

Journalism Practice in a Changing Newsroom: Exploring Journalistic Convergence Practices in Ghana

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Abstract

Media convergence practice has gained the attention of scholars in the past two decades. Several scholars have examined how media convergence is practiced within different contexts. This study, through the lens of the Media Convergence Theory, draws on observation and interview data to explore how journalistic convergence is practiced within the media landscape in Ghana, since this phenomenon is fairly new within the Ghanaian context. The findings of the study show that the selected media organisations practice journalistic convergence with different features. Thus, in terms of newsroom convergence, these organisations employ a hybrid approach to the various newsroom convergence models identified in the literature. The findings also indicate that journalists working for the two media organisations are required to multitask by employing a multiskilling strategy in their newsrooms, although they do not receive any additional compensation. Furthermore, multimedia content production is at the heart of journalistic convergence in these two media organisations. They make a conscious effort to integrate multimedia elements into the content they produce to serve multiple platforms. The findings of the study highlight the importance of journalistic convergence in the practice of journalism in Ghana and add to the existing argument in the literature that different media organisations practice the phenomenon to suit their operational needs and specific organisational requirements.

Keywords

Media Convergence, Journalistic Convergence, Journalism Practice, Changing Newsroom, Ghana

1. Introduction

The current media landscape is experiencing an intense and protracted transition

driven by technological innovations, fundamentally reshaping journalistic practices across global contexts (Self, 2020). Technological advancements have dramatically altered how journalists source, package, and disseminate news, challenging traditional media production paradigms and necessitating comprehensive scholarly investigation (d'Haenens & Loris, 2025; Jamil, 2022). Media convergence emerges as a critical conceptual framework for understanding these transformative processes. Singer's (2004) seminal definition conceptualizes convergence as a complex combination of technologies, products, staff, and geographical considerations across previously distinct media provinces. García-Avilés (2006) further elaborates on this perspective, identifying four interconnected dimensions of convergence: technological, ownership, communicative, and professional, each representing a nuanced aspect of media's evolutionary trajectory.

The economic imperative intersects with technological innovation, creating a complex media production and distribution ecosystem. Convergence serves dual organizational objectives: reducing operational expenses while expanding audience reach (Marc, 2012). Despite the transformative processes occurring within media, significant challenges continue to persist. The professional culture of journalism often resists radical change due to deeply entrenched routines and traditional practices, which create substantial institutional inertia (Saridou et al., 2017).

The professional dimension of convergence represents a particularly significant transformation. Killebrew (2004) emphasizes that professional convergence concentrates on modifying professional practices within media organizations, fundamentally restructuring content production and distribution mechanisms. This evolution has precipitated a multi-platform content strategy, with media organizations developing comprehensive digital ecosystems through websites, social media platforms, and diverse digital channels (Champion, 2015; Jenkins, 2006; Zhang, 2024). Technological innovations have catalyzed profound changes in newsroom structures and journalistic practices. Digital devices—smartphones, tablets, and computers—now enable unprecedented information distribution, creating trans-media implications that challenge traditional media boundaries (Jamil & Appiah-Adjei, 2019; Jarventie-Thesleff et al., 2014). The professional culture of journalism represents a complex terrain of resistance and adaptation. Saridou et al. (2017) argue that journalists often resist changes related to novel skill sets and emerging professional identities. This is because newsrooms are deeply ingrained with routines that have become institutionalized, making technological and procedural innovations particularly challenging to implement (Ryfe, 2013).

Evidence from the literature indicates that many media organisations have introduced journalistic convergence (Larrondo et al., 2016; Zhang, 2012). This has resulted in an increased focus of research on journalistic convergence (e.g., Erdal, 2011; Infotendencias Group, 2012; Kaltenbrunner & Meier, 2013; Yoedjadi et al., 2021). Whereas there have been studies on journalistic convergence, the majority of the studies are situated within the Western context (e.g., García-Avilés & Carvajal, 2008; García-Avilés et al., 2014; Gu, 2016; Hassan & Elmasry, 2019;

Larrondo et al., 2016). In the African context, media convergence, and specifically journalistic convergence, is an emerging phenomenon and Ghana is no exception to this phenomenon. This is because reporters may now report on news events, compile the data digitally, and send it to editors for publishing (Jamil & Appiah-Adjei, 2019). Numerous media outlets in Ghana create news content for cross-media dissemination, which reflects shifts in the journalism industry's organisational structures as well as modifications to the news creation and distribution process (Jamil & Appiah-Adjei, 2019). The implementation of this innovation, according to media owners, has expanded the breadth of news accessibility and inclusivity (Fosu & Akpojivi, 2015). Again, because media convergence allows the media to reach a wider audience, make more money, and maintain their prominence in the media landscape, media managers in Ghana view it as a survival business model for the media industry (Yeboah-Banin & Adjin-Tettey, 2023). Therefore, it should come as no surprise that media convergence is being used by Ghana's top five media firms. Social media accounts and online news portals have been included in the daily operations of these traditional media outlets. These sources give their consumers access to news material via digital platforms by offering written pieces, photos, videos, and interactive elements. For instance, news portals for legacy media such as Graphic Communications Group Limited, Joy News, Adom FM, Citi FM, and Peace FM provide their audiences with multimedia content. Once more, it is noted that to connect with their dispersed audience, a large number of radio and television stations broadcast their shows live online. On these media companies' social media pages and online news portals, listeners can access the radio. Furthermore, media convergence in Ghana is facilitated by the development of mobile applications by different media providers. With the help of these apps, users may get news, live radio, and video content in one place (Jamil & Appiah-Adjei, 2019). For example, the Citi Newsroom App is a mobile app offered by Citi FM that enables users to watch videos, read articles, and listen to live radio broadcasts. The conventional media (television, radio, and newspapers) in Ghana have less financial clout now that the media ecosystem has changed due to new media technologies. Therefore, to be competitive in the media business, they must diversify their operations. This has brought about survival tactics like co-creation and multiplatform content delivery (Yeboah-Banin & Adjin-Tettey, 2023).

However, Fosu and Akpojivi (2015) note that the relatively recent integration of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) suggests that the continent's media landscape is still grappling with complex technological transformations. The concept of newsroom convergence remains underexplored in Africa (Gicobi, 2018). Similarly, within the Ghanaian context, research on these innovations in Ghanaian newsrooms appears to be limited. Existing studies primarily focus on the integration of new media technologies within traditional newsroom routines and how journalists adhere to professional practices (e.g., Gomez-Mensah, 2016; Jamil & Appiah-Adjei, 2019; Zakaria & Ofori-Birikorang, 2018). Alt-

though the concept of media convergence has been in academic literature for over two decades, it remains relatively new in Africa, largely due to the late and slow introduction of ICT on the continent (Fosu & Akpojivi, 2015). This may explain why empirical attention to media convergence, particularly journalistic convergence, has been limited, despite its growing prevalence in Ghana. Therefore, this study aims to investigate how media organisations in Ghana practice journalistic convergence, focusing on two legacy media organizations: the Multimedia Group's Joy News and Kessben Media.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Media Convergence Practice

Different scholars have different definitions of media convergence; however, the consensus in the literature is that media convergence is the blending of new media with old media such as radio, television, and print to create and disseminate content (Yoedtadi et al., 2021). Digitisation is the key to media convergence. Different forms of media can be combined thanks to digital technology. The benefit of digital media is that it eliminates the distinctions between print (magazines, newspapers), electronic (radio, television), and conventional media (Jenkins, 2006). Media convergence is seen as more than a technological shift; it involves changes in the industry, market, and audience behaviours (Jenkins, 2006). This means that the effect of media convergence goes beyond the altering of formats that can be aired on various platforms but also includes promotion and cooperation, as well as consolidation within the media industry, and finally a shift in how the general public consumes media content (Jenkins, 2006; Yoedtadi et al., 2021).

The contemporary African media landscape presents a complex environment characterized by technological adaptation and institutional reconfiguration, which requires careful scholarly examination of media convergence dynamics. Newsroom convergence in Africa is a critical area of research, with Van Noort's (2007) pioneering work in South Africa providing foundational insights into this emerging phenomenon. Her research at the Mail and Guardian newspaper revealed the complex communication challenges associated with newsroom transformation, including distinct production cycles, time management issues, and cultural resistance to technological integration. In the Kenyan context, Mudhai's (2011) study of digital openness and networked journalism demonstrated advanced structural adaptations. The Nation Media Group and the Standard Media Group exemplified strategic newsroom restructuring by creating dedicated digital platform teams specifically tasked with translating traditional media content for online audiences. Juma's (2013) qualitative investigation further highlighted the nuanced challenges of implementing convergence journalism, emphasizing resource limitations and training inadequacies that hinder comprehensive newsroom transformation. Comparative analyses reveal the multifaceted nature of newsroom convergence. Gicobi's (2018) study of the Nation Media Group's business desk emphasized the dynamic nature of convergence practices, revealing that multimedia content production

introduces increased workloads and complex production demands. This finding aligns with broader scholarly observations regarding the fundamental reshaping of journalistic workflows in the digital era.

The media landscape in Ghana also provides valuable insights into newsroom transformation. [Fosu and Akpojivi's \(2015\)](#) research demonstrated how innovative media platforms foster greater citizen inclusion, with local language programming enhancing accessibility and democratic participation. [Gomez-Mensah's \(2016\)](#) investigation at Ghana Television (GTV) traced technological shifts in newsroom practices, documenting transitions from tape-based to digital recording technologies, which fundamentally altered news gathering, production, and distribution processes. Empirical investigations highlight profound transformations in journalistic practices. [Jamil and Appahi-Adjei's \(2019\)](#) multi-method approach illustrated the transformative potential of mobile journalism, showcasing improved journalist mobility, expedited news production, and enhanced professional safety. [Zakaria's \(2017\)](#) research on social media use in Ghanaian radio stations provided nuanced insights into the integration of digital technologies within traditional journalistic frameworks. The literature demonstrates that African media landscapes are undergoing dynamic technological adaptation. The emergence of dedicated digital teams, multiplatform content strategies, and innovative approaches to news gathering and distribution underscores a profound shift in media production paradigms in Africa ([Aduda's, 2016](#)). This contributes to a deeper understanding of convergence as a complex socio-technical process embedded in broader institutional and professional contexts. The ongoing digital revolution demands continuous scholarly attention to comprehensively understand the intricate interactions between technological innovation, evolving newsroom practices, and institutional change.

2.2. Journalistic Convergence

[Yoedtadi et al. \(2021\)](#) postulate that convergence also manifests in journalism practice. Thus, technological demands require news editors and reporters to merge. The audience is now fragmented, forcing media companies to consolidate their operations to meet the needs of the fragmented audience ([Anton, 2016](#)). Consequently, journalistic convergence has been delineated into three types. These are newsroom convergence, newsgathering convergence, and content convergence ([Anton, 2016](#); [Dudi, 2018](#); [Jose and Miguel, 2009](#)). [Dave \(2011\)](#) conceptualizes newsroom convergence as a dynamic process whereby journalists from diverse platforms unite, creating synergistic work environments that facilitate cross-platform content generation. This model enables remarkable professional flexibility, with professionals like photographers potentially generating content across multiple platforms, fundamentally reimagining traditional job descriptions. Thus, newsroom convergence is defined as the process whereby journalists of different platforms unite themselves in a single space and produce content for multiple platforms ([Dave, 2011](#); [Larrondo et al., 2016](#); [Zhang, 2012](#)). The literature on newsroom con-

vergence highlights various models that provide a conceptual framework for understanding newsroom convergence. [García-Avilés and Carvajal \(2008\)](#) proposed models of multimedia newsroom convergence to address gaps in the Convergence Continuum Model introduced by [Dailey, Demo, and Spillman \(2005\)](#). The Convergence Continuum Model defines news convergence as a sequence of behavior-based activities that demonstrate the cooperation and interaction phases of journalists across newspapers, television stations, and web organizations, involving news partnerships at five distinct levels. Each level comprises a series of activities that influence the convergence continuum. The fundamental assumption of this model is that any form of convergence that does not achieve full integration is merely a stage in the convergence process. However, [García-Avilés and Carvajal \(2008\)](#) contend that convergence is non-linear and does not necessarily require complete integration before it can occur. This means that journalists do not need to share a single newsroom to produce news content for multiple platforms to achieve convergence. They argue that cooperation can involve the exchange of information between journalists in different newsrooms, reporters creating content for more than one platform, and various types of content repackaging for diverse platforms. In some cases, a single newsroom may produce news for multiple platforms. To support their claims and challenge [Dailey et al.'s \(2005\)](#) convergence continuum model, [García-Avilés and Carvajal \(2008\)](#) identified the integrated and the cross-media models of newsroom convergence. The integrated model aims to create a unified journalistic culture that transcends traditional media boundaries. It ensures that the internal design and structure for multimedia production are centralized within a single newsroom, managed by a central news desk ([García-Avilés and Carvajal \(2008\)](#); [García-Avilés, Kaltenbrunner & Meier, 2014](#)). In contrast, the cross-media model of newsroom convergence integrates resources and organizational strategies, whereby news content production for multimedia platforms hinges on collaboration ([García-Avilés, Kaltenbrunner & Meier, 2014](#)). In this model, cross-media efforts are seen as a means to achieve larger goals rather than as a goal in themselves. Managers aim to reinforce the organization as a comprehensive news provider across all media platforms. Journalists may work in different newsrooms for various platforms, but they are united through multimedia coordinators and established work routines. Each medium retains its own culture regarding newsroom organization and activities. [García-Avilés, Kaltenbrunner, and Meier \(2014\)](#) advanced these models by adding the collaboration or isolated platform model. This model emphasizes more the collaboration between different newsrooms in an organization to produce and deliver content across platforms. It is important to note that none of these models exists in a pure form, and no media company analyzed in their study was exclusively dedicated to one of these models. The motivation for the practice has been attributed to its cost-effectiveness ([Saridou et al., 2017](#)), thus raising questions about the quality of journalism ([Tameling and Broesma, 2013](#)).

News gathering convergence, on the other hand, occurs when journalists are

required to apply multiskilling methods to work for multiple platforms. The news media's demand for multiskilled journalists is at its peak and has transformed the routines of newsgathering in the newsroom (Khan, 2022). Nygren (2014) asserts that multiskilling in journalism fosters greater creativity and grants more authority to individual journalists, allowing them greater autonomy in their everyday tasks, such as selecting subjects and stories. Concurrently, multiskilling serves as a tactic to boost productivity within newsrooms. However, the concept is not directly linked to the reduction of newsroom staff; instead, it represents a standard approach to organising work in contemporary news environments (Katzenberger, 2024).

In the realm of journalism, multiskilling is more commonly observed during newsgathering rather than in the production and distribution of news (Wallace, 2013). Multiskilling is progressively recognised as a competitive edge in the rapidly changing field of journalism, as expectations grow concerning the diverse range of editorial tasks involved in the journalism production process (Katzenberger, 2024). The idea of multiskilling has been pivotal in discussions about the escalating demands placed on journalists' professional abilities within journalism studies. One way to define multiskilling is the capacity to carry out tasks related to specific news processes across various media. It can also be viewed as a situation where one type of reporter takes on responsibilities that were once associated with a different category of workers, such as journalists adopting the role of technicians while fulfilling their responsibilities (Domingo et al., 2007). Journalists are now anticipated to partake in an expanding array of activities, such as creating content for social media, collaborating, or sourcing visual assets. This shift signifies a transformation towards a workforce that necessitates a varied skill set, emphasising the importance of adaptability and comprehensive expertise in modern roles (Katzenberger, 2024). The rise of multiskilling can be attributed to the convergence of production, reflecting a trend where news reporting occurs across multiple platforms in organisations that previously focused on just one medium (Wallace, 2013). Newsrooms and journalists are transitioning from a single-media approach to multimedia reporting (Saltzis & Dickinson, 2008). Journalists with multiskilling abilities create news content for multiple media outlets by utilising the necessary technological tools throughout each stage of the process. In the early 2000s, multiskilling was seen as a possible route for career advancement or, at the very least, a means of job security (Deuze, 2004). Saltzis and Dickinson (2008) found that while multiskilling was encouraged at the BBC, it was not compulsory. This dynamic led to the emergence of two categories of journalists: those who were valued for maintaining high journalistic standards without having a diverse skill set, and those who were appreciated for their varied abilities (Saltzis & Dickinson, 2008). Multiskilling encompasses the integration of formerly separate roles and editorial duties, effectively breaking down traditional barriers between positions (Carr, 2019). The definitions of multiskilling have also changed with the rise of integrated work routines in newsrooms, along with the growth of digital news

(Metykova & Waschkova Cisarova, 2023). It pertains to the merging of distinct skill profiles that arise from the continuous growth of tasks and expectations imposed on journalists, often driven by the digital evolution in the field (Katzenberger, 2024). Domingo et al. (2007) recognised three categories of multiskilling in the early 2000s. These include: media (where journalists create content across various media); issue (where journalists cover news related to different topics); and technical multiskilling (where reporters handle most technical production tasks). The study further established that media multiskilling was the most prevalent, followed by issue, with technical multiskilling being the least frequent in the 58 Spanish newsrooms selected for the study. Nygren (2014) contends that within the Swedish context, multiskilling is conceptualised in two ways, but not invariably interconnected. On one hand, it encompasses managing the entire process from newsgathering to distribution, while the other pertains to working on various platforms either simultaneously or at different times. There is therefore no universally accepted definition of multiskilling (Nygren, 2014). The current paper, therefore, argues that the disparities in the conceptualisation of multiskilling in the global literature reinforce Quinn and Filak's (2005) argument that convergence must be contextualised. Consequently, this study's focus on examining the nature of journalistic convergence prevalent within the Ghanaian context is in order.

In relation to content convergence, news can be presented or published in a multimedia form. Thus, the combination of text, images, audio, blogs, podcasts, or slideshows. The popularisation of multimedia elements in the newsroom is shaping journalistic practice in the newsroom (Khan, 2022). Thus, the art of storytelling, which incorporates text, audiovisuals, images, and graphics, is now prevalent in newsrooms. This has given birth to multimedia journalists. Deuze (2004) defines a multimedia story as the delivery of a news story package on a website utilising two or more media formats, such as (but not limited to) spoken and written language, music, moving and still images, graphic animations, alongside interactive and hypertext elements. Multimedia stories can captivate audiences by providing a comprehensive, distraction-free experience (Hiippala, 2017). Historically, journalism has continuously sought ways to merge various media types to craft engaging narratives. A case in point is how technological progress allowed American journalists to explore audiovisual formats in the early 20th century (Good, 2017). These innovative multimedia projects were considered essential for competing with other visually driven media, such as films and magazines. With the emergence of new media in the early 2000s, there arose both a desire and a necessity for the integration of multiple platforms within media organisations (Thurman & Lupton, 2008). Although there were concerns that the Internet might lead to a decline in journalistic storytelling, the advent of new media and technologies has opened up fresh opportunities for journalists to create immersive narratives, such as through multimedia storytelling (Ray, 2013). Furthermore, engaging multimedia storytelling requires that the various media formats should sup-

port rather than duplicate one another (Thurman & Lupton, 2008). The digital shift has given rise to new opportunities in journalism practice, making it possible to combine a variety of media modalities in journalistic products, such as, but not limited to, text, audio, video, photographs, and other visuals (Jacobson, 2012).

The above discussions aid this paper in examining how convergence has shaped the structure of the newsrooms, the newsgathering process, and the types of content produced by the selected media organisations within the Ghanaian context. Thus, this enabled the current study to identify the form of convergence implemented by these legacy media organisations relative to newsroom convergence, newsgathering convergence, and content convergence. This is important because African media organisations demonstrate remarkable resilience and innovation, strategically navigating the complex terrain of technological transformation while maintaining core journalistic principles of informative and engaging content production (Conroy-Krutz et al., 2024). This ongoing transformation, moreover, is enhancing the work of journalists in the newsrooms in Ghana. This is critical in the sense that the current study is premised on the argument that the media industry in Ghana, as has been seen in other parts of the world, is also going through a transition and this transition has altered their operations (Yeboah-Banin & Adjin-Tettey, 2023). However, within the Ghanaian context, even though one of the changes in the media has to do with the implementation of media convergence practices, literature has given less attention to the phenomenon.

3. Theoretical Framework

Media Convergence Theory

The media convergence theory, introduced by Jenkins (2006) in 2006, explains how content flows across various media platforms, highlights the cooperation among different media industries, and illustrates the behavior of media audiences who actively seek entertainment experiences. Jenkins argues that media convergence extends beyond just a technological shift; it has transformed the relationships among technologies, industries, markets, genres, and audiences. He posits that media convergence should be viewed as an ongoing process rather than an endpoint and emphasizes that it represents a cultural shift that redefines the connections among technology, industry, market, product types, and audiences. This cultural shift, according to Jenkins, precedes the development of technological infrastructure. The changes brought about by media convergence are evident across the same device, franchise, and company. Jenkins also asserts that the relationships between media institutions and practitioners are evolving due to this culture-oriented approach, leading to a re-evaluation of the conventional structure of media convergence and a reassessment of the social context at a smaller scale. This results in a closer connection between economics and media performance metrics.

Quandt and Singer (2009) further support this perspective, stating that the convergence approach involves producing consistent content across multiple media

platforms, including digital formats. They note that journalists are increasingly moving away from creating stories for a single platform and instead are gathering information as part of a content pool to be distributed across different formats, including the internet and portable devices like smartphones. In his seminal work, [Singer \(2004\)](#) defines media convergence as the merging of various media aspects that were previously separate. [Grant and Wilkinson \(2010\)](#) argue that the media convergence theory emphasizes the integration of different tools and equipment for news production and distribution, bringing together media, telecommunications, and computer industries.

The theory also proposes that new technologies merge different media, thereby redefining the media landscape. [Jenkins \(2006\)](#) points out that consumers' media experiences are shaped and sometimes disrupted by changes in communication and information technologies. Furthermore, media convergence can be seen as both a top-down process, driven by media organisations, and a bottom-up process, driven by consumers. On one hand, media organisations strive to continually produce news content across multiple platforms such as TV, radio, newspapers, and online sources, trying to broaden their income base and enhance audience engagement. On the other hand, audiences are learning to increase their participation in the flow of media content and interact with other users.

4. Methodology

This study adopts a qualitative research approach aimed at understanding the meanings that social actors assign to the phenomenon under investigation ([Creswell & Creswell, 2022](#); [Lindlof & Taylor, 2017](#)). Specifically, the research focuses on interpreting the model of newsroom convergence practiced by both the Multimedia Group's Joy News and Kessben Media. A multiple case study design was chosen for this research, as [Yin \(2018\)](#) and [Schoch \(2020\)](#) suggest that this design is suitable for gaining an in-depth understanding of contemporary phenomena such as newsroom convergence. The researcher aimed to explain the phenomenon of newsroom convergence within Joy News and Kessben Media, and the case study design proved to be effective in gathering detailed information. Data collection methods included observation and interviews. According to [Yin \(2018\)](#), employing a multiple-methods approach enhances data credibility, a point supported by [Creswell and Creswell \(2018\)](#), who argue that using various data collection methods helps provide ample information to achieve research objectives. Joy Brand and Kessben Media were purposively selected for this study based on the criteria for purposive sampling, which involves intentionally selecting participants who possess specific characteristics while excluding those who do not ([Lindlof & Taylor, 2017](#)). A preliminary study indicated that among five media houses practicing some form of newsroom convergence in Ghana, Multimedia Broadcasting Limited holds the highest radio market share at 20.2% and a leading television market share of 36.7% ([Media Foundation for West Africa, 2019](#)). Kessben Media ranked fourth with a market share of 3.6% and is notable for being the only top-

four media organisation located outside the Greater Accra Region, the hub of broadcasting in Ghana. The study involved interviews with 15 respondents from both media organisations, consisting of 2 managers and 13 journalists (6 from Multimedia Broadcasting Limited and 7 from Kessben Media). Among the journalists, four were editors, and nine were reporters. The selection of managers and editors was due to their expertise related to the phenomenon under study (Creswell & Creswell, 2018), as they played key roles in implementing media convergence in their respective organisations. The researcher did not begin the data collection process with a predetermined sample size, however, the sample size was influenced by data saturation (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The researcher truncated the data collection process when responses were becoming repetitive and no new information were coming from the subsequent interviewees.

The newsroom observations and interviews for each media organisation were conducted simultaneously. Data collected from the observations and interviews were transcribed and analysed thematically (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The study employed manual coding to identify the data segments relevant to the research topic, effectively reducing the large amount of data into smaller, more manageable volume (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). Each code pertained to something pertinent to the study's research questions. The current study prioritised the autonomy, well-being, safety, and dignity of research participants. To ensure compliance with research ethics standards, all participants were made to sign an informed consent form. The consent form was sent to each participants to thoroughly peruse and indicate areas of concerned. The researcher, together with the participants modified the consent form to address any ambiguity and enhance transparency before participants appended their signatures on the forms. Only those who consented to participate were interviewed. In furtherance, to ensure anonymity, participants' names were not disclosed; instead, they were represented by alphanumeric codes. The two managers were coded as MJ1 (Manager Joy 1) and MK2 (Manager Kessben 2), while the four editors were coded as EJ1 and EJ2 (Editors Joy 1 and 2) and EK1 and EK2 (Editors Kessben 1 and 2). The nine reporters were coded as RJ1 to RJ5 (Reporters Joy 1 to 5) and RK1 to RK4 (Reporters Kessben 1 to 4).

5. Findings and Discussion

5.1. Newsroom Convergence

Different newsroom convergence models have been implemented in various news organisations, each with distinct business strategies, newsroom structures, production processes, and cross-media delivery (Zhang, 2012). This research focuses on the nature of newsroom convergence practised at Kessben Media and Multimedia Group's Joy News in Ghana. The analysis of the data collected revealed that both media outlets utilise a hybrid newsroom convergence model. This hybrid newsroom convergence model refers to a newsroom convergence model that employs combined elements of other existing models. Notably, the identified models do not correspond to any pre-existing models recognised by scholars who have

studied this phenomenon in other contexts. Instead, each media organisation incorporates elements from the newsroom convergence models identified by García-Avilés and Carvajal (2008) and García-Avilés et al. (2014) in their respective studies. This was evident in the different ways these two media organisations have structured their newsroom architecture, management, and work routines.

Newsroom Architecture

The findings of the study revealed that both Joy News and Kessben Media utilized a single newsroom structure for delivering multiplatform news content. This single structure means that each of the media outlets produces news content for their multiple platforms—radio, television, and an online news portal—within a shared space. The researcher observed that journalists covering news for these various platforms worked collaboratively in one newsroom to deliver news to the audience. The interview data further revealed that both media outlets had similar strategies for converging their newsrooms. Specifically, before 2022, Kessben Media operated three separate newsrooms for its different platforms. The online newsroom was located on the third floor of the building, while both the radio and television newsrooms were situated on the second floor, albeit in different areas.

...we had three newsrooms, one for each platform. We first started with radio broadcast so the Radio newsroom was the first to be established. We then added another newsroom for TV when we started broadcasting via TV. The online newsroom was recently added because we were not operating a website for the media house until 2018... (MK1)

We merged the newsrooms from 2022 so now all our journalists are in one newsroom producing content for radio, TV and online (EK1).

Similarly, until 2020, Joy Brand's Radio and TV had separate newsrooms. However, with the onset of the convergence process that year, they decided to bring the news teams together in one large space. This collaborative approach allows them to produce content for all three platforms more effectively. *"The news teams were in separate rooms, but because of convergence, we came together in one big newsroom" (E1).*

Respondents from the two media outlets provided similar reasons for merging their newsrooms. The primary reason for the merger was to enhance cooperation and collaboration among journalists. Interview data revealed that it was challenging for journalists to work as a team due to the existence of separate newsrooms. Editors from Kessben Media and Joy News noted that the lack of effective collaboration among journalists led them to advise management to combine the newsrooms into a single space, allowing them to work together to produce quality content for television and radio. Observational data indicated that sufficient space was created in the merged newsroom for all journalists to operate comfortably. It was further observed that journalists could maintain direct eye contact without any architectural barriers. Additionally, journalists were able to move freely between desks, as there were no separating screens obstructing their interaction. This aligns with the integrated model of multimedia newsroom convergence developed

by García-Avilés and Carvajal (2008), which advocates for the use of a single newsroom. According to García-Avilés et al. (2014), a single newsroom structure facilitates better organisation under newsroom convergence. The observations at both newsrooms and the interview data confirmed that both Kessben Media and Joy News implemented a single newsroom approach, reflecting a characteristic of the integrated model. García-Avilés and Carvajal (2008) also argue that in a single newsroom structure, the absence of architectural separations allows for direct eye contact and greater interaction. This supports the argument made by Larrondo (2014), which suggests that a single newsroom fosters stronger connections among journalists collaborating to produce content for multiple platforms. Furthermore, this finding is consistent with research by Larrondo et al. (2016), which examined broadcasting organizations in the UK (BBC Scotland), Spain (CCMA and EITB), Norway (NRK), and Belgium (VRT). These organizations worked to remove common barriers to convergence, namely the physical distance between radio, television, and online teams. The goal was to promote proximity and face-to-face contact among journalists across all three platforms, thereby facilitating internal production processes related to newsgathering, information sharing, and news production across media.

It was further discovered from the gathered data that both Kessben Media and Joy News manage their newsrooms with multiple editors who report to a central editor. This means the newsrooms employ several gatekeepers to refine the news stories provided by reporters before publication. However, the reporting lines and level of coordination differ from one media outlet to another. The researcher observed that Kessben Media had distinct editors for television, radio, and one main editor. This main editor oversees the multimedia coordination of stories. Interview data revealed that prior to implementing a converged newsroom, Kessben Media operated three separate newsrooms for its three media platforms with just two editors—one for TV and one for radio. The online platform did not have its own editor.

...we initially had two editors when we were operating in the separate newsrooms. I was in charge of Radio and another person was in charge of the TV. As for online, management were yet to get an editor for them because it was new... (EK1)

In contrast, in the Joy News newsroom, there is a central editor to whom several other editors report. This structure differs from that of Kessben Media, which has designated editors for both radio and television who report to a central editor. At Joy News, however, every news programme has its editor. There are a total of six editors at Joy News: one central editor, one editor for online news, and four specific programme editors. As one source noted, “We have a central editor that several editors report to, so every show has its editor. All of these editors report to the senior editor or the managing news editor” (EJ2). These editors hold various roles, including editors and assistant editors, with clearly defined responsibilities.

This is what happens. we have a central editor that a number of editors report

to. Every major show has an editor. All these editors report to the senior editor or the managing news editor (EJ).

The researcher observed that in the converged newsroom at Kessben Media, all journalists worked together to produce content for three different platforms. However, each editor remained responsible for editing stories intended for their specific platforms. It was noted that the main editor was in charge of online publications and had the final authority to decide which stories should be prioritised across the various platforms and which platform should break the news first. Additionally, the main editor at Kessben Media needed to be briefed on stories by other editors before they were published. The relationship between the newsroom workflow and the management structure at Kessben Media and Joy News is illustrated in **Figure 1** and **Figure 2** below.



Figure 1. News flow at kessben media’s converged newsroom. Source: From the researcher’s field notes.

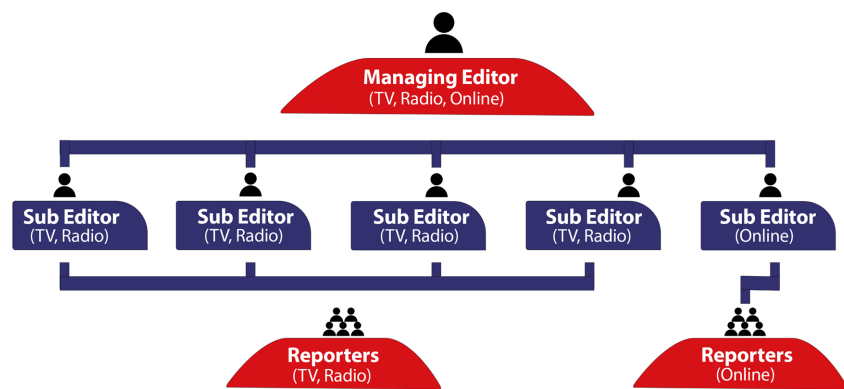


Figure 2. News flow at joy news converged Newsroom. Source: From the researcher’s field notes.

Findings from the observation data, as shown in **Figure 1**, reveal that the converged newsroom at Kessben Media employs a multi-step news flow process due

to the presence of multiple editors. News stories generated by reporters must initially be reviewed by the designated sub-editor responsible for the platform on which the story will be published before reaching the main editor. Specifically, news stories for both Radio and TV undergo scrutiny from two gatekeepers prior to publication, as indicated in **Figure 1**. The main editor also serves as the editor for the online platform. For example, in the newsroom, a Radio reporter would compile a story and present it to the Radio editor for editing. After the Radio editor completes the edits, the story is forwarded to the main editor for further input. If clarifications are needed, the Radio editor would reach out to the reporter for additional information. The main editor holds ultimate authority, approving the final draft before the story is broadcast on Radio. This same process is mirrored when a story is prepared for broadcast on TV or published on an online news portal. Furthermore, there is ongoing communication between the main editor and the other two sub-editors, who frequently interact with both reporters and fellow editors. In contrast, at Joy News (illustrated in **Figure 2**), reporters submit their stories to any of the sub-editors or programme editors for review. If necessary, the story is then sent to the central editor for further scrutiny before publication. These findings differ from the characteristics of a single-structure newsroom, as outlined by [García-Avilés & Carvajal \(2008\)](#) and [García-Aviles, Kaltenbrunner et al. \(2014\)](#), and instead align with the cross-media model. Their research indicated that news organizations operating within a single-structure newsroom for multimedia news production utilized a single editor responsible for coordinating all news stories before distributing them across multiple platforms. For example, in studies of newsroom convergence in media organizations in Spain, Austria, and Germany, [García-Aviles et al. \(2014\)](#) found that they employed a single newsroom structure with only one editor. This finding is consistent with [García-Avilés & Carvajal's \(2008\)](#) integrated model. Conversely, the cross-media model operates with separate newsrooms and utilizes different editors, as described by [García-Avilés & Carvajal \(2008\)](#). However, the cases of Kessben Media and Joy News only partially conform to the assumptions of both models. The use of a single newsroom aligns with the integrated model, while the presence of multiple editors reflects features of the cross-media model of multimedia newsroom convergence. Thus, this study proposes a hybrid model of newsroom convergence to accurately describe the situation at Kessben Media and Joy News. This finding aligns with the media convergence theory's assertion that the merging of media platforms, content, and audiences emphasises the flow of information across multiple platforms and the collaboration between journalists. Thus any form of newsroom convergence is a necessary revolution in response to the emergence of the digital media landscape where platforms and audience engagement are interconnected.

5.2. Newsgathering Convergence

Findings from the data indicate that the work routines of journalists at Joy News

and Kessben Media have undergone significant changes. The concepts of multi-skilling and cross-platform delivery among journalists have become increasingly prevalent in these two newsrooms due to media convergence. Journalists are now expected to perform journalistic tasks across various platforms (Domingo et al., 2007). The researcher observed that multiskilled journalists create news content tailored for multiple media platforms while adhering to the specific techniques required for each platform, aligning with the cross-media convergence model (García-Avilés et al., 2009). Further newsroom observations established that both media organizations practiced more media multiskilling, where journalists were producing news content for their online platforms (<https://kessbenonline.com/> and <https://www.myjoyonline.com/>), television (i.e., Kessben TV and Joy News Channel, Joy Prime), and radio (Kessben FM and Joy FM). Consequently, journalists who were originally employed solely for radio news production were also seen working on news stories for television and online news portals.

Furthermore, the interview data indicated that journalists at both media organisations were required to be multiskilled for successful multimedia news production. This necessity for multiskilling enables journalists to multitask effectively. Therefore, multiskilling has become essential in a converged newsroom for the production of multimedia news. This is reinforced by the integrated work routines in newsrooms, along with the growth of digital news (Metykova & Waschkova Cisarova, 2023).

We are now expected to be in a position to produce content for all three platforms. When you come here, there is no distinction between an online reporter, TV reporter and radio reporter. We are all reporters for all (RJ).

You cannot afford not to be competent in all these. You do not want to be irrelevant in the newsroom. But mostly you are required to be multiskilled when it comes to newsgathering on the field... (RK3)

This finding aligns with Wallace's (2013) assertion that journalists are more likely to develop multiskilling in newsgathering than in news production and distribution. Additionally, it supports Saltzis and Dickinson's (2008) claim that the practice of multiskilling has become essential due to newsroom convergence. This convergence has shifted the trend in news reporting from a focus on single media to a more integrated multimedia approach in previously single-media organizations.

Moreover, the interview data revealed that Kessben Media and Joy News offered training for their journalists to adapt to the new job routines in the newsroom to enhance news gathering convergence. For example, Kessben Media conducted a three-day training session on multiskilling for journalists transitioning into the newsroom convergence practice. This training included instruction for journalists who were unfamiliar with television work, teaching them how to effectively use smartphones to capture quality images and videos in the absence of a cameraman, as well as how to edit those media and write for both TV and online platforms. This is in consonance with Katzenberger's (2024) assertion that there is a trans-

formation towards a workforce that necessitates a varied skill set, emphasising the importance of adaptability and comprehensive expertise in multiskilling.

We give our reporters on the job training on multimedia production even though when employing, we get people who are good in multimedia production. But we do not get enough. We have to, therefore, train the recruits because they are not good at multimedia newsgathering and production (MK1).

Similarly, at Joy News, training programmes were frequently organized to help journalists acquire new skills and better understand the demands of newsgathering convergence in the newsroom. Journalists were also encouraged to learn from their colleagues and other learning platforms to enhance their competence in multimedia newsgathering and production.

We were given some training and were also told to try and learn from other colleagues who were more experienced in multimedia production. You know that organised training alone will not be enough to become an expert in new skills. So, we have been learning on the job as well, and that is helping most of us... (JR4)

This aligns with the arguments made by [Garcia Aviles et al. \(2009, 2014\)](#), [Lar-rondo et al. \(2016\)](#), and [Wallace \(2013\)](#), which state that journalists in an integrated newsroom must possess multiple skills. However, this finding contrasts with the conclusions of [Garcia Aviles et al. \(2014\)](#) and [Gicobi \(2018\)](#), who indicated that the news organisations studied did not provide adequate training for their journalists to enhance their adaptation to journalistic convergence. Furthermore, ([García-Avilés et al., 2009](#)) assert that in a single-structure newsroom convergence (which reflects the integrated model of newsroom convergence), media organisations should at least offer some training in multiskilling for their journalists. The data also revealed that at Joy News, there was formal communication to employees regarding the implementation of journalistic convergence, ensuring everyone was informed and aligned. Employees received emails detailing the upcoming changes. In contrast, Kessben Media did not provide written communication; instead, employees only received direct oral updates about some of the organisational changes. Additionally, while journalists were required to multitask in the newsroom, there had been no corresponding increase in compensation for these additional responsibilities. These findings further show that this fell short of some journalists' expectations at Joy News, who had anticipated additional remuneration, but these expectations were not fulfilled. However, reporters at Kessben Media did not complain about the lack of additional remuneration.

We do not receive any additional pay or salary from management. The old contract we signed before the introduction of this new practice still stands. We are not complaining because I think what motivates me is the increase in my professional skills... (RK3)

There were murmurings of people saying that, you know, once their workload is more, they should be paid more, but it was nothing taken seriously. But I don't know if other people followed up (RJ5).

The findings of ([García-Avilés et al., 2009](#)) regarding the Die Welt/Morgenpost

group in Germany indicated that, despite an increase in workload and journalists practicing multiskilling due to convergence and its associated demands, employment contracts for journalists remained unchanged. Specifically, the disparities in employees' contracts, which were based on the platforms they worked for before convergence, persisted. For example, online editors continued to earn lower salaries than their print counterparts. In contrast, the current study highlights a key difference observed at Kessben Media and Joy News, where there was no unrest in the newsroom related to salaries. This lack of discontent may be attributed to differences in employment contracts and the prevailing systems in their respective geographical locations.

The concept of multiskilling, as evidenced by the data collected from Kessben Media and Joy News, aligns with the integrated model proposed by [García-Avilés and Carvajal \(2008\)](#). Unlike the cross-media model, the integrated model emphasizes that multiskilling is essential for journalists in the newsroom, especially in the newsgathering, production, and distribution processes. Additionally, a notable change in the work routines of journalists from these two media organizations is the cross-platform delivery of personnel. Journalists are now able to read news and conduct live reports for both radio and television. It was observed that the same journalists frequently appeared in news programs on TV and radio on different occasions. This rise of multiskilling in the two newsrooms can be attributed to the convergence of production, reflecting a trend where news reporting occurs across multiple platforms in organizations that previously focused on just one medium ([Wallace, 2013](#)). The nature of multiskilling at both Kessben Media and Joy News corroborates [Nygren \(2014\)](#) conceptualization of the concept within the Swedish context, as on one hand encompassing managing the entire process from news gathering to distribution, while the other pertains to working on various platforms either simultaneously or at different times.

We recycle our journalists for all the platforms. You will see and hear the same voices on radio and TV. That is the beauty of convergence here: our journalists deliver for all the platforms at the same time. There is no distinction. For instance, I present news on both radio and TV (E1).

You see, we don't employ personnel for different platforms. The moment we employ you as a journalist, you will be trained to deliver on both platforms. Those who read the news on the Radio and the same people on TV (EK2).

The practice of multiskilling by journalist from the two media organisations can be explained by the media convergence theory which espouses that media content flows across multiple media platforms. Consequently, journalists are trained to perform multiple tasks such as writing, shooting videos, editing and publishing across multiple platforms.

5.3. Content Convergence

The study found that both media organisations practice content convergence. Thus, there was evidence of a combination of text, images, audio, blogs, podcasts,

or slideshows in most of the content produced on their online news portals (<http://myjoyonline.com/> and <https://kessbenonline.com/>) and their television productions. These media outlets were streaming some of their radio and TV programmes on their online news portals, and the written news stories published had enhancements (images, videos). A respondent from Kessben Media espoused that these multimedia contents are meant to serve their audiences better. The streaming on their website is meant to reach out to the audiences who do not patronise the traditional way of consuming media messages. The need to converge their media content will help them to serve their fragmented audiences.

We need to reach out to the young generation who are now consuming media content online. The needs of our audiences are changing, so for us to be competitive, it is important to devise ways to serve them. That is why we are into multimedia content production (EK1).

A similar argument was espoused by an editor from Joy News. At Joy News, cross-platform delivery is a key business strategy. Hence, they need to create multimedia content to republish across platforms. They integrate streaming and podcasting into their online platform to disseminate some of their content from radio and TV to their online audience. Thus, the audience can listen to Joy FM and watch uploaded videos from their TV shows on <https://www.myjoyonline.com/>. The online platform affords them the opportunity to converge content from other platforms to serve their online audience.

We are particular about multimedia content because of media convergence. Now our various platforms are converged online, and the reading and listening habits of the online audience are different; that is why we make these multimedia messages available to them. Text alone may not serve their needs, so we have to add pictures, videos and audio to some of the stories we write on the website. We also stream our radio programmes online for them to listen (E2).

This content convergence practice from the selected media outlets in Ghana corroborates the assertion that the popularisation of multimedia elements in the newsroom is shaping journalistic practice (Khan, 2022). Thus, the art of storytelling, which incorporates text, audiovisuals, images, and graphics, is now prevalent in newsrooms. This has given birth to multimedia journalists. The digital shift has given rise to new opportunities in journalism practice, making it possible to combine a variety of media modalities in journalistic products, such as, but not limited to, text, audio, video, photographs, and other visuals (Jacobson, 2012). A case in point is how technological progress allowed American journalists to explore audiovisual formats in the early 20th century (Good, 2017). This finding further upholds the tenet of the media convergence theory (Jenkins, 2006), which assumes that media content flows across multiple platforms and formats. Thus, a single story can be published on broadcast and online platforms, making use of multimedia elements.

6. Conclusion, Limitations, and Future Research

The study sought to examine the nature of journalistic convergence practiced at

two legacy media organisations. The findings of the study revealed that the two media organisations are practicing newsroom convergence; however, the model employed differs from organization to organization. Although both media organisations have one newsroom structure producing content for multiple platforms, they employ multiple editors as gatekeepers in their respective newsrooms. The findings also revealed that the media organisations require their reporters to be multiskilled and multitask in the newsroom and further create content using multimedia elements to ensure cross-platform delivery. This study concludes that the selected media organizations in Ghana operate a hybrid of the integrated and cross-media models of newsroom convergence. This affirms the current argument that, although newsroom convergence is practiced globally, there is no one best way of practicing it. Different media organizations practice the phenomenon to suit their operational needs and specific organizational requirements. The findings of this study therefore suggest that scholars should exercise some level of precaution in discussing journalistic convergence since it might differ from country to country as well as from organization to organization.

The scope of this study is limited because of the reliance on only two media outlets, although qualitative studies deal with small numbers and focus more on generating an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon. Additionally, employing multiple data collection methods such as interviews and observation, as well as interviewing both managers and journalists from the two organisations, afforded the study the opportunity to obtain rich data to conduct an in-depth analysis of the phenomenon.

Lastly, the selection of only broadcast media organisations did not provide a fair representation of the practice of journalistic convergence in the Ghanaian media space. Nevertheless, these limitations do not diminish the credibility and trustworthiness of the study. Future studies could expand the scope and conduct a longitudinal study of this phenomenon.

Conflicts of Interest

The author declares no conflicts of interest regarding the publication of this paper.

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