

## Types of media systems

Type	A	B	C	D	E	F
Description	Western Europe			Eastern Europe		
	Mediterranean polarized pluralist	North Atlantic liberal	North/Central European democratic corporatist	Northern	Central	Eastern
Countries	FR, EL, IT, ES	UK, IE	AT, BE, DK, FI, DE, IS*, LU*, NL, NO, SE, CH	EE, LV, LT, SK	CZ, PL, HR, SI	BG, RO, HU
Parallelism/Pluralism	High parallelism; External pluralism	Neutral commercial press; Pluralism: internal (IE), external (UK)	External pluralism	Low parallelism; high press freedom	Medium parallelism; medium press freedom	High parallelism; low press freedom
State Role	Strong intervention, State subsidies	Market-dominated, but strong public broadcasting	Strong intervention but protection of press freedom, press subsidies	Weak State intervention (outlier: Estonia); high foreign ownership	High investment in public broadcasting	Low investment in public broadcasting; high foreign ownership
Professionalization	Weak, instrumentalization	Strong, non-institutionalized	Strong, institutionalized	Strong	Varying	Weak

Source: data drawn from Hallin & Mancini (2004) and Herrero et al. (2017).

\* Not included in original classification.

In terms of media markets, the table summarizes the main differences and similarities between national models along the axes of pluralism and freedom of the press, role of the State in the media market, and professionalization of journalists. Given the geographic clustering of outsiders in Eastern Europe, there are significant confounders. However, it is interesting to explore the variation within each of the two halves of the Continent. Although most cases, both overall (35%) and within the outsider group (26%), fall into media market type B (the German model of North-Central Europe), it is type A (the Mediterranean model) among Western countries that is the least underrepresented among outsiders. Arguably, this model with strong state intervention, low professionalization, and a history of polarization (Hallin & Mancini 2004: 67-8) represented the perfect target for a populist critique of mainstream media. Somewhat counterintuitively, though, the most liberalized media market, the Anglo-Atlantic type, while the least welcoming to populists in general, is the only type with precisely no outsider leaders. In Eastern Europe, meanwhile, although all types are overrepresented in the outsider group, the one that is most so is type F (the Eastern model of Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria): all the countries of this type have at least one outsider populist leader. Given the characteristics of this type, namely the smallest investments and audience for public broadcasting, the lowest levels of press freedom, and high foreign ownership of media, we are driven to conclude that media systems affect the chances for success of populist political outsiders in different ways in Western and Eastern Europe. Therefore, the evidence for t'Hart et al.'s hypothesis (2) is mixed.