

Dominik Chomik
University of Gdańsk

A good priest in the tabloid. Image tendencies and the boundaries of anti-clericalism in the media

Abstract

This paper presents four major positive image tendencies observable in 94 texts concerning priests that were published on the tabloid portal, Fakt24.pl, in the period 2009–2016 (*a deceased person, a victim of a villain, an intermediary between God and a man, an exceptional person*). The material presented challenges the claim that the portal is systemically anti-clerical (irrespective of the prevalence of negative-sentiment texts regarding priests). Differences between various and opposite depictions of priests show that the manner in which priests are described (and the radicalism of assessments) does not arise (solely) from a specific sentiment of the editorial board or its policy, but from tabloid logics which requires that a character be presented in a clear and unambiguous manner. This means, among others, that a positive or negative assessment of the protagonist is determined by the needs of narration used to tell a story in which a priest has a role to play.

Key words: priest, sentiment, tabloid, image, anti-clericalism.

Dobry ksiądz w tabloidzie. Tendencje wizerunkowe a granice antyklerykalizmu medialnego

Streszczenie

W tekście przedstawiono cztery najważniejsze pozytywne tendencje wizerunkowe występujące w 94 tekstach na temat księży publikowanych na tabloidowym portalu Fakt24.pl w latach 2009–2016 (Zmarły, Ofiara złego, Pośrednik między Bogiem a człowiekiem, Wyjątkowy). Materiał ten podważa tezę o programowym antyklerykalizmie portalu Fakt24.pl (mimo znacznej przewagi tekstów o księżach mających wydźwięk negatywny). Różnice między odmiennymi, skrajnymi przedstawieniami kapłana pokazują, że sposób pisania o księżach (w tym radykalizm ocen) nie wynika (wyłącznie) z określonych sympatii redakcyjnych lub polityki redakcyjnej, lecz z logiki tabloidowej, nakazującej przedstawianie bohatera w sposób wyostrzony i jednoznaczny. Oznacza to między innymi, że pozytywna lub negatywna ocena bohatera wynika z potrzeb dramaturgii opisywanej historii z udziałem księdza.

Słowa kluczowe: ksiądz, wydźwięk, tabloid, wizerunek, antyklerykalizm.

Introduction

A manner in which priests are presented requires that a reference be made to the notion of anti-clericalism, which is understood in its narrower meaning, according to Tomasz Bielak's definition, as a communication scheme which is manifested by specific behaviour, words, non-verbal communications, participation in a consciously selected social group.¹

It needs to be emphasised that there are not many papers that would discuss in detail the issue of anti-clericalism in Polish media. Even though this phenomenon is sometimes noted, in particular in its most expressive representations (such as some front pages of 'Newsweek' weekly or magazines such as 'Fakty i Mity' and 'Nie'), it has not been a subject of more serious and more comprehensive analyses as yet. This may be surprising, given numerous studies on the wider topic of social perception of priests in Poland³ (a series of papers by ks. prof. Janusz Mariański or prof. Józefa Baniak to name just a few – see Bibliography).

It seems essential to raise the subject of anti-clericalism in a serious and thoroughly academic manner, which is proven, for instance, by the utterances of church hierarchs (archbishop Józef Michalik⁴ or Stanisław Gądecki⁵), who express their belief that some Polish media are hostile towards the Catholic Church and priests. As Przybysz and Marczyński noted in their introduction to 'Media i Kościół' [Media and the Church], '[the Catholic Church] naturally associated with the good, in the eye of a camera seems, from time to time, as a particularly repelling institution that causes frustration and incites aggression among the audience'.⁶

In this context, it is interesting how priests are portrayed in articles posted on a tabloid portal, Fakt24.pl. Its owner, German Axel Springer SE, is subject to harsh criticism of the conservative and pro-Church part of Polish political class and right-wing media supporting it. It is also the leader among national newspaper services in terms of the number of page views.⁷

¹ T. Bielak, *Antyklerykalizm x.0 – komunikacje w mediach społecznościowych na przykładzie „ASZDziennika” i Antykleryka*, „Świat i słowo” 2014, no. 2, p. 313.

² Cf. e.g. information on the situation of Church in Poland included in the „Religious Freedom Report 2014”, available at: http://pkwp.org/uploads/tinymce/R%C3%B3%C5%BCne/2014/Wizyta_abp_Kaigamy/Fragmenty%20Raportu%20Wolno%C5%9B%C4%87%20Religijna%20w%20%C5%9Awiecie.pdf (accessed 12.12.2016).

³ There are many studies on this subject, such as a series of papers by ks. prof. Janusz Mariański or prof. Józef Baniak to name just a few of them (see Bibliography).

⁴ J. Michalik, *Homilia wygłoszona na zakończenie 49 Pielgrzymki Rodzin Osób Powołanych i Wspierających Powołania* (audio file). Source: http://www.jasnagora.com/multimedia/news_audio_nowe/14710.mp3 (accessed 12.12.2016).

⁵ S. Gądecki, *Jak sól i światło*, interviewed by S. Jagodziński „Nasz Dziennik” 2016, no. 160, p. 3–4.

⁶ M. Przybysz, K. Karczyński (ed.), *Przeświectlanie Kościoła [in:] Media i Kościół. Polityka informacyjna Kościoła*, Dom Wydawniczy Elipsa, Warsaw 2011, p. 9.

⁷ Source: <http://www.wirtualnemedial.pl/artukul/serwis-gazet-wyborcza-pl-przed-fakt-pl-mocno-w-gore-rp-pl-w-dol-wyborcza-biz-przegladSPORTOWY-pl-i-dziennik-pl> (accessed 12.12.2016).

Observations presented in this paper are a part of wider research focused on the depictions of priests in tabloids.⁸ The research material discussed in this paper covers articles tagged by their authors with the *priest* tag, in which the noun has a positive sentiment.⁹ The material comes from the period of 2009–2016.¹⁰

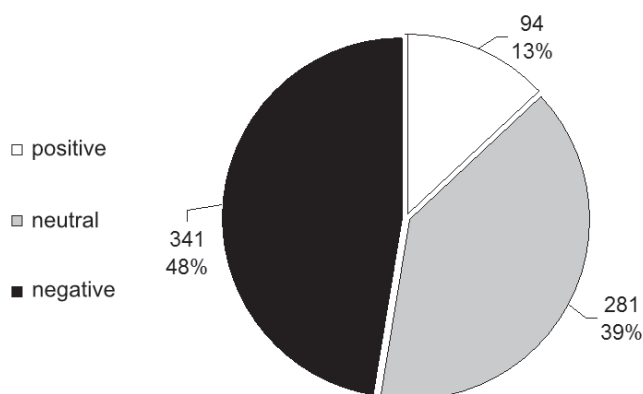


Figure 1. The share of texts with a specific sentiment in the total number of texts tagged with the word ‘priest’ and published in the period from 2009 to 2016 (expressed in volume and percentage).

As illustrated by the picture above, the most numerous group in the set of texts (composed of 716 units) are the negative-sentiment texts, namely those depicting priests in a clearly negative manner and criticising their offences. It can be therefore said that the widespread belief in the hostility of the Polish media towards clergy (and the Catholic church as such)¹¹ is strongly supported by the material in a sense that the material illustrates a strong and dominant tendency of anti-clericalism.

What is interesting though is a group of 94 texts characterised by a positive sentiment, i.e. including a positive assessment of a priest and depicting him in a manner which is supposed to induce positive feelings among readers (as a role-model spiritual leader and a good person whose footsteps should be followed).¹² This observation

⁸ In my other two papers related to this topic I discussed the negative image of a priest and the correlation between the sentiment of a text and its resonance. As at the moment of submitting this paper for publishing, the other two papers are undergoing editorial processes.

⁹ The meaning of ‘sentiment’ is compliant with the meaning used by companies involved in media content monitoring (such as IMM or Press-Service). Therefore, this is an attitude of an author expressed in a text towards a priest present in a given story. Specific sentiments are assigned based on my own assessment.

¹⁰ The archive does not cover any texts from the period before 2009.

¹¹ It is present, among others, in the utterances of church authorities, e.g. archbishop Józef Michalik (cf. http://www.jasnagora.com/multimedia/news_audio_nowe/14710.mp3), as well as archbishop Stanisław Gądecki (‘Nasz Dziennik’, 11.08.2016, p. 4–5).

¹² The negative sentiment is based on the (expressed or implied) criticism of a priest. The neutral sentiment means lack of clear domination of a positive or negative assessment of a priest (therefore

challenges the aforementioned claim about systemic anti-clericalism. In other words, it is not true that the authors of texts published on Fakt24.pl website may write exclusively about priests' flaws and sins.

It seems that to gain a better understanding of the author's intentions and a potential default strategy in this regard, a set of text units with a positive sentiment is of crucial importance. The sub-set may be used not only to understand the scope of anti-clericalism, but also to put this tendency against the wider backdrop of communication strategies applied by the medium in question. Further parts of this paper discuss four main positive tendencies observable in the research material.¹³

Tendency 1: A dead person (31 texts)

It should come as no surprise that deceased priests are depicted positively. This sentiment arises from a cultural taboo according to which people should draw a veil over the weaknesses of the deceased person and focus on their merits instead. The above is clearly visible in the case of texts devoted to prelate Henryk Jankowski, who, when still alive, was presented as a controversial figure (e.g. *Shocking photo. Prelate Jankowski with a gun!*¹⁴), but became a protagonist of two positive texts immediately after he died. The first of them is a solemn account of the last hours of the prelate's life (*The prelate did not want to call emergency services!*). Readers can learn, among others, that the priest: 'received sacraments, said goodbye to his sister, friends and co-workers and peacefully waited for the death to come'. After his death (described there as 'a meeting with God' 7), Fakt24.pl presented evidence of positive emotions of people ('believers' 7) who 'paid tribute to the priest' (7). The deceased priest himself is referred to as the 'legend of the Solidarity movement' (26) and 'one of the symbols of Gdańsk' (26).

The deceased priest becomes a monumental figure (also literally – see *A monument of priest Jankowski will be built in Gdańsk*). Other priests who died are also presented in a similar manner: Jan Osiński ('from his childhood, he was a very pious person', 'service to God and the Homeland was the most important thing' 9), Leonid Szeszko ('the beauty of this temple is a reflection of his heart, faith and sacrifice to God' 91),

this group includes also a group of texts covering contradictory assessments of a priest or several priests).

¹³ The tendencies do not cover the entirety of the material collected, but they are the most distinctive ones as they are observable in the largest number of articles. Additionally, it should be emphasised that some texts of the first group belong at the same time to the second group (which is explained in detail below). The groups are presented in the descending order from the most represented to the least represented group.

¹⁴ All titles are presented in italics in parentheses. All quotations are marked with double quotation marks. The number that follows is a number assigned to the text in the list of texts which may be found at the end of this paper. For technical reasons, url addresses are not provided. All of the examples referred to can be found by typing the title in a browser available at www.fakt.pl.

Antoni Gabrel ('he was full of passion', 'he wrote a lot and he wrote beautifully' 84), Waldemar Radecki ('He was like a father to us', 'He always provided help and a piece of advice' 73), Henryk Surma ('he was a true advocate of reconciliation'), Witold Strykowski ('the true father of Letnica'), Jarosław Burski ('not a priest, but a paragon' 24).

The taboo which urges to mute unflattering opinions about a deceased person may be one of reasons for the panegyric nature of post-mortem articles about priests. Such glorification of a deceased person means that the image of the person is simplified and the role of mourners becomes more conspicuous (e.g. 'mourn' 33, 'are in floods of tears' 90, 'with tears running down their cheeks' 4).

This stylistically non-typical nature of the texts (which bear closer resemblance to the distinguished traditions of *laudatio personae* and not to the tabloid communication) is therefore accompanied by the schematic approach to assessments. The scheme opens a way to unrestricted emotionalisation of the message without any constraints of political correctness (present in the case of a controversial or negative protagonist).

Tendency 2: A victim of a villain (25 texts)

Another significant tendency observable in the texts about a good priest is the presence of a villain who hurts a priest.

It should be noted at this point that this regularity is not particularly important in the texts about the deceased priests discussed above. The explanation is reasonable: it happens rarely that the deceased priests mentioned on Fakt24.pl were victims of murders. Either they died of natural causes, being ill or in advanced age (12 texts), or as a result of road accidents (7 text).¹⁵

In some texts about a murdered priest no references are made to a villain at all. Three out of five articles about Jerzy Popiełuszko may serve as examples. The priest's figure is recalled not in the context of his death (that took place in a distant past), but in some other contexts. The topics described are miracles happening after his death (*Jurek gives me strength*), the history of his relatives (*The closest friend of priest Popiełuszko is dead*) and memorabilia (*What have they done to Popiełuszko's hair? They returned them as relics*).

The texts discussed in this part have two main protagonists: a negative one who hurts a priest and the positive one who is a priest and a victim of oppression. Both characters can be perceived as equal in the entire set of texts. This statement is not undermined by the quantitative dominance of articles with a picture of a priest (14 texts) over those with a picture of a villain (6 texts)¹⁶. Sometimes the editors simply do not have access to the pictures of the black character. This is definitely the case with seven texts in which the villain's identity remains unknown.

¹⁵ The absence of a villain may be less obvious in the latter case. It is difficult to say why such events are consequently described as accidents (and attributable causation is not mentioned).

¹⁶ Places or third parties are presented in the pictures in five texts.

In these type of stories, the active role is assigned to a villain. This is a reason why the villain is a grammatical subject of 16 headlines with the following verbs (the numbers provided indicate how many times the word was used):

to attack	to assault 2	to steal
to rob	to beat	to kill 3
to accuse	to blackmail, to laugh	to gag
to impersonate	to torture 2	to murder

The actions taken by villains are of criminal nature and they usually include physical violence towards a priest (*Płock: A strongman tortured a naked priest, They beat priest Zdzisław with an axe!*).

The villain is judged by various means. The most straightforward one is the presence in the text of evaluative nouns, such as:

bandit 8	rascal 2	criminal
hoodlum 5	iconoclast	thug 2
bastard	perpetrator 4	

The text is constructed in a manner ensuring that the evaluation supporting the tabloid's intentions is given early enough. This is why it is typical of lead paragraphs to start with expressions such as: 'He got what he deserved' (36), 'What a bastard!' 39, 'Oh God! Why?' (2), 'Scandalous!' (55), 'There is no God in their hearts!' (60).

The assessment of villains is strengthened by the contrast between them and a priest figure. This may be exemplified by the following:

'It's surprising that God's punishment did not reach such a thug! A teenager violently pushed a kind-hearted priest and snatched his suitcase with medicines and medical records of patients the priest took care of.

Priest Ryszard Tujak (70 years old) from Lublin is a decent man. For 50 years he has been helping deaf people by collecting money for treatment, meetings and trips. Neither the cassock, nor the kindness visible on the face of this old man would stop hoodlums. The thugs attacked a vulnerable priest.' (2)

The juxtaposition of evaluative epithets for both characters (underlined above) shows that the assessments cannot be perceived in isolation. The more kind-hearted man the harmed priest is, the more hoodlum-like the villain becomes.

Also, it can be seen that positive connotations of the symbol of priesthood, the cassock, are referred to, which suggests that a person who wears it deserves particular respect *ex definitione*.

Both characters are clearly judged in the text. The assessment is supported not only by the quotations of people who know the priest ('this man has a heart as great as the Cracow Gate' 2), but also by the words of police officers ('help us catch this hoodlum!' 2)

In the majority of texts, a villain hurts a priest physically by beating him (which sometimes leads to his death) or by robbing him. The exceptions are five texts in which slander, blackmailing or impersonation are described. In such cases, harm may

be of more symbolic than real nature, in particular if the issue is related to a priest who no longer lives (*Mrs Irena did not sleep with Karol Wojtyła; He stole the cassock of priest Popiełuszko*).

Very vivid and completely opposite assessments of both protagonists (a priest and his opponent) serve to make the message more emotional, but it also plays another role. Thanks to such a clear management of the audience's judgment and feelings, the stories presented may be extrapolated to the general level and the described reality becomes the arena in which the good fights with the evil. In such a fight, the good is under a constant threat.

It is also possible to assign to such stories certain interpretations suggesting that the world is moving in a wrong direction, typical of folk tales about moral corruption ('Nothing is sacred for criminals! The times where churches were not burgled and priests could not be attacked are gone forever' 32).

Tendency 3: An intermediary between God and a man (16 texts)

A priest who appears in situations which are special and dangerous or when human life is at risk should be regarded as a positive character. In such cases the position of a priest is not based, as it was in earlier examples, on his personal traits, but usually on his specific sacramental powers (which are not available to secular people).

In the text entitled *A priest absolved passengers. Twice!*, the priest was a participant of a limit situation: he was on a plane during an emergency landing. Not only did the priest absolve passengers. Depending on religious beliefs of the readers, the priest's presence on the plane could be perceived as miraculous since the priest 'prayed fiercely with the intercession of John Paul II whose relics he had with him' (21).

Specific powers of a priest described in another text entitled *A priest arrived to the crash site. 'I gave absolutions'* make him also a credible witness able to assess actions of other people present on the site. 'The priest praised the attitude of people who spontaneously came to the site to help the victims. [...] »Our parishioners rose to the occasion«.' (37)

Given the context of the set of texts classified as depicting 'A victim of a villain', it is interesting when a priest visits a dying negative character to provide pastoral ministry. 'Is it possible that the orchestrator of the martial law sent for him to get ready for the meeting with the Supreme Judge?' – this is what we read in an article about health problems of Wojciech Jaruzelski (8). A parable about the fight between the good and the evil gains a happy-end here. The sinner is converted and the good is triumphant.

In nine articles, a priest is presented as a spiritual leader who (either individually or collectively as a preacher) teaches and provides advice (*Marczuk: I used to go to the priest to cry out, A bitter miracle after the killing of Laura and Natalia*). Lessons are given to people who found themselves in difficult situations (such as loss of a close

relative: *Kamila Łapicka was visited by a priest*) or to celebrities who reached the bottom (*Martin Sheen prays for his son? Kathy, please come, confess your sin*).

In some texts priests' competence may be presented as expertise. This approach is exemplified by the article entitled *I expelled 6 demons out of a 17-year old girl!* The story of exorcisms is dramatised ('It makes hair stand on end and it causes a shiver down your spine' 34) and recounted as a deadly struggle ('the fight of the Good with the Evil is full of shocking moments when the victory is sometimes on the one side and sometimes on the other' 34). Still, the act of expelling demons as such is presented in a detailed and technical manner which gives readers a chance of gaining knowledge about the types of demons, their hierarchy, names, as well as gestures and prayers used to free the possessed girl. The expertise of the priest is evidenced in this case not only by the effects of his work, but also by the office held ('the official exorcist of the diocese of Kielce' 34).

The intermediary between God and a man may act as an expert in a story. A text may be therefore turned into a (spiritual) guidebook. Such a sense can be retrieved from the article entitled *Is buying gifts a sin? The priest is very clear about that*, which includes a series of guidelines about the decent celebration of holidays.

The expertise may be also of more practical nature, as it happens in the text entitled *Priests recommend albs as a universal piece of clothing*. The opinions of a priest regarding the setting of a religious ceremony are supported by rational arguments and presented in a methodical manner (e.g. 'Albs have two main advantages' 48).

Tendency 4: An exceptional person

In the collected positive-sentiment articles about priests, there is also a tendency to present story characters as people who are extraordinary due to their personal traits and behaviour.

To clearly indicate what the features of an exceptional priest are, it would be necessary to define initially which features should be perceived as regular and typical. For the sake of brevity, this type of analysis will not be presented here, which is why the set of traits proposed should not be regarded as totally objective and final. This group of texts is an open catalogue and I will restrict myself to specify a few most typical examples without providing the final number of such texts.

In the research material analysed there are three texts (No. 22, 66 and 70) which may be perceived as the transformations of a situation described in the part focused on *A victim of a villain* scenario. Contrary to the characters presented there, an exceptional priest is not only a good person, but also an active one: he is strong and witty, which is why he defeats a villain. His extraordinariness consists in his heroic attitude (see *What a priest! He caught a burglar*).

Such a non-typical image of a priest who ruthlessly handles the burglars may add a humoristic note to these stories. To this end, the priest's actions are described with

the use of notions that are usually used to describe actions taken by law enforcement authorities ('the priest immediately pursued the operation' 22). A widespread belief accompanied by an unexpected interpretation may become a thesis of the story ('A 19-year old boy learned that it is unwise to make enemies with the church. A priest, an altar boy and a verger pursued the burglar who entered the parish house' 70).

An exceptional priest presented in the material collected is also full of charisma¹⁷. Such a priest serves in an unconventional manner, e.g. he drives a Fiat 126p with the 'Priest Emergency Services' sign (83), he uses language that is not typical of priests (*Living at full speed*) or he visits non-typical and dangerous places (*The priest converts prostitutes; They go for designer drugs and they find a priest with believers there. Before he walks in, he will be prayed for*).

Sometimes the exceptional nature of the priest consists in his modernity. To illustrate this point, the photo gallery entitled *Would you like to have such a parish priest?* may be used as it presents the profiles of priests with extraordinary hobbies, Harley riders, roller skating fans, DJs (described as 'Curly Professor' or 'Bombik Elephant')¹⁸.

An exceptional and a modern priest is also fit, for instance, he is a triathlete (73, 74, 75). He also combines his priest service with sports (*A climbing wall in a church? Why not!*).

Summary

The image-related tendencies described above (1. *A deceased person*, 2. *A victim of a villain*, 3. *An intermediary between God and a man*, 4. *An exceptional person*) constitute a basis to draw the following conclusions:

I. A priest is a convenient hero for a tabloid since his appearance in a text justifies the presence of topics related to ethics. More importantly, this is true for any text with a priest as a protagonist – not only for those discussed in this article, but also for those with a negative sentiment (which can be classified as anti-clerical).

II. In the material analysed, a protagonist who is a priest personalises the good. This is what differentiates him from a protagonists of articles categorised as texts with a negative sentiment.

III. The most static image is a post-mortem depiction of a priest present in the majority of texts belonging to the group of texts labelled as '*A deceased person*'. Usually, a priest is a role model shown in isolation (he is not confronted with other, opposite behaviours).

IV. As far as other tendencies described in this paper (tendency 2, 3 and 4) are concerned, the priest's attitude is juxtaposed with other behaviours.

¹⁷ Not in the theological sense but in the general sense.

¹⁸ As mentioned by the editors, the pictures were originally published in the 'Vocation. Meet priests with passions. A.D. 2011' calendar.

V. This is clearly visible in tendency 2 and 3. A priest becomes a protagonist of a story about the good fighting the evil. The good, represented by the priest himself, may be in jeopardy because of the oppressive forces of the evil (*A victim of a villain*). The protagonist may also play an active role of a guide, a messenger of God (an intermediary between God and a man) who takes care of those who fall or who doubt amidst difficult situations and who assists them in choosing the right path (he teaches, he converts, he absolves).

VI. A tendency to confront positive and negative attitudes constitutes a common feature of the material analysed and of the texts with a negative sentiment. Contrasting a bad character with a good character (e.g. a violent perpetrator and a kindly-hearted priest who is his victim within *A victim of a villain* scenario) has the same function as contrasting a priest who is a criminal with a positive model of a saint man in a cassock. This attracts readers' attention¹⁹. Naturally, in the case of stories about a bad priest this positive model is not usually personalised, but the manner of describing a protagonist (by emphasising that a criminal is a priest) indicates that the positive imaging of priests is significant in the text as a reference point for the character's offence.

VII. The use of the imaginary model of a priest and the depiction of a protagonist as an example of deviation from such a model is typical of negative-sentiment texts about priests, but may be found also in other categories of texts. This phenomenon may be observed for instance in the tendency 4 discussed in this paper (*An exceptional person*). It should be noted, however, that the direction of the deviation is opposite there. A specific priest described in an article is a positive character and at the same time he is not typical (he is the opposite of the majority of implied typical priests).

VIII. The above observations show that the notion of anti-clericalism is not sufficient to understand the manner in which priests are depicted in the tabloid. A clearly positive or a clearly negative image is a result of a narrative context in which a priest appears. Differences between the various, even opposite, depictions of priests suggest that the way in which priests are described (and the radicalism of assessments) does not arise (exclusively) from a specific sentiment of the editorial board or its policy, but from tabloid logics which requires that a protagonist be presented in a clear and unambiguous manner. This means, among others, that a positive or negative assessment of the main character is determined by the needs of narration used to tell a story in which a priest has a role to play. As the stories about alcohol abuse and paedophile scandals shape negative judgements, the stories about a priest who died, who is a victim of an assault, who brings consolation or who is an exceptional person shapes a clearly positive judgement. This regularity is confirmed by the examples of characters who

¹⁹ It is similar as in the case of contrasting an everyman with a bad politician (cf. J. Wasilewski, *Posłom frykasy, dzieciom ochłapy. Tworzenie podziałów społecznych w mediach* [in:] *Retoryka mediów, retoryka w mediach*, ed. M. Marcjanik, Warsaw 2012, Oficyna Wydawnicza ASPRA-JR, p. 11–22.)

are assessed entirely differently as priests (either positively or negatively) depending on the story in which they are presented.²⁰

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²⁰ One of the priests who are perceived in a different manner depending on the context (and, therefore, narration) is Henryk Jankowski mentioned in the introduction. The same is true about such protagonists of texts published on Fakt24.pl website (not discussed in this paper due to falling outside the scope of this research because of the sentiment of texts) as Adam Boniecki, Tadeusz Isakowicz-Zalewski or Wojciech Lemański.

List of texts classified as texts with a positive sentiment

Nr	Headline (translated)	Original headline
1	Popiełuszko's sister: Jurek gives me strength	Siostra ks. Popiełuszki: Jurek dodaje mi sił
2	This bastard robbed a priest	Ten drań okradł księdza
3	They blackmail a priest with naked photos	Szantażują księdza gołymi zdjęciami
4	Who killed our parish priest?	Kto zabił nam proboszcza?
5	I have seen a miracle in Sokółka. Priest's coverage – exclusive!	Widziałem cud w Sokółce. Relacja księdza – tylko u nas!
6	He killed a priest and he is laughing	Zabił księdza i się śmieje
7	A prelate did want to call an ambulance!	Prałat nie chciał wezwać pogotowia!
8	Jaruzelski was visited by a priest in hospital	Jaruzelski przyjął księdza w szpitalu
9	Priest's family: our brother served God and the Homeland	Rodzina księdza: Brat służył Bogu i Ojczyźnie
10	Farewell to the President's chaplain	Pożegnanie kapelana prezydenta
11	The priest's murderer sunk by a poem	Mordercę księdza pograżył wiersz
12	He celebrated the mess with... a son	Odprawił mszę z... synem
13	I was saved by priest Jerzy	Ocalił mnie ksiądz Jerzy
14	Church set on fire by lightning	Kościół spłonął od pioruna!
15	Would you like to have such a parish priest?	Chciałbyś mieć takiego proboszcza?
16	What have they done to Popiełuszko's hair? They returned them as relics	Co zrobili z włosami ks. Popiełuszki? Oddali jak relikwie
17	The priest converts prostitutes	Ksiądz nawraca prostytutki
18	Martin Sheen prays for his son?	Martin Sheen modli się za syna?
19	Stuhr's daughter recovered thanks to John Paul II	Córka Stuhra zdrowa dzięki Janowi Pawłowi II?
20	Who murdered the priest?	Kto zamordował księdza?
21	A priest absolved passengers. Twice!	Ksiądz rozgrzeszył pasażerów. Dwa razy!
22	What a priest! He caught a burglar	Ale ksiądz! Złapał złodzieja
23	Isakowicz-Zaleski hospitalised. He is at ICU.	Ks. Isakowicz-Zaleski w szpitalu. Jest na intensywnej terapii
24	A priest killed himself on a motorbike	Ksiądz zabił się na motorze
25	The oldest priest in Poland died. He was...	Zmarł najstarszy ksiądz w Polsce. Miał aż...
26	A monument of priest Jankowski will be built in Gdańsk	W Gdańsku powstanie pomnik ks. Jankowskiego
27	The closest friend of priest Popiełuszko is dead	Zginął najbliższy przyjaciel ks. Popiełuszki
28	A bitter miracle after the killing of Laura and Natalia. At the priest's house...	Gorzki cud po zabiciu Laury i Natalii. U księdza w domu...
29	Marczuk: I used to go to the priest to cry out	Marczuk: Z płaczem chodziłam do księdza
30	Kamila Łapicka was visited by a priest	Kamila Łapicka przyjęła księdza
31	A priest died. He survived the Uprising, he was a chaplain...	Zmarł ksiądz. Przeżył Powstanie, był duszpasterzem...
32	They beat priest Zdzisław with an axe! And then priest Tomasz. For what?	Słukli księdza Zdzisława siekierą! A potem księdza Tomasza. Za co?
33	The parish mourns a priest	Parafia oplakuje księdza
34	I expelled 6 demons out of a 17-year old girl! DRAMATIC ACCOUNT	Wypędziłem 6 demonów z 17-latk! DRAMATYCZNA RELACJA
35	Płock: A strongman tortured a naked priest	Płock. Siłacz torturował nagiego księdza
36	A well-known sportsperson brutally tortured a priest	Znany sportowiec brutalnie torturował księdza

A good priest in the tabloid. Image tendencies...

Nr	Headline (translated)	Original headline
37	A priest arrived to the crash site. 'I have absolutions'.	Ksiądz przybiegł na miejsce katastrofy. "Rozgrzeszałem"
38	A priest disclosed proceeds from priest visits on Facebook. How much did he collect?	Ksiądz ujawnił dochody z kolędy na facebooku. Ile zebrał?
39	He stole the cassock of priest Popiełuszko	Ukradł sutannę ks. Popiełuszki
40	Priest Darlak about the parents of little Maggie: they asked me to help them with their wedding	Ksiądz Darlak o rodzicach Madzi: Poprosili mnie o pomoc przy ślubie
41	A 19-year old killed a priest and was sentenced to 10 years of prison	19-latek zabił księdza, dostał 10 lat więzienia
42	Kathy, please come, confess your sin	Kasiu przyjdź, wyznaj swój grzech
43	Priest Isakowicz-Zaleski remembers the accident. This is what he went through!	Ks. Isakowicz-Zaleski pamięta wypadek. Oto co przeżył!
44	A priest was attacked after a priest visit. A dramatic video footage	Napadli na księdza po kolędzie. Dramatyczne wideo
45	'Jorge Bergoglio loved me when I was 12 years old'	"Jorge Bergoglio kochał mnie, gdy miałam 12 lat"
46	A brave priest saved the church	Dzielny ksiądz obronił kościół
47	A priest took a badger to the parish house	Ksiądz przyciągnął borsuka na plebanię
48	Priests recommend albs as a universal piece of clothing	Księża polecają albę jako uniwersalny strój
49	A father was singing a lullaby to his dead daughter	Ojciec śpiewał kołysankę martwej córce
50	A tragedy in a burnt house. God, save Margaret at least	Tragedia w spalonym domu. Boże ocal chociaż Małgosię
51	It's a true miracle! A priest raises the dead	To prawdziwy cud! Ksiądz wskrzesza zmarłych
52	Incredible! A priest defends Radwańska!	Sensacja! Ksiądz broni Radwańskiej!
53	A touching story of a Polish priest who was waiting for pilgrims	Przejmująca relacja polskiego księdza, który czekał na pielgrzymów
54	Was it an angel who saved the girl? A mysterious priest after a highway accident	Anioł uratował dziewczynę? Tajemniczy ksiądz po wypadku na autostradzie
55	They accuse the pope! Did he have an affair and a child?	Oskarżają papieża! Miał romans i dziecko?
56	A kidnapped priest has been contacted!	Jest kontakt z porwanym księdzem!
57	Will priest Popiełuszko be a saint?	Ks. Popiełuszko będzie świętym?
58	Kopacz at the grave of Popiełuszko	Kopacz na grobie ks. Popiełuszki
59	A footage from the memorial service of victims in Kamień. Priest: Not so long ago they were in church with little Julia	Film z pogrzebu ofiar w Kamieniu. Ksiądz: A niedawno byli z Julcią w kościele...
60	Mrs Irena did not sleep with Karol Wojtyła. But gossips do have their effect!	Pani Irena nie spała z Karolem Wojtyłą! Ale plotki robią swoje!
61	A Polish priest freed from the hands of bandits in Donietzk	Polski ksiądz uwolniony z rąk bandytów w Doniecku!
62	A great jubilee of a known priest	Wielki jubileusz znanego księdza
63	Górniak visited a priest to talk about Darek's case	Górniak była u księdza w sprawie Darka
64	A bandit beat the priest	Bandzior skatował księdza
65	Who did beat our parish priest?	Kto skatował naszego proboszcza?
66	A priest helped to catch a burglar	Ksiądz pomógł złapać złodzieja
67	Priest Boniecki in hospital!	Ksiądz Boniecki w szpitalu!
68	They pretend to be cardinal Macharski, they ask to pay 1 złoty	Podszywają się pod kardynała Macharskiego, każą sobie wpłacać złotówkę

Nr	Headline (translated)	Original headline
69	Living at full speed	Życie na pełnej petardzie
70	A priest, an altar boy and a verger caught a burglar!	Ksiądz, ministrant i kościelny złapali złodziejaską!
71	A climbing wall in a church? Why not!	Ścianka wspinaczkowa w kościele? Czemu nie!
72	A chaplain of Cracovia died	Zmarł kapelan Cracovii
73	A parish priest died during tournaments. He fainted in water	Proboszcz umarł na zawodach. Zasłabł w wodzie
74	A priest died during triathlon. There will be an investigation!	Ksiądz zmarł podczas triathlonu. Będzie śledztwo!
75	A priest died during a triathlon competition. Tomorrow he will be bode farewell to by parishioners and the Primate of Poland	Ksiądz zmarł podczas triathlonu. Jutro pożegnają go parafianie i Prymas Polski
76	A priest pays PLN 8000 for giving birth to a child	Ksiądz płaci 8000 zł za urodzenie dziecka
77	We are looking for the killers of priest Krzysztof!	Szukamy zabójców księdza Krzysztofa!
78	A priest is a happy father of 18 children	Duchowny szczęśliwym ojcem 18 dzieci
79	A Polish priest discovered Adam's gene	Polski ksiądz odkrył gen Adama
80	Is buying gifts a sin? The priest is very clear about that	Kupowanie prezentów to grzech? Ksiądz stawia sprawę jasno
81	Do they want to shut the parish priest down?	Chcą zakneblować usta proboszczowi?
82	A priest shot dead during the mess. He was 36 years old.	Ksiądz zastrzelony podczas mszy. Miał 36 lat
83	Priest Krzysztof: I am running the Priest Emergency Services	Ksiądz Krzysztof: Jeżdżę Pogotowiem Duszpasterskim
84	The last wake of Salesian priest Antoni Gabrel	Pożegnanie Salezjanina księdza Antoniego Gabrela
85	A touching meeting of Ewa Błaszczak with a priest	Poruszające spotkanie Ewy Błaszczak z księdzem
86	Crowds bode farewell to the priest murdered by jihadists in France	Tłumy żegnały księdza zamordowanego przez dżihadystów we Francji
87	Cardinal Franciszek Macharski died	Kardynał Franciszek Macharski nie żyje
88	A cruel murder in a monastery. A clergyman is dead	Bestialski mord w klasztorze. Nie żyje duchowny
89	Fire was ranging. The priest run into the church to save the body of Jesus Christ	Płomienie szalały. Ksiądz wbiegł do środka by ratować ciało Pana Jezusa
90	Priest Michał is dead. He lost to cancer.	Nie żyje ksiądz Michał. Przegrał z rakiem
91	Parishioners in tears. Crowds turned out at the funeral of a priest after his tragic death	Wierni we łzach. Tłumy na pogrzebie zmarłego tragicznie księdza
92	A priest chased after them. Thanks to him the thieves were caught	Ksiądz ruszył w pościg. Dzięki niemu udało się ująć złodziei
93	A priest rode a motorbike to celebrate his last mess. He is dead	Ksiądz jechał motorem odprawić ostatnią mszę. Nie żyje
94	They go for designer drugs and they find a priest with believers there. 'Before he walks in, he will be prayed for'.	Idą po dopalacze, a tam ksiądz i wierni. "Zanim wejdzie, zdążymy go obmodlić!"