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CONVERGENCE CULTURE IN EUROPEAN NEWSROOMS

Comparing editorial strategies for cross-media news production in six countries

Manuel Menke , **Susanne Kinnebrock** , **Sonja Kretzschmar**, **Ingrid Aichberger**, **Marcel Broersma** , **Roman Hummel**, **Susanne Kirchhoff**, **Dimitri Prandner**, **Nelson Ribeiro** , and **Ramón Salaverría**

For two decades, convergence culture has been an important motivator for change in journalism worldwide. Journalism research has followed these developments, investigating the dimensions of change that define convergence as a cultural shift in the newsroom. Research in the European context has mostly been comprised of national case studies of flagship media outlets whereas comparative, let alone quantitative, studies are scarce. In response to these shortcomings, we present a comparative survey among newspaper journalists in managerial positions on convergence strategies in newsrooms from Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Austria, Spain, and Portugal. Results show that there is still a dominant print culture present in newsrooms across Europe; however, a shift toward convergence journalism is evident in the strategic implementation of editorial routines and practices as well as in the encouragement of journalists to join convergence developments. Furthermore, newsrooms in Mediterranean countries are more advanced than those in North/Central Europe when it comes to embracing convergence culture because of a stronger audio-visual than print news tradition and a higher motivation among journalists. Our study reveals that after two decades of European convergence journalism, cultural change moves slowly but steadily toward a news production that makes use of the possibilities emerging from convergence.

KEYWORDS comparative quantitative survey; convergence culture; cross-media; editorial routines; European journalism; newsroom strategies; transmedia

Introduction

Since the introduction of the internet in the 1990s, journalism worldwide has been disrupted in ways that many did not anticipate. Most of the literature has focused on the ensuing negative developments that have challenged quality journalism, such as economic obstacles online, advertisement crises, job insecurity, and the decline of the print market. However, journalism has increasingly adapted to this new environment, defined by the connective character of converging media. This process is still in its infancy and is moving at a slow pace because change in journalism is much more than simply implementing new practices. Shifting from a traditional print or broadcasting culture that has had predetermined journalistic roles, professional norms, and routines for decades to a

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convergence culture where distinct boundaries and categories have blurred or vanished is a major challenge (Jenkins 2006; Quandt and Singer 2009).

To study convergence journalism, a shift from a solely technological to a cultural understanding is essential. The term “convergence” is an evergreen buzzword that had already been coined in the 1980s. It has become polysemic and comprises multiple meanings related to “rapid developments in media technology, markets, production, content and reception” (Quandt and Singer 2009, 130) facilitated by ongoing digitalization and society’s saturation with new media. In the context of journalism, convergence has been defined as

a multidimensional process which ... involves the technological, management, professional, and editorial spheres of the mass media, favouring an integration of tools, spaces, work methods and languages, so journalists produce contents that are distributed through multiple platforms, using the specific language of each one. (Salaverría and Negrodo 2009, 21)

Due to social media and Web 2.0, convergence also increasingly affects the relationship between professional journalism and an interactive audience (Gordon 2003; Jenkins and Deuze 2008; Quandt and Singer 2009).

Before all of these dimensions were investigated, convergence was predominantly defined by technological innovations, with a focus on the merging of formerly separate fields such as computer, telecommunication, and broadcasting technology (Latzer 1997). However, the more salient the role of markets, production, content, and reception in convergence processes have become, the more they have moved to the center of academic and professional attention. The emphasis on technology no longer grasped the similarly socially driven interrelations at play (Quandt and Singer 2009, 131; Infotendencias Group 2012).

To understand the dynamics of convergence processes, it is necessary to understand convergence not just as a specific way of producing and distributing news, but as a result of a cultural reconfiguration in newsrooms based on strategies facilitating or impeding their implementation. Hence, we argue that such convergence strategies are highly interrelated with newsroom cultures, which determine the realization of convergence journalism.

Scholars such as Henry Jenkins (2006, 3) have claimed that “convergence represents a society-wide cultural shift affecting audiences, media and corporations”. Ivar John Erdal (2009, 215) also advocated the connection between journalism and convergence, asking “what happens when convergence strategies meet the web of inter-organizational subcultures?” Yet, instead of convergence culture shaping news production, he argued for the opposite causality, one by which existing journalism cultures shape convergence practices. This is further complicated by the fact that newsroom culture is not static, but constantly evolving. Experiences with convergence in a newsroom are continuously incorporated into strategic decision making and lay the basis for subsequent steps toward implementing convergence in newsrooms.

In this article, we investigate how convergence culture is implemented in European newsrooms in Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Austria, Spain, and Portugal; in particular, we examine whether there are differences in their applied strategic approaches. To gain insight into the current state of European convergence journalism, we argue that it is helpful to leave causality aside and instead stress the interdependencies at work: strategically implementing convergence in the newsroom is strongly dependent on existing newsroom cultures while reshaping them at the same time. Hence, the influence of newsroom

culture is twofold. First, it defines the terms and conditions for the strategic implementation of convergence practices and the requisite journalistic skills. Second, it determines the attitudes and motivations of journalists toward the implementation of new editorial routines. So far, valuable insights have been derived mostly from qualitative research. However, our large-scale quantitative survey adds important comparative insights that help to better understand the differences and similarities between newsroom convergence cultures across multiple countries. This cross-national perspective allows us to understand how newsrooms in different journalistic cultures adapt to convergence culture as well as to tease out which factors are responsible for shaping it.

Analytical Approaches to Convergence Culture

Broadening the theoretical understanding of convergence as cultural change in newsrooms means rethinking the analytical approaches that have been applied to investigating convergence empirically. Since the mid-2000s, approaches and models have been proposed which have tried to integrate the various dimensions of convergence and their interrelations with newsroom cultures.

One prominent example is the “convergence continuum” model by Dailey, Demo, and Spillman (2005), which strengthens the cooperative character of convergence in the newsroom by investigating collaborative working routines. In their model, the degree of convergence varies between “cross-promotion” and “full convergence” based on how cooperatively the staff of different media outlets exchange information and collaborate strategically on content production. The merging of different newsroom cultures is the central notion in their model. However, the model is criticized by scholars because, as Kaltenbrunner (2013, 367) put it, “newsroom processes depend on different national and cultural limiting factors under specific company frameworks and do not necessarily all lead towards fully converged media organizations with fully integrated newsrooms.” Surely, convergence turned out to be a non-linear or even messy process that is consequently in motion, but not always toward the ideal of convergent journalism on all levels at the same time (Deuze 2004). Hence, Ester Appelgren (2004) suggests not to regard some finale stage of convergence as the ultimate goal but to rather use convergence as a framework for action in the newsroom. Nevertheless, the study by Dailey, Demo, and Spillman (2005) is one of the studies that conveys the importance of investigating the interrelations of multiple dimensions involved in the reshaping of newsroom cultures.

Another example is the approach that Domingo et al. (2007) and Gago et al. (2009) developed within the Infotendencias Group in a project on convergence in Spanish newsrooms. For their analysis of newsrooms, the group identified four dimensions of convergence: integrated production, multi-platform delivery, multi-skilled professionals, and active audience. The authors focused on the first three dimensions, asking whether independent, single-medium newsrooms were collaborating or whether one shared multimedia newsroom was responsible for producing content for several outlets. They stressed the significance of existing newsroom cultures for the success or failure of convergence projects, including “the professional culture of different media backgrounds, business priorities, [and] the attitude of individual journalists” (Domingo et al. 2007, 2).

García-Avilés et al. (2009) offer another fruitful approach. They developed a “matrix model” that differentiates between the three dimensions: full integration, cross-media, and co-ordination of isolated platforms to apply them to certain aspects that we would

classify as elements of newsroom culture to detect the state of convergence, such as project scope, newsroom management, journalistic practices, and work organization (294).

Quandt and Singer (2009, 130) identified similar dimensions in their literature review on “convergence and cross-platform content production,” which included convergent production, working routines, and cross-distribution, as well as journalistic roles and transmedia storytelling. The impact on newsroom cultures is evident via their conclusion that “journalism organizations are reconfiguring or even reinventing themselves as multimedia companies with different patterns of information gathering and dissemination” in a new network environment that forces journalists to “integrate new formats and voices to a far greater extent” (141).

Following Appelgren (2004, 245) that “the process of convergence can be strategically planned” and that “the effects of the process of convergence are visible, measurable and possible to detect,” we argue that newsroom culture is key when it comes to “detecting” the implementation of convergence strategies in news organizations. As Thomas Hanitzsch (2007, 369) has argued: “One can generally speak of culture as a set of ideas (values, attitudes, and beliefs), practices (of cultural production), and artifacts (cultural products, texts).” In the chain of news production, he continued, we find three levels of analysis: (1) the cognitive level as the foundation of news work perception and interpretation, (2) the evaluative level of journalistic roles and professional worldviews, and (3) the performative level of journalistic practices (369). Even though all of the aspects Hanitzsch referred to are somewhat integrated in convergence research, there seems to be certain foci. First, convergence culture research is often more interested in the levels of ideas and practices and less so in the resulting cultural artifacts of news production. The reason for this is that investigating the newsroom and journalists is an immediate approach to learning about newsroom culture without being detoured by having to reconstruct it from media content. Second, we found an emphasis on the evaluative and performative levels of convergence. Prior approaches have mainly examined how convergence influences editorial routines and practices as well as its impact on journalistic roles and professional worldviews. Less focus has been placed on cognitive changes, such as journalists’ attribution of news values or their framing of events.

In the context of convergence culture in European newsrooms, our study also focuses on ideas and practices about convergence as well as the evaluative and performative levels—yet, we emphasize the strategic implementation of convergence journalism as well. Specifically studying European newsrooms offers a fruitful lens for investigating convergence culture because European countries share some basic conditions, such as a relationship between media and politics defined by partisanship, literary roots leading to strong commentary journalism, and public service broadcasting, summarized by Paolo Mancini (2005) as the “European Model.” However, European countries also differ in their specific journalistic cultures, audiences, media systems, and technological advancements (Mancini 2005; Bohrmann, Klaus, and Kopper 2007). In other words, convergence journalism develops under a common roof, but each national room has a unique interior that makes it appear more or less different from the others.

National Research on Convergence Culture in Europe

Before presenting our study, we will review the current research on convergence journalism in Europe, first on a national level and then via a few comparative studies. We

will follow Hallin and Mancini's (2004) categorization of European countries as Mediterranean, North/Central Europe, and North Atlantic.

Scandinavia, part of the North/Central countries, and the Northern Atlantic United Kingdom are often seen as pioneers in convergence journalism, with journalists demonstrating a comparatively positive attitude toward changes in newsroom working routines (Egli von Matt 2009; Fenton 2009). As Quinn already mentioned in 2006, media convergence is "embraced ... most widely" at flagships such as Sweden's *Aftenposten* or Denmark's *Nordjyske* (2006, XV). The United Kingdom is also considered a pioneer. The BBC had already established an integrated newsroom and experimented with convergence journalism by the late 1990s; thus, it has been extensively researched ever since (Cottle and Ashton 1999; Cottle 2003; Lee-Wright 2009). Additionally, newspapers such as *The Guardian*, *Financial Times*, and *The Telegraph* (Schlesinger and Doyle 2015), and multiple British news websites (Thurman and Lupton 2008), now employ innovative convergence practices.

A large corpus of literature has dealt with convergence journalism in other countries of North/Central Europe, investigating cross-media newsrooms in Austria (Stark and Kraus 2008; Kraus 2009), online newsroom integration in Belgium (Colson and Heinderyckx 2008), working routines and innovations in Germany (Schultz 2007; Quandt 2008; Meier 2009), and newsroom de-convergence in the Netherlands (Tameling and Broersma 2013). Especially in these countries, newspaper-based publishing houses have been the focus of most studies. Results from these studies have shown that journalists are more resistant to change and that convergence practices have been implemented rather slowly because of a journalistic culture defined by a strong print tradition.

Shifting to the Mediterranean countries, we found research on a wide variety of cases, including convergence journalism in Portugal (Canavilhas 2012), business strategies and cross-media production in Spain (Domingo et al. 2007; Carvajal and García-Avilés 2008; López and Pereira 2010), and convergence dynamics in online news production in Greece (Doudaki and Spyridou 2015). Again, economic factors have played an important role in implementing convergence journalism; yet, especially in Spain, such efforts have resulted in innovative approaches and advanced training toward producing multi-skilled journalists (Domingo et al. 2007).

Finally, research on Eastern Europe is rarely translated due to a rather short and tenuous tradition of journalism research. Authors like Perišin (2011) and Metyková and Waschková Císarová (2009) have emphasized the historical conditions in post-communist countries that have influenced convergence journalism and its quality. Specifically, they criticized economization tendencies that have resulted in market pressures and newsroom rationalizations, which have in turn impeded journalistic innovations and high content quality.

The picture drafted by this research is built on qualitative case studies and bound to national cases. However, it reveals the variety of ways in which convergence culture and news production are implemented in different European countries.

Comparative Research on Convergence Culture in Europe

In recent years, journalism research has increasingly encompassed large-scale comparative studies. Many of these studies, such as Brüggemann et al. (2014), Hanitzsch et al. (2011), and Hallin and Mancini (2004), have identified differences in journalism

cultures and media systems as influencing journalism at both the individual and organizational level. Hallin and Mancini's model of media systems is still one of the few approaches that allows for empirical classifications of countries and serves as a helpful reference point for explaining differences across Europe. Hence, the importance of national backgrounds of journalism cultures should be considered when analyzing variations between convergence strategies and their implementation in newsrooms as well.

Only a few comparative studies on convergence journalism exist. García-Avilés, Kaltenbrunner, and Meier (2014), Kaltenbrunner, Meier, and García-Avilés (2013), and Meier (2007) compared convergence in newsrooms in Austria, Spain, and Germany. Another more recent study has explored convergence in public service broadcasting organizations in four European countries: the United Kingdom, Spain, Norway, and Belgium (Larrondo et al. 2016).

All of these studies applied a range of qualitative methods and concluded that multi-platform approaches are increasingly being adapted in European newsrooms (García-Avilés, Kaltenbrunner, and Meier 2014). Kaltenbrunner, Meier, and García-Avilés (2013) argued that "media regulation, resistance from trade unions, lack of commitment within the management and little organizational flexibility" impede developments toward convergent production. Furthermore, journalists' attitudes are generally positive, but many perceive a "shortage of training, work overload and business-driven strategies as the main barriers to quality in cross-media production" (3). Still, according to these studies, the biggest challenge is "coordinating the different journalistic cultures of print, online and broadcast newsrooms" (4) and "mentally tearing down walls" (Meier 2007, 6) when "journalists' identity remains linked to their original medium" (Larrondo et al. 2016, 280).

Similar results were produced from a comparative quantitative survey conducted in 11 European countries by Fortunati et al. (2009), who investigated the influence of the internet on European convergence journalism. Convergence was only one dimension of interest, whereas the primary focus was on journalists' general perception of the internet. The authors concluded that journalists "consider print and Web journalism two distinct jobs, which present severe limits of interchangeability" (953). However, in all European regions, there was a high level of appreciation for the idea that "future newspaper journalists can enrich their work by moving between different outlets (publishing channels) of their newspaper" (946).

Most comparative studies have focused on interviewing or observing editors. Working with newsroom ethnographies and qualitative case studies is fruitful for investigating convergence journalism in a limited number of newsrooms. Nevertheless, these studies have not painted a broader picture of newsroom convergence culture in Europe, since the focal cases were mostly chosen because they were already engaging in convergence journalism and thereby only provided a certain spectrum of resourceful and innovative convergence projects. In contrast, quantitative studies such as Fortunati et al. (2009) are rare, and a distinct focus on convergence remains a research desideratum.

Considering Convergence Strategies to Investigate Convergence Culture

When it comes to change in the newsroom, scholars such as Killebrew (2005), Singer (2008), and Erdal (2011) underlined the importance of the strategic dimension of decision making because, as Erdal put it, "convergence developments raise a number of important questions about the relationship between organizational strategies, new technologies, and

everyday news journalism" (214). While many studies have focused on editors and editorial management, we agree with Meier (2007) that it is important to broaden the perspective beyond the average editor by including editors-in-chief and deputy editors-in-chief as well as department and section coordinators who are responsible for decisions that initiate change. It is they who have to anticipate the potentials and risks of new practices, structures, and technologies; it is they who have to negotiate with staff and convince resilient journalists of the advantages new editorial working routines offer. Their "key challenge is changing journalists' minds and culture in the newsroom" (Meier 2007, 5).

Furthermore, it is important to identify the dimensions related to strategic aspects of convergence journalism in European newsrooms. Grounded in the previous literature, we chose to condense four analytical dimensions in order to sharpen the focus on the relevant aspects of newsroom convergence culture from a strategic standpoint:

1. *Strategic approaches*: Which strategic priorities guide convergence practices and time budgets?
2. *Coordination, policies, and editorial routines*: Which mechanisms are implemented to coordinate content distribution across channels? Which policies guide content distribution? Which workflows and daily routines are institutionalized?
3. *Content production*: Which strategies guide content production? How is content adjusted to different channels? Which strategy concerning content formats is pursued?
4. *Journalistic skills and motivation*: Are journalists qualified for convergence journalism? Is further training provided? Are journalists motivated and open for change?

Along these dimensions, we ask the following research questions:

RQ1: Is there a strategic shift from print to convergence culture evident in European newsrooms?

RQ2: Is convergence journalism institutionalized in the working routines of European newsrooms?

RQ3: Are new potentials of content production strategically fostered in European newsrooms?

RQ4: Are journalists strategically encouraged to join convergence developments in European newsrooms?

RQ5: Do Mediterranean newsrooms differ from those in North/Central European countries in their strategic approaches to convergence culture?

Method

Study Development and Selection of Countries

We present results from a comparative, quantitative online survey among newspaper journalists from six European countries to gain insight into the strategic approaches applied to implement newsroom convergence culture in Europe. The sampling aimed to include countries that represent either the North/Central European democratic corporatist media

system with a strong print tradition, such as Germany (DE), Switzerland (CH), the Netherlands (NL), and Austria (AT), or the Mediterranean polarized, pluralist media system with a rather strong television tradition, such as Spain (ES) and Portugal (PT) (Hallin and Mancini 2004; Brüggemann et al. 2014). The surveyed journalists were all involved in coordinating the implementation of convergence journalism in their respective newsrooms.

In advance of the quantitative study, a qualitative pilot study was conducted in Germany in 2011 (Kretschmar and Kinnebrock 2012). Twelve journalists in managerial positions from differently scaled and located newspaper outlets were interviewed (39 minutes in average). The aim was to learn from those responsible for decision making what constitutes convergence culture in their eyes and what strategic challenges they identified concerning its implementation. Following this first explorative phase, a standardized questionnaire for a quantitative online survey was developed. The German online survey was conducted in 2012 among newspaper journalists in managerial positions. In the same year, the questionnaire was adopted in Switzerland and Spain; in 2014, it was adopted in the Netherlands, Austria, and Portugal. In all cases, the study was conducted in the national language.

Sampling

The study did not aim for statistically representative samples, but instead strived to create comparability by targeting journalists with similar responsibilities concerning the implementation of convergence journalism in newspaper newsrooms. Newspapers were chosen because they struggle the most with the cultural shift from print as the single news outlet to multi-media journalism (whereas broadcasting, especially television, is multi-media journalism by default).

The recruiting strategy consisted of the following criteria: local/regional newspapers were identified according to their journalistic relevance in the countries' particular markets, which created a purposive sample mainly determined by newspapers constituting publishing units. The aim was to investigate convergence journalism as a phenomenon changing the average local/regional newspaper instead of following in the footsteps of the previous research by studying once more the anyhow innovative and resourceful nationwide flagship newspapers. An exception was made in the smaller countries in the sample, Austria and Portugal, where nationwide newspapers had to be included because of less-developed local/regional newspaper landscapes. However, Table 1 shows that these nationwide newspapers do not surpass their local/regional counterparts in their paid circulation, which makes them comparable in terms of outreach and economic potential. The choice of newspapers was deliberately made on site by researchers with the expertise to identify significant outlets that defined the newspaper market in each country.

Following this phase, the surveyed journalists in the chosen newsrooms were approached according to their position in the newspaper's editorial hierarchy. Journalists in positions qualifying them as decision makers over the newspaper's convergence strategy were targeted. Consequently, journalists occupying such positions as editor-in-chief, deputy editor-in-chief, department manager, or comparable leading positions were primarily invited to participate. The number of respondents for each country is displayed in Table 1.

As sample comparability is a major quality control issue, restrictions of our approach were endogenous yet anticipated in several ways: first, comparability was secured by

TABLE 1
Sample characteristics

	Countries						
	DE	NL	CH	AT	ES	PT	All countries
Responding journalists (<i>N</i>)	81	25	18	12	42	50	228
Position (<i>N</i>)							
Editor-in-chief	23	3	1	–	6	18	51
Deputy editor-in-chief	10	2	5	1	9	14	41
Department or section coordinator	34	6	7	2	6	15	70
Coordinating editor	14	14	5	9	21	3	66
Managerial responsibility							
How many staff members do you supervise?	43	28	29	32	6	25	29
Sociodemographic							
% Female	15	21	28	42	31	12	20
Age	38	36	39	37	33	48	39
Years of employment	23	18	16	19	18	25	21
Newspapers							
Scope of distribution (%)							
Local/regional	100	100	100	25	100	54	86
Nationwide	–	–	–	75	–	46	14
Paid circulation (%)							
<5000	1	–	–	8	11	32	10
≥5000–9,999	1	–	11	–	35	16	11
≥10,000–49,999	27	13	50	25	35	34	30
≥50,000–99,999	12	44	–	42	16	12	17
≥100,000–149,999	22	30	28	8	–	6	15
≥150,000–199,999	11	4	11	8	–	–	6
≥200,000–299,999	16	4	–	–	3	–	7
≥300,000–399,999	7	–	–	8	–	–	3
≥400,000	1	4	–	–	–	–	1

advising all participating researchers to follow the same recruitment and survey procedures. Second, even though we did not obtain a representative random sample, we nonetheless sought to create comparability by recruiting journalists from all relevant local/regional (and partly national) news organizations in each country and aimed at the best approximation to the targeted group of journalists with similar managerial responsibilities. Although the samples in the Netherlands ($N = 25$) and Austria ($N = 12$) are smaller, they do represent the newspaper markets which are relatively small with few news organizations; e.g., in Austria 12 of the 14 news organizations were surveyed (86 percent) and in the Netherlands 15 of the 17 regional newspapers were included (88 percent). Due to the diversity of Switzerland, the sample ($N = 18$) only represents a segment of organizations publishing newspapers in the German-speaking part of the country. We emphasize that the aim of the study is to map the strategic implementation of convergence culture in newsrooms from the perspective of journalists in managerial positions. Our choice for purposive sampling does not allow conclusions to be drawn about all journalists in a country nor all journalists in the surveyed newsrooms. The results thus have to be interpreted cautiously. Third, due to a difference of two years in the surveys being conducted, alterations in the data as a result of time bias were also considered during interpretation.

Measures and Analysis

The questionnaire consisted of four main areas of interest meant to capture the different strategic attempts at convergence culture in a newsroom: (1) strategic approaches concerning channel priorities and time budget, (2) coordination, policies, and editorial routines, (3) content production, and (4) journalistic skills and motivation. The operationalization of items is presented in Tables 2–5. All items had response options on a six-point Likert scale, from “not correct at all” to “applies completely.” The only exception was the measurement of daily working hours invested for a channel, which was measured on a scale from 0 to 100 percent. Group comparisons by countries were achieved through analyses of variance (ANOVA) and *post-hoc* analyses.

The sociodemographic characteristics of respondents included age, sex, position in the editorial department, years of professional experience as a journalist, and the number of staff members for whom they were responsible. Concerning the newspaper, respondents were asked about the scope of distribution and the estimated print copies in paid circulation (see Table 1).

TABLE 2
Distribution priorities and time budgets

		Countries						
Items		DE	NL	CH	AT	ES	PT	All countries
Strategic priorities								
(1) The production of a good print edition always is our first priority	Mean	5.14	4.72	4.78	5.08	5.35	5.18	5.11
	SD	1.01	1.28	1.22	1.00	1.19	1.35	1.17
(2) The online edition is just a by-product	Mean	3.06	2.80	3.44	2.25	2.98	2.53	2.89
	SD	1.44	1.50	1.38	1.36	1.83	1.71	1.59
(3) The tablet edition is just a by-product*	Mean	3.52	3.21	3.93	2.83	2.91	2.39	3.10
	SD	1.83	1.35	1.82	1.70	1.96	1.73	1.81
(4) The mobile edition is just a by-product*	Mean	3.65	3.13	4.19	3.17	3.12	2.67	3.28
	SD	1.77	1.48	1.42	1.80	1.95	1.80	1.79
Department's daily work per channel								
(5) Percentage of work invested in the print edition*	Mean	81.0	69.0	84.1	69.5	69.2	63.4	73.5
	SD	12.5	22.2	13.9	22.3	24.1	17.7	19.3
(6) Percentage of work invested in the online edition*	Mean	15.3	19.0	11.7	22.1	26.0	28.6	20.5
	SD	10.7	21.0	7.7	14.7	22.2	16.4	16.9
(7) Percentage of work invested in the mobile edition	Mean	1.0	1.5	1.4	2.7	2.0	3.2	1.8
	SD	2.3	2.5	2.7	6.0	4.5	6.4	4.2
(8) Percentage of work invested in the tablet edition	Mean	0.7	1.4	0.5	2.6	2.5	2.2	1.5
	SD	2.1	2.7	1.2	3.3	4.8	4.4	3.4
(9) Percentage of work invested in other tasks	Mean	2.0	8.1	2.0	3.1	1.0	2.3	2.6
	SD	4.2	9.6	7.0	7.5	4.8	6.7	6.3

*Significant differences between countries on the item. Scale “Strategic priorities”: 1 = “not correct at all” to 6 = “applies completely.” Scale “Department's daily work per channel”: 0–100 percent. Univariate ANOVA with factor between countries: Item 3: $F(5, 192) = 2.65$, $p < 0.05$; Item 4: $F(5, 181) = 3.12$, $p < 0.05$; Item 5: $F(5, 222) = 8.81$, $p < 0.001$; Item 6: $F(5, 222) = 4.52$, $p < 0.01$.

TABLE 3

Coordination, editorial policies, and routines

			Countries						All countries
			DE	NL	CH	AT	ES	PT	
Items									
Coordination									
(10) One person is in charge of coordinating the release of contents across all our distribution channels*	Mean	3.83	2.40	3.56	4.67	5.20	4.42		4.02
	SD	1.66	1.38	1.62	1.72	1.44	1.59		1.75
(11) Distribution and release of cross-media content is always coordinated in editorial meetings	Mean	3.68	4.00	4.22	3.42	4.16	4.25		3.95
	SD	1.42	1.47	1.52	1.31	1.82	1.49		1.53
(12) There is a clear editorial strategy for the sequence of when to release content on what channel*	Mean	3.65	4.24	4.22	2.83	3.97	4.76		4.02
	SD	1.39	1.39	1.11	1.34	1.85	1.42		1.53
(13) When to release content on which platform is defined case-by-case depending on the topic	Mean	4.49	4.72	4.83	5.00	4.73	4.84		4.69
	SD	1.27	1.06	0.92	1.41	1.48	1.31		1.28
Editorial policies									
(14) There is a clear policy for using Twitter in the editorial department (i.e., internal guidelines)*	Mean	2.77	4.52	2.69	3.08	3.49	3.48		3.27
	SD	1.58	1.58	1.82	1.98	1.87	1.95		1.83
(15) There is a clear policy for the social media presence of our editorial department (i.e., internal guidelines)*	Mean	3.23	4.44	2.81	2.92	3.06	4.43		3.56
	SD	1.68	1.45	1.80	1.62	1.79	1.57		1.76
Editorial routines									
(16) Cross-media reporting (distribution via various channels) is generally applied in our daily work	Mean	4.78	5.28	4.94	5.25	5.02	5.00		4.96
	SD	1.28	0.89	1.06	0.87	1.02	1.18		1.14
(17) News content is published across all available channels	Mean	4.88	5.20	5.06	4.50	5.24	5.29		5.06
	SD	1.19	1.08	0.64	1.24	1.01	1.07		1.10
(18) Especially coverage of special events (e.g., elections) is produced cross-media*	Mean	4.47	4.50	4.33	4.92	5.44	4.94		4.76
	SD	1.31	1.35	1.41	1.31	0.92	1.21		1.29

*Significant differences between countries on the item. Scale: 1 = "not correct at all" to 6 = "applies completely." Univariate ANOVA with factor between countries: Item 10: $F(5, 221) = 11.11$, $p < 0.001$; Item 12: $F(5, 218) = 5.33$, $p < 0.001$; Item 14: $F(5, 204) = 4.33$, $p < 0.01$; Item 15: $F(5, 210) = 6.41$, $p < 0.001$; Item 18: $F(5, 218) = 4.21$, $p < 0.01$.

Findings

A Long Way from Print to Convergence Culture

In all European countries, there is still a strong print culture focused on a good print edition (see Table 2). The relevancy of the three other editions decreases from online, which is considered less a "by-product" (item 2, mean = 2.89) compared to the tablet edition (item 3, mean = 3.10) and the mobile edition (item 4, mean = 3.28). The dominance of

TABLE 4
Content production strategies in the newsroom

		Countries						
		DE	NL	CH	AT	ES	PT	All countries
Production strategy								
(19) The editorial team strives to provide content, which is optimized for all channels*	Mean	4.19	5.00	4.33	4.42	4.61	5.02	4.56
	SD	1.17	0.82	1.24	1.16	1.51	1.22	1.26
Content production								
(20) We consider the advantages of digital channels by producing video content*	Mean	4.00	3.52	2.71	4.17	4.35	4.54	4.03
	SD	1.71	1.69	1.10	1.40	1.85	1.57	1.71
(21) We consider the advantages of digital channels by producing interactive graphics*	Mean	2.21	1.79	1.75	3.17	2.35	3.33	2.42
	SD	1.30	1.10	0.58	1.11	1.41	1.63	1.41
(22) We consider the advantages of digital channels by regularly creating audio-files*	Mean	1.97	1.56	2.06	2.17	3.00	3.27	2.39
	SD	1.26	0.87	1.29	1.03	1.68	1.79	1.53
Transmedia storytelling								
(23) When planning future topics we aim to build dramaturgic tension cross various channels, i.e., a teaser is on one channel and the story then continues on another*	Mean	2.26	3.96	2.33	2.00	2.60	2.88	2.64
	SD	1.36	1.02	1.24	1.21	1.74	1.90	1.60
(24) Stories for the online edition are conceptualized to complement text, pictures, video, and audio content to narrate one coherent story with a dramaturgic structure*	Mean	2.37	3.20	2.50	2.58	3.50	3.20	2.87
	SD	1.34	1.29	2.09	1.38	1.85	1.62	1.62

*Significant differences between countries on the item. Scale: 1 = “not correct at all” to 6 = “applies completely.” Univariate ANOVA with factor between countries: Item 19: $F(5, 220) = 3.70, p < 0.01$; Item 20: $F(5, 215) = 3.86, p < 0.01$; Item 21: $F(5, 205) = 6.82, p < 0.001$; Item 22: $F(5, 209) = 7.95, p < 0.001$; Item 23: $F(5, 222) = 5.58, p < 0.001$; Item 24: $F(5, 222) = 3.94, p < 0.01$.

the print edition might be traced back to the fact that, until today, the traditional model of selling print newspapers was the main source of revenue in journalism and there is still no suitable business model for online journalism. Especially surprising is that it seems the countries in the literature classified with the weakest print tradition, Spain (item 1, mean = 5.35) and Portugal (item 1, mean = 5.18), scored highest concerning their priority for print. It should be taken into account that these countries suffered from an economic crisis during data collection, which might have reinforced the importance of the print edition as a pillar of income.

However, this does not mean that Spain and Portugal consider the other editions—namely online, tablet, and mobile—to be less important. Instead, these outlets are considered to be more important in Spain and Portugal than in all the other sampled countries.

TABLE 5
Journalistic skills and motivation

			Countries						
			DE	NL	CH	AT	ES	PT	All countries
Journalistic skills									
(25) The editorial department is adequately qualified to produce high-quality transmedia content*	Mean		3.70	3.64	3.39	4.00	3.51	4.24	3.77
	SD		1.08	1.25	1.14	0.85	1.27	1.36	1.22
(26) Further training is necessary to ascertain high quality of transmedia content production	Mean		5.14	5.08	5.00	4.83	4.90	4.58	4.94
	SD		0.91	0.91	1.03	0.83	1.16	1.36	1.09
(27) Staff members who feel that they cannot cope with the challenges are offered personal development reviews*	Mean		3.39	3.48	3.24	2.50	3.08	4.23	3.47
	SD		1.35	1.36	1.44	1.57	1.56	1.48	1.50
Motivation									
(28) The editorial department is very open for changes and media innovations*	Mean		3.85	3.40	4.00	3.67	4.10	4.73	4.04
	SD		1.07	1.29	1.08	1.15	1.55	1.25	1.29
(29) The staffs' motivation to get involved with new media is encouraged purposely*	Mean		3.95	4.64	4.06	3.00	3.73	4.78	4.12
	SD		1.19	1.29	1.30	1.13	1.63	1.48	1.43
(30) Usually we can inspire our editor's enthusiasm for new technologies*	Mean		3.78	3.32	3.82	3.75	3.58	4.47	3.84
	SD		0.92	1.14	1.24	1.29	1.47	1.46	1.26
(31) It is difficult to attract older editors to get involved with transmedia production*	Mean		4.28	3.80	3.89	5.27	4.24	3.19	4.00
	SD		1.25	1.19	1.13	1.19	1.50	1.45	1.41

*Significant differences between countries on the item. Scale: 1 = "not correct at all" to 6 = "applies completely." Univariate ANOVA with factor between countries: Item 25: $F(5, 220) = 2.48$, $p < 0.05$; Item 27: $F(5, 210) = 4.48$, $p < 0.001$; Item 28: $F(5, 218) = 5.04$, $p < 0.001$; Item 29: $F(5, 219) = 5.57$, $p < 0.001$; Item 30: $F(5, 216) = 3.81$, $p < 0.01$; Item 31: $F(5, 214) = 6.70$, $p < 0.001$.

Screen-based applications, such as tablet and mobile editions, are regarded as promising outlets in societies traditionally accustomed to screen-based broadcasting journalism. Even print newspapers—most of them tabloid-size, but rarely sensational—usually place much more importance on their visual appeal than their North/Central European counterparts.

In line with these results is that, in all countries, 60 percent or more of daily time is spent on the print edition (item 5); in Germany and Switzerland, it is 80 percent or more (see Table 2). The online edition (item 6) had the second highest scores, with 20.5 percent across all countries. Together, these two channels range from a minimum of 88 percent in the Netherlands to 96 percent in Germany. Even though all channels are incorporated into the publishing strategy, the print edition still represents the core of the current convergence culture in European newsrooms.

Even more striking, however, is that across the board, the mobile and tablet editions (items 7 and 8) together have little relevance (3.3 percent) for newsrooms, although rates of mobile or tablet news consumption differ across countries (Fletcher and Radcliff 2015, 11).

Hence, we cannot speak of an advanced convergence culture in European newsrooms in the sense that all possible channels are equally served. Yet, journalists pointed out in an open question that little time is spent on mobile or tablet editions because the content is automatically generated from print or online editions. This surely explains the rather insignificant role of the editions in the time budgets. However, even though it seems economically plausible to avoid creating specific content for each channel when the option exists to create synergies by copying already-existing print content, it is also an example of holding on to an established mode of content production without taking the unique advantages of convergence journalism into account. In other words, current European convergence culture resembles a planetary system in which the print edition is the central Sun, around which the online, mobile, and tablet editions circle, waiting to absorb what the print edition emits. Investing time to produce content that makes use of the digital channels' interactivity and innovative formats does not find its way into the standard repertoire of daily work.

In the coming years, more efforts will likely be directed toward platforms other than print since this can already be witnessed with respect to the online edition. This especially holds true for Germany and Switzerland, both of which come in last regarding online time budgets. Even though the literature indicates that the two Mediterranean countries in our sample might not have embraced online developments as much as North/Central European countries (Fortunati et al. 2009), this trend does not hold true for developments toward convergence journalism. Spain and Portugal stand out among the other countries in terms of investing the most time in their online editions. Even though the rates of internet penetration in the two countries are not among the highest in Europe, 86 percent of those who have access to the internet consume online news while it is only 60–80 percent in the North/Central European countries from our sample (Fletcher and Radcliff 2015, 15).

Our results show that a shift from print to convergence culture is occurring, as addressed in RQ1, but it is still imbalanced in favor of print. However, a hybrid newsroom culture is developing that increasingly incorporates convergence; that said, newsrooms have to be able to translate convergence from the strategic level to applicable procedures and policies within their editorial departments. As we know from previous research, restructuring long-established routines is a challenging task. It involves changing deeply rooted newsroom cultures to motivate journalists and encourage them to think in terms of convergence across the boundaries of accustomed media outlets.

Implementation of Convergence Culture in Newsroom Routines

Certain workflows are coordinated to achieve a smooth implementation of the editorial convergence strategy (see Table 3). We found a double strategy of coordination in almost all countries except for the Netherlands. The first strategy involved one person being in charge of coordinating the distribution of content across all channels (item 10). This approach allows the person to have an overview of what is published and where, as well as how subsequent journalistic pieces fit in the current news flow. This seems to be the favored approach, especially in Spain (mean = 5.20), Austria (mean = 4.67), and Portugal (mean = 4.42). The second strategy involves coordinating content distribution in editorial meetings (item 11). What appears at first glance to be two mutually exclusive approaches can in fact be rather complementary. We found a balance of both approaches (in different intensities) in Spanish, Portuguese, and German editorial departments to coordinate

publishing strategies, whereas Switzerland (mean = 4.22) and the Netherlands (mean = 4.00) focus more on editorial coordination.

However, equally important in all countries is the issue of when to release content and on what channel (item 12, mean = 4.02) which mainly depends on the topics and their case-by-case evaluation of the potential to be released on multiple channels (item 13, mean = 4.69). This hints at the fact that good convergence journalism implies not only the possibility of publishing content on numerous channels, but also identifying the cross-media potential of a topic. In European editorial departments, doing convergence journalism means being aware of the interplay between channels and topical potential in order to produce state-of-the-art content.

For further strategic implementation, additional policies exist for guiding the production of social media content and publication strategies on social media channels. Especially in the Netherlands, such policies are well established for twitter (item 14, mean = 4.52) and social media (item 15, mean = 4.44). What might appear as an instrument of control at first sight can also be regarded as a tool to strengthen the autonomy of journalists. Communicating clear policies and guidelines allows reporters to act on their own. The less institutionalized such policies are, the more insecurities can emerge and the more consultation with superiors will be needed. At the same time, clear policies are manifestations of the strategic vision for convergence journalism in the editorial department. Following the premise that convergence culture is represented in an increasing, even institutionalized, coordination of workflows, we can conclude that especially Dutch, but also Spanish and Portuguese, newsrooms have advanced convergence cultures. In Switzerland (mean $\leq$ 2.81), Austria (mean $\leq$ 3.08), and partly in Germany (mean $\leq$ 3.23), such policies (items 14 and 15) do not seem to be equally common, which points to a lower degree of institutionalization of convergence culture in their newsrooms.

Whereas coordination and policies are issues of editorial structures and decision making, topics and their journalistic potential also play important roles in the strategic implementation of editorial routines. Across all surveyed European newsrooms, everyday editorial routines and practices reveal that convergence journalism is no longer understood as the exception, but is an increasingly integrated part of a journalist's daily work (item 16, mean = 4.96). Additionally, cross-media productions are intensely applied for the reporting of special events, such as elections or sport events, and covered by a taskforce of journalists (item 17, mean = 5.06). This strategy is employed in all surveyed European editorial departments because such events are predictable and allow the introduction of innovative formats in a rather foreseeable news environment.

Returning to RQ2, we asked if convergence journalism is institutionalized in the working routines of European newsrooms. Results from RQ1 indicate that profoundly rooted aspects, such as channel priorities and time allocation, tend to follow the dominant print culture. In the case of working routines, we observed a different picture in which specific convergence projects are embedded in institutionalized routines for cross-media reporting and coordination. Additionally, implemented daily routines and, in some countries, social media policies, guide the journalists' everyday work. This disparity between print-oriented time and channel priorities and comparably well-implemented convergence working routines is not surprising, considering that certain practices are easier to implement than others, and some might demand a profound change of newsroom culture, whereas others require only a small adjustment in their workflows.

Fostering of New Potentials in Content Production

Moving from the strategic and structural level to content production allows us to examine if new potentials concerning content production are indeed put into practice in newsrooms across Europe. Table 4 shows that there is actually a general optimization of content for all channels (item 19, mean = 4.56). Yet, although content is produced according to new standards across all countries, we found the same tendency as before, indicating a foremost role of the Netherlands (mean = 5.00), Portugal (mean = 5.02), and Spain (mean = 4.61) in their openness toward convergence journalism.

One of these standards is the production of different content formats for digital channels, which is still an emerging field in traditionally text-based print journalism. Video, audio, and interactive graphics are formats that are not a by-product of print but need to be produced (or purchased) specifically for digital channels. However, not all formats are equally implemented in content production. Interactive graphics are, for example, mainly used in data journalism because they require a new type of journalist with different skills and approaches to journalism, which is still the exception (Hallermayer, Menke, and Kinnebrock 2015, 59). Online news audio does not seem to be attractive in an environment where the prevailing trend is to visualize; audio simply cannot compete with video when it comes to attracting the audience's attention. In European newsrooms, the production of videos is therefore the most prevalent strategy to make use of the advantages offered by digital platforms (item 20, mean = 4.03). Although this is strongly influenced by the standards for online content, which are mostly set outside of journalism (e.g., by successful video platforms), differences between the countries can be traced back to traditional modes of print or broadcasting news consumption. Thus, a pattern emerges when focusing on Spain and Portugal: both countries invest the most time on their online editions and frequently optimize content for digital channels by producing video (ES: item 20, mean = 4.35; PT: item 20, mean = 4.54), interactive graphics (ES: item 21, mean = 2.35; PT: item 21, mean = 3.33), and audio formats (ES: item 22, mean = 3.00; PT: item 22, mean = 3.27). Referring back to the differentiation between North/Central European countries with a strong print tradition and more television-oriented countries like Spain and Portugal, the data indicate that Mediterranean editorial departments exert more effort toward online and especially audio-visual presentations of journalistic content. Convergence culture seems to follow the expectations of the Spanish and Portuguese audiences and their habits of consuming content in screen-based, visual formats.

Additionally, editorial departments in Spain and Portugal incorporate transmedia storytelling more than newsrooms in the other European countries. Narrating stories using multimedia tools and different formats, but also allowing audiences to follow a story across various media channels, is commonly considered by scholars as the ideal form of convergence journalism (Quandt and Singer 2009; Hallermayer, Menke, and Kinnebrock 2015).

When it comes to transmedia storytelling, editorial departments in the Netherlands are exceptional among the North/Central European countries in regard to planning future topics (item 23, mean = 3.96) and conceptualizing stories for the online edition (item 24, mean = 3.20). This is supported by the fact that many of the surveyed journalists across all six countries named the Netherlands as one of the leading examples for outstanding transmedia productions. Consequently, we found content production to be strategically fostered in all countries, but with a focus placed on audio-visual formats.

Summarizing for RQ3: new potentials of content production are fostered in European newsrooms, yet differences between countries are evident in the Netherlands, Spain, and Portugal, where more diverse and elaborated approaches to convergence journalism are employed.

Encouragement of Convergence Culture Among Journalists

Lastly, we focus on the strategies employed in European newsrooms aimed at encouraging journalists to embrace convergence culture and enhance their capacity to practice it (see Table 5). As discussed in the literature review, many problems with implementing convergence strategies can be traced back to newsrooms being “remarkably resilient and resistant to change” (Ryfe 2009, 198) because journalists themselves are averse to changes of newsroom culture (Nguyen 2008; Tameling and Broersma 2013). Our findings appear to be similar because trust in the newsroom’s ability to produce content that meets the requirements of convergence journalism is limited (item 25, mean = 3.77). Nevertheless, the strong concerns about resilience among journalists identified in previous qualitative studies is not regarded as drastically but rather follows the more optimistic perspective of Kaltenbrunner, Meier, and García-Avilés (2013). However, there is agreement in all countries that further training is needed to accomplish state-of-the-art journalistic work (item 26, mean = 4.94)—not only to teach journalists how to deal with tools, but also because convergence culture requires ongoing education. In a previous study by Singer (2004), it also became evident that this is not necessarily forced upon the staff but that the staff demand more efforts from their superiors to offer journalistic education and establish working conditions under which convergence projects can thrive.

Even though the ability to conduct transmedia content production and cross-media reporting may have increased over the last years, convergence is not a phenomenon with an ideal final state. It is rather an ongoing process demanding constant incorporation of new developments. New media and forms of communication frequently emerge, whereas the subsequently required journalistic skills are tardily acquired. Hence, we found awareness in all countries that convergence journalism is a vibrant field that demands continuous education. Here, the exceptional role of Portugal also applies for encouraging journalists’ enthusiasm and motivation among younger and older editors alike.

However, it seems that the leading staff is challenged to offer individual help to editors trying to manage new tasks. Especially in Austria, we did not find a strong in-house culture of human resource development (item 27, mean = 2.50) as compared to Portugal (item 27, mean = 4.23) and other countries where advanced training and individual support seem more common. Yet, with our data, it remains unknown how much human resource development is realized, additionally or substitutionally, in external programs, as it is, for example, common in Austria.

Interestingly, there seems to be a remarkable sense of optimism in Switzerland concerning the encouragement of journalists, from openness (item 28, mean = 4.00) and motivation (item 29, mean = 4.06) to enthusiasm for new technology (item 30, mean = 3.82), even though across all investigated areas of newsroom convergence culture Swiss editorial departments seemed the least adapted to convergence journalism. It appears that in Switzerland, there is a gap between the weak implementation of convergence

practices and workflows in the departments, on the one hand, and a substantial motivation of the staff, on the other.

Overall, editorial departments rely on the journalistic skills of their staff and thereby, as asked in RQ4, do indeed strategically encourage their staff to join convergence developments. Strategies to encourage journalists seem to positively affect their motivation in all European newsrooms. Even though journalists may often be resistant to change, we found a general sense of optimism that they can be encouraged to engage with new technologies and formats. Nevertheless, additional training is perceived to be an essential feature for successfully implementing convergence culture. Age also plays a role: older editors are considered rather reluctant to embrace convergence developments, especially in Austria (item 31, mean = 5.27). In the future, the regular generational exchange of staff might automatically expedite convergence journalism in newsrooms with a subsequent shift toward convergence culture (Kretzschmar and Kinnebrock 2012).

Conclusion

In this article, we analyzed the current state of convergence culture in European newsrooms and investigated the strategies that determine changes in editorial routines, content, and journalistic attitudes. Only after obtaining the full picture of all of these dimensions we are able to answer the final research question (RQ5): Do Mediterranean newsrooms differ from those in North/Central European countries in their strategic approaches to convergence culture? Based on our findings, the answer is a definite “yes.” We have shown that European newsrooms are still following the logic of the print culture and, especially in North/Central Europe, the shift to convergence culture is impeded by a long and strong tradition of print journalism. Spain and Portugal, however, show more diverse strategic approaches when it comes to adapting to the possibilities of new media environments. They not only implement new editorial routines with more effort, but also make use of new formats and transmedia storytelling. There are two explanations for the more advanced convergence culture in Mediterranean newsrooms. First, convergence processes succeed more rapidly in societies with strong online and mobile news consumption (Fletcher and Radcliff 2015), which originates from having a less-advanced newspaper distribution outside of cities in Mediterranean countries. This difference reflects the audio-visual news tradition because digital channels allow the integration of audio-visual content into text-based news environments. Thereby, the motivation to deliver such content to an audience that appreciates or even demands the audio-visual presentation of news is rather high and is consequently a driving force for convergence journalism in Mediterranean countries. Second, journalists in Mediterranean newsrooms are considered to be more open to changes and media innovations; thus, they tend to support the implementation of new workflows and editorial routines more than journalists in other countries, even though Mediterranean journalists are not considered better qualified or less in need of further training. Both explanations are interrelated because a weak print tradition permits more openness and flexibility toward implementations that are in line with the television tradition. Ultimately, journalists in leading positions in the Mediterranean countries surveyed in our study seemed to be more successful in “changing journalists’ minds and newsroom culture” (Meier 2007, 5).

This tendency for faster convergence developments in the Mediterranean countries is evident independent of the time of data collection. Spain was already more advanced in

newsroom convergence culture in 2012 compared to other countries at that time or those surveyed two years later. Therefore, a time bias would actually lead to an underestimation rather than an overestimation of Spanish convergence culture. For Germany and Switzerland, this could mean that they might have caught up if their data were from 2014. Then again, considering that the change of newsroom culture has already taken many years and moves rather slowly, the results might not be as different as one might at first expect.

Among North/Central European countries, the Netherlands has adapted more to convergence culture than editorial departments in Germany, Switzerland, and Austria. While these latter countries only occasionally stand out, but are altogether still at the beginning of fully acknowledging the possibilities of convergence journalism, the Netherlands is in almost all dimensions ahead of the others. We found less adherence to the print culture, greater acceptance of new channels and formats, and a greater implementation of editorial routines and policies for Twitter and other types of social media. In Austria, Germany, and Switzerland, however, we see that although there are case studies of innovative convergence projects, the majority of newspapers are changing their editorial structures slowly and are sticking to print production. The print market in these countries is mostly concentrated in publishing units owned by a few publishing houses; hence, weak competition among newspapers impedes the market for innovative strategies. Meanwhile, other more innovative competitors, such as Google News or BuzzFeed, are increasingly intruding into the news market and might force local, regional, and nationwide journalism to act faster in the future. Although content is already cross-reported, it is still mostly an automated process and the time budget invested exclusively on digital content is still marginal—not just in Germany, Switzerland, and Austria, but in all European newsrooms. Print is still considered the most important channel and thereby absorbs most of the resources. If there is a European strategy to be identified across all the surveyed countries, it is this focus on print that impedes the equal importance of other distribution channels. To achieve more advanced convergence journalism, all dimensions of convergence culture investigated in our study need to be considered in order to establish high-quality convergence journalism.

However, when declaring a deficit in convergence culture, one has to take into account that this is the first time that journalism has looked for a long-term strategy to handle such fundamental changes. Since the post-war era, the same business model has remained unchanged around the world: producing single media content by selling media products and advertisements. The challenge of digitization is not only to replace an old strategy with a new one, but to transform a traditional, stagnant production branch into a flexible, innovation-friendly one.

In this study, we showed how convergence journalism is strategically fostered in European newsrooms to cope with what Jenkins (2006) defined as a cultural shift toward convergence. In line with other studies, we see that following this shift has been a challenging task in journalism and will continue to be for many years to come. This makes tracking such developments an important assignment for journalism research toward understanding cultural and economic changes in newsrooms worldwide. Convergence scholarship is called upon to monitor if and how journalism adapts successfully to change and remains a relevant player among a vast number of other content providers online. Therefore, it is also important to investigate journalism in the context of other societal changes. So far, research has overlooked which part journalism plays in this overall change and how it

will affect the traditional functions journalism exercises in democracies: a question that is of fundamental relevance and deserves more attention in future research.

DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

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