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## What non-mainstream journalism can(not) do: The 'affect economy' of four journalism startups in Malaysia, Pakistan, Romania, and the UK

Recognising that journalism operates within various constraints, scholars have theorised the relationship between journalism and its environment through a hierarchical model of influences (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Recently, there has been a reconsidering of this hierarchical conceptualisation towards a more relational positioning of journalism within hybrid and networked media systems (Chadwick, 2011; Örnebring & Karlsson, 2022; Reese & Shoemaker, 2016).

It is interesting to explore how the various influences on journalistic practice play out in the context of journalism startups around the world. Perched on the periphery of the field, these non-mainstream organisations often have highly ambitious and pioneering visions of the future of journalism (Anderson, 2023; Schapals, 2022), but they are hampered by precarity and unsustainable business models (Deuze & Witschge, 2020).

This paper presents a comparative case study of the 'affect economy' in four journalism startups in different locales characterised by various degrees of economic development and press freedom – *New Naratif* (Malaysia), *The Current* (Pakistan), *DoR* (Romania), and *Bureau Local* (UK). Operationalising each case as an *assemblage*, this study explicates the capacities that are generated in the "affect economy" (Clough, 2008) of each startup (editorial, financial, political, sociocultural 'affects'), determining "what a body can do" (Deleuze, 1990).

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