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“He Hit the Bottom”.
Why Does a Tabloid Need
the Priest? The Negative
Image of Catholic Priests
in Texts Published at Fakt24.pl
in 2009-2016

SUMMARY

The research is based on 341 articles published on one of the most popular Polish general-content web portals, Fakt24.pl (the online webpage of the most readable Polish daily, *Fakt*, which is a tabloid). The research material from 2009-2016 includes texts in which *priest* had negative connotations. This paper aims to present, through a catalogue of inappropriate behaviours of priests and manners in which such behaviours are depicted, the most important tendencies in the negative image shaped by the texts. The emphasis was put on these elements of such image that arise from the tabloid nature of the source and are meant to make the message emotional. The collected data are presented quantitatively against the variable of time (with positive and neutral depictions taken into consideration).

KEYWORDS: priest, tabloid, image, connotations, depiction

STRESZCZENIE

„Stoczył się na dno”, czyli po co tabloidowi ksiądz? Negatywny wizerunek kapłana w tekstach publikowanych na portalu Fakt24.pl w latach 2009-2016

Przedmiotem badań jest 341 tekstów opublikowanych na jednym z najpopularniejszych polskich portali informacyjnych, Fakt24.pl (będącym ponadto internetowym serwisem najbardziej poczytnej polskiej gazety codziennej, tabloidu „Fakt”), pochodzących z lat 2009-2016, w których rzeczownik *ksiądz* ma wydźwięk negatywny. Niniejszy tekst służy przedstawieniu najważniejszych tendencji w ramach wyłaniającego się z nich negatywnego wizerunku (katalogu niewłaściwych zachowań księży i sposobu ich przedstawiania). Szczególną uwagę poświęcono tym elementom owego wizerunku, które wynikają z tabloidowości źródła (a służą emocjonalizacji przekazu). Zebrane dane przedstawiono ilościowo w ujęciu czasowym (dodatkowo uwzględniając jednostki o wydźwięku pozytywnym i neutralnym).

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: ksiądz, tabloid, wizerunek, wydźwięk

The source of the material used in this paper is Fakt24.pl, the website of the most popular daily newspaper in Poland.¹ Both the printed “Fakt” and Fakt24.pl, based largely on the newspaper materials, are tabloids. It can, therefore, be assumed, that the issues of faith, religion and the life of the Church are presented therein selectively and are subject to simplifications appropriate to this type of medium.

The following text is intended to point out some directions of this simplification. It focuses on one of the tabloid’s expressions of interest in religion and morality. This area is subject to concretization in such a way that the starting point is the person whose existence enables the media to communicate the divine and the human, the sacred and the profane, pathos and humour, along with the tenderness and indignation in the media. Such a convenient (because it is capacious) figure for the tabloid is the Catholic priest.

1 Results from the end of 2016 according to the Gemius/PBI survey commissioned by the Virtual Media website. Source: <http://www.wirtualnemedial.pl/artykul/serwisy-dziennikow-rzeczpospolita-gazeta-wyborcza-i-super-express-mocno-w-gore-zasiegowo-fakt-dominuje-w-odslonach>. What is important, the “Fakt” newspaper is the leader in kiosk sales. Source: <http://www.wirtualnemedial.pl/article/fact-na-czele-sprzedazy-kioskowa-na-plusie-gazeta-polska-day-i-rzeczpospolita>

This can be seen in the Fakt24.pl archive. The sequence “www.fakt.pl/ksiadz” allows you to view all the texts tagged by authors with a keyword #*ksiadz* (Polish for “priest”). The material collected in this way consists of 716 units, coming from eight full years 2009-2016.² This means that every four days on average a text with the hashtag appears on the website.

For the authors of the collected texts, the starting point is usually not a priest *in genere*,³ but specific members of the clergy who are the protagonists of the stories or are cited as experts. These texts, however, co-create a consistent (though variant) image of a priest, which can be divided into several tendencies.

A good way to allow a preliminary, generic characterization of how Fakt24.pl writes about priests is to trace the sentiment⁴ of the word *ksiadz*. The term (sentiment) is understood here as the relationship of the author of a given text to the member of the clergy (positive, neutral or negative).⁵ The rating of this sentiment was made by the author of this article (D.Ch.) based on the context of the entire text. What is worth emphasizing is that usually the sentiment is clearly expressed already in the headline, while other parts of the text represent its logical development and confirmation. Because of this, specific phenomena are illustrated here by the quotations of headings (given in brackets).⁶

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- 2 The scarcely represented and incomplete year 2008 (only 14 texts) was omitted in this material, as it is not suitable for quantitative analysis and study of changes in sentiments.
 - 3 A reflection of this approach is the low popularity of texts with keywords describing priests as a group. There are no tags for “*priests*” and “*clergy*”. The keyword *clergy* occurs in just 13 articles, from 2012-2015. There are a little more (30) articles with the hashtag #*duchowni* (“clergy”) (most of them also have #*ksiadz*, so they are included in the material presented here as well).
 - 4 According to how the sentiment of an article is understood by media monitoring entities (such as IMM or Press-Service).
 - 5 A positive sentiment means that the priest in question is represented in the text as a model priest, a good man and a model to follow. A negative sentiment is based on (expressed or implied) criticism of the priest’s conduct. A neutral sentiment means no clear dominance of negative or positive evaluation of the priest(s). According to this understanding of neutral sentiment, this group also includes texts in which there are various instances of a different evaluations of the priest (eg., parishioner, character-antagonist, etc., and the author does not direct the reader’s choice to any of these opinions) and articles in which two or more priests are judged differently when, for example, one priest criticizes another (e.g. “*Cardinal Dziwisz sharply about Father Nataneł*”). A broad understanding of a neutral sentiment helps to capture the most important tendencies within such an extensive collection of texts and facilitates the presentation of numerical results (the number of texts equals the number of units of sentiment).
 - 6 Due to the large number of cases, the source url is not given at all times. It would be a non-economic solution and not very comfortable for the reader. All examples can be found by typing the sequence example given in the example in the search box at www.fakt.pl.

The graphs below show the percentages of texts with given sentiments in each period and the number of texts with a specific sentiment in the given year.

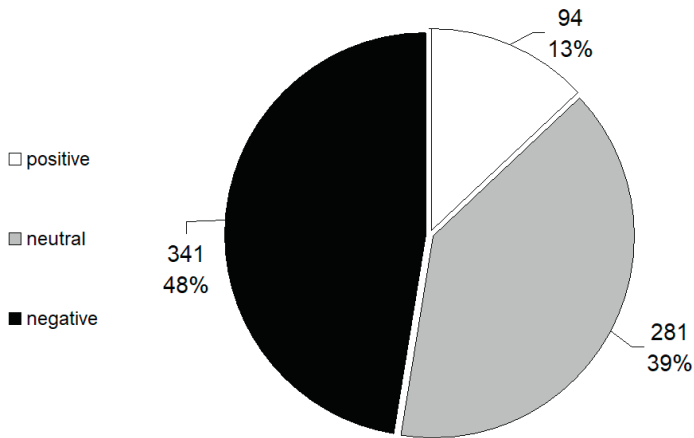


Figure 1. Numerical and percentage share of units with certain sentiments in the texts tagged with the keyword “ksiadz” in the years 2009-2016

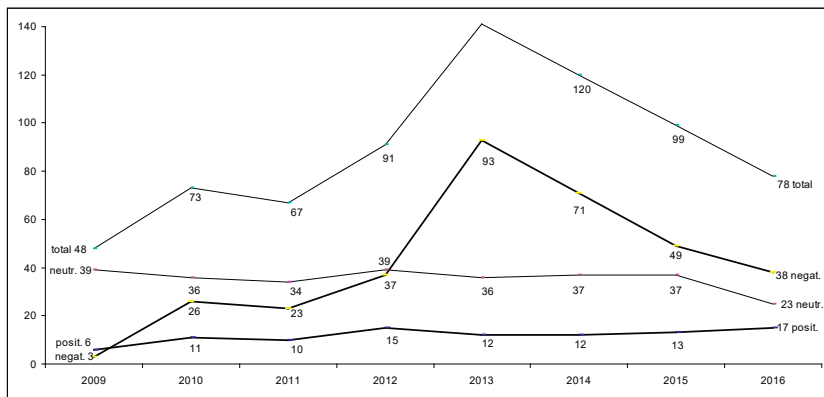


Figure 2. Number of texts with a specific sentiment in each year

The largest group of texts with the keyword *#priest* has a negative sentiment. It consists of 341 outcomes, which constitutes nearly half of the entire collection (47.62%). In addition, it is a group whose size during the period under review was subject to the most dynamic fluctuations (with

a positive balance). In this article, attention will be devoted exclusively to these texts and the emerging negative image of the priest.⁷

The texts that make up this collection depict the deeds, words and attitudes of priests which are considered to be inadequate. The authors use different valuation systems and refer to different norms (moral, legal, and social). Consequently, the conduct of the priests is described by the authors as evil, sinful, criminal, blasphemous, shocking or scandalous.

The largest group of texts with a negative sentiment come from descriptions of the sex life of priests. They constitute a group of 168 occurrences (49.3% of outcomes with a negative sentiment). Interestingly, articles about inappropriate sexual behaviour (or with sexual undertones) on minors (including paedophilia) dominate here. These are as many as 152 (90% of negative-sentiment texts describing the sex life of priests).

The figures show that the tabloid treats this topic as important and attractive. It must be stressed, however, that such a clear dominance is not due to the multitude of cases described. In fact, one should talk about a trend fuelled by paedophile scandals that inspire these publications. The most important scandals in the period under consideration are matters of Fr. Wojciech Gil and Archbishop Józef Wesołowski. In the years 2013-2014, a total of 54 texts appeared on these topics, which is almost a third of the negative press describing the sex life of priests. In addition, in these two years, texts appearing on sexual abuse of clerics against minors are more vague and cross-sectional, which may mean that there was a wave of interest in this subject that inspired them.

In such a large group of texts, one can distinguish a few more detailed regularities. An important tendency is to emphasize that the sexual conduct of priests towards children is violent (e.g. “Zgwałcił nas ksiądz.” *Wstrząsająca spowiedź ofiar* [“Priest raped us”. *Victims’ shocking confession*], *Ksiądz zgwałcił 9-letnią dziewczynkę?* [Priest rapes 9-year-old girl?!]). Fakt24.pl is also interested in machinations and avoiding responsibility, including bullying (*Ksiądz pedofil nęka ofiary i świadków* [Paedophile priest bullies victims and witnesses], *Ksiądz gwałcił dziewczynkę i kazał jej usunąć ich dziecko* [Priest raped girl, told her to abort their baby]). It also stresses and denounce controversial statements of the clergy, which relativize the issue of responsibility (*Ksiądz o pedofilii: To był wybór dziecka* [Priest on paedophilia: It’s the child’s choice], *Ksiądz: mogę zrozumieć pedofila, ale nie geja* [Priest: I can understand a paedophile, but not a gay man]).

Due to the size of this article, the directory of priests’ sexual offenses against minors shall be simplified and, moreover, arbitrary, because tabloid

7 The other groups deserve a separate elaboration.

interpretations of these acts are not always accurate enough. It shall serve primarily to show the diversity of this large group of individuals.

In addition to inappropriate sexual conduct against minors, strict observation is also given to non-observance of celibacy (*Ksiądz jak żigolak* [*Father like juggler*], *Sąd szuka dzieci księdza Irka* [*Court looks Father Irek's kids*]), homosexuality (*Sąd szuka dzieci księdza Irka* [*Pazura sharp about gay priest!*], *Skandal w Watykanie. Gejowskie lobby oszukalo papieża* [*Scandal in Vatican. Gay lobby deceived Pope*]), sexual violence to adults (*Ksiądz zgwałcił i pobit parafiankę! Treść od 18 lat!* [*Priest rapes and beats parishioner! Adult content!*]) and other atypical preferences and deviations (*Ksiądz gwałcił nauczycielki szczotkami i nożyczkami!* [*Priest rapes teacher with brushes and scissors!*], *Nagi ksiądz onanizował się przed uczelnią w Rzeszowie* [*Naked priest masturbates in front of university, Rzeszow*]).

Other texts with the keyword “ksiądz” indicating a negative sentiment do not form such expressive groups. The following directory of offences is suggested:

- drunk driving (*Pijany ksiądz po wypadku pił dalej?* [*Drunk priest crashes and drinks on?*], *Policjanci: Pobit nas ksiądz! Czuć było od niego alkoholu!* [*Police: priest beat us up! He smelled of alcohol!*]);
- Greed (*Ksiądz żąda 300 zł za kołędę. Skandal?* [*Priest demands 300 zł for visit. Scandalous?*], *Ksiądz każe płacić za wodę na cmentarzu* [*Priest demands payment for water in cemetery*]);
- Luxury and extravagance (*Ksiądz przejechał milion dolarów* [*Priest squanders million dollars*], *Dramat polskich biskupów? Nie mają... Bentleyów!* [*Polish bishops' drama: They don't drive Bentleys!*]);
- political agitation (*Wierni przerwali kazanie i wyszli z kościoła* [*Faithful broke off sermon and left church*], *Ksiądz wziął dzieci na wiec PiS* [*Priest takes children to PiS⁸ rally*]);

An important feature of the character in the negative-sentiment texts is his aggressiveness. This is evidenced, among other things, by the presence of verbs referring in the basic sense to physical violence in the headings. In the collected material there are 29 such items (for 219 verbs which refer directly to the priests). Some of them refer to sexual assaults described as “rape” (15 cases), but there is also: “beat”, “assault”, “strike” (11 in total), “kick” (1) and “kill” (6 times, most often referring to the consequences of a road accident, but not always). This is not, of course, a full picture of this phenomenon, because these tendencies of the protagonist can be described descriptively (*Ksiądz chwycił za siekierę i ruszył na parafiankę* [*Priest grabbed axe and headed after parishioner*]).

8 Major political party in Poland (transl.)

Another important group of headline verbs refers to the superiority and power of the priest and their use. In this case, the boundary is fluid, but the following certainly can be included: (not) want (3 times), decide (1), demand (1), rebuke (1), make do something (9 in total), harass (7), bully (1), refuse (1), forbid (1), force (1), demand (3).

An expressive group of negative sentiment items is made up of 26 texts in which the priest is presented as a severe judge. The priest's predominance in that direction prompts him to make a sharp assessment of people, also of the dead (*Szok na pogrzebie! Ksiądz porównał rodzinę zmarłej do Kiepskich!* [*Shock at funeral! Priest compared family of deceased to the Kiepskis!*]), *Skandal podczas komunii. Ksiądz wyzywał dzieci!* [*Scandal during communion. Priest verbally abuses kids!*]). Among these statements, the tabloid cites common insults, which, regardless of the judgment of the situation, should be regarded as inappropriate (*Motloch, k...wa!* [*Fucking mob!*]), *Te głupie baby z piekła nie wyjdą!* [*These stupid hags will rot in hell!*]). In addition, the stern judge uses his superiority to punish the faithful, which is most often refusal to perform a ministry against a person deemed by him to be unworthy (*Skandal. Ksiądz zabronił zasypać grób naszej mamy!* [*Scandal! Priest forbade us to cover our mom's grave!*]), *Ksiądz obraził się na parafian, bo dali za mało pieniędzy* [*Priest took offense over too little money*]).

The words and conduct of the priest are presented in such a way that one can build their own judgment of him as a proud person (*Szokujące słowa księdza. Porównał się do Jezusa!* [*Priest's shocking words: he compared himself to Jesus!*]). The articles complement this picture with more detailed information, but it is important that the headline and photo build up a critical assessment of the priests' conduct. In the priest's conflict with the people the truth is not in the middle. The rationale is on the side of the collective.

As mentioned above, the articles at Fakt24.pl do not initially express general opinions on priests. The starting point is a single priest.¹⁰ However, the cases described in them naturally lead to generalizations. In the negative-sentiment material, the generalization has its fixed direction, which is used to elicit specific interpretation and to reinforce the reader's opinion of the priest.

This is visible, among others, in the illustrations. In the collected material, 31 texts contain photographs showing the priest's neck with a centrally

9 A dysfunctional television comedy series family (transl.)

10 Sporadically, there are cross-cutting texts, especially in the “Galerie” section (*Jakim wozem jeździ Twój proboszcz? Zobacz auta księży* [*What car does your provost drive? See how Polish priests' cars*]), *Tak grzeszą polscy księża. Seks, korupcja...* [*Polish priests' sins. Sex, corruption...*]). However, they are collections of specific cases.

located collar (the lower part of the jaw is seen as well along with and a fragment of the cassock). These are not enlarged images of the characters described, because the editorial team repeatedly uses the same photographs (one of five already used variants is chosen¹¹).

Another symptom of the generalization of the characters is the very low presence of personal data (even first names) of priests in the headlines.¹² The noun “*ksiądz*” appears in 251 times in the headlines with a negative sentiment (i.e. in 73.60% of cases). Usually, however, it is not accompanied by any words in the headings (they only appear in 71 texts). What characterizes the protagonist in a way that appeals to the reader usually is, in this case, the information about his priesthood (and, of course, what he has done or said).

The lack of personal information or illustrating the text in such a way as to prevent the identity of the character may, of course, serve to anonymize them in situations where the legal status of the character so requires. However, this cannot be the only explanation of the procedures used by the editorial office. The priestly collar being a central element of a photograph is one of the basic (if not the most important) attributes of the image of the priest. The character shown in such a symbolic way is thus reduced to the social and cultural role assigned to him. The readers’ judgement is to be made in the context of this role. He could as well be described as “a priest”.

It seems that these illustrative or verbal ways of accentuating the status of a character as a priest are hyperbolic of his misdeeds. It is not surprising, therefore, that the photographs with a close-up of the collar are only present in the collection of negative items.¹³ It is also not surprising that the words used to describe the priest, if present at all, are also most likely to direct the readers’ evaluation of the character as a sinner and a criminal. (Only three priests are named).

11 It seems that the anatomical features that can be associated with the protagonist’s age, such as the colour of the skin, thickness of the neck, or the strength of the beard, are taken into account.

12 Exceptions are hierarchs and priests who are heroes of long-lasting scandals (eg “priest Irek” or “Father Gil”).

13 Furthermore, it is unlikely that the main reason for this practice was that the editorial staff failed to find a photo of the priest in question (or did not bother to do so).

| | | |
|--|-----------------|------------|
| Anonymous | Irek (4) | Polish (5) |
| Entrepreneur | Chaplain | Provost |
| Greedy | Naked | Seweryn |
| Dealer | Paedophile (21) | Sentenced |
| False | Drunk (14) | Such |
| G., Gil, Wojciech G. (8 times) gay (2) | Drunk driver | Thief |
| | Suspected | Known (3) |

What is so attractive in the character of a priest? What causes such a unique interest of the tabloid in priests? And more, mainly in his real or exaggerated sins?

To answer this question, one should refer the priest to other characters in the tabloid world, their roles and relationships between them. These stories depict a traditional model of social relations, in which the parson is still located where the commune leader is, i.e. in the zone of privilege. The ordinary man, who is most often present as a poor, harmless and helpless parishioner, is opposed to the priest in the same feudal-peddling position in which he is faced with the evil politician.

Placing the priest in the traditional tabloid triad *Ordinary man – power – tabloid*¹⁴ in the place of power carries far-reaching consequences. The condemnation of real or perceived offences of the clergy lies within the same strategy that seeks to track down abuses made by politicians and serves to reinforce the reader’s perception of danger and to build a bond between him and the tabloid. The tabloid’s mission is important because, according to its understanding of interpersonal relationships, human justice is not always possible (*Ksiądz oskarżony o pedofilię śmieje się w sądzie!* [Priest accused of paedophilia laughs in court!], *Po pijackim rajdzie biskupa. Archidiecezja chwali hierarchę* [After drunken bishop’s rally. Archdiocese praises the hierarch]).

The position of a priest does not exactly correspond to the power of politicians sanctioned by law. Its more symbolic character commands relating the priest’s figure to another important tabloid hero, the celebrity.¹⁵

The tabloid’s reader looks at celebrities not just to fantasize about his or her own unfulfilled vision of success and prestige. He or she also seeks satisfaction as a result of someone else’s failure. Celebrity problems (most often involving fashion fails or child-rearing dilemmas), however, do not

14 Wasilewski J., *Posłom frykasy, dzieciom ochlapy. Tworzenie podziałów społecznych w mediach* [in:] *Retoryka mediów, retoryka w mediach*, M. Marcjanik (red.), Warszawa 2012, p. 18.

15 In addition, priests (including bishops and Pope Francis) sometimes appear in the media as celebrities.

usually have the kind of rapacity and attraction that a priest and his discomfiture can provide.

Capturing a priest on improper behaviour, sin and crime is an attractive tabloid topic, because it gives it material to direct an immense emotional load at the recipient, which is clearly visible in the reader's comments under the texts discussed here. The characteristic of most tabloid texts is a conviction of the constant struggle between good and evil, which is what ideally concretizes it. The figure of the fallen priest moves the reader because it allows for mixing the sacred and the profane; it destroys the natural order of things (devil in the cassock) and personalizes the fallen sacred, especially when sacramental ministry or prayer is invoked (*Ksiądz zgwałcił 13 dziewczynkę. Tak odpuszczał im grzechy [Priest rapes 13 girls. Says it's for absolution], Tymi dłońmi udzielał komunii i obmacywał dzieci! [He gave communion and groped the children with these same hands!]*).

But articles about the priests and their offenses should not be treated purely as an exaggeration of evil and horror, or as symptoms of a postmodern disease. The tales validate the tabloid because they allow it to play the role of justice. In addition to denouncing the sinner, it punishes him – by stigmatizing (*Żenada! Ksiądz ukradł wódkę w Biedronce [Disgraceful! Priest steals vodka in Biedronka¹⁶], Pijany ksiądz na lotnisku. Ale wstyd! [Drunk priest at airport. Shameful!]*).

The consequence of stigmatizing sin is the priest's repentance portrayed in some texts. It is not a common case, but it is worth to mention it (*Ksiądz przeprosza za symulowanie seksu przy dzieciach! [Priest says sorry for simulating sex with kids looking!], Były ksiądz przeprosza za napad [Former priest apologizes for assault]*).

The story of a priest who “hit the very bottom” is a variation of a contemporary fairy tale with morals. The punishment that falls on the protagonist in them is quite real. We have examples of legal or institutional responsibility (*Proboszcz jechał na podwójnym gazie. Został skazany [Provost was drunk driving. Sentence issued], Pamiętacie pijanego biskupa Jareckiego? Papież zrobi z nim porządek! [Remember drunk bishop Jarecki? Pope Francis will bring him into order!]*). The priest's punishment can also be shown according to its meaning as a charge for evil done, leading the observer to feeling satisfaction according to the folk “serves him right” principle (*Ksiądz pedofil będzie siedział z Trynkiewiczem [Paedophile priest to serve sentence with Trynkiewicz¹⁷], Proboszcz jechał pijany, teraz chodzi pieszo po kołędzie [Provost was driving drunk, now he walks to visit parishioners]*).

16 A cheap supermarket chain in Poland (transl.).

17 An infamous convicted paedophile and serial killer of children.

When a priest is vicious, the truth and justice are on the side of ordinary people. This is why the punishment for rebellion against a priest is performed by the rebellious faithful (*Parafianie wyrzucili księdza: „On bił nasze dzieci!”* [Parishioners threw out priest: “He beat our children!”], *Bunt parafian! Nie chcą proboszcza, bo nie odprawił mszy żałobnej* [Parishioners revolt, don’t want provost for refusing funeral mass]).

In addition, the punishing hand of justice can be the suicide of the priest (e.g. *Powiesił się ksiądz na Podhalu. Sporo nagrzeszył* [Priest hanged himself in Podhale. Had sinned a lot], *Mocne słowa polityka o samobójstwach księży. „Mam satysfakcję”* [Politician’s sharp on priest suicides: “I am satisfied”]). The grim endings of equally gloomy stories are reminiscent of other similar tabloid stories in episodes, such as serial killer or maternal killer court proceedings.¹⁸ The end of the sinner is terrible.

The collected material does not provide evidence for any anti-clerical program of Fakt24.pl. Contrary to the figures presented earlier in the charts, 13% of the units in the collection are positive and 38% are neutral. Next to the articles about the priest, who – as in the title of this text – “hit the bottom” we will find stories about the hero priest (*Dzielny ksiądz obronił kościół* [Brave priest defends church]), priest as an authority (*Życie na pełnej petardzie* [Live life to the full]), a deceased priest performing miracles (*Ocalił mnie ksiądz Jerzy* [Father Jerzy saved me]), a or a priest steadfastly performing his ministry (*Ksiądz przybiegł na miejsce katastrofy. „Rozgrzeszałem”* [Priest came to place of disaster: “I was giving absolution”]), victim of evil or blind aggression (*Bandzior skatował księdza* [Bandit tortured priest]), an expert in matters of religion and piety (*Księża polecają albę jako uniwersalny strój* [Priests recommend alb as universal costume]), along with protagonist of bogus stories (*Polski ksiądz odkrył gen Adama, To prawdziwy cud!* [Polish priest discovers “Adam gene”. It’s a miracle!]) or tongue in cheek texts inviting the reader do simply have some fun (*Olaboga! Ksiądz wybił mi zęby!* [Oh, my goodness! The priest broke my teeth!]).

Reflecting on the issue of anti-clericalism of the medium, however, one cannot ignore the tendency to increase the number of negative items in the study period. A partial explanation of this phenomenon is probably the outbreak of the already mentioned paedophile scandals involving priests in the media. This is especially evident in the year 2013 when rapid increase in this topic was due to the tabloid’s interest in the scandal of two Polish priests in Dominicana. Figure 2. shows that in subsequent generations, when there were no such high-profile scandals involving the clergy, the number of negative units declined.

18 Derived from the traditional wandering musicians’ ballad about infanticide, where the earth splits apart and hell consumes the wicked mother.

On the chart, it is also evident that the increasingly pronounced dominance of units with a negative sentiment is accompanied by a decrease in the number marked as neutral and a small (but constant) rise in the number marked as positive. This demonstrates the rise of the tabloid's radicalism in the evaluation of priests (both positive and negative). Texts containing such an assessment would be more attractive to readers in the sense that they are more emotionally involved.

Increasing the number of units with a negative sentiment – in addition to being part of the tabloid emotionality and stereotyping – may have an additional justification. The increasing share of texts with a negative sentiment (their dominance in the years 2013-2014) may be an editorial (even if click-based) response to the readers' emotions. The increasing boldness with which Fakt24.pl criticizes the clergy prompts the hypothesis of the increase of anti-clerical sentiments among the readers of the Polish tabloid over the eight years. Of course, this requires separate studies.¹⁹ Similarly interesting is the question of the correlation between the tabloidization of most of today's media and the tendency to simplify and radicalize the priest's assessment following the same pattern as seen at Fakt24.pl.²⁰

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19 Still in 2011, B. Dobek-Ostrowska wrote about the conservatism of the average Polish tabloid reader, who "is provincial, subversive and deeply religious ... Publishers of 'Fakt' and 'Super Express' know this and offer him a product tailored to his value system." B. Dobek-Ostrowska, *Jak podobne? Jak różne? Dzienniki tabloidowe w odmiennych systemach medialnych* [in:] *Tabloidy: język, wartości, obraz świata*, red. I. Kamińska-Szmaj, T. Piekot, M. Poprawa, Wrocław 2011, p. 53.

20 Cf. Przybysz M., Marcyński K., *Przeświectlanie Kościoła. Prolog* [in:] *Media i Kościół. Polityka informacyjna Kościoła*, red. Przybysz M., Marcyński K., Warsaw 2011, pp. 9-11.

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