

ALICJA JASKIERNIA

***From “The New York Times” to “The Huffington Post”.
Transformation of the Press System in USA***

KEY WORDS

printed press, press sector in the USA, convergence, Internet, network media, tablet

ABSTRACT

The printed press sector in the USA has been experiencing a crisis since the 1990s. Publishers are transferring their newspapers onto the Internet and offering applications on new platforms such as tablets or smartphones. Does that mean the end of the printed press, not only in the USA? The well-known statement of Jeremy Tunstall, a British media expert that *Media are American* can be read as *What is in America is everywhere*. The fate of the US press might determine its overall position. The crisis of the printed press in the USA, which has always been the foundation of freedom and an instrument for the control of the authorities by citizens, incites fears regarding the quality of journalism in the age of media convergence and deprofessionalisation of journalism.

The position of the press in the United States has never been as jeopardised as it is nowadays. The press has always been regarded as an important component of American democracy and a factor shaping the civil society, built on the foundation of individual liberty in both ideological and economic spheres. The press was an exponent of these ideas, acting under the First Amendment to the Constitution in the conditions of a free market economy. Although the USA has never belonged to the leading countries in terms of the press circulation and readership when compared to Japan and some European countries, a lot of world class titles are published there¹. However, over the past two decades, methods of acquiring information by the media recipients in the United States have undergone severe changes. While the traditional media – primarily the press – lose their market position, the Internet media gain new spheres of influence. The multi-channel television and radio offer, digital media and

¹ See B. Golka, *System medialny Stanów Zjednoczonych*, Warszawa 2004.

social changes, including the increasing in the 21st century wave of immigrants not speaking English, cause the growing fragmentation of American audiences. Information portals and other Internet sources increase their holdings as a primary source of information². As the report of September 2010 of the well-known Pew Research Centre (hereinafter referred to as the Pew) shows, the new media have also caused that Americans spend more time on searching for information in the media³. In 2010, they dedicated 70 minutes a day to it, thirteen minutes more than in the mid-1990s. Nevertheless, it was not the traditional media like the press, radio or television that caused this sudden growth, but the Internet. The printed press is in the most difficult situation – since the 1990s, it has been at a specific inclined plane. It is not surprising as only one in four Americans reads the paper version of newspapers and this rate drops dramatically, to just 8 per cent for the group below 30 years of age. Although the great titles from the list *21 for the 21st Century*⁴ are still issued, the situation of many of them is very difficult.

Currently, already one in three Americans uses the Web information every day. If mobile phones, emails and social networking sites are taken into account, this figure rises to 44 per cent while the number of users of the traditional media – television, radio and newspapers – in the best case, does not fall⁵. Press publishers are faced with the necessity to sell the content of the printed press on the Internet and new carriers of information, e.g. tablets⁶. The new types of such press have already appeared in the form of both applications for old titles for holders of these devices and the first newspaper dedicated solely to holders of iPads. In February 2011, Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation, the publisher of such well-known journals as "The Times" and "The Wall Street Journal", launched the first newspaper exclusively for users of these devices – "The Daily"⁷.

² *Internet Gains on Television as Public's Main News Source. More Young People Cite Internet than TV*, The Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, 4 January 2011, <http://people-press.org/2011/01/04/internet-gains-on-television-as-publics-main-news-source/> [all Internet addresses given in the footnotes were accessed in May and June 2011].

³ *Americans Spending More Time Following the News. Ideological News Sources: Who Watches and Why*, The Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, 12 September 2010, <http://people-press.org/2010/09/12/americans-spending-more-time-following-the-news/>.

⁴ They were selected in the plebiscite of "The Columbia Journalism Review" in 1999 under the name *21 For The 21st Century*; see B. Golka, *System medialny...*, pp. 138–139.

⁵ *Americans Spending...*, p. 1.

⁶ K. Purcell, R. Entner, N. Henderson, *The Rise of Apps Culture*, www.pewinternet.org/Reports/2010/The-Rise-of-Apps-Culture.aspx.

⁷ www.thedaily.com.

Position of the printed press towards other news media

The dramatic question: *Maybe it is time to panic?*⁸ – posed three years ago by the US professional journal “American Journalism Review” – relating to the future of the printed press not only in the USA, in the light of the Pew Report seems to be a sinister prophecy. In response to the question: What medium was the source of information *yesterday?*, respondents indicate mainly television; however, it is a major source, and usually not the only one, for only 58 per cent of Americans. Traditional radio is the main source for every third recipient and a daily newspaper for only 31 per cent⁹. Every second of them (56 per cent) also claims that newspapers are a very important source of information; nonetheless, when asked where they would seek information if the printed version of their favourite press title disappeared, reply that they would read the online version. Only 37 per cent declare the purchase of another newspaper in this situation.

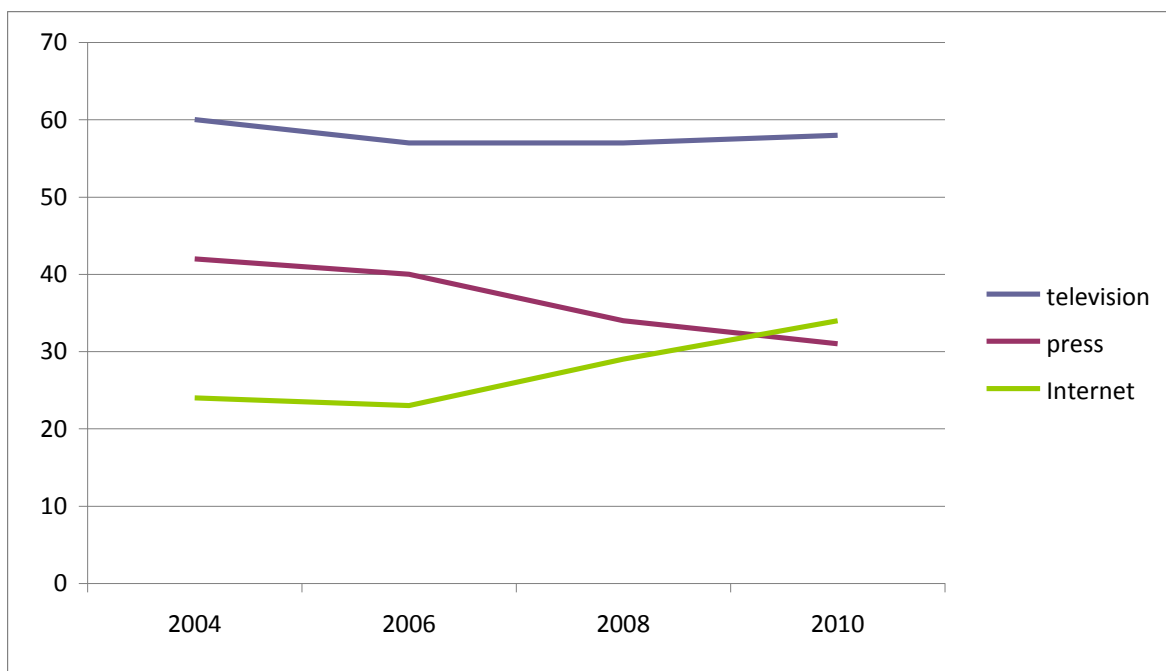


Chart 1. Trends in the use of information sources in the years 2004–2010

Source: Own elaboration on the basis of the Pew Report of 2010¹⁰.

⁸ C. Sessions Stepp, *Maybe it is Time to Panic*, “The American Journalism Review”, April & May 2008, www.ajr.org/article.asp?id=4491.

⁹ *Americans Spending ...*, p. 11.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 13.

Even in the 1980s, 70 per cent of American adults read newspapers, in the early 20th century – 60 per cent while today – only 40 per cent. The crisis also affected the local press which is read by only 30 per cent¹¹. The press market thereby loses not only the quality of pluralism, but also ceases to be an important factor integrating local communities, always so important to the US media. This problem becomes the centre of interest for the most significant actors within the US media system. The comprehensive report on the information needs of the American society on the national and local scale, published in May 2011 by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC)¹², presents the picture of the press sector virtually struggling for survival under extreme conditions, when old recipes for success do not work out any longer. The rate for daily readership has declined over the past five years by 6 per cent and by as much as 16 per cent over only one decade – 2001–2010. The increase in the readership of newspapers on the Internet does not guarantee an adequate income growth from online advertising, thereby not balancing the loss of revenue from print advertising. The latter has decreased by up to a half over the last five years¹³.

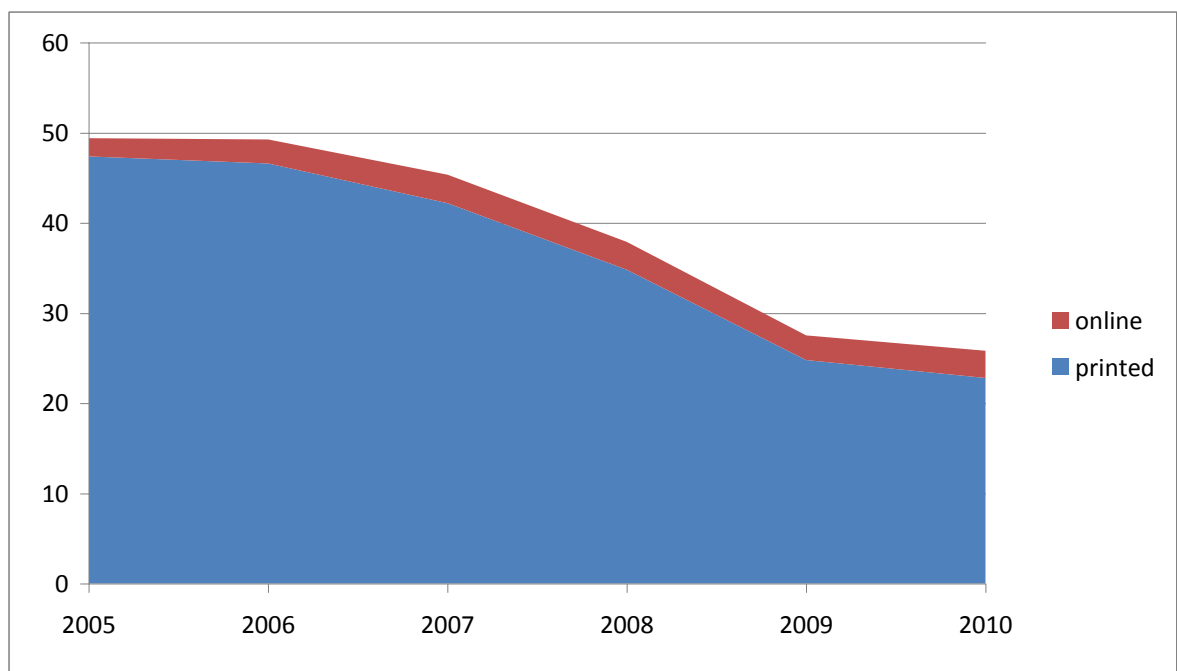


Chart 2. Newspapers’ advertising revenue: printed and online versions between 2005 and 2010

¹¹ Ibidem.

¹² S. Waldman, *The Information Needs of Communities. The Changing Media Landscape in a Broadband Age*, Federal Communication Commission, 9 June 2011, http://transition.fcc.gov/osp/inc-report/The_Information_Needs_of_Communities.pdf.

¹³ Ibidem, p. 39.

Source: Own elaboration on the basis of the FCC Report, June 2011.

The general circulation of newspapers in 2009 was 45 million copies, which is little more than in, difficult for the press, the year 1940. For three decades – since the mid-1960s till the beginning of the 1990s – the circulation¹⁴ was not less than 60 million copies. Not only the circulation has decreased, but also the number of daily newspapers in the USA: from 1611 to 1387 titles, i.e. about 14 per cent over the last 20 years¹⁵.

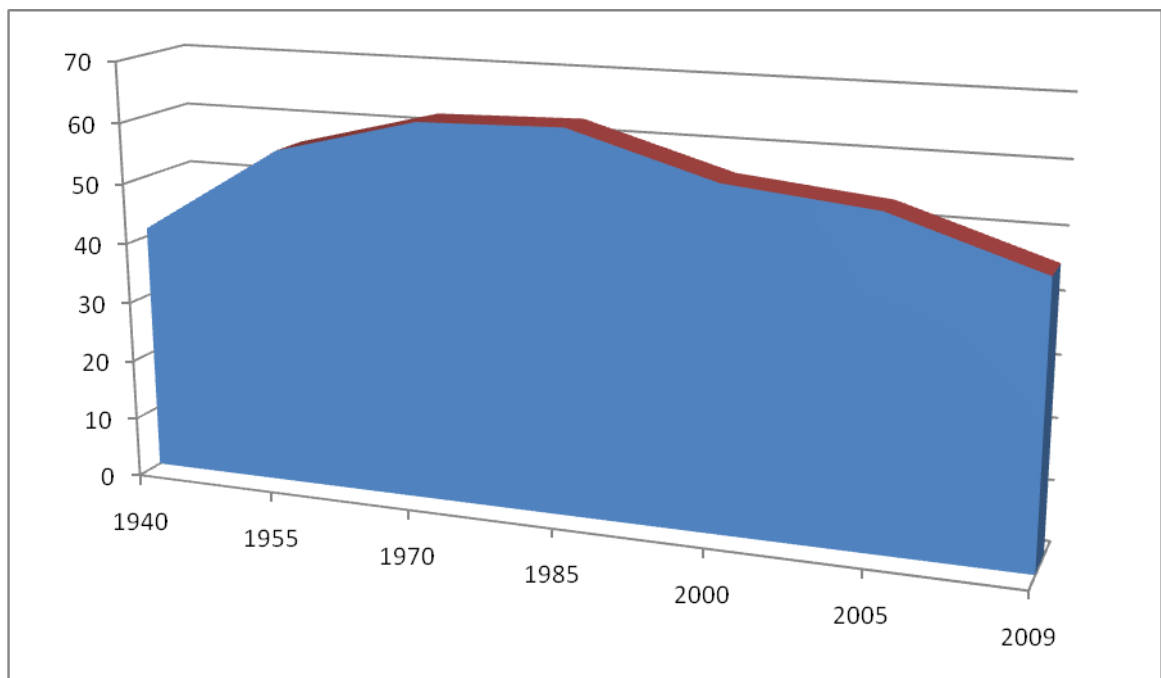


Chart 3. Global circulation of dailies in millions of copies between 1940 and 2009.

Source: Own elaboration on the basis of the FCC Report, June 2011¹⁶.

The data provided by the Audit Bureau of Circulations concerning the press circulation in the second half of 2010¹⁷ are also not too optimistic – more than a half of daily newspapers reported an average decline of five per cent. Still, it was two times lower when compared to the analogical period in 2009. This phenomenon affects prestigious journals as

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 35.

¹⁵ *Newspapers: Missed the 2010 Media Rally*, [in:] *The State of the News Media 2011. An Annual Report on American Journalism*, The Pew Research Center's Projects for Excellence Journalism, p. 30, <http://stateofthemediamedia.org/>.

¹⁶ S. Waldman, *The Information Needs...*, p. 35.

¹⁷ N. Fioretti, *American Dailies Down 5 Percent*, <http://en.ejo.ch/?p=2550>.

well – “The Washington Post” has lost 6.4 per cent and “The New York Times” – 5.5 per cent¹⁸. Large metropolitan dailies lose the most and this trend seems to have strengthened in the last few years. Among the 25 most popular titles, only the economic daily – “The Wall Street Journal” – reported a slight increase in its circulation (by 1.8 per cent). Even the circulation of the recent market leader, “USA Today”, is currently lesser by 0.5 million than it was two years ago (a decrease of about 20 per cent – from 2.3 million to 1.8 million copies). Dailies, forced by the unfavourable economic situation, raise the prices of their products – from 70 cents to about one dollar, simultaneously offering high discounts for subscribers¹⁹. Both publishers as well as the Newspaper Association of America are concerned that this will only deepen circulation declines since readers will not accept any further price increases²⁰. Let us add that the subscription prices guaranteeing access to the full online version or an iPad application are much lower. The NYTimes.com monthly subscription costs 15 dollars and the annual subscription of “The Daily” is about 40 dollars.

In addition to dailies, also interest in information weeklies declines, which is another pessimistic fact for the printed media sector. Only 8 per cent of Americans declare that they regularly read such weeklies as “Time” or “Newsweek”; five years ago, this figure was 14 per cent. Although information weeklies, after dramatic declines at the end of the last decade, have seen a small growth in advertising revenue (by around 1.4 per cent on average), it did not save, for instance, “Newsweek” from being sold by the Washington Post Company; “Newsweek” merged with The Daily Beast website²¹, having a huge loss of approximately 22 million dollars.

The dramatic decrease in the readership of dailies in the printed version is reported in all age groups. Moreover, newspaper readers are generally older than the average recipient of the news media. In the group under 24 years of age, only 7 per cent of Americans read newspapers while in the group over 65 – every second one. However, even among older Americans (50+), the drop in the readership of dailies in their printed version is spectacular (–11 per cent) whereas its growth on the Web is 8 per cent. Within the youngest group of respondents (18–24 years of age), 16 per cent declare that they read online dailies which means an increase by 7 per cent within two years. These figures for slightly older readers are

¹⁸ *The State of the News...*, p. 27.

¹⁹ The monthly subscription to “The New York Times” costs 19.99 dollars and “The Wall Street Journal” – 14.99 dollars.

²⁰ *The State of the News...*, p. 7.

²¹ After the purchase of “Newsweek” in 2010 by Sidney Harman’s company, the position of the editor-in-chief was taken by the journalist, Tina Brown who created, among others, The Daily Beast website; formerly worked as an editor of, e.g. “Vanity Fair” and “The New Yorker”, *Newsweek and The Daily Beast Combine*, www.thedailybeast.com/blogs-and-stories/2010-11-12/newsweek-daily-beast-merge-announcement/.

similar: decline in the readership of the printed press by 14 per cent and growth for the online version by 10 per cent²². Therefore, the long-term prognosis for the press in the printed version is not optimistic.

In many respects, readers of daily newspapers across the United States have many features in common²³. Among them, there are more women than men as well as people aged over 50 and having a university degree. However, readers of the two well-known titles: “The New York Times” and “The Wall Street Journal” differ slightly from this profile. Their average recipient is usually an educated man with an above average income level. In the case of “The Wall Street Journal”, its reader generally holds conservative views, supports the Republican Party or the Tea Party and is critical of President Obama’s policy. The auditorium of “The New York Times” varies significantly from this pattern. They are rather moderate liberals voting for the Democrats and the vast majority of them supports Obama.

Table 1. Political sympathies of daily newspaper readers (in percentages).

	Republican supporters	Democrat supporters	Independent	Tea Party supporters*	NRA supporters*	Pro-Obama
„The New York Times”	9	49	39	8	13	79
„USA Today”	33	26	26	32	50	46
„The Wall Street Journal”	36	22	41	35	45	39

*The NRA and the Tea Party²⁴ represent conservative social groups.

Source: Own elaboration on the basis of the 2010 Pew Report.

Crisis of the press sector, but is it a fall already?

While most Americans still prefer information derived from television and the press, more than a half of them think that the traditional media will disappear within 10 years²⁵. Nonetheless, it is likely that *the second life* of newspapers will take place due to the Internet

²² *Americans Spending...*, p. 18.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 72.

²⁴ The Tea Party is a right-wing conservative social movement. Sara Palin is one of its leaders. The NRA (National Rifle Association) is an influential group formed in 1871 to support the Second Amendment to the Constitution, i.e. to uphold the right to keep and bear arms. See the following website: <http://teapartypatriots.ning.com/> oraz <http://home.nra.org/#/home>.

²⁵ www.editorandpublisher.com/Departments/Newsroom/Article//conventional-media-may-disappear-in-10-years-poll-says.

and, owing to rising incomes, they will keep the hard copy as well. The Pew Report proves that nowadays, 40 per cent of Americans read dailies in a mixed version (printed and online), due to which many newspapers have managed to increase their audiences²⁶. At present, the crisis of the press sector in the USA is however a fact. As Warren Buffet said in 2006, *not every business can always bring profits* and the foundation of the press industry *breaks down irreversibly*²⁷. The economic basis of the press functioning, primarily sales and advertising revenue diminishes resulting in a dramatic shrinkage of editorial boards, i.e. undermining the foundations of independent journalism, especially reportage²⁸. Some owners merge newspapers and successive titles disappear from the market. The aforementioned FCC Report presents a list of over 200 local newspapers which disappeared from the market between 2007 and 2010²⁹. In 2008, the widely respected “Christian Science Monitor”, after 100 years of its presence in the US market, discontinued issuing the printed version³⁰, beginning to function only on the Internet. In many cities, newspapers have lost their source of income which traditionally consisted of small advertisers, mainly due to the so-called Craig's list³¹, and they cannot afford quality journalism³².

However, even the darkest scenarios about the *death* of newspapers in the paper version are probably premature since investment funds develop their interest in acquiring shares of publishing houses. Investment funds make increasingly bolder purchases as the stock market indices of many press companies soared in 2010³³. The first forerunners of changes for the better have also appeared in the case of some press titles and the dramatic downward trend in newspaper circulation has been clearly slowed down. The defence of the market position initiated by publishers of prestigious journals is also reflected in making more courageous decisions about the introduction of charges for the online content – what has been done by “The Wall Street Journal” for a decade now and is being launched by “The New

²⁶ *The State...*, pp. 28–29.

²⁷ Warren Buffett's Annual Letter to Shareholders, <http://bearonbusiness.com/warren-buffetts-letter-to-shareholders>.

²⁸ L. Downie Jr., M. Schudson, *The Reconstruction of American Journalism*, “The Columbia Journalism Review” October 2009, www.cjr.org/reconstruction/the_reconstruction_of_american.php.

²⁹ S. Waldman, *The Information Needs...*, p. 41.

³⁰ K. Bachko, *Charting a New Course*, “The Columbia Journalism Review”, 31 October 2008, www.cjr.org/behind_the_news/charting_a_new_course.php.

³¹ Free advertising services on the Internet. The network of small advertisements, i.e. the so-called Craig's list, was founded by Craig Newmark in California in 1995.

³² S. Waldman, *The Information Needs...*, p. 40.

³³ *The State...*, p. 24.

York Times” as well – and in the expansion on new platforms on the Internet, *inter alia*, iPad applications³⁴.

More than a half of readers of such important dailies as “The New York Times”, “The Wall Street Journal” and “USA Today” are younger than the average reader of newspapers in the USA and, in the case of the former, one in five is under 30 years of age³⁵. The rejuvenation of “The New York Times” audience is undoubtedly related to the success of the online version. The Nytimes.com website is visited by more than 20 million users every month, which means that it is the most popular newspaper website in the USA. Almost one out of ten young internet users indicates it as a favourite news medium. Although the circulation of the daily’s printed version in 2010 fell to 876,000 (by 5.5 per cent in relation to 2009), it reported a significant increase in the number of readers due to the popularity of its webpage³⁶. An aggressive fight for the market position, through the promotion of new products and the introduction of paid subscriptions since March 2011, became even more visible³⁷. Subscriptions to access the Internet edition, priced at 15 dollars per month and 20 dollars for tablets were bought by more than 100,000 people in the first quarter of 2011³⁸. The offensive policy of the publishing house in the field of new technologies is to help overcome the difficult economic situation of the daily³⁹. Arthur O. Sulzberger, the co-owner and President of the New York Times Company, considers the moment of introduction of fees for access to the Internet daily to be extremely important in its 159-year-long history especially due to the fact that it will enable to continue investing in quality journalism and strengthen its position, credibility and opinion for many years⁴⁰. This opinion is shared by the editor of “The American Journalism Review”, Rem Rieder who believes that the decision of “The New York Times” is particularly essential to the battle for the issue of payments. The point is also to convince users of the Internet media that it is worth paying for quality journalism.

Readership successes on the Internet were also achieved by other well-known dailies, including “The Wall Street Journal”, “The Los Angeles Times”, “USA Today” or popular New York tabloids “The Daily News” and “The New York Post”⁴¹. The rivalry is also being

³⁴ B. Palser, *The Ins and Outs of iPad Apps*, ”The American Journalism Review”, March & April 2011, www.ajr.org/Article.asp?id=5027.

³⁵ *Americans Spending...*, p. 67.

³⁶ *The States...*, p. 27.

³⁷ <http://finance.yahoo.com/news/The-New-York-Times-Launches-bw-2608241744.html>.

³⁸ www.websitemagazine.com/content/blogs/posts/archive/2011/04/21/the-new-york-times-pay-wall-success.aspx.

³⁹ *The State...*, p. 10.

⁴⁰ *A Letter to Our Readers About Digital Subscriptions*, 17 March 2011, www.nytimes.com/2011/03/18/opinion/118times.html.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 27.

held in the traditional area, i.e. the segment of the printed press. News Corporation, the publisher of “The Wall Street Journal”, began its expansion in New York and clearly moves towards the direction of transforming the daily from economic to a more universal one, which could successfully compete with “The New York Times”. For this purpose, it expands the *Metro* section for the New York metropolitan area, enriches departments of the life style type as well as other popular ones of a lighter nature, including these dedicated to fine arts and fashion⁴².

The era of the Internet changes journalism, not always for the better for both journalism and the press themselves as well as their readers. Together with the reduction of journalistic teams, the original content, both printed and online, is also reduced. Already mentioned Riem Rieder asserts that the decision of “The New York Times”, concerning *its commitment to providing serious news, with depth and breadth*, is an important example for others and – as he also notes – *it's hardly outrageous to ask people to pay for it*⁴³.

The economic condition of the newspaper industry results in the fact that it is not as profitable as it once was. In 2010, the Internet for the first time overtook the press not only as a source of information but also in terms of online advertising spending⁴⁴. Although the press earned more than 3 billion dollars from online advertising, the costs of publishing and debt service constantly rise. In the fourth quarter of 2010, stock quotes of media companies decreased by an average of 22 per cent; however, analysts claim that 2011 will be more favourable⁴⁵. In 2010, large press publishing enterprises recorded the growth of revenue, e.g.: the New York Times Company by 4.5 per cent and Gannett – 6.4 per cent⁴⁶. There was also stabilisation of the circulation declines⁴⁷. Nonetheless, no one can feel secure as far as their market position in the future is concerned.

Charles L. Overby, the chairman of the Freedom Forum and Diversity Institute and, simultaneously, the CEO of the Newseum – an interactive museum of the media in Washington – believes that the most important challenge now is to restore the position of

⁴² E. Woollacott, *Murdoch's The Daily Hits the Virtual Newsstands*, “TG Daily”, 3 February 2011, www.tgdaily.com/games-and-entertainment-features/53911-murdochs-the-daily-hits-the-virtual-newsstands; L. Horn, *Murdoch Reveals News Corp.'s iPad Publication*, *The Daily*, “PC Mag” 2 February 2011, www.pcmag.com/article2/0,2817,2379210,00.asp.

⁴³ R. Rieder, *An Important Initiative*, “The American Journalism Review” March & April 2011, www.ajr.org/Article.asp?id=5050.

⁴⁴ According to eMarketer, advertising revenue of the printed press sector in 2010 was lower than the Internet income and amounted to 22.8 billion dollars (a fall from 44 billion dollars in 2003), 3 billion of which came from online advertising; see S. Waldman, *The Information Needs...*, p. 39.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 43.

⁴⁶ *The State...*, p. 12.

⁴⁷ An average decrease was about 5 per cent; only three of the 25 greatest titles reported declines of more than 10 per cent, *ibidem*, p. 29.

newspapers after one of the biggest mistakes ever, i.e. offering digital content for free⁴⁸. He is in favour of introducing regulations concerning copyrights protection and imposing the necessary restrictions on news aggregators. Let us add that the tools for monitoring the unauthorised use of the Internet content have already been created. A good example here might be the Californian company, Attributor which created a rather effective programme, FairShare Guardian browsing the Internet for websites illegally using the content coming from the other media⁴⁹. Among the customers of the company, there are such well-known in the world media as: dailies “The Financial Times” and “Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung”, news agencies the Associated Press, Agence France-Presse (AFP), Spanish EFE or the publisher of “Gazeta Wyborcza” – the Agora Group.

Print versus online. Competition in/from the Web

The Internet revolution has sparked two fateful events: caused the fall in the press circulation and formed the habit to access the online press content for free. This latter practice, from the business point of view, was unreasonable even though its motivation was clear – to widen audiences and expand the advertising space onto the Internet. The consequences of these practices today determine the main trends of changes in the press sector of the United States, what is discussed by the Pew Report of April 2011⁵⁰. In the opinion of the authors of the Report, six major trends will define the directions of the press sector functioning in the near future. Some of them stimulate and dynamise the development of the sector while others may constitute a barrier to its advancement⁵¹. These are as follows: 1) the issue of payment for access to the content; 2) the offer of new carriers of information (tablets and other mobile platforms); 3) investment in local information; 4) new business opportunities of taking advantage of the Internet; 5) declining quality accompanied by constantly rising costs; 6) new ways of management in publishing houses and new managers with no experience in the newspaper industry.

Understanding not only what content is of interest for *news grazers*⁵², but also what discourages them may be the key to success of the online press publishers. The existence of even the most popular information websites often depends on *casual users* who visit the

⁴⁸ The main goal of the organisation is to ensure compliance with the First Amendment, N. Fioretti, *American Dailies...*

⁴⁹ www.attributor.com/index.php/solutions/overview.

⁵⁰ *Newspapers: Missed...*

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 1–5.

⁵² The term signifying those browsing through different websites in search of information, *Americans Spending...*, p. 44.

webpage a few times a month and devote only few minutes to its content. The number of these casual ones is dominant among the press websites users⁵³. The example of popular USAToday.com is typical: 85 per cent of users visited it one to three times a month, one third of whom spent from one to five minutes there. Thus, it becomes obvious that, even though newspaper readership on the Web grows, this success frequently happens to be illusory and can only mean a temporary interest and occasional visits, resulting from the redirection done by network aggregators and blogs.

There is of course a smaller group of loyal readers that might be called *power users*⁵⁴. Such readers return to their favourite webpage more than 10 times a month and spend over an hour browsing through it. However, they constitute only 7 per cent among the users of the 25 most popular websites in the US news media. Media organisations must thereby create comprehensive strategies as soon as possible not only to obtain loyal users, but also to forge a financial success. It is even likely that different strategies to meet the needs of loyal and interested users, and separate for casual users will be necessary⁵⁵.

Media strategies, taking into account the growing importance of media convergence and its impact on the information market, are illustrated by three significant events in the USA at the beginning of 2011, when the attention of the media industry focused on: the purchase of The Huffington Post by AOL Inc., the creation of an independent entity – the News Licensing Group by the Associated Press and the launch of a new newspaper – “The Daily” by News Corporation.

The greatest importance is attributed to the acquisition of the information portal Huffington Post by AOL for the amount of 315 million dollars – *notabene* twice higher than the one for which the prestigious daily “Philadelphia Inquirer” was sold in April 2010. The income of the Huffington Post is not high for the time being (it amounted to 30 million dollars in 2010), but it is expected that it will increase to 50 million in 2011⁵⁶. The success of the

⁵³ K. Olmstead, A. Mitchell, T. Rosenstiel, *Navigating News Online. Where People Go, How They Get There And What Lures Them Away*, The Pew Research Center’s Project for Excellence in Journalism, 9 May 2011, www.journalism.org/analysis_report/navigating_news_online.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁵ Reading longer texts on the Internet is facilitated by new tools that allow you to save texts and postpone reading them in the *purified* form, i.e. without any distracting Internet additions. For instance, Instapaper and Readability are services that help longer journalistic forms survive. J. Paskin, *Long-Form Saviors. New technology to encourage the reading of long articles, online and off*. “The Columbia Journalism Review”, January / February 2011, www.cjr.org/currents/long-form_saviors.php.

⁵⁶ K. Swisher, *You’ve Got Arianna: AOL Buys Huffington Post for \$315 Million in Cash and Stock, Appoints Huffington Editor in Chief*, “All Things Digital”, 6 February 2011, <http://allthingsd.com/20110206/youve-got-arianna-aol-buys-huffington-post-for-315-million-in-cash/>.

portal⁵⁷ which, after six years of existence, competes with the powerful informational media powers in the USA is a sign of the ongoing media revolution, in which no one can be certain of their market position. Its acquisition by AOL can result in the emergence of the powerful media group with the possibility of reaching 270 million people⁵⁸.

In turn, Rupert Murdoch presented the new, long-announced product of News Corporation, “The Daily” designed exclusively for iPad users. The success or failure of the newspaper will be a crucial indication for the initiation of similar projects; hence, it will undoubtedly be closely observed by the entire media industry, primarily by traditional newspapers offering versions for tablets. This large-scale project, with the 100 people strong newsroom and a budget of around 30 million dollars, seems to be the largest event of its kind in the press market in the USA since 1982, when the enterprise Gannett launched the new nationwide daily “USA Today”.

Meanwhile, the News Licensing Group is the AP’s venture in response to both new needs of the information recipients and unfair practices of information aggregators on the Internet. The declared aim is, on the one hand, to provide high quality information (services), on the other – to protect the content on the Web. As Tom Curley, the President of the AP announces, the new entity is to be the market leader in the distribution of information, which respects intellectual property rights, simultaneously enabling the development of media organisations. The game is to be played according to *the changed rules for information providers around the world*⁵⁹.

Offer changes

Many newspapers in the United States are currently undergoing an extensive restructurisation, enabling integration of the content production for the printed and online versions with a simultaneous constant balancing of costs, which currently means more the necessity to save than the desire to invest. For journalists, it also means the challenge to be more committed and to expand their qualifications. Recipients are, after all, relentless. For 9 per cent of Americans, the mainstream media already belong to the past as they obtain information in the new environment of the digital media. A specific kind of culture involving the use of all types

⁵⁷ J. Benzing, *Too Amazing to Turn Down*, ”The American Journalism Review”, March & April 2011, www.ajr.org/Article.asp?id=5052.

⁵⁸ V. Makarenko, T. Gryniewicz, *AOL fabryką wiadomości*, „Gazeta Wyborcza”, 8 February 2011, p. 22.

⁵⁹ *A[ssociated] P[ress] board approves independent agency to license digital news. Press release*, 2 March 2011, www.ap.org/pages/about/pressreleases/pr_020311a.html.

of gadgets (*an Apps Culture*)⁶⁰, especially among the young, has already been created in the United States. According to the latest data, 7 per cent of American adults own tablets⁶¹. It is thus not surprising that expenditures on the so-called mobile advertising (mobile phones, smartphones, tablets) reached, according to eMarketer, 743 million dollars in 2010, about 79 per cent more than in 2009.

In this situation, the necessity to develop applications for iPads by traditional titles has to become the new standard of functioning. They are not merely simple e-versions of newspapers but, usually, include also multimedia⁶². “The New York Times” and “The Washington Post” applications offer photography and video galleries and extensive archives. “The Wall Street Journal” offers the full content of the printed version and most of the archival texts are available through the offline access. The same measures are already standard for other newspapers as well. Moreover, the electronic offer is in principle very attractive due to its price. “The Washington Post” daily is presently offering the iPad application for free as an addition to the subscription and, for extra 99 cents per month, one can get access to the whole content. The cost of subscription to “The Daily” is only 40 dollars per year or 99 cents a week. The traditional press is not able to compete with such prices. The consumption of information has thereby found itself in a brand new place and its conditions are dictated by recipients whom new technologies offer an increasingly greater content for a lower price.

Therefore, it is time to ask the question about this particular issue: does the difference lie only in technology, the method of consumption and price or whether it is also about the content? Is it true that the new media merely digest (aggregate) the content produced by the mainstream press and television that have not yet abandoned their reporters and investigative journalists? The studies on the informational content of different media show that more than a half of major publications concern the same matters. The research conducted by Scott Maier proves that the network and traditional media have not only a similar agenda, but also the criteria concerning the level of minuteness for specific publications. Only the information published on blogs and in the social media differs from the mainstream media content⁶³. In turn, Leonard Downie Jr. and Michael Schudson, authors of the widely discussed report of

⁶⁰ K. Purcell, R. Entner, N. Henderson, *The Rise...*

⁶¹ K. Zickuhr, *Generations and their gadgets*, The Pew Internet & American Life Project, 3 February 2011, www.pewinternet.org/~media/Files/Reports/2011/PIP_Generations_and_Gadgets.pdf.

⁶² B. Palser, *The Ins and Outs...*

⁶³ Scott Maier’s research was published in “Journalism and Mass Media Quarterly” Vol. 87 (2010), No. 3/4,

2009⁶⁴, indicate that the amount of information in the US dailies even doubled in the late 1990s when compared to the 1960s. Likewise, the concept of the news has undergone substantial changes. The area of issues that were once regarded as public matters (public life) has been broadened. Nowadays, they include not only important current events, but also social and political trends, news from the field of science, medicine, economics, education, religion, culture and entertainment⁶⁵. The proportion of essential local, national and international information dropped from 35 to 24 per cent whereas the proportion of business news doubled from 7 to 15 per cent and of sports information increased from 16 to 21 per cent. Local newspapers also discontinued keeping reporters in Washington. When compared to the mid-1990s, they are three times less numerous now⁶⁶.

International affairs in the American press have always given way to domestic matters⁶⁷, but now also local issues are a constant concern of the newspaper industry. Competitiveness of the Internet and local television, decreasing revenue from small advertisements and announcements cause the disappearance of the local press and the dangerous decline of pluralism in the information market⁶⁸. There are signs, however, that such ambitious titles as “The Boston Globe”, “The Oregonian” and “The Seattle Times” begin recreating local departments. For this purpose, they employ not only their own reporters, but also volunteers and other members of local communities. Newspapers also commence cooperation with independent blogs and local information portals. Combined audiences (printed and online versions) of some local titles grew to over a million per month during one year as in the case of the following dailies: “The Newark Star-Ledger”, “The Orlando Sentinel” and “The Minneapolis Star Tribune”⁶⁹. In the context of such a vast country as the United States, the *locality* of the press is a relative term. It may include both titles encompassing large metropolitan areas or their suburbs as well as titles of very small communities. The local press comprises more than 80 per cent of all newspapers in the USA. Releasing less than 15,000 copies, it is to a lesser extent owned by independent publishing houses having any press competition whatsoever in the same market⁷⁰. Nonetheless, AOL Patch – an entity created by the Internet giant which, for this purpose, employed 500 journalists starting the construction of a national network of websites dedicated to the local

⁶⁴ L. Downie Jr., M. Schudson, *The Reconstruction...*

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 4.

⁶⁶ Out of 200 reporters in the 1990s, only 73 remained in 2008. See S. Waldman, *The Information Needs...*, p. 50.

⁶⁷ B. Golka, *System medialny...*, p. 138.

⁶⁸ S. Waldman, *The Information Needs...*, p. 34.

⁶⁹ *The State...*, p. 28.

⁷⁰ S. Waldman, *The Information Needs...*, pp. 42 and 34.

content – wishes to compete with local newspapers⁷¹. Neither Patch nor any of its press rivals expect large advertising revenue, but pages dedicated to local information allow, as the experience shows, to build audiences and a new position for advertising on one's own websites in the future.

Changes in the economic model and the management of the press industry

The business model in the press sector was rather simple even in the middle of the 2001–2010 decade. It consisted primarily of advertising and sales revenue⁷². Since then, online advertising has been growing by 3 per cent a year and print advertising revenue has fallen by a half since the middle of this period⁷³. It is unusual insofar as online advertising is considered less effective than press advertising. Thus, it was assumed that at least ten years would pass until Internet advertisements caught up with the press ones. The old model of financing, however, fell apart much faster than anyone imagined. The sector is currently looking for a new, more diversified financial model, in which many small *rivulets* create a larger overall flow of income. Still, sales and advertising revenues are the primary source of income for newspapers; hence, the struggle for their maintenance remains a priority. For the time being, online advertising revenue of the American press is on average around 11.7 per cent of the total income of the sector⁷⁴ and has grown by about one billion dollars (i.e. by one third) within 5 years. The press can also count on increasing revenues from subscriptions. Nevertheless, it is still not enough to compensate for the losses caused by the outflow of advertisers and declines in circulation. When comparing profits, publishers assert that *each print dollar was being replaced by four digital pennies*⁷⁵. For now, one thing is certain – *the zero hour* struck for print advertising in 2010, when the Internet for the first time overtook the daily press as a beneficiary of advertising revenue. The difference of 3 billion dollars less for the publishers of dailies⁷⁶ is not only a financial, but also prestigious failure.

⁷¹ J. Tartakoff, *AOL's Patch Aims To Quintuple In Size By Year-End*, <http://paidcontent.org/article/419-aols-patch-aims-to-quintuple-in-size-by-year-end/>.

⁷² B. Golka, *System medialny...*, p. 133.

⁷³ *The State...*, p. 14.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 4; cf. S. Waldman, *The Information Needs...* p. 39.

⁷⁵ S. Waldman, *The Information Needs...*, p. 39.

⁷⁶ *The State...*, p. 4.

Table 2. Profitability of selected publishers groups (the newspaper sector exclusively) in percentages

Year	Publisher					
	Gannett	McClatchy	New York Times	EW Scripps	Tribune	Washington Post
1988	27	20	21	18	21	23
1998	31	28	25	30	31	23
2008	20	19	10	14	-	2

Source: Own elaboration on the basis of the FCC Report, June 2011⁷⁷.

Profits of the press industry no longer decrease as rapidly as a few years ago, but it still happens, regardless of the radical actions undertaken. The Tribune Company – the press empire comprised of such journals as “The Los Angeles Times”, “The Chicago Tribune” and “The Baltimore Sun” – was forced to declare bankruptcy like many other smaller press enterprises in big cities, from Minneapolis to Philadelphia. More than one hundred newspapers across the United States discontinued issuing weekend or other additional editions. Despite this fact, the year 2010 is assessed as relatively favourable for the press: declines were *stabilised* at an average level of about 5 per cent and only three titles out of the 25 largest dailies reported falls higher than 10 per cent⁷⁸. However, publishers do not give up. Advertising revenue of, for instance, “The New York Times” dropped by as much as 17 per cent what negatively affected stock quotes among investors. Publishers would of course save a lot of money if they discontinued releasing the hard copy (70 per cent of all costs is devoted to printing and distribution), but no one in the United States can imagine such a solution. “The New York Times”, commonly called the Gray Lady, is more than a daily – it is the flagship of American journalism and nearly a national institution⁷⁹. Additionally, online advertising revenue alone is not enough to maintain an editorial board employing 1230 journalists⁸⁰. Hence, many publishing houses – including The New York Times Company – decided that it was necessary to undertake strong measures concerning charges for access to the online press. The mixed income, i.e. subscription fees and advertising revenue, protect the sale of paper versions and, above all, newsrooms and journalists. The campaign launched impetuously two years ago by Rupert Murdoch, who first started the war against copying information on the

⁷⁷ S. Waldman, *The Information Needs...*, p. 37.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 29.

⁷⁹ B. Golka, *System medialny...*, p. 133.

⁸⁰ www.polityka.pl/rynek/gospodarka/281264,1,raport-nowe-media-w-natarciu.read.

Web and free access to it, seems to be prejudged⁸¹. From the very beginning, the owner of News Corporation argued that these two phenomena led to the crisis of the printed press. The introduction of charges for access to its own titles, including such well-known ones as “The Wall Street Journal” and “The Times”, was attentively observed by the entire industry. The idea of completely free access to the online content produced by other media was called *ordinary cannibalism* by Murdoch – it was an argument in favour of paying for the necessity of incurring high costs when producing reliable information. This controversial media mogul of the great media stubbornly repeated that the digital revolution which has created many new, low-cost distribution channels cannot mean that any content must always be available for free since *quality journalism is not cheap*⁸². Other publishers who follow in his footsteps are now faced with a difficult challenge to explain to their readers why they have to pay for the content of online newspapers which, up till now, have been accessed without any charges. On the other hand, recipients should understand that they receive a valuable product that has its price. At this stage of development of the digital media, the solutions regarding not only copyright issues, but also the standardisation of systems measuring mixed circulation and the size of audiences on the Web are not keeping up with the digital media advancement⁸³. The total US newspaper circulation in the form of both the printed and online versions is now calculated by the Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC) and Scarborough Research, though their methodologies differ. In the system currently used by the ABC, the basic condition for counting subscriptions (e.g. access to the website or application on the tablet) is a uniform advertising offer, i.e. placing the same advertisements in both the paper and electronic version of the same edition of the daily⁸⁴.

Prospects for the emergence of new sources of income for the press are not limited to traditional revenue and fees from subscriptions to the Internet services. The potential revenue from selling applications on tablets, smartphones, commercial Web services such as, for instance, sales guides, cooperation with social networking sites (Facebook, Twitter), etc. should be included here as well. Many of the traditional titles are already operating in conformity with this new business model. According to the data provided by the American Press Association, an average of 105.3 million people a month (so-called unique visitors)

⁸¹ C. Spivak, *Pay to Play*, “The American Journalism Review”, March & April 2011, www.ajr.org/Article.asp?id=5017.

⁸² D. Francis, *Murdoch Pay-For-Content Strategy A Dud*, www.huffingtonpost.com/diane-francis/murdoch-pay-for-content-s_b_260332.html.

⁸³ *The State...*, pp. 5 and 14.

⁸⁴ *Niewierne e-wydanie*, “Gazeta Wyborcza” 25 March 2011.

visited US newspapers' webpages in 2010⁸⁵. This should now be transformed into the financial success. However, while it is not difficult for large newspapers to invest millions of dollars in testing paid versions accompanied by a system of measurement, the smaller ones cannot afford to take such a step independently.

Similarly, the era when press publishing companies or individual titles in the United States were relatively easily identifiable with their owners – frequently the same great families who did not care only about profits – is already gone. Nowadays, slightly over 40 per cent of the daily press remains in their hands and the hands of large corporations; nevertheless, rapid changes in this respect are expected⁸⁶. Although the sector did not experience any spectacular merger in 2010, Martin Langevelde, a market analyst, believes it was this way because *nobody can afford to buy anybody else*⁸⁷. Acquisitions of publishing houses by anonymous investment funds, for which profit is the sole purpose⁸⁸ and which begin to take control over many individual titles or even press groups, still remain the big unknown⁸⁹. Market observers claim that they may take control over seven more titles out of the 25 largest newspapers in the USA in 2011. The group of Angelo Gordon of Wall Street is the leader of such acquisitions but no one of the company wishes to comment on their strategy in the press sector⁹⁰. Therefore, speculations abound as to the possible repercussions of the current ownership reshuffles, including radical changes in the press market. The possible merger of Dean Singleton's Media News Group, acquired by funds in early 2011 together with 61 titles, and the Tribune Group which would create the biggest enterprise in the US market capable of dethroning the current leader – Gannett, the owner of 81 press titles, including “USA Today” – would be a fundamental change. The model of functioning of private equity funds in the press sphere, primarily their philosophy of management, raises fears within the press sector. Some trends have already appeared: the exchange of the management personnel for managers with no experience in the newspaper industry, but with

⁸⁵ *Newspaper Websites Reach Nearly Two-Thirds of All Internet Users in Fourth Quarter*, The Newspaper Association of America, 25 January 2011, www.naa.org/PressCenter/SearchPressReleases/2011/NEWSPAPER-WEBSITES-REACH-NEARLY-TWO-THIRDS-OF-ALL-INTERNET-USERS-IN-FOURTH-QUARTER.aspx.

⁸⁶ S. Waldman, *The Information Needs...*, pp. 38–39.

⁸⁷ M. Langevelde, *Predicting more digital convergence and an AP clearinghouse coming 2011*, Nieman Journalism Lab., 22 December 2011, www.niemanlab.org/2010/12/martin-langevelde-predicting-more-digital-convergence-and-an-ap-clearinghouse-coming-in-2011/.

⁸⁸ J. Morton, *The Hedge Fund Era*, “The American Journalism Review”, June & July 2011, www.ajr.org/Article.asp?id=5031.

⁸⁹ *The State...*, p. 13.

⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 13–14.

experience in the field of the electronic media; the desire to gain profits as the main motivation; and the tendency to introduce profound changes, irrespective of social costs⁹¹.

Changes in journalism. Will the newsroom survive?

It is undoubtedly the breakthrough moment for American journalism, especially press journalism. The news media have undergone a far-reaching diversification and the domination of influential newspapers belongs to the past now. Nonetheless, even with this abundance of sources, it should be remembered that not only the news, but also the newsroom is necessary⁹². It is hoped that an experienced journalist or reporter, supported by the editorial board having at its disposal material and legal means necessary for the creation of the publication, will always be indispensable⁹³. Meanwhile, over only one decade, editorial boards of American newspapers have shrunk by a quarter. “The Baltimore Sun” dismissed 150 journalists out of 400 employees while “The Los Angeles Times” – 600 out of 1100. According to various sources, the number of people employed in daily newspapers declined by 11,000 between 2007 and 2009, falling to the level of employment in the early 1970s, i.e. to 41,500⁹⁴ whereas, even in 1992, 60,000 journalists were employed in American newsrooms.

And there is no content without journalists. There is no media without the content. Freelancers and bloggers alone will not create quality, reliable and diverse content as it requires a lot of effort, knowledge and outlays (war reportage, international correspondents). Online information aggregators also start seeking a new model of journalism. In the long run, weakening quality journalism would be cutting one’s own throat also for them. They increasingly begin generating the content themselves and expanding their own newsrooms since the hitherto content, i.e. the *aggregation* of information from the other media, blogs, fragmentary reportage and links to the other media, is no longer sufficient. It is good news for American journalism, but not necessarily good for the printed press. A small editorial board of “Newser”, which uses only the publications of others, does not pose a threat to it.

⁹¹ Ibidem, p. 14.

⁹² An English wordplay: *news* meaning information, *newsroom* – editorial office (place); L. Downie Jr., M. Schudson, *The Reconstruction...*

⁹³ Ibidem, p. 9.

⁹⁴ *Decline in Newsroom Jobs Slows*, American Society of News Editor, 11 April 2010, http://asne.org/article_view/articleid/763/decline-in-newsroom-jobs-slows.aspx.

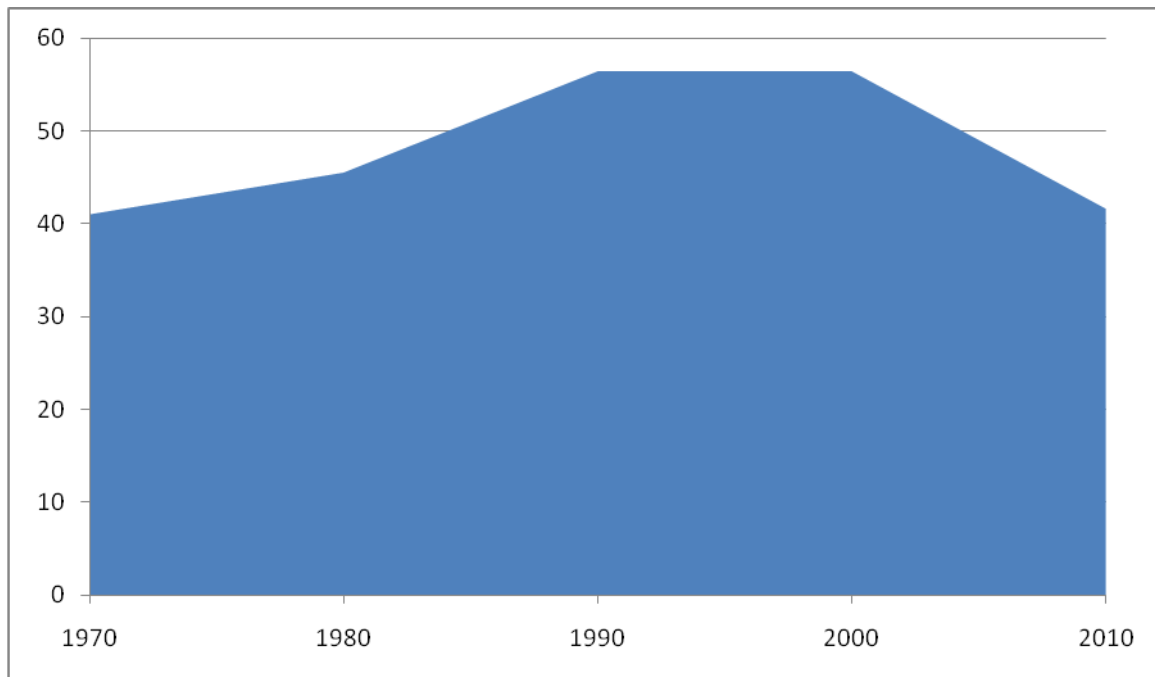


Chart 4. Number of journalists employed in newsrooms in the years 1970–2010

Source: Own elaboration⁹⁵.

Similarly, the popular conservative website, The Drudge Report – which simply refers to other websites, including the press, additionally offering ironic or catty comments – is not threatening as well. However, The Huffington Post or The Daily Beast websites cannot be ignored⁹⁶. Arianna Huffington works now together with AOL while Tina Brown has taken over the management of the company which owns the estimable weekly magazine, “Newsweek”. Currently, in addition to the multitude of freelancers and volunteers, also the great names from the world of the old media work for them. The Huffington Post joined the American News Project, a non-profit organisation that promotes investigative journalism and even invested 0.5 million dollars in a similar independent organisation – the Huffington Post Investigative Fund. The former investigative reporter of “The Washington Post”, Larry Roberts – who announced that he would provide journalistic materials on a national scale exactly as the well-known organisation ProPublica does – became its editor-in-chief⁹⁷. After years of using the content of the traditional media, the network giants are beginning to invest more in its production. The Huffington Post, which, until recently, produced only a small

⁹⁵ Ibidem. Cf. S. Waldman, *The Information Needs...*, p. 40.

⁹⁶ L. Downie Jr., M. Schudson, *The Reconstruction...*, p. 23.

⁹⁷ www.propublica.org/about/.

amount of original content, currently employs 148 journalists and declares its intention to employ several others in the near future. After the merger with AOL, it has such press journalism tycoons in its ranks as John Montorio of “The Los Angeles Times”, Tim O'Brien and Peter Goodman of “The New York Times”, Howard Fineman of “Newsweek” and previously MSNBC⁹⁸. In the second half of 2010, AOL alone employed 900 new workers to its editorial boards, including 500 to support the local AOL Patch webpage. Most of them come from small regional and urban newspapers with which the portal intends to compete⁹⁹. After years of frozen salaries and radical cost cuts, new development opportunities seem tempting to journalists. Especially since such largest companies as McClatchy, Gannett and Media News Group promise further reductions though, this time, they will no longer include journalists.

All observers of the American media market believe that the biggest challenge for the US media now will be to save quality journalism, which lost a lot in terms of prestige and social status¹⁰⁰. Recognised organisations, e.g. the Knight Commission on the Information Needs of Communities in a Democracy, are engaged in such activity since it is considered that rescuing quality journalism is necessary for further functioning of public opinion as well as the democratic and civic debate¹⁰¹. This need will not however be met if journalists disappear from public offices, schools, public institutions, companies or suburbs. Likewise, Washington or foreign correspondents should not disappear. Newspapers defend their position using different measures: by cooperating with one another, non-profit organisations and their own readers. Eight major newspapers from Ohio created the Ohio News Organisation which provides journalistic materials in various fields, ranging from business and politics to sports information. The content in the newspapers are subsequently created independently and compete against one another, what is frequently emphasised by their publishers¹⁰². Various ideas are born to take actions to save newspapers through the creation of foundations and organisations that are able to raise funds sufficient for, e.g. the existence of local newspapers. Senator Ben Cardin of Maryland is an initiator of a bill that allows newspapers to turn into non-profit organisations and those willing to support them could benefit from tax relief. Up till now, however, the law has not been debated by the Congress. The St. Louis Beacon website, founded by Margaret Freivogel who raised about 2 million dollars from various

⁹⁸ J. Benzing, *Too Amazing...*

⁹⁹ J. Tartakoff, *AOL Patch...*

¹⁰⁰ R.G. Picard, *Why journalists deserve low pay*, www.robertpicard.net/files/Why_journalists_deserve_low_pay.pdf.

¹⁰¹ L. Downie, Jr., M. Schudson, *The Reconstruction...*

¹⁰² *Ibidem*, p. 11.

donours: foundations, advertisers, and corporate and local donours, functions on similar principles¹⁰³. In view of the fact that journalists of the Pulitzer legendary daily “St. Louis Post-Dispatch” found employment at the editorial board of the portal, it received financial support from the Pulitzer family, the newspaper owners until 2005.

Conclusions

The Future of News is the title of a series of public television programmes relating to the future of the media and the future of democracy in the United States; supported by the Ford Foundation’s grants, can be viewed on the Newseum site¹⁰⁴. The discussion held there, assisted by multimedia presentations with the help of the latest technology, shows various faces of information in the contemporary American media space. The programme raises essential questions concerning what would be the social cost of the total collapse of the so-called mainstream newspapers and media, including the far-reaching implications for recipients and American democracy. Google, YouTube and Twitter did not exist in the 1980s, when the information sphere was seized by 24-hour news channels, which quickly dethroned not only the press, but also the flagship evening news programs of three big television networks. The Internet giants needed much less time to dethrone the *old media*. The devaluation of the importance of the *old* prestigious media is often hidden behind the digital revolution. In almost one decade, Americans have not only adapted their habits to the new opportunities offered by the media, but they also choose new media brands more eagerly. They dominate the rankings of the most popular sources of information even though well-known titles of the traditional media also appear there rather frequently¹⁰⁵. Conclusions drawn from the analysis of the Pew reports clearly indicate that it is the Internet that determines the prospects of the information press development.

According to Tomasz Goban-Klas, in the case of the digital press, there is no continuation of the traditional content and culturally established ways of consumption since the new *liquid* forms of newspapers are at the same time a new quality in the market¹⁰⁶. Liquidity and volatility are the main features relating to both the form (newspaper portal,

¹⁰³ M. Miller, L. McPherson, *A Beacon for St. Louis: a nonprofit Web site aims to round out the local news menu for the Gateway to the West*, “The American Journalism Review”, December & January 2008/2009, http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_hb3138/is_6_30/ai_n31163060/.

¹⁰⁴ www.newseum.org/programs/future-of-news/index.html.

¹⁰⁵ *Americans Spending...*, p. 30.

¹⁰⁶ T. Goban-Klas, *Gazeta – wymierający gatunek. Mane, tekel, fares?*, unpublished text of the speech delivered at the conference *350 Years of the Polish Press* in the Institute of Journalism, University of Warsaw, 17 June 2011.

tablet) and the compressed content of newspapers on electronic carriers. Thus, perhaps, this e-press and all *neo-newspapers*, such as “The Daily”, are not the press at all.

The reality confronts press publishers with a fundamental question whether issuing the press can still be profitable. It is probable – as the authors of the FCC report conclude – that the era of profitable newspapers have already passed and the new one is approaching; the era in which newspapers will be non-profit institutions financed by wealthy entrepreneurs and philanthropists, who treat such activity in terms of social service in favour of democracy¹⁰⁷.

It is certain that the answers to all questions will appear shortly. Changes in the US market, its diversity and dynamics cause that it becomes a specific kind of laboratory where new models of coexistence of the traditional and new media, in all possible spheres, are tested. The press sector also seems to be already reconciled with the necessity to introduce profound reforms. In the above-mentioned Pew ranking, the Huffington Post website, unknown until a few years ago, left the Washington Post behind. Thus, when the famous journalist, John Montorio, after 15 years spent at the editorial board of “The New York Times”, on the first day of his work for the HuffPost, says that the work in this place means *another sea change in American journalism*¹⁰⁸, it will certainly happen.

¹⁰⁷ S. Waldman, *The Information Needs...*, p. 56.

¹⁰⁸ J. Benzing, *Too Amazing to Turn Down...*