Accepted manuscript by Journalism Studies:
https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2018.1507684

NEWSROOM INTEGRATION AS AN ORGANIZATIONAL CHALLENGE

Approaches of European public service media from a comparative perspective

Annika Sehl, Alessio Cornia, Lucas Graves, and Rasmus Kleis Nielsen

Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford, United Kingdom

Annika Sehl (author to whom correspondence should be addressed), Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford, United Kingdom; E-Mail: annika.sehl@politics.ox.ac.uk

Alessio Cornia, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford, United Kingdom; E-Mail: alessio.cornia@politics.ox.ac.uk

Lucas Graves, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford, United Kingdom; E-Mail: lucas.graves@politics.ox.ac.uk

Rasmus Kleis Nielsen, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford, United Kingdom; E-Mail: rasmus.nielsen@politics.ox.ac.uk

Funding
The author(s) disclosed receipt of the following financial support for the research, authorship and/ or publication of this article: Google UK as part of the Google News Initiative (CTR00220).

Disclosure statement
No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

In this paper, we examine to what extent public service media (PSM) in six European countries have integrated or are integrating their newsrooms in order to adapt to an increasingly digital media environment. Based on 67 interviews over two years with senior editors and managers, this study constitutes the largest comparative analysis of newsroom change among PSM organizations conducted to date. Despite much talk of "convergence", our empirical analysis shows that full newsroom integration remains the exception in this sector. Although all of the PSM studied experience pressure to reorganize across platforms, only two have achieved high levels of newsroom integration. Our findings suggest that centralizing online news under a single operational roof — only recently undertaken and still incomplete at several PSM — is a necessary first step to more thorough editorial reorganization across platforms. Our data also shed light on the complex ways that internal and external variables combine to shape organizational change: in addition to organizational challenges, we highlight broader historical, political, and economic factors affecting how PSM have responded to rapid technological shifts in the media environment.

Keywords: comparative analysis, digital journalism, interviews, newsroom integration, public service media

Introduction

Both journalists and researchers often point to newsroom integration and other forms of "convergence" as a necessary or logical response to the advent of digital media. Over the last decade, many high-profile news outlets around the world have restructured their newsrooms and reorganized workflows in order to archive editorial and business goals such as reducing duplication, maximizing reach and impact across various distribution channels (García Avilés, Kaltenbrunner, and Meier 2014, 573).

Journalism research has followed these developments avidly, proposing various conceptual models of newsroom change and exploring a range of factors that explain how news organizations have adapted to an increasingly digital media environment (for an overview see Quandt and Singer 2009). However, most of these studies focus on the private sector, especially newspapers, rather than public service media (PSM). The latter differ in ways that present distinct integration challenges: They are large organizations spanning multiple newsrooms for radio, TV, and online; they often have a commitment to diversity requiring them to cover a wide range of issues and different (political) perspectives, as defined by their public service remit; and they are not commercially driven. It is also important to analyze the newsroom integration efforts of PSM specifically as they remain – at least for traditional offline platforms – leading news providers in many European countries.

This article builds on existing research on newsroom integration with an in-depth comparison exploring to what extent established PSM have restructured their newsrooms and their workflows in six European countries: Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Poland and the United Kingdom (UK). It extends our own work on how PSM are adapting to a changing media environment (Sehl, Cornia, and Nielsen 2016, 2017). The study is based on 67 semi-structured interviews conducted over a period of roughly two years with senior editors and managers working in nine major PSM organizations. It constitutes to our knowledge the largest cross-organizational, cross-national qualitative analysis of public service news providers to date in an area where comparative research is scarce — especially when it comes to PSM (for an exception see Larrondo et al. 2016). By studying nine major organizations across six countries, we go beyond most studies of newsroom integration, which focus on just one organization or one country.

In this way, we hope to take a major step towards a more systematic study of PSM as well as to add a vital missing perspective to existing research on how newsrooms are adapting to a digital media environment.

The article is structured as follows. The theoretical framework consists of two parts. First, we outline what we understand by newsroom integration. Then, we review the literature on how news organizations have restructured their newsrooms and workflows and what factors influence the process, drawing special attention to comparative research and research on PSM. On this basis, we develop our research questions and lay out the method of the study. In the penultimate section, we present our findings in detail for each country. We conclude by discussing limitations of our approach and provide perspectives for future research.

From "convergence" to newsroom integration

Both practitioners and scholars have often discussed the challenge of adapting to digital media, including editorial reorganization, under the rubric of "convergence". The term *convergence* refers broadly to the notion that once-fundamental distinctions between media technologies or platforms (print, broadcast, etc.) become less important in a digital world; it is a "buzzword" that has "become a synonym for rapid developments in media technology, markets, production, content, and reception" (Quandt and Singer 2009, 131). However, no consensus exists as to the characteristics or stages that define convergence in the newsroom, or how to measure it. This section reviews existing literature as it bears on the question of reorganizing editorial production, and offers *newsroom integration* as a narrower and more useful term for the kind of comparative study undertaken here.

One early and often-cited model for newsroom convergence is the "convergence continuum model" by Dailey, Demo, and Spillman (2005). Focusing on ties between separate news organizations, the authors describe convergence "as a series of behavior-based activities illustrating the interaction and cooperation stages of staff members at newspapers, television stations, and Web organizations with news partnerships" (Dailey, Demo, and Spillman 2005, 150). They detail five stages, each characterized by specific cross-media behaviors that constitute the "convergence continuum". Other scholars have criticized the teleological view of convergence as a linear process with pre-determined outcomes (e.g. Deuze 2004, 210; García Avilés and Carvajal 2008, 225). Indeed, a pioneering case study (Cottle and Ashton, 1999) of a regional newscenter at the BBC demonstrated that technologies do not determine how they are used or experienced but are shaped by the institutional context and the professional practices they are embedded in. These findings have been replicated by others since (e.g. Boczkowski 2004; Hemmingway 2008).

How to measure the levels of newsroom convergence has also been a difficult question. Variables considered in the literature run from editorial criteria such as the physical organization of the newsroom, whether journalists work across platforms, and how stories are planned and distributed to audience- and market-related factors such as social media strategy and business-editorial ties (Domingo et al. 2007; Gago et al. 2009; García Avilés et al. 2009; García Avilés, Kaltenbrunner, and Meier 2014). The present study focuses narrowly on newsroom integration, defined as the process of reorganizing newsrooms and restructuring workflows in order to facilitate news production for different media platforms. This reflects our sense that convergence is too broad as a concept to be analytically useful for comparative research. It also reflects the specific focus of this research: PSM are typically larger and more complex organizations than

private sector media like newspapers. In addition, European PSM in general observe a formal commitment to diversity; though applied in different dimensions (e.g. regional or political), diversity requirements often lead to fragmentation across smaller editorial units like channels and programs. This size and complexity warrant attention to the distinct challenges involved in editorial integration.

To investigate newsroom integration in a multi-site, multi-country qualitative project, we will focus on five variables: newsroom structure, editorial planning, the production process, the publishing rhythm, and the degree of multi-skilling among editorial staff. These criteria are drawn selectively from the framework developed by García Avilés et al. (2009) and García Avilés, Kaltenbrunner, and Meier (2014). In keeping with that framework, we also differentiate among three broad levels of newsroom integration: platform-centered production with minimal coordination, ad hoc or project-based cross-media collaborations, and highly integrated editorial planning and production.

PSM and newsroom integration

As noted, research on newsroom integration consists mostly of national case studies at private-sector media, based on interviews or ethnographic work. They focus mainly on newspapers (e.g. Robinson 2011; Tameling and Broersma 2013), although some examine broadcasting (e.g. Duhe, Mortimer and Chow, 2004; Dupagne and Garrison 2006) or both newspapers and broadcasting (e.g. Singer 2004; García and Carvajal 2008). This focus is not surprising given that in a period of declining newspaper readership, newspapers faced considerable external pressures that gave them clear incentives to explore new technological, editorial and business opportunities; in contrast, while multimedia content presented a major opportunity for broadcasters, their traditional business was under less pressure (Quinn 2005; Thurman and Lupton 2008; Larrondo 2014, 936-937; Cornia, Sehl, and Nielsen 2016).

While this research varies widely, studies generally show relatively high degrees of newsroom integration in the Scandinavian countries and in the UK (see the overview in Menke et al. 2018, 885). In other countries in North/Central Europe, notably Germany, editorial reorganization has been slowed by a journalistic culture based on a strong print tradition (Meier 2009; Menke et al. 2018, 885). Only a few studies take an explicit comparative approach, focusing generally on Europe (e.g. Meier 2007; García Avilés et al. 2009; García Avilés, Kaltenbrunner, and Meier 2014; Menke et al. 2018). Most recently, Menke et al. (2018) compared editorial strategies for cross-media news production at newspapers in six European countries, namely Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Austria, Spain, and Portugal. The survey-based study suggests that editorial routines are slowly shifting toward cross-media news production across all six countries, but that journalists in Spain and Portugal have embraced convergence most readily due to a stronger audio-visual tradition.

Research on PSM specifically has been even more scarce, a surprising gap given the central position PSM enjoy in many markets in terms of both audience and professional status. For PSM, unlike private sector media, a key motivation for newsroom integration is to adapt their public service mission for the digital age and to underline their efficient use of public funding (Larrondo et al. 2016, 278). This plays out in a wider debate on what is perceived by various stakeholders as an appropriate development option for PSM in the digital age (e.g. van den Bulck 2008). Some single-organization studies exist on the national level, especially for the BBC in the UK (e.g. Cottle and Ashton 1999; Lee-Wright 2009; Wallace 2013), but also for smaller organizations, for example, the Basque EITB (Larrondo et al. 2012), the Catalonian

CCMA (Micó, Masip, and Domingo 2013), Norwegian NRK (Erdal 2007, 2008, 2009), or the Flemish VRT (Bulck and Tambuyzer 2013). Almost none have examined PSM comparatively. An exception is Larrondo et al. (2016), who analyzed newsroom integration at PSM in the UK (Scotland), Spain, Norway and Belgium, finding that approaches and levels of convergence reflect "journalists' attitudes towards change, as well as to perceptions of complexity regarding staff capacity, differences amongst radio, television and online cultures, training, job descriptions and labour circumstances" (Larrondo et al. 2016, 296). This is in line with various earlier nationally focused studies showing that one challenge for convergence is to synchronize the different work practices, production dynamics and workplace cultures of print, radio, TV and online journalists (Singer 2004; Erdal 2008, 2009; Bulck and Tambuyzer 2013). National studies have also highlighted the obstacle of internal competition as journalists continue to prioritize their medium of origin (Erdal 2007; Larrondo et al. 2012; Micó, Masip, and Domingo 2013).

Despite these findings on the professional and organizational level, scholarly interest in PSMs in general has tended to focus on external conditions and influences, in particular governance structures and funding models and levels (e.g. Donders and Moe 2011; Hanretty 2011; Nowak 2014). This emphasis is not surprising given the unique legal and financial arrangements of PSM. However, it neglects attention to the complex array of internal organizational features explored in the more developed literature on private sector media.

Our study aims to address this imbalance by highlighting internal factors to analyze approaches to newsroom integration among the PSM studied. (This emphasis is reinforced by adapting the three-tier model developed by García Avilés et al. (2009) and García Avilés, Kaltenbrunner, and Meier (2014).) At the same time, however, we also note the external structural factors that emerge in the accounts from the senior editors and managers interviewed, and highlight how these interact with the culture and history of individual media organizations. This reflects the broader insight from two decades of research on how the legacy media are adapting to a digital world: change is always mediated by both internal and environmental or structural influences. It is the interplay between these two that shapes the process of change and adaptation at media organizations (e.g. Boczkowski 2004; Anderson 2013; Usher 2014).

Research questions and method

Building on existing research on PSM (e.g. Brevini 2013) and newsroom integration in specific, our research questions focus on how newsroom integration actually plays out in different European PSM and the factors that influence the process. We assume that newsroom integration will be highly shaped by the organizational and country context in which the PSM operate in path-dependent ways. We explore the following two research questions:

RQ1: To what extent have PSM in six European countries restructured, or to what extent are they restructuring, their newsrooms and workflows to adapt to an increasingly digital media environment?

RQ2: What are the underlying internal organizational and external institutional factors influencing the processes of newsroom integration?

The study is based on semi-structured interviews conducted with 67 primarily senior managers and editors responsible for news at nine PSM in six countries: Radio France and France Télévisions; Finland's Yle; ARD (Aktuell) and ZDF in Germany; the Italian Rai; Polskie Radio and Telewizja Polska (TVP) in Poland and the UK's BBC.

The interviews focused on the national news operations of the PSM. The sampling did not include regional offices or regional PSM organizations.[1] These interviews are part of a larger research project on PSM in the digital era (see also Sehl, Cornia, and Nielsen 2016, 2017). Most interviews were conducted in two rounds between December 2015 and January 2017 (three were conducted in October 2017). The authors conducted almost all interviewees face-to-face on-site at the PSM, three interviews were held via telephone and in one case only a written interview was possible.

The six countries were chosen according to strategic sampling, since each represents a different Western (Hallin and Mancini 2004; Brüggemann et al. 2014) or Eastern European media system. The different contexts also feature very different levels of PSM funding, from comparatively high levels of public spending per capita for PSM in Germany, Finland and the UK to significantly lower levels in Italy or Poland (EAO 2016, see table 1).

[Table 1 about here]

Furthermore, survey data from a cross-national study show that PSM in most of these countries are still struggling to replicate their offline reach online. In the six countries studied here, PSM have high reach for TV news while online reach varies dramatically (Newman et al. 2017, see table 2).

[Table 2 about here]

The interviewees were chosen according to their position (responsibility for (digital) news) or recommended to us via a snowball-sampling. Where PSM have separate organizations for TV and radio (as in France and Poland) and both produce online content, we spoke with both organizations. We sought multiple interviews at each PSM but access varied by country; in total we conducted 13 interviews in Finland, 11 in France, 17 in Germany, 10 in Italy, 4 in Poland, and 12 in the United Kingdom. To provide context while preserving anonymity, interviewees' positions at the time of the interviews are described in general terms but specific job titles are not mentioned. A small number of quotes carry no job description at all, at the request of those being interviewed.

The interviews addressed how the respective PSM are adapting to the rise of digital media, focusing on the challenges they face, changes to the organizational structure and workflows for news, strategies for mobile and social media news distribution, and how they develop new products for digital news. The full transcripts of the interviews were subjected to a qualitative content analysis in the form of inductive thematic coding and analysis using NVivo software.

Findings

The findings reveal large differences between the newsroom structures and the workflow organization in the different PSM. The Finish Yle and to some extent also the BBC have highly integrated newsrooms with journalists working across all platforms (although complete integration is not seen as desirable at either organization). In

[1] For example, for Germany, it included only ARD-Aktuell in Hamburg, but not the nine regional organisations (like BR, NDR or WDR) ARD consists of.

contrast, news production in the other PSM organizations reflects the fact that broadcast and online news are still seen as separate, with only limited coordination or collaboration between broadcast and online journalists. Although newsroom integration has been a topic since the beginning of the 2000s, some PSM, notably in France and Germany, have only recently begun to consider how to reorganize their newsrooms or restructure their workflows in order to avoid work duplication and coordinate news distribution to reach audiences on all relevant platforms.

Finland: Yle

Yle, the Finnish PSM organization, is the example with the widest reaching integration in our sample. By 2007 Yle had already established a single newsroom for radio, TV, and online news, something that has still not happened at most of the organizations we analyze here. The PSM implemented further changes at the beginning of 2015, reconfiguring workflows in order to allow for a more orchestrated content distribution, paying attention to the characteristics of each platform, and a stronger focus on online and mobile. That effort established the principle that every journalist should be able to work for all media platforms. Staff have been trained accordingly, although there are still specialists who work for television or radio only.

The reform of workflows was widely discussed within the organization, but was framed by the management as preparing the company for the future. A senior manager from the development/media lab for news and current affairs explains (interview conducted 4 December 2015 in Helsinki):

> In the past years, we had somewhat heated discussions about whether we should have an internet department, and we decided not to because we felt like the internet is going to be everywhere and it is everybody's job to be able to understand the digital logic and to do stuff for the digital platforms, whether it's desktop or laptop or mobile phone or [smart] watch.

However, this change does not mean that every journalist works on different media every day. As explained by the senior manager, in practice it means that journalists can always be asked to work across radio, TV, and online on the basis of the news situation, which gives the organization flexibility. Most important, the editorial philosophy has shifted. While in the past, "it was all about filling the spots" on each platform, he says, today, journalists in the newsroom are asked to think about the content first and only then choose the appropriate platform for distribution. "It used to be like slot-first. Now it's story-first", he explains.

The organizational structure of the newsroom also changed in the 2015 reform. Today, a single content manager oversees different media and can decide when and where to publish a story in case of conflict. A senior manager for news and current affairs says (interview conducted 4 December 2015 in Helsinki): "It's kind of a Christmas tree organization in which on the top there is a content manager who has the powers to make the final decisions if there's conflict."

As a rule, news is no longer held back for a certain output or program like the evening news broadcast. Instead the strategy has moved to "online first" and at the time of our interviews interviewees were already talking about prioritizing layouts for mobile devices given their significance for news consumption (see e.g. Newman et al. 2017).

In sum, Yle shows a highly integrated approach. The Finnish PSM organization introduced a single newsroom for radio, TV, and online journalists a decade ago and

recently reorganized again to allow for strategic distribution of content and a stronger focus on online and mobile. News flows are now centrally planned and organized, and journalists have the capacity to work across platforms. Nevertheless, there are still specialized journalists only working for one medium.

UK: BBC

The BBC first introduced an integrated newsroom in 2008, bringing together radio, TV and online production as well as newsgathering, which works across platforms. In 2013, BBC News moved into a new, specially designed newsroom in New Broadcasting House which integrated global and UK output for the first time. One main aim of these efforts was to stop duplication in newsgathering and to ensure that news is distributed on all relevant platforms, including mobile and social media. Staff assigned to distinct platforms and programs draw on the work of the central newsgathering team, as a senior manager for daily news explains (interview conducted 13 October 2017 in London):

> The idea is that you have a hub […] physically in the middle of the newsroom, which is a gathering and an editorial machine. […] So that's where the stories are coming into, and if you imagine it like a bicycle wheel, you have spokes running off that hub, which go to the main evening news bulletin for TV, or the domestic radio bulletin, or online teams, or world channel teams, and domestic channel. And then there is lots of different output, taking that central hub of deployments of news, of stories coming in, and then deciding what they each, individually, want to do with those stories.

Newsgathering is commissioned from the central newsroom in London and transparent to the output platforms through a central planning tool. The newsgathering team includes specialist correspondents, e.g. for business news, home affairs, or science as well as bureaus and news centres across the UK and around the world.

In general, newsgathering works across platforms, unless it is decided in advance that a story is not suitable for all media. Similar to Yle, most journalists in the newsgathering team need to be multi-skilled, as a senior manager for newsgathering explains (interview conducted 19 October 2017 in London): "[M]ost people are flexible about which platform they do. Inevitably, some people have greater skills in one than the other, so we try to [play to people's] strengths. But broadly speaking, the mantra is to be multimedia."

However, in contrast to Yle, the output side remains tied to certain platforms, channels and programs with dedicated staff. Interviewees explain that integrating newsgathering and output in such a large organization would increase workloads too much. Furthermore, this structure allows attention to the nature of the platforms, as the senior manager for daily news explains (interview conducted 13 October 2017 in London): "We're not asking them to homogenize into some central fudge. […], but what you're trying to cut out is the duplication along the way." Stories developed for one program may later be adopted for other platforms, he explains:

> Often the idea is either from a program in the first place, in which case, well obviously it should roll out on their program and then go beyond. Or it's from newsgathering and therefor it's perfectly fair that newsgathering set where they think that's gonna make the most of an impact.

In sum, like Yle, the BBC introduced a single newsroom early on, in which radio, TV, and online journalists sit together in order to coordinate news planning, production, and distribution. However, the BBC strategy differentiates newsgathering and output: While editorial planning and newsgathering is centralized, stories are still produced individually for different platforms, channels and programs. While reporters work across platforms or at least are trained to do so, journalists on the output side focus on their individual platform.

Germany: ARD and ZDF

The German PSM organizations, ARD and ZDF, are substantially less integrated than either Yle or the BBC. However, both have recently begun to move away from platform-centered production with minimal coordination: ARD is planning to build a new integrated newsroom in 2018, and ZDF has recently launched several (smaller) cross-media projects to minimize work duplication between TV and online.

At ARD, TV and online were separate departments when the news website was launched in 1996. In 2010, the two operations, Tagesschau.de and ARD Aktuell, were formally integrated into one department. However, a senior manager for news admits that this was a cosmetic change first (interview conducted 21 December 2015 in Hamburg): "It takes a while until this really becomes part of the organizational cultures – and we are still within this process." (Radio journalists are not present in either the television or online newsrooms, because Germany has no nationwide ARD Aktuell-radio. However, radio stories from the nine regional PSM, which all have their own radio channels, are featured on the Tagesschau.de website.)

Under the common roof, TV and online journalists started to share information for editorial planning. But apart from this, the two newsrooms remain separate and journalists generally work for one or the other. The television and online newsrooms also work with different content management systems. TV journalists only support online production in special cases, as a senior manager for online news explains (interview conducted 21 December 2015 in Hamburg):

> For us, these are really synergy effects in case of breaking news. Today, it is no problem anymore to go into the neighboring room and ask who has time right now and can support us. The online team is still smaller than the television team due to a traditional structure. However, we think that a lot will still change in this respect.

The plan to build a new integrated newsroom comes after an earlier effort which failed due to a lack of space, according to the senior manager for news (interview conducted 3 January 2017 in Hamburg): "It ended in a disaster, because when an online editor was placed at one end of the newsroom and his managing editor at the other, he needed to shout."

The aim of the new newsroom is to allow for more "flexibility for future work and for more collaboration" between the media, he says. According to him, the current process is being planned bottom-up instead of top-down in order to address needs and concerns from the people that will actually work in the integrated newsroom.

At Germany's other national PSM organization, ZDF, the structure is also relatively traditional, with television and online journalists working in parallel with little integration. However, in 2015 ZDF launched a new venture called "heute express", a short news format for online programming (including social media) and TV. These short news programs are produced by a cross-media team to avoid replication and save

resources. The same year, ZDF also replaced its traditional night edition of the *heute* news bulletin with *heute+*, a cross media format. However, the main news bulletin at 7 pm is still produced by a dedicated television team. This separation reflects the production demand for an up-to-date live news bulletin, a project manager for news at ZDF explains (interview conducted 16 December 2016 in Mainz):

> It would be too much for the colleagues to pay attention to a totally different distribution channel and its requirements before, when they have to deliver for a live news bulletin at 7 pm that should correspond to our journalistic quality standards.

In sum, for both PSM in Germany newsroom and workflow integration are important topics at the moment. While both rely on platform-centered production with minimal coordination or ad hoc or project-based cross-media collaborations, this is beginning to change, especially at ARD. However, a model of closer cross-media-collaboration seems to be more likely than a highly integrated planning and production. At ZDF, similar to the BBC, the interviewees have argued that a very high integration is not even desirable as a prime-time up-to-date live news bulletin demands that journalists concentrate on one platform and format. However, it remains unclear what level of integration will be achieved.

France: Radio France and France Télévisions

Radio France and France Télévisions – unlike Yle or the BBC – are separate organizations, each built around a distinct legacy broadcast platform. They each represent a model of little coordination of separate newsrooms. This is linked to the fact that until recently, both had very fragmented online offerings, mirroring the different TV and radio channels and programs. As a consultant at France Télévisions explains (interview conducted 18 December 2015 in Paris), "[f]ive years ago […], there was a website for each TV channel and program." The same was true for Radio France.

It was not until 2013 that France Télévisions created a centralized online news website, FranceTVInfo, to bundle online content from across the organization. One main motivation to integrate the different channel and program websites was, according to the consultant, "to be powerful in front of Google, in front of the audience". Another goal was "to save money" and reduce duplication of effort across newsrooms, explains a senior manager for news at France Télévisions (interview conducted 18 December 2015 in Paris). Integrating the different channel and program websites into a single news website produced by one newsroom was a complex process for a number of external factors, as the consultant explains (interview conducted 18 December 2015 in Paris): "[F]irstly, the French public sector is strongly regulated; secondly, it is a sector with a strong labor union presence […]; thirdly, there are strong private sector concerns because they have to face the competition with a strong public sector."

Once online news was centralized at France Télévisions and Radio France, the challenges of integrating offline and online news production came into sharper focus. A senior manager for news at Radio France says (interview conducted 17 December 2015 in Paris): "This is a complication, because a separate digital newsroom was an effective solution some years ago, not now, not when PSM like Radio France have less resources: […] now a newsroom specialized on digital platforms is too small to exploit the potentialities of the digital media."

A major step towards integration came in August/September 2016, when France Télévisions and Radio France merged their news websites in the context of a new news offering France Info. It consists of a new 24-hour TV channel, the website, a news app, and social media distribution. The newsroom for the joint website franceinfo.fr is still a pure online newsroom, separate from TV and radio.

The plans for the 24h-news channel and the joint news website had been on the table for years, but prevented for political reasons, as a senior manager for news at France Télévisions explains (interview conducted 18 December 2015 in Paris):

> We already had this plan [for a 24-hour news channel] in the 2000s, but at the time the government prohibited it because they thought there was not room for several all-news channels in France. […] But we are trying to transform this situation to an advantage because we want to imagine it digital first.

In sum, in France the historical lack of coordination across different legacy PSM organizations, channels and programs has hindered the integration of online and legacy news production. Newsrooms and workflows have been restructured in recent years to centralize various online efforts in order to attract larger audiences. However, radio, TV and online still work separately with minimal coordination. Interviewees stressed the role of regulation and the strong role of labor unions to slow down change.

Italy: Rai

Rai, the Italian PSM organization, also represents the model of little coordination of separate platforms. At Rai, news production has long been characterized by a highly decentralized approach. Each of the main Rai television channels has its own news division, although Rai radio channels' news bulletins share a common newsroom. This decentralized structure was reproduced when Rai moved to online news, explains a television manager (interview conducted 4 December 2015 in Rome):

> RAI is characterized by many news outlets and many newsrooms […]. When RAI arrived in the online world, it just replicated the model and the structure previously adopted for broadcasting. TG1 had his own website and mobile app, and the same applies to TG2, TG3 and so on.

As a consequence of this decentralized approach, each newsroom only had few journalists and limited resources for online news, he further explains.

Only in 2013 was rainews.it started as a joint news website with its own online newsroom, integrating content from across the organization. "To have a single news outlet attracting a big audience is important also for market reasons", explains an interviewee (quote not for attribution), echoing the rationale given by France Télévisions. However, our interviews suggest that some directors of news operations elsewhere in Rai accepted this decision only reluctantly. From their perspective being asked to give up their own independent websites meant losing resources and undermining their control over news content. This is a particularly sensitive issue for a PSM whose internal fragmentation mirrors wider political divisions. Historically, each individual newscast at Rai tends to reflect the views of a specific political division (Hallin and Mancini 2004) – mirroring the requirement for diversity at PSM. In this context, the decision to locate the new online newsroom within the 24-hours news channel RaiNews24 was perceived as inappropriate. For this reason, as reflected in our

interviews, some management of the decentralized newsrooms resist feeding stories to the central website even after they have already aired. One interviewee (quote not for attribution) went so far to call this an "internal war": "RAI is characterized by an internal war. It is obvious that the other news outlets are not willing to cooperate".

Within Rai, television is still seen as more important than online by the management as well as many journalists. Thus, when TV journalists are asked to work on multimedia projects, they make clear "they consider web journalists as having a lower status and reaching a limited audience if compared with TV journalists", says one interviewee (quote not for attribution). Similarly, a top manager of the organization explains that the emphasis on broadcast content hampered online integration (interview conducted 27 January 2016 in Rome):

> for decades, we have been, by nature, focusing on linear television […] When we realized the world was going in another direction, we launched projects, but these initiatives weren't necessarily well-coordinated, not necessarily going in the right direction […].

In December 2015, Rai launched a new effort to centralize its online news activities under a new digital division. The top manager explains that the new division has been created to overcome the traditional separation between the editorial and the technological parts of the organization, and will be able to "talk with all Rai sectors and to ask them for content". Launching a new independent division was meant to minimize the unhealthy infighting mentioned above. However, internal disputes continue to slow down the process of change at Rai. Plans to reshape the offline and online news offering of Rai, for example, have been rejected several times by the board, leading to the resignations of the former general director, the former head of news, and the journalist expected to be in charge for a new online news offering (N.N. 2017).

To sum up, as in Germany and France, Rai is relatively late with addressing newsroom integration questions. The very fragmented structure of the legacy operation hinders integration. Internal resistance has limited the success of a joint news website, which is sees as taking power from legacy channels and programs. Radio, TV and Online still work mostly separately with platform-centered production and minimal coordination.

Poland: Polskie Radio and Telewizja Polska (TVP)

Finally, Poland also illustrates platform-centered production with minimal coordination. As in France, legacy broadcast platforms have separate PSM, Polskie Radio and Telewizja Polska (TVP). And as in Italy, every radio and television channel has its own newsroom. However, the news website TVP.info provides a hub for online news from all television channels, and polskieradio.pl serves a similar role for all of the radio channels and programs.

The process of centralizing the online activities under one domain and in one online newsroom started only late and encountered resistance from the channels, as a manager in Polskie Radio (interview conducted 11 January 2016 in Warsaw) explains:

> We've started online presence 15 years (or 15 almost years) after the BCC, after the leaders. […] We moved […] since the very beginning, [to] the joint portal for the Polish Radio. And it took some time to withdraw the editorial work from the channels […] to the centralized [online] newsroom, but we did it.

Similar obstacles have slowed down integration at TVP. They started to centralize online efforts only in 2012 and consequently were less successful than in broadcast, says a senior manager of television (see method section for the gap between their weekly TV and online reach for news). As a result, they were overtaken by the digital efforts of newspapers (interview conducted 11 January 2016 in Warsaw):

> Till 2012, we had just a general portal. We had […] tvp.info but […] among the company it was considered as a part of tvp.pl, as a company website. […] The most important [media for us] was television and the most important website was tvp.pl. […] Meanwhile, the colleagues from the newspapers developed these news portals […].

The actual catalyst for the centralization of online activities at Polskie Radio was a national crisis: the 2010 plane crash that claimed the lives of the Polish president Lech Kaczyński and other high members of the parliament and government. The crash happened on a weekend and the channel newsrooms had insufficient staff to cover it, the manager in Polskie Radio (interview conducted 11 January 2016 in Warsaw) says:

> [T]hey had, at that time, one or two webmasters per channel. Working one or two means working eight hours a day, five days a week. Mainly, their pages presented recent features from air. So from Friday to Monday, usually […] they were not operating […]. And suddenly we have this Sunday with a huge national disaster […].

Despites this change, he describes the mind-set of radio journalists still as "mentally analogue" and believing online is only "a promotion tool for their [radio broadcasted] programs". They do not appreciate direct online news consumption as "they cannot include those people in the ratings. […] And if you have to fight for the ratings, it's easy to fall down in a way of thinking that your own online division is your enemy."

Despite almost nonexistent coordination across platforms today, however, the manager expects that pressure to integrate from management will begin to produce change:

> Every channel has its own separate newsroom. And we believe that to be a media company, not a broadcasting company, you need one centralized newsroom, not in terms of a place or a building that you sit, but in terms of accessibility to the content that people, the journalists are producing. And we are at the beginning of that road, and I think that it will take several years before we really become a full media company, not only a broadcast company.

To conclude, newsroom integration at Polskie Radio and TVP – similar to the situation in France and Italy – has so far been limited to the centralization of an online news offer. In addition, online centralization is taking place separately for Polskie Radio and TVP, with no attempts mentioned – as recently happened in France – to have only one joint news website for the two PSM organizations. In short, PSM in Poland stand for the model of platform-centered production with minimal coordination.

Table 3 summarizes the findings along the five named variables and gives a comparative overview.

[Table 3 about here]

Discussion and conclusion

In this article, we have analyzed to what extent PSM organizations in six European countries have reorganized their newsrooms and restructured their workflows in order to adapt to an increasingly digital media environment, elaborating especially on distinct challenges and opportunities faced by PSM. Our interviews with senior editors and managers at those organizations have shown that digitization has put them under pressure to move away from a production and distribution model focused only on TV and radio and to adopt multi-platform approaches. This process creates an opportunity for newsrooms to be reorganized and workflows restructured in order to use work efficiencies and to coordinate news distribution across different platforms. However, the extent to which this has been accomplished differs hugely. Full integration is not even always seen as desirable because the requirements of platforms are too different, and journalists may not have the capacity to cover multiple platforms, channels or programs. (And perhaps because not all PSM face the kinds of pressures to cut costs that many private sector media have handled in part through integration.)

Our analysis has made clear that PSM approaches to convergence are path-dependent and deeply rooted in historical, political, and institutional factors (see also Brevini 2013). In France, Italy, and Poland, PSM news operations have historically been very fragmented across programming for radio and TV. In Italy, but also France, this fragmented structure mirrors the political landscape as the different channels stand for different political positions. Even in environments without pronounced "political parallelism" (Mancini 2000, 266; Hallin and Mancini 2004), diversity requirements can complicate integration efforts in similar ways. This is, for example, reflected in the organizational structure of German ARD, consisting of nine regional organizations, delivering content to the newsrooms of ARD-Aktuell in Hamburg. Apart from that, it is also plausible that many smaller units are less at risk of influence by powerful actors like politicians than a more centralized one.

However, the requirement and norm of diversity and newsroom integration do not need to contradict each other. For example, the approach chosen by the BBC, joint newsgathering coupled with platform-specific production, shows one possible solution for more efficiency and coordination, while at the same time accounting for diversity.

In Italy, France and Poland, this editorial fragmentation has been replicated in the digital age. As a consequence, the first challenge for these PSM has been to centralize their online efforts under a single website and newsroom. Ironically, the most balkanized PSM, in which separate channels or programs each operate their own newsrooms, may exhibit tighter integration between the traditional newsrooms and their individual news websites as they sit together in joint newsrooms. However, this relationship might also be limited to a cross-promotion of content instead of a deeper integration.

The centralizing of online news production has not been an easy undertaking, as illustrated by the Italian case: Centralization means that power, personnel, and resources move, sparking resistance from established constituencies. It seems that a centralization of online news offers is a conditional step for further integration of different media platforms. However, once online news is established as an independent operation with its own newsroom, it may be a catalyst for further integration and coordination across radio, TV, and online news.

The following figure 1 illustrates the relationship between centralization efforts and integration at the PSM in our sample.

[*Figure 1 about here*]

Previous research focused on smaller or regional PSM organizations has also noted internal competition among different media of origin as a factor complicating cross-media work or integration (Erdal 2007; Larrondo et al. 2012; Micó, Masip, and Domingo 2013). However, this plays out in a more intense way in larger organizations with multiple newsrooms for TV and radio, each having online units. Although our research focuses on the organizational level rather than on the micro-level of journalistic work and attitudes, we also find hints that cultural clashes of online, radio and TV journalists can be a complicating factor (see e.g. Singer 2004; Erdal 2008, 2009; Bulck and Tambuyzer 2013).

Our analysis has mostly focused on internal challenges by interviewing senior editors and managers within the PSM organizations. However, we also briefly want to touch on the influence of external challenges to integration. For example, a highly regulated media sector and strong labor unions in France have been seen by the interviewees as an obstacle to online centralization and newsroom integration. They illustrated the strong role of politics and labor unions with regard to their news channel that was seen as a necessary condition by the organization to start a centralized online newsroom. A stronger influence of politics on PSM development is generally described for France and Italy than, for example, Northern European or Atlantic countries (see Hallin and Mancini 2004; Brevini 2013).

More attention is needed to the influence of economic factors (i.e. the levels of PSM funding); our contextualization shows that while funding seems a necessary condition for successful integration, it is insufficient in itself to explain the adaptation process. As the data showed, while BBC and Yle are indeed comparatively well-funded organizations (although Yle is in total a small organization), the PSM in France and especially Italy and Poland have a clearly lower per capita funding. However, the case of Germany, where PSM also enjoy a comparatively high budget, illustrates that funding does not in itself lead to integration. On the other hand, it is also not the case that the organizations that are under most economic pressure, are most open to integration in order to allocate resources most efficiently. While the economic motivation is a variable discussed for private sector media (see e.g. Quinn 2005), future studies can also shed more light on this for PSM.

The interviews also suggest that the urgency of digital development and integration efforts is associated with the reach for TV news in a country. Simply put, as long as TV news is seen as reaching a significant audience and the online audience is seen as small by comparison, the pressure to move is lower. This dynamic is the opposite of that seen in many newspapers, where online audiences have generally been wider than offline audiences. Furthermore, the interviews have revealed that achieving full integration is not a uniform goal in all countries. In France, Italy and Poland, a centralized online newsroom is already seen as a big step, although it remains separate from radio and TV; arguments against integration include the specialist knowledge and skills every medium requires and different publication rhythms. In fact, a closer view in the fully integrated newsrooms at Yle and the BBC have also revealed that there are journalists trained to be able to deliver to all three media, but in fact do not work for them every day. Apart from that, there are also still specialists for just one medium.

To summarize, external as well as internal factors play a role in how PSM organizations have restructured or are reorganizing their newsrooms and workflows. This can lead to different outcomes with regards to different states of progress, but also different solutions. There is clearly not one path towards digitization for PSM, but different paths shaped by different internal and external forces – and not all of them lead to newsroom integration.

As digitization is a dynamic process, the internal and external factors identified here will continue to shape in combination how PSM organizations adapt to the digital media environment. While our data is a snapshot from 2015 to 2017, the implications are thus much broader, and we shed light on the specific factors influencing the path-dependent development of public service news. To understand the development of PSM as it is influenced by many different forces, we have taken a broad approach and included a range of countries and organizations to ensure a sample with meaningful variation (rather than single or limited number of case studies). We believe we have shown how this can be a useful approach to explore similarities/differences in how PSM organize their news production, and help identify the different and enduring factors that help account for these differences in a more systematic way than in-depth studies of single organizations can alone.

References

Anderson, Chris W. 2013. *Rebuilding the News. Metropolitan Journalism in the Digital Age*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Boczkowski, Pablo J. 2004. *Digitizing the News. Innovation in Online Newspapers*. New Baskerville: MIT Press.

Brevini, Benedetta. 2013. *Public Service Broadcasting Online: A Comparative European Policy Study of PSB 2.0*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Brüggemann, Michael, Sven Engesser, Florin Büchel, Edda Humprecht, and Laia Castro. 2014. "Hallin and Mancini Revisited: Four Empirical Types of Western Media Systems." *Journal of Communication* 64 (6): 1037–1065. doi:10.1111/jcom.12127.

Cornia, Alessio, Annika Sehl, and Rasmus Kleis Nielsen. 2016. *Private Sector Media and Digital News*. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford.

Cottle, Simon, and Mark Ashton. 1999. "From BBC Newsroom to BBC Newscentre: On Changing Technology and Journalist Practices." *Convergence* 5 (3): 22–43. doi:10.1177/135485659900500304.

Dailey, Larry, Lori Demo, and Mary Spillman. 2005. "The Convergence Continuum: A Model for Studying Collaboration Between Media Newsrooms." *Atlantic Journal of Communication* 13 (3):150–68. doi:10.1207/s15456889ajc1303_2.

Deuze, Mark. 2004. "What Is Multimedia Journalism? Professional Identity and Ideology of Journalists Reconsidered." *Journalism Studies* 5 (2): 139–152. doi:10.1080/1461670042000211131.

Domingo, David, Ramón Salaverría, Juan Miguel Aguado, Ma Ángeles Cabrera, Concha Edo, Pere Masip, Koldobika Meso, et al. 2007. "Four Dimensions of Journalistic Convergence: A Preliminary Approach to Current Media Trends at Spain." 8th International Symposium on Online Journalism, Austin, Texas, USA. https://rua.ua.es/dspace/bitstream/10045/19586/1/comunicacioAustinInfotendenciasMarDomingo.pdf.

Donders, Karen, and Hallvard Moe. 2011. Exporting the Public Value Test: The Regulation of Public Broadcasters' New Media Services Across Europe. Göteborg: Nordicom.
Duhe, Sonya Forte, Melissa Marie Mortimer, and San San Chow. 2004. "Convergence in TV Newsrooms: A Nationwide Look." *Convergence* 10 (2): 81–89. doi:10.1177/135485650401000206.
Dupagne, Michel, and Bruce Garrison. 2006. "The Meaning and Influence of Convergence: A Qualitative Case Study of Newsroom Work at the Tampa News Center." *Journalism Studies* 7 (2): 237–255. doi:10.1080/14616700500533569.
Erdal, Ivar John. 2007. "Negotiating Convergence in News Production." In *Ambivalence Towards Convergence*, edited by Tanja Storsul and Dagny Stuedahl, 73–85. Göteberg: Nordicom.
———. 2008. "Cross-media News Journalism. Institutional, Professional and Textual Strategies and Practices in Multi-platform News Production." PhD diss., University of Oslo.
———. 2009. "Cross-media (Re)Production Cultures." *Convergence* 15 (2): 215–231. doi:10.1177/1354856508105231.
European Audiovisual Observatory. 2016. Yearbook 2015: Television, VOD, Cinema and Video in 39 European States: Markets and Players, Services and Usage. Strasbourg: European Audiovisual Observatory [Electronic Ressource].
Gago, Manuel, Xosé López, Xosé Pereira, Idoia Portilla, Carlos Toural, Moisés Limia, and Teresa de la Hera. 2009. "Creating an Index to Calculate the Level of Convergence of a Medium." 10th International Symposium on Online Journalism, Austin Texas. https://online.journalism.utexas.edu/2009/papers/Gagoetal09.pdf.
García Avilés, José A., and Miguel Carvajal. 2008. "Integrated and Cross-Media Newsroom Convergence." *Convergence* 14 (2): 221–239. doi:10.1177/1354856507087945.
García Avilés, José A., Andy Kaltenbrunner, and Klaus Meier. 2014. "Media Convergence Revisited: Lessons Learned on Newsroom Integration in Austria, Germany and Spain." *Journalism Practice* 8 (5): 573–584. doi:10.1080/17512786.2014.885678.
García Avilés, José A., Klaus Meier, Andy Kaltenbrunner, Miguel Carvajal, and Daniela Kraus. 2009. "Newsroom Integration in Austria, Spain and Germany: Models of Media Convergence." *Journalism Practice* 3 (3): 285–303. doi:10.1080/17512780902798638.
Hallin, Daniel C., and Paolo Mancini. 2004. *Comparing Media Systems. Three Models of Media and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Hanretty, Chris. 2011. *Public Broadcasting and Political Interference*. Abingdon, New York: Routledge.
Hemmingway, Emma. 2008. *Into the Newsroom: Exploring the Digital Production of Regional Television News*. London: Routledge.
Larrondo, Ainara, José Larrañaga, Koldo Meso, and Irati Agirreazkuenaga. 2012. "The Convergence Process in Public Audiovisual Groups. The Case of the Basque Public Radio and Television (EITB)." *Journalism Practice* 6 (5–6): 788–797. doi: 10.1080/17512786.2012.667282.
Larrondo, Ainara. 2014. "News Production in the 'Post-broadcasting' Era: BBC Scotland's Move Towards Convergence." *Media Culture & Society* 36 (7): 935–951. doi:10.1177/0163443714536078.

Larrondo, Ainara, David Domingo, Ivar John Erdal, Pere Masip, and Hilde van den Bulck. 2016. "Opportunities and Limitations of Newsroom Convergence: A Comparative Study on European Public Service Broadcasting Organisations." *Journalism Studies* 17 (3): 277–300. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2014.977611.

Lee-Wright, Peter. 2009. "Culture Shock: New Media and Organizational Change in the BBC." In *New Media, Old News: Journalism and Democracy in the Digital Age*, edited by Natalie Fenton, 71–86. Los Angeles: Sage.

Mancini, Paolo. 2000. "Political Complexity and Alternative Models of Journalism: The Italian Case." In *De-Westernizing Media Studies*, edited by James Curran and Myung-Jin Park, 264–278. London: Routledge.

Meier, Klaus. 2007. "Innovations in Central European Newsrooms: Overview and Case Study." *Journalism Practice* 1 (1): 4–19. doi:10.1080/17512780601078803.

———. 2009. "Germany: Newsroom Innovations and Newsroom Convergence." In *Merging Media, Converging Newsrooms*, edited by Natascha Fioretti and Stephan Russ-Mohl, 37–49. Lugano, Milan: Casagrande.

Menke, Manuel, Susanne Kinnebrock, Sonja Kretzschmar, Ingrid Aichberger, Marcel Broersma, Roman Hummel, Susanne Kirchhoff, Dimitri Prandner, Nelson Ribeiro, and Ramón Salaverría. 2018. "Convergence Culture in European Newsrooms: Comparing Editorial Strategies for Cross-Media News Production in Six Countries." *Journalism Studies* 19 (6): 881–904. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2016.1232175.

Micó, Josep Lluís, Pere Masip, and David Domingo. 2013. "To Wish Impossible Things: Convergence as a Process of Diffusion of Innovation in an Actor-network." *International Communication Gazette* 75 (1): 118–137. doi:10.1177/1748048512461765.

Newman, Nic, Richard Fletcher, Antonis Kalogeropoulos, David A. L. Levy, and Rasmus Kleis Nielsen. 2017. *Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2017*. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.

N.N. 2017. "RAI DG Campo Dall'Orto Resignation Becomes Effective (2)." *Ansa.it*, June 1, 2017. http://www.ansa.it/english/news/2017/06/01/rai-dg-campo-dallorto-resignation-becomes-effective-2_496c6b1c-e427-4ef5-ba21-c5fb695eb2c1.html.

Nowak, Eva. 2014. "Autonomy and Regulatory Frameworks of Public Service Media in the Triangle of Politics, the Public and Economy: A Comparative Approach." Working Paper. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.

Quandt, Thorsten, and Jane B. Singer. 2009. "Convergence and Cross-Platform Content Production." In *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*, edited by Karin Wahl-Jorgensen and Thomas Hanitzsch, 130–144. New York: Routledge.

Quinn, Stephen. 2005. "Convergence's Fundamental Question." *Journalism Studies* 6 (1): 29–38. doi:10.1080/1461670052000328186.

Robinson, Sue. 2011. "Convergence Crises: News Work and News Space in the Digitally Transforming Newsroom." *Journal of Communication* 61 (6): 1122–1141. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2011.01603.x

Sehl, Annika, Alessio Cornia, and Rasmus Kleis Nielsen. 2016. *Public Service News and Digital Media*. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford.

Sehl, Annika, Alessio Cornia, and Rasmus Kleis Nielsen. 2017. *Developing Digital News in Public Service Media*. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford.

Singer, Jane B. 2004. “Strange Bedfellows? The Diffusion of Convergence in Four News Organizations.” *Journalism Studies* 5 (1): 3–18. doi:10.1080/1461670032000174701.

Tameling, Klaske, and Marcel Broersma. 2013. “De-converging the Newsroom: Strategies for Newsroom Change and Their Influence on Journalism Practice.” *International Communication Gazette* 75 (1): 19–34. doi:10.1177/1748048512461760.

Thurman, Neil, and Ben Lupton. 2008. “Convergence Calls: Multimedia Storytelling at British News Websites.” *Convergence: The International Journal of Research Into New Media Technologies* 14 (4): 439–455. doi:10.1177/1354856508094662.

Usher, Nikki. 2014. *Making News at The New York Times.* Ann Abor: The University of Michigan Press.

Van den Bulck, Hilde. 2008. “Can PSB Stake Its Claim in a Media World of Digital Convergence? The Case of the Flemish PSB Management Contract Renewal From an International Perspective.” *Convergence* 14 (3): 335–350. doi:10.1177/1354856508091085.

Van den Bulck, Hilde, and Sil Tambuyzer. 2013. “Collisions of Convergence: Flemish News Workers’ and Management’s Perceptions of the Impact of PSB Newsroom Integration on Journalistic Practices and Identities.” *International Communication Gazette* 75 (1): 54–75. doi:10.1177/1748048512461762.

Wallace, Sue. 2013. “The Complexities of Convergence Multiskilled Journalists Working in BBC Regional Multimedia Newsrooms.” *International Communication Gazette* 75 (1): 99–117. doi:10.1177/1748048512461764.

Appendices

Table 1. The PSM in Europe: a breakdown of revenue (2015)

Country	Organization	Total revenue (m EUR)	% Public revenue	Public revenues per capita
Finland	Yle	472	98%	84 EUR
France	Radio France	682.9	84%	46 EUR
	France Télévisions	3,139.3	79%	
Germany	ARD	6,780.8	86%	94 EUR
	ZDF	2,110.1	90%	
Italy	Rai	2,493.1	66%	30 EUR
Poland	Polskie Radio	68.3	64%	4 EUR
	TVP	392.3	27%	
UK	BBC	6,650.2	81%	83 EUR

Data source: European Audiovisual Observatory (2016). For public revenues per capita: our own calculation based on EAO (2016) data on public revenues in 2015 and World Bank data on the number of inhabitants per country in 2015.The figure for the BBC's total revenue includes the turnover of BBC Worldwide and other global commercial activities as well as licence fee revenue, in line with the methodology of the EAO. The figure for the ARD's total revenue includes all nine regional ARD organisations like BR, NDR or WDR.

Table 2. The PSM's weekly offline/online reach in six European countries

Country	Public service news weekly offline reach (TV)	Public service news weekly online reach
Finland	65%	32%
France	37%	12%
Germany (ARD/ZDF)	ARD: 57% ZDF: 46%	ARD: 13% ZDF: 7%
Italy	75%	16%
Poland	38%	18%
UK	61%	47%

Data source: Newman et al. (2017) and additional analysis on the basis of data from digitalnewsreport.org. Public service news based on Q5a/b "Which, if any, of the following have you used to access news in the last week?" Calculations include: for Finland, Yle News (offline) and Yle News online (online); for France, France Télévisions news (offline) and Franceinfo (online); for German ARD, Tagesschau, Tagesthemen etc. (offline) and ARD News online (online); for German ZDF, heute, heute-journal etc. (offline) and ZDF News online (online); for Italy, Rai News (Tg1, Tg2, Tg3, TgR, RaiNews24) (offline) and Rai News online (online); for Poland, TVP News (including TVP Info, TVP1 and TVP2) (offline) and TVP News (TVP.info) (online); for the UK, BBC News (offline) and BBC News online (online)

Table 3. Newsroom integration at European PSM along five core variables

	Yle	**BBC**	**ARD**	**ZDF**	**Rai**	**Radio France and France Télévisions**	**Polskie Radio and Telewizja Polska (TVP)**
Newsroom structure	One central integrated newsroom	One central integrated newsroom	Separated newsrooms according to platforms (TV and online), but next to each other	One central newsroom (for TV and online) with additional room for space reason, but little integrated approach (see below).	Separated newsrooms according to platforms (with one centralized online newsroom, but fragmentation around)	Separated newsrooms according to platforms (with one joint centralized online newsroom for both organisations)	Separated newsrooms according to platforms (with separate centralized online newsrooms in both organizations)
Editorial planning	Topics/stories primary in the workflows, platforms secondary and only addressed at the end of the production process.	Topics/stories primary in the workflows, platforms secondary and only addressed at the end of the production process.	Platforms at the center of planning process, but coordination.	Platforms at the center of planning process, but coordination and partly cross-media-collaboration.	Platforms dictate workflows.	Platforms dictate workflows.	Platforms dictate workflows.
Production process	Journalists gather materials and can be asked to produce for all platforms. Few	Journalists gather materials for all platforms, but production is	Journalists work generally for one platform. In case of breaking-news,	Journalists work generally for one platform. For certain smaller projects they	Journalists work only for one platform.	Journalists work only for one platform.	Journalists work only for one platform.

	remain platform specialists.	according to platforms.	TV-journalists can support the online newsroom.	work across platforms.			
Publishing rhythm	Online/mobile first as strategic principle.	Online first as strategic principle.	Platform editors decide autonomously.	Platform editors decide autonomously.	Platform editors decide autonomously.	Platform editors decide autonomously.	Platform editors decide autonomously.
Multi-skilling among editorial staff	Generally, yes (with few specialists remaining).	Multi-skilling is required for newsgathering team, but on the output side of the platforms, specialization is considered necessary.	Skills generally focus mainly on one specific platform.	Skills generally focus mainly on one specific platform.	Skills generally focus mainly on one specific platform.	Skills generally focus mainly on one specific platform.	Skills generally focus mainly on one specific platform.
Overall model	**Integrated approach**	**Integrated approach**	**Ad hoc or project-based cross-media collaborations**	**Ad hoc or project-based cross-media collaborations**	**Platform-centered production**	**Platform-centered production**	**Platform-centered production**

Figure 1. Relationship between centralization of online news operations and newsroom integration at PSM in six European countries.

