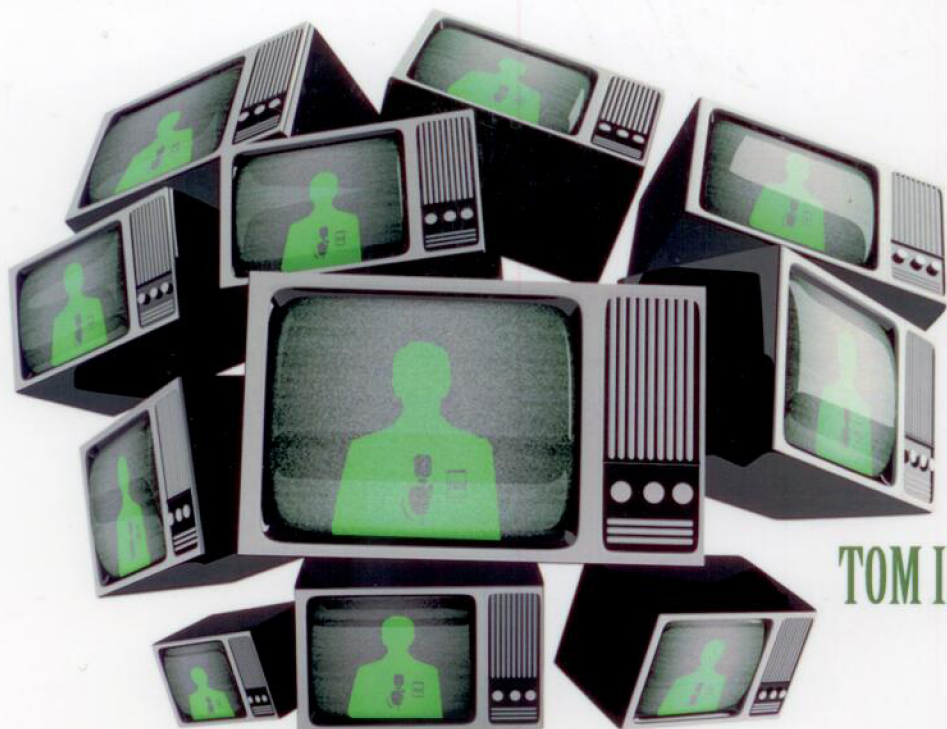


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MICHAŁ KACZMARCZYK

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TOM II

PROBLEMY
KONWERGENCJI
MEDIÓW

SOSNOWIEC — PRAGA 2013

PROBLEMY KONWERCENCJI MEDIÓW

Redakcja naukowa

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przy współudziale

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Paulina Olechowska¹

A change in the form of content production and distribution among the publishers of Polish daily newspapers and magazines of opinion as a result of media convergence

Zmiana formy produkcji i dystrybucji treści polskich wydawców dzienników i czasopism opinii jako skutek konwergencji mediów

Summary:

Media convergence is a multidimensional process that has been the subject of interest for media researchers since the beginning of 1980s, when the digital processing of signals started. This article concentrates mainly on media message distribution (technological convergence) by selected Polish publishers of the press (divided into two segments: daily newspapers and magazines of opinion). One of the results of industry convergence is the merger of editorial teams (mainly newsrooms) of the print edition and the website, by which the former linear editorial staffs are transformed into one organized information-generating team. The article winds up with considerations of the extent to which Polish print media publishers depend on modern technologies, as well as the optionality offered by digital forms of content distribution as compared to the traditional (print) forms.

Streszczenie:

Konwergencja mediów jest procesem wielopłaszczyznowym, stanowi szczególnie przedmiot zainteresowania medioznawców od początku lat 80. XX wieku, czyli od momentu cyfrowego przetwarzania sygnałów. Zawarte w artykule rozważania koncentrują się głównie wokół dystrybucji przekazów medialnych (konwergencja technologiczna) wybranych polskich wydawców prasy (z podziałem na dwa segmenty: dzienniki oraz czasopisma opinii). Jednym ze skutków konwergencji przemysłowej jest łączenie redakcji (głównie *newsroomów*) wydania drukowanego i strony www; tym samym dotychczas funkcjonujące redakcje linearne przekształcają się w zorganizowane zespoły generowania informacji. Artykuł zamykają rozmyślenia na temat zależności pomiędzy polskimi wydawcami mediów drukowanych a nowymi technologiami oraz alternatywnością cyfrowych form dystrybucji treści względem tych tradycyjnych/drukowanych.

Keywords: convergence, Polish press, daily newspapers, magazines of opinion, the Internet, e-editions, e-distribution, multimedia

Słowa kluczowe: konwergencja, polska prasa, dzienniki, czasopisma opinii, Internet, e-wydania, e-rozpo-
wszechnianie, multimedia

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The content is the King
but it is distribution that offers the key to his kingdom².

Introduction

Media convergence is a multidimensional phenomenon, and the same process occurs in the social, cultural, technological and industrial domains of the mass media³. It appears that convergence, which is a result of the development of both the telecommunications and computer industries⁴, constitutes a particular challenge for print media publishers who are now forced to engage in an ever fiercer competition, especially with the Internet. According to Izba Wydawców Prasy (the Chamber of Press Publishers), the moment that outlays made by this industry on the new forms of selling press accelerated was when the first tablet hit the Polish market in 2010⁵. The publishers began to look for new content distribution channels as a result of the rising popularity of mobile devices (netbooks, smartphones, e-readers) and mobile telephony providing access to the web.

It could be perversely assumed that media convergence – which is at the same time one of the reasons for a systematic drop in press sales and readership in Poland and elsewhere in the world – should also be seen as offering hope for the regaining of the lost market, through the press publishers' use of multi- and hypermedia as additional content distribution tools. And this seems inevitable because, as Henry Jenkins emphasizes, media convergence is also a consumer-driven effect⁶, and although the number of Poles reading particular titles is decreasing, still a thoroughly edited newspaper is the best source of information and opinion for most Polish people.

Polish daily newspaper publishers versus media digitization

In Poland, technological innovations are only used by some of the press publishers, nowadays mainly those of thematic (predominantly economic) newspapers and various trade and thematic magazines. The specific skepticism the Polish press publishers have about the development of the Internet can be inferred from the fact that the websites for well-known and widely-read Polish press titles were set up relatively late (e.g. the websites for the "Gazeta Wyborcza" and the "Rzeczpospolita" newspapers opened in 1995, and for the "Super Express" – in 1996). The reason for these websites opening so late was that in 1990s electronic editions of the press were merely seen as one form of its promotion⁷.

There are four large publishers in the daily newspaper market: Ringier Axel Springer Polska – which owns the „Fakt”, „Przegląd Sportowy” and „Sport” dailies, publishes 14 journals and magazines, including the weekly of opinion „Newsweek Polska”, and has 45

² K. Jakubowicz, *Nowa ekologia mediów. Konwergencja a metamorfoza*, Warszawa 2001, p. 11.

³ More about convergence [in:] K. Kopecka-Piech, *Koncepcje konwergencji mediów*, „Studia Medioznawcze” 2011, no. 3, p. 11–26; J. Krefta, *Problemy z konwergencją*, Tamże, p. 27–37.

⁴ M. Drożdż, *Konwergencja mediów – tendencje, modele i konsekwencje*, „Studia Medioznawcze” 2008, no. 3, p. 86.

⁵ Information on the main problems faced by radio and television in 2011, Warszawa: the National Broadcasting Council, March 2012, p. 23.

⁶ H. Jenkins, *Kultura konwergencji. Zderzenie starych i nowych mediów*, transl. M. Bernatowicz, M. Filiciak, Warsaw 2007, p. 23.

⁷ T. Mielczarek, *Raport o śmierci polskich gazet*, Warszawa 2012, p. 190.

websites; Agora S.A. – which owns the „Gazeta Wyborcza” and „Metro” dailies, 3 free regional weekly newspapers, 14 national glossy magazines, and has 107 websites in its portfolio, including the third most popular general news website „gazeta.pl”; moreover, the company has 29 radio broadcasting stations and a network of 26 cinemas – Helios S.A.; regional daily newspaper publisher Grupa Wydawnicza Polskapersse, which publishes 9 regional daily newspapers, the free „Echo Miasta” daily newspaper released in 9 Polish cities, 3 advertising weeklies and 3 TV supplements, and has 17 websites; and Grupa Media Regionalne, which publishes 10 paid regional dailies and 10 free urban dailies, and has 42 websites plus a radio station that broadcasts in 4 cities. It is estimated that the above-mentioned publishers sell approx. 75% of the single daily newspaper circulation.

Among the remaining daily press publishers, the more noteworthy are: Murator – which issues the tabloid „Super Express” daily newspaper, 13 specialist monthlies (mainly for construction and interior design industries), over 17 how-to websites and 7 e-commerce websites; Presspublica – which publishes the opinion-forming „Rzeczpospolita” and the economic „Parkiet Gazeta Giełdy” newspapers, as well as two opinion-forming „Przekrój” and „Uważam Rze. Pisane inaczej” weeklies, plus „Sukces” and „Bloomberg Businessweek Polska”; Inform Biznes, which publishes the national „Dziennik Gazeta Prawna” daily and the „Parkiet Gazeta Giełdy” newspaper and 16 specialist accountancy and administration periodicals, and which runs 23 websites, including professional ones⁸.

Traditionally, national daily newspapers have the largest circulations. Their share in the total press circulation accounts for 57%, and in the number of generally distributed copies – for 54%.

DAILY NEWSPAPER TITLE	READERSHIP RATE
„Fakt”	12.18%
„Gazeta Wyborcza”	11.51%
„Metro” (free)	5.39%
„Super Express”	5.03%
„Przegląd Sportowy”	3.40%
„Rzeczpospolita”	3.18%
„Echo Miasta” (free)	1.84%
„Dziennik Gazeta Prawna”	1.81%
„Sport”	0.56%
„Gazeta Podatkowa”	0.56%
„Puls Biznesu”	0.26%
„Parkiet Gazeta Giełdy”	0.16%

Table 1. A ranking of the most popular national dailies in the first half of 2012:

Source: Author's own study based on the Polish Readership Research data, www.pbczyt.pl dated\31.12.2012

The data concerning the Polish press distribution via the Internet reaches as far back as 2003, while until mid-2007 the average single daily newspaper sale did not exceed 1 thousand copies⁹.

⁸ Author's own study based on: Dane Polskiej Izby Wydawców Prasy 2010 ZKDP, dla dzienników pozostających poza kontrolą ZKDP – szacunki Press-Service Monitoring Mediów. T. Mielczarek, *Raport...*, p. 197.

In January 2012, Związek Kontroli Dystrybucji Prasy [Press Distribution Control Association] (ZKDP)¹⁰ introduced a new category: 'e-edition distribution'¹¹, thanks to which the electronic portable reader editions of the press titles can be included in the sales statistics.

Daily newspaper title	Online copies sold (monthly)	Print copies sold (monthly)	Online copies versus print copies sold
„Dziennik Gazeta Prawna”	5 658	53 831	10.51
„Rzeczpospolita”	4 009	81 036	4.94
„Gazeta Wyborcza”	2 015	244 217	0.82
„Gazeta Podatkowa”	1 165	29 665	3.92
„Puls Biznesu”	1 610	11 061	14.55
„Parkiet Gazeta Giełdy”	399	3 992	9.99

Table 2. Polish national dailies with the largest numbers of online copies sold in the first half of 2012.

Source: Author's own study based on the ZKDP data, www.teleskop.org.pl/zkdp dated 31.12.2012

A comparative analysis of the aforementioned data leads to the conclusion that the readership success of print editions does not always translate into the number of readers¹² of e-editions. The most popular Polish national daily newspaper – the “Fakt” – is not included in table 2, because in the first half of 2012 it only sold 412 copies of its e-edition, which accounts for 0.01% of the total sales. The same is true for the “Super Express” daily, which has only been reporting e-edition sales since April 2012, with the average number of copies sold in the second quarter as 163, accounting for little more than 0.09% of the total sales. Few more copies are sold by two national sports dailies: the “Przegląd Sportowy”, which sells an average of 113 online copies monthly, accounting for 0.25% of the total sales, and the “Sport” daily, which sells 13 copies of the digital edition, accounting for 0.16% of the total sales.

The largest distributors of the digital editions of national daily newspapers are: Infor Biznes sp. z o.o., Presspublica, Agora SA, Wydawnictwo Podatkowe GOFIN sp. z o.o. (not mentioned before) („Gazeta Podatkowa”) and Bonnier Business (Polska) sp. z o.o. („Puls Biznesu”). Thus, the largest e-edition sales are enjoyed by the economic and legal press. The “Dziennik Gazeta Prawna”, as well as the “Rzeczpospolita”, which are still considered as ge-

¹⁰ Związek Kontroli Dystrybucji Prasy (ZKDP) – an organization of publishers, advertising agencies and advertisers, involved in collecting and verifying data concerning press distribution and sales.

¹¹ E-editions are Internet versions of newspapers, identical to the paper versions in terms of content.

¹² A similar analogy can be found in the case of the readers of other press titles popular on the Internet. Let us take the tabloid “Fakt” daily as an example, which in the first half of 2012 sold an average of over 380 thousand copies monthly and, at the same time, had 1,600 million users of its website www.fakt.pl. In turn, the popular daily newspaper “Gazeta Wyborcza” set up its website wyborcza.pl in 1995. In 2001, based on the material published on that website, the Internet portal Gazeta.pl was established, which has been one of the most popular general news portals in Poland for a number of years now (third most popular in 2012). A completely different approach was taken by the editorial team of the “Gazeta Pomorska” (a regional daily newspaper published by Media Regionalne), which enjoys seven time more users of its website than readers of its traditional edition. This has been achieved by expanding the daily's domain, where apart from the press content, also multimedia material made specifically for the Web is published. Source: G. Kopacz, *Z druku do sieci*, „Press” 2011, no. 1, p. 68.

neral news dailies (with the “Gazeta Wyborcza” as the typical example of the category) owe their high ranking chiefly to two thematic supplements. The “Dziennik Gazeta Prawna” has the „Gazeta Prawna” (the so-called yellow supplement). The „Rzeczpospolita” includes the „Ekonomia&rynek” (printed on salmon-pink-colored paper) and the „Prawo co dnia” (the so-called yellow pages) supplements.

As table no. 2 suggests, the ratio of e-edition sales to total sales did not exceed 7.5% for national daily newspapers, which is a small proportion of their print edition sales. The only exceptions are the “Dziennik Gazeta Prawna”, with the e-edition sales accounting for over 10% of the print edition sales, and the “Parkiet Gazeta Giełdy”, with the e-edition sales exceeding 14% of the print edition sales. The success of the “Dziennik Gazeta Prawna's” e-edition sales was certainly contributed to by the fact that the edition available from newsgents is much more limited when compared to the version available under, say, electronic subscription, whereas each of the newspaper's parts (the supplements) has its paid-for counterpart on the Internet.

The quotient of e-edition distribution versus total paid-for distribution looks somewhat better. As an example – although the monthly e-edition sales of the “Gazeta Wyborcza” did not exceed 2,015 in the first half of 2012 – the newspaper sold an average of 11,357 copies of its title every month. The cause of this was that some of the publishers, when launching new applications for their e-editions, made them available free-of-charge in the first period of time (for instance, the “Gazeta Wyborcza”, when introducing the daily to Kindle, gave its readers a two-week free-of-charge option to download the edition to their smartphones and tablets, as well). Short-term free digital distribution of the press is mainly treated as a form of promotion. Generally speaking, more and more press publishers are deciding to shut down the availability of free-of-charge content viewing.

The sales of online daily newspapers in Poland accounts for a mere 1.5% of the total sales of all titles in this sector – although it is still growing systematically. This is proved by the increasing popularity of subscriptions for the above-listed daily newspapers' e-editions. A good example of that could be the “Gazeta Prawna” daily, which sold 5 e-edition copies through subscription in January 2010, and 1,168 copies in December 2012¹³.

Those titles which were first to allow readers access to their paid-for e-editions are now doing better in the online newspaper market. Charging for press content was pioneered by the company Infor, the publisher of the “Gazeta Prawna”¹⁴, which already in 2003 was made available as PDF files. In the same year, Infor offered its users free access to the Infor.Bank.pl website. Today, the readers of this publisher's media opt for paid-for content at business websites¹⁵ more often than at other thematic websites.

Another factor promoting better online newspaper sales is a very clear indication of the content. Therefore, the determination of the target group is of essential importance for the strategic planning of a media enterprise, particularly as the Internet is not only a platform used by young people, but is the main channel for obtaining information by certain professional groups – in this case lawyers, accountants, managers and business people.

¹³ Among the main distributors of the digital editions of the press are e-Kiosk, eGazety, Nexto and others.

¹⁴ In September 2009, the „Gazeta Prawna” daily, published by Infor SA, and the „Dziennik. Polska – Europa – Świat” daily, sold by Axel Springer Polska – merged to form one press title the „Dziennik. Gazeta Prawna” daily.

¹⁵ P. Zieliński, *Nadrobione opóźnienie*, „Internet 2012. Press Magazyn Extra”, p. 14.

The publishers of magazines of opinion vis-à-vis new forms of content distribution

The sector of the magazines of opinion is one of the more interesting in the Polish press market¹⁶. The popularity in Poland of weeklies of opinion results from the diversity of themes offered and the "strong" journalism of a pluralist nature. The Polish readership structure reveals that more weeklies are read than dailies. It might appear that the presence of magazines of opinion on mobile devices with web access is evidence as to the existence of a directly proportional relationship between the number of online copies sold and the capital in the form of text quality.

There are ten weeklies of opinion published in Poland¹⁷: sociopolitical magazines – „Polityka” („Polityka” Spółdzielnia Pracy), „Newsweek Polska” (Ringier Axel Springer), „Wprost” (Platforma Mediowa Point Group), „Uważam Rze. Pisane Inaczej” and „Przekrój” (Presspublica), „Gazeta Polska” (Niezależne Wydawnictwo Polskie Sp. z o.o.), „Przeгляд” (Towarzystwo Wydawnicze i Literackie Sp. z o.o.); weeklies with Catholic subjects prevailing – „Gość Niedzielny” (Wydawnictwo Kurii Metropolitalnej), „Tygodnik Powszechny” (Tygodnik Powszechny spółka z o.o.), „Przewodnik Katolicki” (Drukarnia i Księgarnia św. Wojciecha).

Title	Online copies sold (monthly)	Print copies sold (monthly)	online copies versus print copies sold
„Wprost	1 525	77 186	1.97
„Polityka”	1 382	123 835	1.11
„Newsweek Polska”	1 099	110 936	0.99
„Tygodnik Powszechny”	288	16 435	1.75
„Uważam Rze. Pisane Inaczej”	229	132 510	0.17
„Gość Niedzielny”	178	145 144	0.12
„Przekrój”	106	21 221	0.49
„Przewodnik Katolicki”	11	3 057	0.35
„Gazeta Polska”	-	64 696	-
„Przeгляд”	-	20 737	-

Table 3. Magazines with best-selling e-editions in the first half of 2012:

Source: Author's own study based on the ZKDP data, www.teleskop.org.pl/zkdp dated 31.12.2012

Of all e-editions, in the first half of 2012 the largest sales were enjoyed by the weekly magazine „Wprost” (AWR „Wprost”), averaging 1,525 copies, which was over 50% more than the previous year, and which was the largest growth in the list. The runner-up was „Polityka”, which sold 1,382 copies. The third position was held by „Newsweek Polska”, which sold 1,100 copies monthly.

¹⁶ B. Dobek-Ostrowska, *Polski system medialny na rozdwoju. Media w polityce, polityka w mediach*, Wrocław 2011, p. 141–150.

¹⁷ Weeklies of opinion also include the weekly digests „Forum” (reprinting foreign press articles) and „Angora” (reprinting Polish press articles).

According to the data contained in Table 3, the remaining titles had much lower sales in respect of their e-editions. The „Gazeta Polska” and „Przeгляд” did not report digital edition sales.

It turns out that although the publishers of weekly magazines of opinion guarantee high quality texts, this does not translate directly into digital edition sales, which only accounts for a scarce percentage of their total sale figures. Generally speaking, ZKDP's data suggests that out of 260 titles managed by this organization (daily newspapers, journals and magazines), only 10 reach sales of approx. one thousand copies¹⁸.

Piano Media – a Polish system of payment for press content

As mentioned above, the first ones to charge for content were economic and general information newspapers, such as the „Rzeczpospolita” or the „Dziennik Gazeta Prawna”. Everything changed in September 2012, when seven main press publishers in Poland: Agora, Grupa Mediów Regionalnych, Grupa Polskاپresse, Ringier Axel Springer, Muratora S.A. and Edytor, which own over 40 websites, decided to adopt a platform allowing them to charge fees for selected content. The Piano Media users pay a single subscription fee for access to competing publishers.

Poland was the third country, after Slovakia and Slovenia, where publishers chose to implement this system. The project was well-received in Slovakia; however, the „SME” daily newspaper's website there is one of the largest in the country, while in Poland more traffic is generated by general news websites, such as Onet.pl or WP.pl, which are not linked to press corporations.

The publishers have seen the project as an opportunity to obtain profit from the sale of content. This constitutes a particular challenge to the regional and local press publishers who have so far been offering free-of-charge content to their readers, as these readers – after they entered the project – have begun to expect better value of the content paid for through subscription. That is why the publishers – being free to choose which types of content should be paid-for – have decided that the highest monetization potential is to be found in content that meets the following three criteria: quality, uniqueness and practicality¹⁹.

The Piano Media project in Poland started less than a year ago, therefore it is difficult to assess its effectiveness. The first opinions voiced concerning the functioning of the system proved that the publishers were divided into those who were positive about it, mainly due to the fact that the website hit rates have not dropped, and those who were forced to remove some of their content from their websites (this pertains to, first of all, regional daily newspapers)²⁰.

It is hard to make unambiguous forecasts of the project's effectiveness in Poland. The latest study of the social reception of payment for online content is not very promising. Three months after the platform was launched, one out of four web users (23%) heard of the possibility to access press content via this system, while only 6% of the respondents who were familiar with Piano Media were interested in purchasing subscription in the future, which accounts for 1.4% of the total number of web users contemplating using paid-for online content²¹. Moreover, the study revealed that 24% of the respondents possessing mobile devices used them to read the press²².

¹⁸ S. Kucharski, *Poprawianie wyników*, „Press” 2012, no. 5, p. 48.

¹⁹ More in: J. Przybylski, *Cel: jeden procent*, „Press” 2012, no. 9, p. 22.

²⁰ *Piano Media: wydawcy są zadowoleni ze współpracy, powstanie agregat treści*, www.wirtualnemedia.pl [access date: 24.10.2012].

²¹ *Piano zna co czwarty internauta, niewielkie zainteresowanie*, www.wirtualnemedia.pl z dn. 6.11.2012.

²² *Płacie treści w Internecie. Potrzeby. Doświadczenia. Postawy*, *PBI Report (Polskie Badania Czytelności)*, www.pbi.org.pl [access date: 31.12.2012].

Selected Polish press publishers vis-à-vis industry convergence – merger of newsrooms

The merger of editorial teams by press publishers is one of the elements of convergence strategies resulting from changes in technology and management, as well as in the creation and distribution of media content.

One of the first publishers that decided to merge their print and online editorial teams was the German corporation Axel Springer, which in 2008 integrated the editorial team of the "Dziennik. Polska-Europa-Świat" daily newspaper it ran at that time with that of the dziennik.pl website. Another example is the merger between the youth magazines "Popcorn" and "Dziewczyna", or the thematic "Auto Świat" and "Komputer Świat" magazines.

A similar merger of the economic and business editorial teams has been carried out by Bonnier Business (Polska) sp. z o.o., where the journalists now combine their efforts to prepare material for the "Puls Biznesu" daily newspaper and the Pb.pl website²³. Presspublika integrated its economic editorial teams, too, where over 60 staff prepare material for the „Rzeczpospolita” and „Parkietu Gazety Giełdy” daily newspapers, the Ekonomia24.pl website and the „Bloomberg Businessweek Polska” fortnightly magazine²⁴.

At present, the Polish media market is dominated by vertical integration²⁵, taking the form of the merging of enterprises operating in different segments of the media. An example of this is Agora S.A., which already in 2007 created its „multimedia newsroom” that was the result of cooperation between the journalists of the Tok FM, Roxy FM and Radio Żółte Przeboje radio stations with those of the Gazeta.pl²⁶, while in 2010 it started a process of extending the scope of collaboration between all of the corporation's media²⁷.

Moreover, more and more press publishers are becoming multimedia publishers, as they develop web-based projects that are unrelated to their publishing businesses. They launch various types of e-commerce projects; e.g. Agora S.A. invested in HappyDay.pl²⁸ (a group buying website) and GoldenLine, a social networking website for professionals, while Ringier Axel Springer runs the KlubOkazji.pl shopping website.

Summary

On the basis of the data gathered within this article concerning the position of digital editions as compared to traditional editions, it can be concluded that the Polish press market is currently going through its "pre-digital" phase, as a considerable majority of Poles obtain information and knowledge from television or the Internet. The e-edition market is only

²³ J. Fusiecki, A. Todorczuk, *Siedem trendów głównych*, „Press” 2012, no. 12, p. 54.

²⁴ More in: J. Fusiecki, *Ekonomiczne combo*, „Press” 2012, no. 11, p. 10.

²⁵ According to Michael Kunzlik and Astrid Zipfel, media consolidation can take three ways: horizontal integration – of enterprises operating in the same market (merging of press publishers), vertical integration and diagonal/conglomerate integration (merging of enterprises operating in completely different markets). More in: J. Załubski, *Media i medioznawstwo. Studia i szkice*, Toruń 2006, p. 161–162.

²⁶ www.press.pl/newsy/radio/pokaz/10694, Multimedialny-newsroom-Agory [access date: 19.12.2012].

²⁷ C. Campos, J. Ramirez Bañares, *Marketing and Ad Sales in a Multimedia World*, [in:] *Innovation in News-papers 2010 World Report*, (edit.) C.E. Erbsen, J.A. Giner, J. Senor, M. Torres, (INNOVATION International Media Consulting Group, partner: Polskie Badania Czytelnicstwa), p. 17.

²⁸ The group buying website HappyDay.pl is promoted in all media owned by Agora: the Gazeta.pl portal, the „Gazeta Wyborcza” daily, local mutations of the free „Metro” daily, and in radio broadcasting stations – Radio Żółte Przeboje, Roxy FM and Tok FM.

forming up now and merely accounts for a few percent of the total sales of particular titles. Readers are more willing to reach out for their print editions, despite their higher prices.

In spite of the fact that out of the 260 ZKDP-controlled press titles published in Poland, only 10 achieve e-edition sales of approx. 1 thousand copies²⁹ – the most read digital editions are those of weeklies of opinion, while the second most popular is the daily economic and legal press, as well as specialist journals. This suggests that the sale of e-editions is strictly correlated with the reader's profile.

The poor popularity of the e-editions of Polish press titles has certainly been contributed to by the two largest press distributors: Ruch S.A. and Kolporter, who did not have a sales network for digital editions. As a result, smaller distributors emerged (e.g. the above-mentioned eKiosk.pl, eGazety.pl), who failed to succeed in the market. Also, the press publishers themselves do not run wide promotional campaigns for the digital editions of their titles. What is more, the Polish market is still short of spectacular success stories showing that the model for charging for press content can bring notable benefits to the publishers. The success of the so-called paywalls is first of all dependent on content specialization, which in turn brings further consequences, one of which is the shrinking group of advertisers. This forces publishers to seek methods for improving their financial results by optimizing business processes and simplifying the management of the given segment of their media, which is effected through editorial teams' mergers. The idea behind integrating editorial teams is that it does not only bring cost reductions, but also helps to fully utilize the synergy between the print edition and the online one. However, it must be remembered that adopting this strategy leads to the homogenization of both the media and the journalistic forms.

Thus, the questions are raised: what will be the press readers' expectations? Will e-editions become an alternative to the traditional press in Poland?³⁰ It is difficult to provide unambiguous answers, because the media are not an easy subject to forecast. Nevertheless, it seems that the digital editions of the Polish press will continue to be a sort of added value and that the classic format (the paper) will merely be cooperating with the new technologies. However, in the long run the provision of press content to all the possible communication platforms will become a necessity for publishers. All the more that, according to the American consulting company L.E.K. Consulting, possessing a mobile device with web access increases their owner's interest in the press, which also affects the rate of press content consumption³¹. The competition among media market players will grow, too, in respect of using the opportunities provided by the new media. Such opportunities will become a challenge particularly to those press publishers whose profiles are defined by geographical boundaries, namely the regional and local media, as locality will vanish and be replaced by the globality of information, where information quality will be the most important competitive factor.

²⁹ S. Kucharski, *Poprawianie...*, p. 48.

³⁰ Opinions on prospects for press publishers are revied by Ryszard Filas. More in: R. Filas, *Gazeta papierowa – witryna internetowa – e-gazety w Polsce. Dokąd zmierza nasza prasa?*, [in:] *Konwergencja mediów masowych i jej skutki dla współczesnego dziennikarstwa*, vol. 2, (edit.) M. Gierula, P. Szostok, Katowice 2012, p. 82–83.

³¹ *Where Consumers are Logging On and Tuning Out: Hidden Opportunities for the Media & Entertainment Industry*, "L.E.K. Consulting / Executive Insights" Vol. XIII, Issue 7, www.lek.com/sites/default/files/l.e.k._hidden_opps_media_survey_ci_2011.pdf.

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