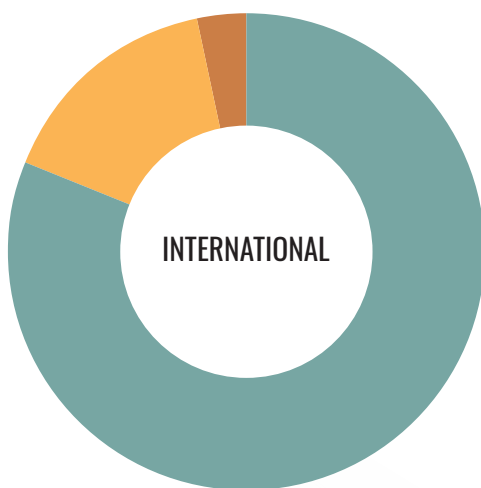
- ENGLISH **81,3%**
- ENGLISH, SPANISH, OR FRENCH **15,6%**
- ENGLISH, SPANISH, OR PORTUGUESE **3,1%**

GRAPH 5
LANGUAGE OF THE RECRUITMENT PROCESS

INTERNATIONAL

- ENGLISH **51,6%**
- NOT FOUND **22,6%**
- ENGLISH, SPANISH, OR FRENCH **16,1%**
- ENGLISH, SPANISH, OR PORTUGUESE **3,2%**
- ENGLISH OR FRENCH **3,2%**
- ANY LANGUAGE **3,2%**

With regard to the history, in 53% of cases the information was not found. On the other hand, it was possible to find 7 funds that had this information. UNESCO's International Programme for the Development of Communication is the oldest, having funded media projects since 1980. This is followed by the Ford Foundation's American Journalism Project, from 2006; the European Cross-Border's Journalism Fund Europe program, from 2009; the Creativity and Free Expression (CFE) program, also from the Ford Foundation, from 2015; the International Center for Journalists' Early Childhood Development Reporting Fellowship, from 2017; the Racial Equity in Journalism Fund, from the Borealis philanthropy, from 2019 and, finally, UNESCO's Global Media Defense Fund, from 2020.

The aim of the data presented here is to shed light on the funding model in place today, so that we can point to perspectives and strategies for transformations that take into account the specificities, complexities and inequalities present in the field of independent media in Brazil. Thus, if philanthropy has become such an important player in the field, as the interviews show, they are also responsible for a process of access and democratization that involves reviewing models for transferring resources and requirements, as the data above shows.

In this context, the importance of civil society in pressuring and monitoring philanthropy cannot be overlooked. Some interlocutors who work in the field of philanthropy say that any change in this sector is due to the intense efforts of many members of civil society, who are dedicated to making constructive criticisms and changing the practices of funders. These interlocutors point out that without this continuous pressure, funders would not change their practices on their own.

> *"The biggest difficulty for us now is that we're still individuals. Most of the calls for proposals are for legal entities and then we come up against that [...] And then you have that time of day to be able to do it, prepare all that material, because they're very long questions, often very tiring, right? And that's what we come up against, you know? The collective's lack of preparation, of more people to be able to submit the projects."*

Martihene Oliveira
Sargento Perifa

Therefore, one of the structural challenges for the sustainability of journalism, as outlined here, is the extreme and urgent need to understand that the distribution of resources must take into account the wide diversity of independent media in Brazil, especially considering the structural inequalities that run through and intersect the different realities of the initiatives. It is worth pointing out that these structural inequalities, although prominent in journalism funding, are not restricted to this branch of philanthropy. As pointed out in "Guia de Periferias para Doadores" da Iniciativa Pipa[14], various practices of philanthropic organizations end up serving as obstacles for their resources to reach peripheral initiatives, such as the lack of transparency regarding calls for proposals and the distribution of resources, criteria such as the existence of a CNPJ for submitting proposals and the use of language that is not very accessible.

It can therefore be concluded that the expansion of the Internet, while posing a challenge to traditional media, has also made it possible to create new media and new journalism formats. This process of transformation was accompanied by the implementation of policies on access to higher education, which also led to significant changes in the Brazilian journalism sector. Although these two phenomena have contributed to the plurality of independent media, this sector of journalism still faces obstacles and challenges that hinder its sustainability and consolidation. Both the state and philanthropy have not yet been able to develop mechanisms capable of dealing with these challenges, especially to deal with the additional layers of complexity in guaranteeing the sustainability of black, indigenous and peripheral/territorial media[15].

In addition, it is important to note that, as has been pointed out throughout this section, while traditional media sustain themselves mainly through advertising revenue, independent media are largely dependent on philanthropy to sustain themselves. Despite this dependence, independent media, and in particular black, indigenous and peripheral/territorial media, are not a priority field for philanthropic organizations operating in Brazil. Although these philanthropic initiatives consider communication strategies as part of the organizations they support, this issue is often funded as part of other initiatives. This means that there is not necessarily a reflection on funding in the field of public interest communication. In other words, even philanthropic initiatives operating in Brazil have to face the challenge of expanding their portfolio of donations so that their resources can reach initiatives in these media.

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[14] INICIATIVA PIPA, Guia das Periferias para Doadores, 2024.

[15] It is worth noting that, according to data from the GIFE 2022-2023 Census, Brazil has a certain prominence in the number of calls for proposals launched by the private sector. However, as pointed out in the survey, most of these calls for proposals are exclusively for project development - not institutional support - and without a specific focus on journalism. Available at: https://sinapse.gife.org.br/download/censo-gife-2022-2023. Acesso em 02 julho 2024.
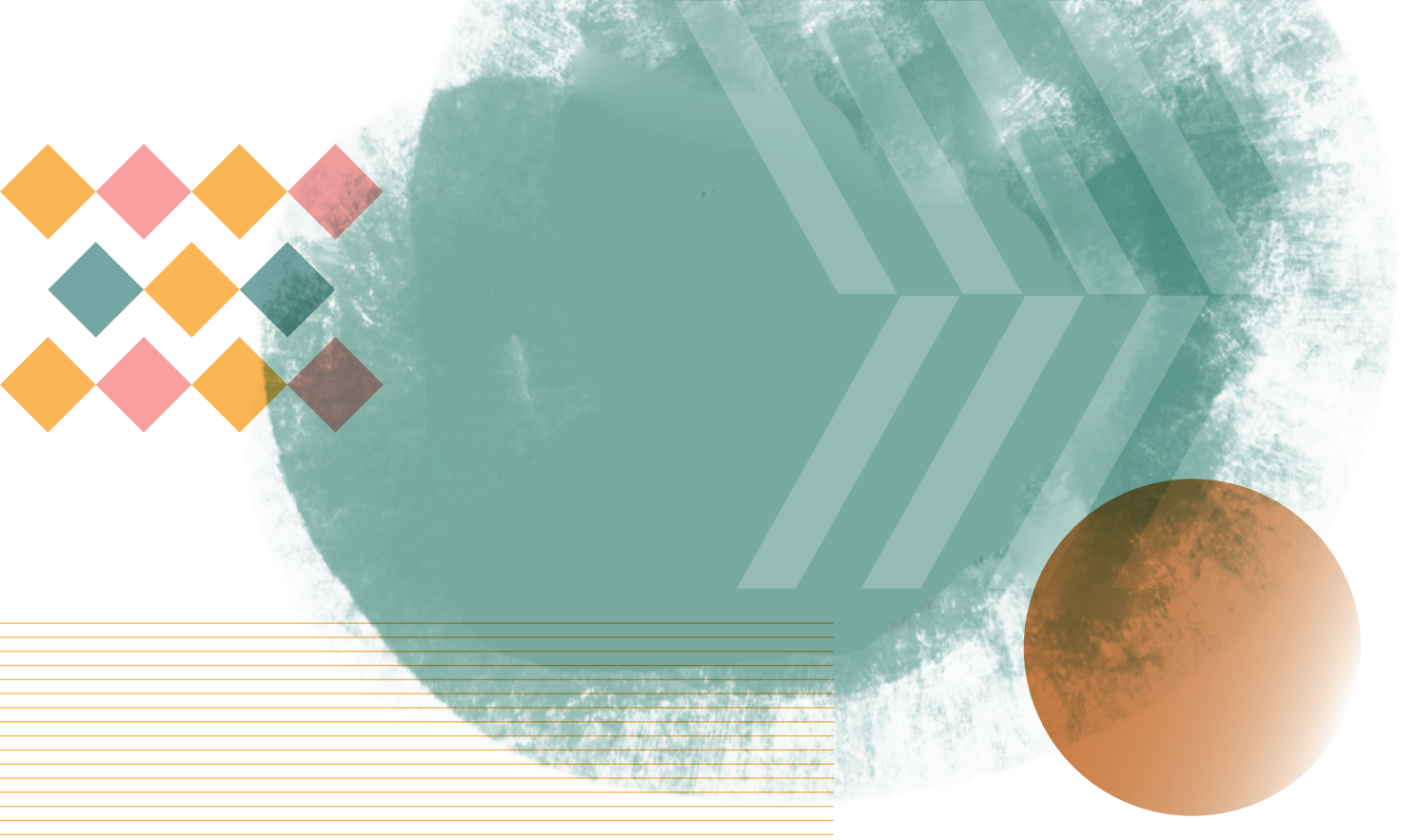
DISCUSSION ON PATHS TO SUSTAINABILITY FOR INDEPENDENT MEDIA

As mentioned in the introduction, the diagnosis and strategies presented in this report are the result of an analysis of the contributions made by participants in our seminars and interviews. As with the diagnosis, the strategies focus on two main agents: the state and philanthropy. The understanding that the state is primarily responsible for the sustainability of the media and for promoting structural changes in the communication ecosystem emerged prominently in the interviewees' responses. On the other hand, philanthropy is seen as central to the formulation of strategies, not as the solution to sustainability, but as a space of possibility for the creation of alternatives, given the significant presence of funding from these entities in the field. In this chapter, we will systematize the strategic proposals identified as the responsibility of the state and philanthropy by our interlocutors:
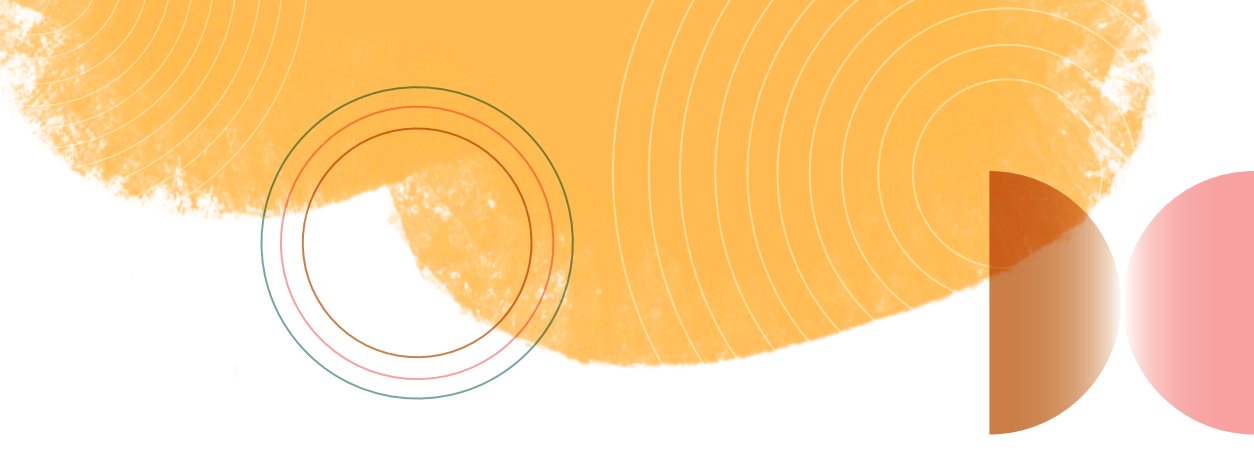
A / **CREATION OF A STATE POLICY FOR THE SUSTAINABILITY OF PUBLIC INTEREST JOURNALISM**

"*Transformation cannot be envisaged without the role of the state, public policies and funds, a public institutional framework, where all the actors involved participate in the construction and I think that remuneration via platform taxation also plays a role. But I reinforce that it must be a role within a larger framework involving more actors [...]The ideal would be to achieve a well-structured framework such as the Marco Civil da Internet or the Lei Geral de Proteção de Dados (General Data Protection Law), which cuts across governments and all the correlations of forces at the moment. The sustainability of journalism is so important for democracy that it should be addressed in this plan.*"

Fatima Mello
Ford Foundation

A recurring point, when answering about state-related strategies, was the comparison between public incentives for culture and the absence of similar initiatives for journalism. Several interlocutors mentioned the Lei Rouanet and the Cultura Viva Program as references for desired strategic perspectives for journalism. Before going into the systematization of these points, it is important to highlight aspects of these laws.

The Federal Culture Incentive Law, better known as the Lei Rouanet, is the norm that institutionalized the incentive to culture, through the creation of the National Culture Support Program (Pronac), under the responsibility of the Ministry of Culture. The legislation aims to (i) stimulate the production, distribution and access to cultural products; (ii) protect and conserve historical and artistic heritage and (iii) promote the dissemination of Brazilian culture and regional diversity. The program is financed mainly through a tax incentive mechanism. The government encourages companies and individuals to support the cultural sector by deducting the amount earmarked for the projects from their income tax return[16].

On the other hand, Cultura Viva was an incentive program of the first Lula government, under the leadership of the Ministry of Culture at the time of Gilberto Gil, initially established by decree in 2004. Adair Rocha, the program's manager during this administration, said in an interview that the program brought a different approach to the distribution of resources, moving from over-the-counter to public notices, seeking to depersonalize the process and broaden access. Known as "points of culture", the program was successful in peripheral and indigenous communities due to its wide capillarity and management by people who understood and knew the territory. In addition, the formation of partnerships with universities and other bodies significantly expanded the capacity of the points. In interviews with indigenous interlocutors for this and other research, the Ponto de Cultura emerges as a crucial milestone for access to technologies previously unavailable in the territory, shaping the trajectory of journalists and communicators in peripheral and indigenous regions. This debate on access, or "an initiative along the lines of Ponto de Cultura", has resurfaced due to the program's ability to reach diverse groups, highlighting its capillarity and articulation.

In addition to drafting legislation along the lines of the Lei Rouanet, the sustainability of journalism also depends on a review of the government's media buying criteria. Alongside criteria that assess the effectiveness of the media strategy for the public policies that should be the object of communication (such as whether the people who need to be informed about a vaccination campaign have received this message, for example), this idea points to the discussion of complementary criteria that do not ignore the consequences of these investments for the strengthening or weakening of public interest journalism or popular communication. In a speech, Marcelle Chagas, from the Network of Black Journalists for Diversity in Communication, summarizes a strategy that was said by other media representatives we heard in the survey. She states:

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[16] A lei institucionaliza, assim, uma espécie de mecenato. De acordo com o Ministério da Cultura, de 2006 a 2017, o governo federal repassou mais de R$ 13 bilhões ao segmento cultural por meio da renúncia fiscal da Lei Rouanet. Tribunal de Contas da União. Lei Rouanet. Tribunal de Contas da União, 2018. Disponível em <https://sites.tcu.gov.br/relatorio-de-politicas/2018/lei-rouanet.htm>.

> *"* *There needs to be changes in SECOM's rules for promoting media, there also needs to be a requirement for black media [...] the creation of a racial equality area in the Secretariat of Communication, decentralizing investment resources in content production, covering the Midwest, North, Northeast regions, which is also very important, ethnoracial quotas in the entire production chain, in the production of information. But basically the vast majority of us are asking for this state promotion program.* *"*

Marcelle Chagas
Network of Black Journalists for Diversity in Communication

The need for changes in federal legislation does not rule out the possibility of states and municipalities advancing their rules for promoting public interest journalism. Graciela Selaimen, from Toriba Consultoria, points out precisely the importance of discussing municipal and state laws and the possibility of imagining the creation of small funds for more local systems. Such funds would even be beneficial for independent media and smaller outlets, as stated by Kátia Brasil, from Amazônia Real. In these proposals, it was important to establish guarantees that the funding would be expanded and to provide for cut-outs (and even affirmative action) for territorial and peripheral media and with a focus on the black, indigenous, women and LGBTQIA+ population.

These ideas point to a relevant research agenda and the production of evidence. Future research into the sustainability of platform journalism could look at how the various existing laws and programs that affect this scenario generate results for different types of media, for example. One possibility would be to build on studies on media ownership that have already been carried out[17], while also developing interdisciplinary analyses that encompass both government programs and legislation and that start from an agenda on the right to communication that can drive concrete changes.

[17] BANDEIRA, Olívia; MENDES, Gyssele; PASTI, André. Quem controla a mídia? Dos velhos oligopólios aos monopólios digitais. São Paulo: Veneta; Coletivo Intervozes, 2023.

B / REGULATION OF DIGITAL PLATFORMS AND REMUNERATION MECHANISMS

Another strategy to ensure the sustainability of journalism involves some form of regulation by the state, especially with regard to the relationship between news organizations and digital platforms. In this sense, in addition to the debate around the creation of a broad regulatory framework on journalism or the amendment of specific legislation on the subject - which could, for example, change the way in which public advertising funds are directed to organizations - proposals aimed at directing resources from digital platforms to news outlets have been gaining ground in recent years. The logic here connects the digitalization of the public sphere with the economic crisis of journalistic activity, seeking ways to transfer the revenue earned from advertising by digital platforms that broadcast content produced by third parties to journalistic organizations that have their content "broadcast" or "used" there in any way. Internationally, this strategy took shape in the European Copyright Directive of 2019, the Australian News Media Bargaining Code of 2021 and more recently in the Canadian Online News Act of 2023. Proposals to remunerate journalism through digital platforms are also being debated in the UK and Canada. In Brazil, moves to ensure the remuneration of journalism by platforms through regulatory proposals have recently taken shape in Bill No. 2630/2020 (Fake News Bill) and then in Bill No. 2370/2019 (Copyright Bill).

Initially, during the 2010s, the main regulatory efforts that aimed to create a mechanism for remunerating journalism by platforms did so through copyright - Europe being the main stage. This was the model initially adopted by Germany in 2013 (Achtes Gesetz zur Änderung des Urheberrechtsgesetzes vom 7 Mai 2013) and by Spain in 2014 (*Ley nº 21/2014, de 4 de noviembre, por la que se modifica el texto refundido de la Ley de Propiedad Intelectual*), and which came to fruition with the approval of Directive (EU) 2019/790 of the European Parliament and of the Council, of April 17, 2019, on copyright and related rights in the digital single market. In general terms, the Directive seeks to grant publishers of press publications established in European Union countries copyright, specifically the right to reproduce and the right to make available to the public.

In 2021, Australia took the lead and passed its own legislation on the subject, the "News Media and Digital Platforms Bargaining Code". Unlike European legislation based on copyright, the Australian code established platform remuneration for newspapers whose main reference is competition law. The law establishes a framework for negotiation between platforms and newspapers for this remuneration, as well as providing for the possibility of arbitration if this negotiation is not fruitful. The Australian model of remuneration based on competition law has inspired various proposals around the world, the most notable example being the Online News Act, passed in Canada in June 2023. The Canadian law and the proposals for its regulation stand out when contrasted with Australian and European legislation because they contain provisions aimed at guaranteeing that part of the amounts paid by the platforms go to independent media, indigenous news organizations (defined as those that belong to indigenous groups and produce content aimed primarily at indigenous populations) and community periodicals.

In the world and in Brazil, most of the proposals for the remuneration of journalism by platforms that have gained greater political relevance (including those contained in Bills 2630/2020, 2370/2019 and 1354/2021, which have gained greater traction in parliament) are based on the Australian proposal (especially the idea of mandatory direct negotiation) - even though a number of them are anchored in the idea of remuneration by copyright[18].

These bills, like the Australian and European legislation that inspired them, contain few express mentions or concerns aimed at encouraging diversity or plurality in journalism. The last plenary opinion of the rapporteur of PL 2630/2020, Deputy Orlando Silva (PCdoB/SP), presented on April 27, 2023, delegates the definition of the criteria to be applied for the remuneration provided for in the law to later regulation (art. 32, caput), for example. Thus, it is possible that diversity criteria (which are therefore sensitive to the need for sustainability of media organizations that fit the profile addressed in this study) will be used as a parameter for remuneration, just as it is possible that they will not. Even so, the heading of article 32 of the opinion states that the regulations should ensure that negotiations and conflict resolutions on remuneration do not harm small and medium-sized companies.

Even though the plenary opinion presented by the rapporteur of PL 2370/2019 (a proposal that received the discussion started in PL 2630 reported by Orlando Silva after negotiations to split this issue into another project) states that the remuneration of journalism by platforms aims to "strengthen national, regional, local and independent journalism", its text is not very different from the proposal previously published in PL 2630 cited above. The opinion presents the same three criteria to be used to determine the amount of remuneration as the previous proposal: the volume of original journalistic content produced; the audience on digital platforms for journalistic content; and investment in journalism measured by the number of journalism professionals regularly hired. Thus, the diversity of the stories produced, the professionals hired, or the topics covered are not presented as criteria for distribution, but the text of the report states that the three criteria it provides for should be considered "without prejudice to others". The opinion of the rapporteur, deputy Gervásio Maia (PSB/PB), on Bill 1354/2019 provides for the same three criteria.

Although prevalent, these two models are not the only ones possible for regulations aimed at ensuring greater economic sustainability for journalism through platform remuneration. A third form of state regulation aimed at guaranteeing this sustainability is based on financing journalism from a public fund, whose resources would come from some form of taxation.

Similar public funds already exist to finance other sectors, notably audiovisual. In Brazil, support for this sector is provided through the Audiovisual Sector Fund (FSA), established by Law No. 11,437/2006 and regulated by Decree No. 6,299/2007. The resources that make up this fund come from the Contribution for the Development of the National Film Industry (CONDECINE), a kind of Contribution for Intervention in the Economic Domain (CIDE). Provided for in Executive Order 2.228-1/2001, CONDECINE is levied on different stages of the economy in the audiovisual market, from the production of audiovisual works, to the remittance of income abroad, and even the simple provision of services that can distribute audiovisual content. The FSA's resources are allocated according to guidelines established by its Management Committee, in line with the strategic objectives of promoting the Brazilian film industry.

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[18] On this subject, see HOUANG, André. The remuneration of journalism by platforms: what's on the agenda? In: Jota. Available at: https://www.jota.info/opiniao-e-analise/artigos/remuneracao-jornalismo-plataformas-15062021?non-beta=1

Thus, in the midst of the debates during the processing of Bills 2630/2020 and 2370/2019, sectors positioned the alternative of creating a remuneration mechanism based not on competition law or copyright, but on the creation of a public fund such as the FSA. The proposal to create such a fund was defended by organizations such as the National Federation of Journalists (FENAJ) and the Digital Journalism Association (AJOR), although with differences between them. FENAJ advocates the creation of the National Fund to Support and Encourage Journalism (FUNAJOR), whose revenues would come from taxing digital platforms on the basis of a CIDE. Like the FSA, FUNAJOR would be managed by a Board of Directors, linked to the Ministry of Communications and made up of 18 members from different sectors. The fund's resources would be used in line with a public policy to promote journalism, following criteria and objectives such as diversity, encouraging the use of new technologies and adherence to a code of ethics. With specific regard to diversity, FENAJ's proposal calls for FUNAJOR's resources to be allocated in such a way as to prioritize the internalization of journalism, to support journalists belonging to minorities and to support small and medium-sized outlets[19]. AJOR, on the other hand, argues that "a sectoral fund is necessary to promote journalism in the public interest, through transparent mechanisms for distributing resources and encouraging small and medium-sized initiatives"[20].

[19] On FUNAJOR, see BÜLOW, Marisa von. Remuneration of journalism by digital platforms. São Paulo: Cgi.br, 2023.

[20] CONSELHO DA AJOR. A policy to promote digital journalism is needed. Available at: https://ajor.org.br/e-necessaria-uma-politica-de-fomento-ao-jornalismo-digital/

C / CREATION OF A SPECIFIC PHILANTHROPIC FUND FOR JOURNALISM IN BRAZIL

" *In a society where inequality is the foundation, the logic of the public notice expands access but maintains inequalities.* "

Adair Rocha
PUC/RJ

Furthermore, one idea discussed by the people interviewed as part of this study was the **creation of one or more funds dedicated to journalism**, made up of philanthropic resources, but capable of operating independently, developing methodologies and offering cutting-edge support in the field, considering its specificities and differences. If created, **these funds must be flexible enough to adjust their funding methodologies to the diversity of the journalism ecosystem.** To achieve this, it is essential to expand resources with long-term institutional funding, not just limited to projects and content production.

The main demand identified in the research for this initiative is the possibility of simplifying and making access to resources more flexible for smaller and less robust structures, which currently face challenges due to a lack of accounting structure, auditing and accountability. In line with what Carolina Oms, from AzMina magazine, points out, it is extremely important for the fund to include initiatives to provide instruction in administration, commerce, business models and other organizational information. Peripheral media, exemplified by Sargento Perifa and COIAB, highlight the need for training and support for the formalization and institutionalization of collectives, many of which lack even a CNPJ. Formalization is crucial to understanding how to operate and obtain labour. It is worth noting again that, as pointed out by the Pipa Initiative's Guide to the Peripheries for Donors, these criteria for philanthropic organizations serve as an obstacle to accessing resources beyond journalism, also affecting other forms of initiatives seeking philanthropic funding.

Thus, one of the significant contributions that flexibility in methodology could provide in a targeted fund would be:

1. investment in training in the areas of business models, administration, commercial aspects and information about the ecosystem;

2. investment in research into the needs of their audiences and audiences;

3. affirmative action to ensure that resources reach black, indigenous and peripheral/territorial media.

It is important to note that some interlocutors who work in the field of philanthropy pointed out that the idea of the fund would be **to contribute to the public debate on the need to discuss the remuneration and sustainability of journalism, looking at diversity**. In this scenario, even though these interlocutors recognize that it is not philanthropy that will guarantee the sustainability of journalism, they assume the role of creating and proposing a public agenda.

A relevant contribution to this discussion comes from the study "Map of Peripheral Journalism: Past, Present and Future", carried out by the Communication and Territories Forum, which has mapped 97 communicators working in peripheral regions of São Paulo since March 2019. The research aimed to understand the motivations and challenges faced by these professionals in their work. The study found that initiatives in peripheral areas of São Paulo emerged in the early 1990s, with a significant increase from 2012 onwards, coinciding with public policies on access to higher education. As for the profile of the individuals working in these initiatives, the research reveals that 48% define themselves as popular communicators, 38% as social entrepreneurs and only 19% as journalists, highlighting the need for a broader definition that encompasses the diversity of practices and objectives of these projects.

The study also points out the challenges faced by these communicators, such as the lack of resources, dependence on public policies and the absence of policies to guarantee the right to communication. The periodicity of publications is directly related to the source of funds, and initiatives with varied sources manage to maintain a more stable periodicity.

In summary, the study concludes that the peripheries do not suffer from a "desert" of media production, but they do face various challenges in producing and distributing their content. This information highlights the importance of a specific fund for journalism, capable of addressing the specific needs of the complex ecosystem of independent media in Brazil[21].

It is important to note that there are already initiatives for philanthropic funds to organize themselves specifically around issues such as local journalism and community communication. In this regard, the Comuá Network, which brings together thematic and community funds and community foundations, has been holding discussions on the subject of local journalism and community and independent communication. These debates have just resulted in the publication of the report "Philanthropy and Community Communication: Paths to strengthening communication for rights in the context of civil society in Brazil", which provides an overview of the work of these media in Brazil and makes points about their funding.

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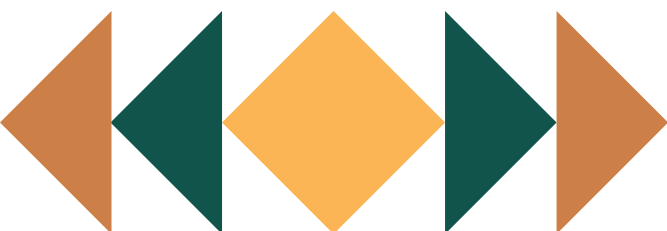
[21] REDE COMUÁ. Filantropia e Comunicação Comunitária: Caminhos para o fortalecimento da comunicação por direitos no contexto da sociedade civil no Brasil, 2024.
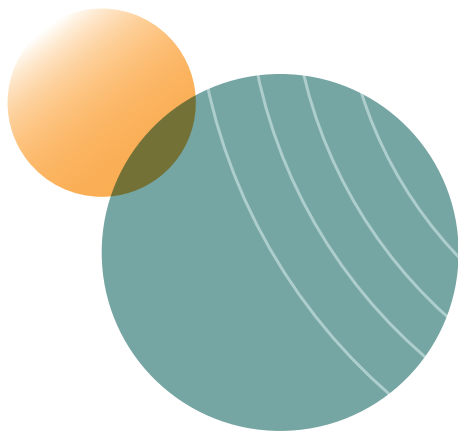
D / STRENGTHENING BLACK, INDIGENOUS AND PERIPHERAL/TERRITORIAL MEDIA NETWORKS

> *So I think the ideal today would be to take a more strategic look at the countryside and foster these networks so that they can strengthen those at the cutting edge.*

Maia Fortes
Digital Journalism Association

Some of the challenges pointed out, such as the language barrier, lack of transparency in calls for proposals, and difficulties in understanding the language and structure of projects, are perceived as being overcome through the strengthening of networks, which would be/are made up of a diverse and complex set of black, indigenous, peripheral/territorial independent media, in which organizations would be able to dialogue and form collectively. In addition to promoting the creation, strengthening and articulation of this network, it is necessary to map journalism and communication organizations and analyze their trajectory in order to understand the multiple forms of institutional funding that are possible, given the reality of independent media, with these features, in Brazil.

The exchange between organizations is crucial, because often the media, in addition to not having a structure, don't know from whom or how to request resources. The current approach, in which funds are requested and granted only for specific agendas, contributes little and feeds a logic that aims only to meet funding demands, without promoting broader and more sustainable development. This also promotes a model that forces specialization and fragmentation in journalism aimed at the public interest, making it difficult to broaden and diversify the topics covered.

As Rafael Zein, from Luminate, points out, philanthropy could help independent media outlets test new fundraising models and form a field for generating knowledge about how organizations can compete

for resources. Zein also stresses the importance of establishing partnerships to carry out studies on the sustainability of journalism.

The need to strengthen networks to facilitate access to philanthropy is even more important in the light of the data revealed by the survey "Peripheries and Philanthropy - The barriers to accessing resources in Brazil". Carried out by the Nu Institute in partnership with the PIPA Initiative, the research highlights the difficulties faced by organizations from the peripheries in Brazil in obtaining funding.

According to the study, 90% of organizations from peripheral collectives and grassroots movements face significant barriers in accessing financial resources. This finding underscores the crucial importance of establishing effective strategies, such as networking, to overcome these challenges and promote the sustainability of these initiatives. The survey, which covered more than 1,000 actions across Brazil - not all of them communication - revealed that managers of these organizations often have to perform functions other than fundraising due to financial scarcity and insufficiency. In addition, the bureaucracy imposed by funding notices, which often require a CNPJ, becomes a significant barrier for many of these initiatives, which operate in network and collective formats.

The research also highlights that the lack of internet access, especially in the northern region of the country, represented a significant challenge during the conduct of the study. This highlights the need for innovative approaches, such as delivering printed questionnaires, to ensure the participation of peripheral organizations. In summary, strengthening or creating an efficient network emerges as a crucial response to the challenges identified by the research, offering a platform that not only connects organizations to funders, but also provides mutual and strategic support to overcome bureaucratic barriers and ensure the sustainability of initiatives in Brazil's peripheries. It is worth noting that in order to overcome the particular barriers faced by black, indigenous and peripheral media, it is important to create and strengthen both networks that aim to build solutions for independent media as a whole, and networks that are guided by learning and collaboration specifically between black, indigenous and peripheral media.
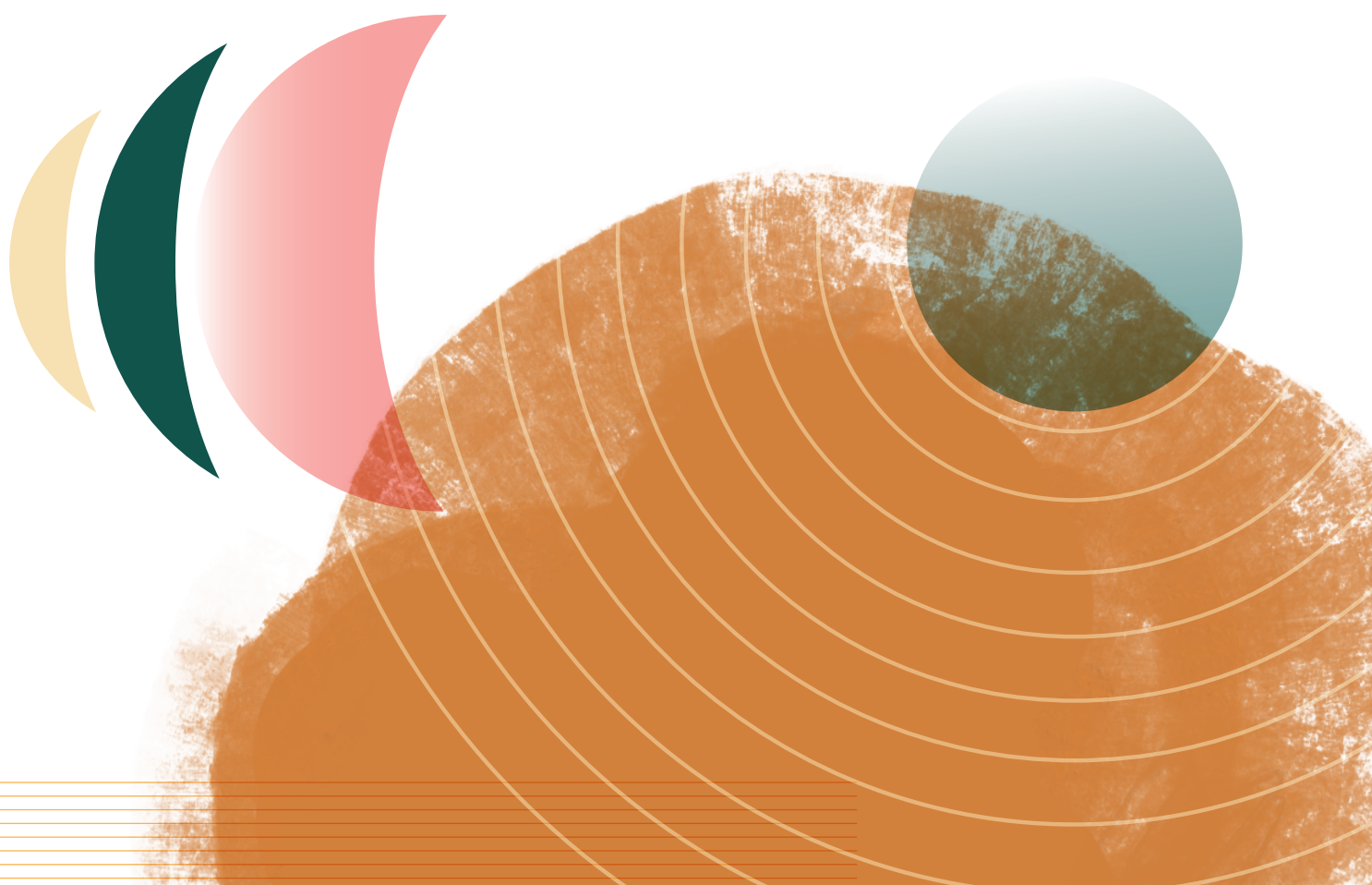
FINAL CONSIDERATIONS
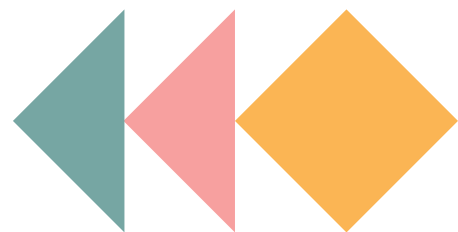
The sustainability of journalism in Brazil, particularly independent, black, indigenous and peripheral/territorial media, is an essential part of understanding the dissemination, access and validation of knowledge. The scenario surrounding the sustainability of these media has undergone significant changes in recent years, in particular due to changes in the economic dynamics between the news sector and digital platforms.

This report first analyzes this new context, presenting an initial diagnosis of the sustainability of independent media in Brazil. While the expansion of Internet access has been a risk factor for traditional media conglomerates, it has also been a favorable factor for the creation of new media initiatives. Despite this, these new media outlets still have a dependent relationship with the big platforms.

At the same time as this context of increasing digitalization, affirmative action policies for access to higher education have also brought about a transformation in the Brazilian media. The arrival of these professionals increased the demand for greater diversity in newsrooms and led to the proliferation of peripheral communication initiatives. Even so, this has not been reflected in the newsrooms of traditional media, where white men are still prevalent, especially in positions of greater editorial influence.
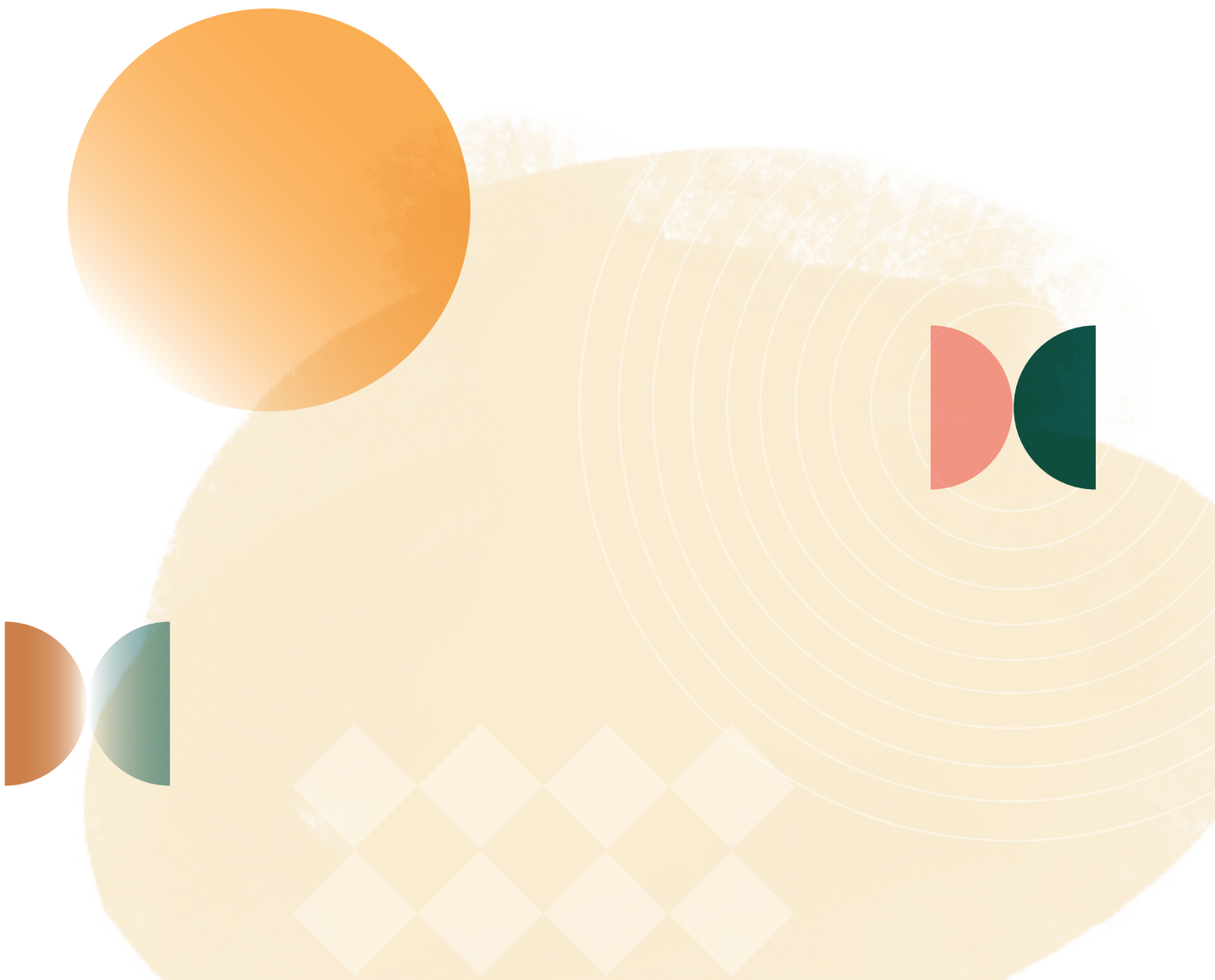
At the same time as independent media have grown and become more plural, they still face particular challenges, such as a lack of capital to carry out their projects. In this sense, the report points to the importance of creating a regulatory framework to encourage journalism, with the creation of specific policies for the sector. Public initiatives to help local and regional media are still largely based on the government's strategy of redistributing media funds, which is still insufficient to ensure sustainable funding for these outlets. In this scenario, the private philanthropic sector has emerged as the main actor currently financing independent media in Brazil. Despite this, philanthropic organizations still approach journalism in a transversal way in their programmatic agendas, and not as a strategically important sector for democracy and human rights. Calls for proposals from philanthropic organizations also often include

criteria and requirements such as experience and minimum revenue, which can represent an obstacle to these media outlets' access to these forms of funding.

In the second chapter, we present the strategies and recommendations that the interlocutors point to as possible paths for the sustainability of journalism, particularly independent media. With regard to state action, the comparison between public incentives for culture, such as the Lei Rouanet and the Cultura Viva Program, and the lack of similar initiatives for journalism and the inequalities in the distribution of public advertising funds were highlighted.

With regard to philanthropy, the interlocutors emphasize the importance of creating a fund dedicated to journalism, capable of operating independently and offering support to the field, taking into account its specificities. It would be important for this fund to be able to provide long-term institutional financing, and in particular, the participants identified as their main demand the possibility of simplifying and making access to resources more flexible for smaller, less robust structures.

Finally, this report aims to enrich the debate on sustainability in journalism in Brazil by systematizing the diagnosis and contributions made by key players in the field. In this sense, we believe it is essential that future research agendas and political actions consider the country's structural complexities as central. We hope that this report reinforces the centrality of a sustainability policy in intersectional journalism that brings black, indigenous and peripheral/territorial media to the debate.