

# MEDIA DISCOURSE ON THE NOTION OF “GENDER” IN POLISH PRESS IN 2013/2014

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## I. METHODOLOGICAL EXPLANATIONS

In this article I shall describe and analyse contents of two Polish dailies *Gazeta Wyborcza* and *Nasz Dziennik* for identified notion of “gender” in the tested material. I am principally interested in the contents of media coverage, their cultural context, and social consequences of the analysed debate. The analysis will cover four months: from October 2013 to January 2014<sup>1</sup>.

I use the concept of “discourse” by Teun van Dijk and define it as the simultaneous use of language, transmission of ideas and interaction in a social situation [van Dijk 2001, p. 10].

## II. INTRODUCTION TO THE SUBJECT - PAEDOPHILE SCANDAL IN THE POLISH CHURCH

It is 2<sup>nd</sup> October, 2013. A well known Polish daily, *Gazeta Wyborcza* (abbreviation: GW), reports the so-called paedophile scandal in the Church. Wojciech Gil, a priest working in the Dominican Republic, is accused of molesting boys and possession of child pornography. Defenders of the priest, including the clergy and his

family, argue that the indictment is the Dominican mafia’s revenge for the priest’s fight against drug cartels [GW 2013, No. 230]. Two days later, an article entitled *Curia refuses to pay for harassment* is published, which is a coverage from a trial in which an adult man accuses a priest of molesting him in his childhood [GW 2013, No. 232]. The priest is sentenced to two years of immediate custodial sentence.

On 7<sup>th</sup> October GW publishes an interview with Marcin Przeciszewski, President of the Catholic News Agency: *Celibacy is not associated with paedophilia* [GW 2013, No. 234]. The interviewee claims that paedophilia in the Church is a marginal phenomenon, and only sexually mature men are admitted to seminaries. He argues:

*A seminary or a religious institute will not accept candidates who were diagnosed with sexual disorders, including deeply rooted homosexuality* [GW 2013, No. 234, p. 3].

These words have yet not been widely discussed. The real cause of uproar of the public opinion is a statement by Archbishop Józef Michalik, President of the Polish Episcopate, who indicates that in many cases the children themselves harmed by, for instance,

the divorce of parents, tend to “cling” to clergy and provoke them to abnormal behaviour [GW 2013, No. 236]. Archbishop demonstrates:

*As it commonly happens, this wrong attitude or abuse is triggered when a child is seeking for love. The child clings, looks for something. And loses its bearing, at the same time pulling the other person along* [GW 2013, No. 237, p. 1-2].

The Archbishop apologizes for his words, while *Gazeta Wyborcza* cites more cases of abuse in the Church, both Polish and international (the cases of bishops Gabino Miranda and Eamon Casey, Father Zbigniew R., Father M.).

The culminating moment which gave shape to the continuous Polish discourse on the notion of *gender* happened to be Archbishop Michalik’s sermon delivered on 16<sup>th</sup> October, 2013. In one of the churches he argued:

*The acts of abuse of children by adults, the subject matter which is still present in the media, are shameful. However, no one seems to be paying attention to the causes of these kinds of behaviour (...). Pornography and false love showed in it, lack of love from divorced parents, and promotion of gender ideology<sup>II</sup> (...). Aggressive feminists with their fight to legalise abortion, legalization of same-sex unions, and the right to adopt children by such people, are also to blame. They strive to extinguish a sense of shame in children in kindergartens and schools, and even to allow children to change their sex* [GW 2013, No. 243, p. 5].

In the next media statement the Archbishop states that, in addition to children and feminists, the paedophile tendencies are triggered by sexual education present in schools, which is described as “uninteresting and

unnecessary” and “depriving a child of shame” [GW 2013, No. 246, p.2].

The situation becomes aggravated by statements of a little-known priest, Ireneusz Bochyński, who suggests in an interview for one portal:

*There are ten-year-old children, sometimes bit older, and I personally know of cases where the sex life of some children needed to be satisfied earlier. They got into beds of adults wanting to be satisfied, and it was the choice of the child* [GW 2013, No. 261, p.2].

Basing on statements of people associated with the Church, which could be followed throughout the past year in the Polish media, a picture can be drawn of paedophilia equated with homosexuality, which, paradoxically, happens only in pathological heterosexual families. Church leaders decided that the signs of pathological conditions, that is behaviour which does not fit the social order validated by the Church, shall include: divorces, actions for emancipation of women and minority groups, as well as activities of state institutions (for instance schools) which are intended to protect children from paedophilia (for instance, via reliable sex education).

Public utterances made by clergy and present in the media show that in the debate on paedophilia, which takes place in the midst of the Polish Institutional Church the ones who are attacked are the victims, not the perpetrators<sup>III</sup>.

Thus, in 2013/2014 media discourse concerning the issue of paedophilia and the term *gender* shows its diverse countenance in Polish. In an article entitled *The fear of parents, the fear of teachers*, Edyta Błaszczak and Bożena Aksamit cite statements of people on the life of whom the medial debate has had an actual impact. A principal of a state kindergarten argues that

men should not be hired to work with young children. In the centre of a big city, a father of a girl who was observed and photographed while in playground stops a pedophile on his own and turns the man over to the police [GW 2013, No. 263].

Along with the rise of awareness and civic engagement in child protection, the level of social mistrust is rising. What follows, the vision of “gender ideology” as the source of danger is being reinforced by the media.

### III. ANATOMY OF THE DISCOURSE

In order to understand the anatomy of the discourse on the notion of “gender”, which has been present in the Polish media for more or less a year, we need to, in the first place, describe and analyse its components. The components, in my opinion, should include the following categories and phenomena:

1. A phantasmatic image of the Child, which regulates the political discourse and supports normative heterosexuality as the foundation of social life.
2. Re-biologisation of sexual differences, which strengthens the patriarchal system.
3. Re-signification of terms, that is taking over the emancipation discourse through the use of progressive concepts (*gender, discrimination*) for regressive purposes.

I will discuss them in accordance with the order proposed above.

### IV. PHANTASMATIC IMAGE OF THE CHILD

The concept is aptly described by Lee Edelman in his work entitled *Future is Kid Stuff* [Edelman 2012]. His thesis is that the phantasmatic image of the Child is by

definition always political as it serves the role of legitimising the patriarchal social order and strengthening the relations which link male and female members of the analysed group. The key figure is the image of the Child as threatened by socio-cultural changes. In other words, to “defend” the future of the imagined Child means to advocate the heterosexual order as the only legitimate option. Everything that negates the key characteristics of the phantasmatic image of the Child is received as a threat to the proper and harmonious life of a community. Edelman points out, however, that the figure is not identical with the historical experience of the actually living children, even though it has a real impact on their existence.

The phantasmatic image of the Child, as the essence of the innocence, a passive being requiring protection, often determines the nature of Polish public debates. Ewa Majewska, an art critic, mentions the concept by referring to the works of Lisa Duggan [Majewska 2013]. In reality, the concern for the so-called “best interest of the child” leads to the elimination of a set of tools securing its existence. In Poland it applies to, among others, the problem of sex education, which in fact does not exist in the state funded schools. A subject *Family Life Education* and handbooks used by male and female educators are in no way comparable to Western trends.

Thus, it comes as no surprise that an anti-discrimination educational program entitled *Gender Does Not Limit Me* realised in some of the Polish kindergarten served as a pretext to enforce the argument of child protection. One of the parents was greatly angered by the fact that the children had the opportunity to play in reversing their gender roles, which are stereotypically ascribed to one of the sexes [GW 2013, No. 302, p. 9]. The parents panicked and

wrote a complaint to the mayor of the city, accusing the headmistress of the kindergarten of discriminating the Catholic beliefs.

In the conservative Catholic media education of equality is perceived as a threat to the traditional family structure, because, as the opponents prove, it is “the promotion of homosexuality by showing that any type of sexual activity is equal, safe, etc.” [ND 2013, No. 255, p. 16]. Providing information that aside heterosexual orientation there exist also homosexuality and bisexuality equals “gay propaganda”, and teaching about contraception means “budging to early sexual initiation” [GW 2014, No. 1, p. 6].

Another problematic issue lies in the recent history of Poland, which until 1989 was in fact a communist country ruled by the Soviet Union. Along with the revolution of the year 1989, Solidarity, with Lech Wałęsa as the head, came to power. The position of the Church, which to that point had stood in opposition, strengthened. Religion lessons in schools got constitutionally guaranteed and, what is essential, the education reform of 1991, along with related documents, still refer to the Christian system of values. There are also crucifixes hanging in classrooms and common celebrations of religious holidays in the state funded schools<sup>IV</sup>.

Therefore, let us take a look at how has the phantasmatic image of the Child, which is the dominant of the Polish variation of the discourse on the notion of *gender*, is realised in the language. I will cite several statements from *Nasz Dziennik* [abbreviation: ND] which relate to the role of the family in the so-called “gender ideology” as an example:

The activity of the left-wing activists is a *systemic, purposeful, and oppressive way to dominate social thinking and social structures. Only a strong defence of*

*traditional values rooted in the Decalogue, which are identical to the natural law, can protect us and our children from the poisoned fruits of the march of the new revolution* [ND 2013, No. 233, p. 2].

*Priest Oko criticised gender ideology, the adherers of which advertise sexual behaviour among children, beginning at the kindergarten age. He also claimed that “the gender program” is dangerous and “it looks like it has been made by paedophiles”* [ND 2013, No. 239, p.3].

*Children in Poland are put to danger by the LGBT machine (...), homo-lobby, feminists, proponents of gender who destroy dignity of our children by harassing and degenerating them (...). Taking into account all postmodern initiatives, such as abortion and sex education programs, the victims are counted in millions – mentally killed and raped toddlers* [ND 2013, No. 276, p. 13].

*We cannot allow for our children to watch deviants* [Tomasz Korczyński, ND 2013, No. 293, p. 13].

Any factual discussion present in the media is supplanted by the principle “who is not with us is against us”, and by the solidified vision of the Church which fights with the “post-communist leftist and liberal media” [ND 2013, No. 231, p. 16]. The analysis the contents of *Nasz Dziennik* would suggest that the existence of this institution can be threatened mainly by (I quote here): aggressive feminist activists, “aggressive and obstinate” homosexual celebrities and lobbyists [ND 2013, No. 233, p. 2], also referred to as homo-terrorists [Nd 2013, No. 293, p. 13], the leftist media, atheists, neo-Marxist intellectual trends, supporters of the Frankfurt School and philosophy of Sartre [ND 2014, No. 19, p. 11], who are put on an equal footing with the supporters of abortion, euthanasia, in-vitro and sex education in schools.

Those who argue against or openly oppose the philosophy preached by the Church are presented in *Nasz Dziennik* as “adulterers, rapists, zoophiles” [ND 2013, No. 235, p. 16] and supporters of incestuous relationships [ND 2014, No. 2, p. 10], since – as argued by one of the priests – “paedophilia is a part of a wider phenomenon and a substantial scale of this crime is also due to the sexual revolution. Gender ideology, pornography, homosexual propaganda can lead to paedophilia” [ND 2013, No. 248, p.10]. Right-wing columnists even provide statistics:

*The victim balance of the Nazi ideology – at least 50 million people, communism – 100 million. And over the last 30 years, gender feminism has brought the annihilation of a billion of children killed by abortion* [ND 2014, No. 14, p. 12].

In the opinion of the Church, the process of crossing and blurring the borders, especially when it comes to defining relationships, poses a real threat to the existing order. A draft of the act on gender reconciliation is referred to as a “threat to civilisation”.

*We are witnessing a cultural revolution in the sign of aggressive transgenderism which seizes ever larger parts of the normality. The ideologues offer a procedure for “sex change” according to the wishes of anyone interested in this surgical modification. And what is to decide about that? Not doctors, not medicine, not even science, but the “the inner sense of gender” that a person feels. Therefore, sex is now a kind of a whim* [ND 2013, No. 285, p. 2].

*Gender studies* is an “anthropological heresy” that causes for people to be “no longer able to answer the question of who the human is, where they come from, where they are heading to, what the purpose of their

life is, and what their meaning is” [ND 2013, No. 285, p. 36-37]. According to the clergy, the ideology is

*about questioning sexual difference and its innate determination (...). Gender ideology tries to introduce uniformity and variability of the sex. It is nowadays an anthropological heresy, as by breaking the elements of women’s and men’s complementarity indispensable social relationships are ripped apart and it leads to the society being atomised (...). Ultimately, gender ideology is a negation of God’s plan towards the human* [ND 2013, No. 285, p. 36-37].

In conclusion, the analysis of the contents of *Nasz Dziennik* allows to state at this point that recalling the image of an innocent Child and calling for its protection against the changing socio-cultural contexts is primarily aimed at consolidating and validating the extremely patriarchal and conservative vision of the world.

#### V. RE-BIOLOGISATION OF SEXUAL DIFFERENCE

The Child as “a requisite of secular theology” [Edelman 2012, p. 687] undoubtedly endows with meaning the narration based on the sexual difference, which strengthens the patriarchal system and is founded on obligatory heterosexuality. Referring to the “natural order,” that is such an arrangement of the authority which acknowledges the dominant position of the Church in social life, equates for women the necessity of executing role scenarios which are limited culturally. These demands are expressed directly in *Nasz Dziennik*:

*Only a firm defence of the traditional values stemming from the Decalogue, which are identical with*

*the natural law, can protect us and our children* [ND 2013, No. 233, p. 2].

*Behind gender ideology there is hidden negation of God who created the human as a woman and a man.* [Abp. M. Jędraszewski, ND 2013, No. 268, p. 10]. This is *the negation of God's plan in relation to human* [ND 2013, No. 285, p. 36-37].

*Gender is nonsense, entirely contradictory to human nature* [ND 2013, No. 292, p. 10].

*They try to make you believe that marriage between a man and a woman is obsolete, that being faithful to God's commandments is obsolete, that the biological sex is irrelevant. Polish bishops very strongly defend the natural law* [ND 2013, No. 300, p. 1, article *Bitwa o naturę, en. Fight for nature*].

*Genderism promotes principles which are entirely contradictory to reality and integral understanding of human nature* [ND 2013, No. 300, p.1].

*Gender's aim is sexualisation of children and adolescents and weakening of the family* [GW 2014, No. 6, p. 6].

*Parents are best prompted to action through information about what kind of a grave threat to their children gender sex-depravers are (...). Educational work of the family and the Church is like growing beautiful flowers in a garden, whereas the gender ideology is like a cesspool, which could flood and destroy this garden. Everything that is possible must be done to defend children, not to let that happen (...). Today we have to protect ourselves and children from the great contemporary Pharisees and hypocrites* [GW 2013, No. 302, p. 10].

*Poles firmly and broadly react to the attacks on our children and family* [ND 2014, No. 14, p. 11].

Thus, "gender ideology" is an attempt at the Catholic female virtues: being silent and obedient to her husband [ND 2013, No. 275, p. 16], determined by – as the clergy claims – biology. Moreover, it is an "attack" on women themselves and all those who "want to defend different and complementary kinds of humanity of men and women" [ND 2013, No. 281, p. 16]. Sexual education, by raising awareness of children, "denaturalises" them [ND 2013, No. 276, p. 13]. The possibility of an artificial insemination "denaturalises procreation," surrogacy "denaturalises the meaning of parenthood," which results in the "colonization of the human nature" [ND 2013, No. 243, p. 11].

Gender ideology in the view of rightist publicists,

*The strike is directed mainly at a woman, deprives her of her dignity, her natural social roles determined by biology and nature. Women are to yield to masculinisation, <<dewomanisation>> (...). It would be best if they were to replace men altogether (...). Women are being enlisted in the military, taught to kill, to inflict pain, to use violence, while their (natural) calling is giving life, ensuring spiritual safety, pacifying conflicts and tensions* [ND 2014, No. 14, p. 11].

*During communism a woman was supposed to be a tractor driver, to work in a mine, or in an ironworks. Gender discriminates women by destroying their womanliness and maternity. No other war has devoured as many victims* [ND 2014, No. 14, p. 12].

It is needless to remind that what is described as "natural" or "in accordance with nature" is none other than a form of a cultural norm, obligatory at a given time and in a given socio-cultural environment. In her article, *Animal Trans*, Myra J. Hird reminds that homosexual behaviours can be observed among over 450 animal species, an intraspecies variety of sex is

common, and majority of fungi have thousands of sexes [Hird 2012]. Hence, every norm is a form of a social construct and is used to reinforce power of a given group. Thus, if sex reproduction in its natural, binary man - woman arrangement will be recognized as a norm, for women it will equal with obligatory marriage and maternity, as "in accordance with God's plan."

At the same time bishops are stepping forward against homosexuality and transsexuality, even though they are determined genetically. They fear that under the influence of "gender ideology" children and adults will be purposefully changing sexes, even though the clergy also profess a principle that sex cannot be changed, as it is determined biologically. At the same time, they reproach "gender-atheists" for "reducing a man to biology and physiology" [GW 2013, No. 302, p. 10]. This is how re-biologisation of sexual difference occurs, that is by narrowing it down all over again to biological sphere, while omitting the cultural perspective.

In her essay, *The End of Sexual Difference?*, Judith Butler argued:

*In my understanding, sexual difference is a place where a certain question, concerning the relation of what is biological and what is cultural is being asked anew repeatedly* [Butler 2012, p. 205].

That question is valid also now. It is a question about the structure of power in Polish society, about whose vision of reality will become the dominant paradigm of thinking about a human being.

#### VI. RE-SIGNIFICATION OF TERMS AND TAKING OVER THE EMANCIPATION DISCOURSE

The analysis of the medial debate concerning the term of socio-cultural gender allows to affirm that the greatest

achievement of the far rightist environments was adopting the term *gender* and ascribing to it a new meaning. Below I present several quotes relating to *gender studies* which can be found in *Nasz Dziennik*:

*Atheism is an infinite source of ideology. In the past atheists were the authors of such ideologies as Marxism, Stalinism, Maoism, Nazism. Now they need a new ideology. And genderism is precisely this new ideology, and it is equally dangerous. The above mentioned ideologies led to the greatest crimes in the history of the world. The worst of the world's criminals are atheists* [words of the Father Dariusz Oko, GW 2013, No. 268, p. 6].

*In practice it is ideology, extremely dangerous, which leads to the annihilation of a given civilization. It is also a theory, increasingly more adopted, or even imposed in Europe and the United States (...). I can easily imagine that, in some time from now, and I hope I won't live to that day, in the year 2050 a few Caucasians will be shown to other human species, here, in Europe, just like Indians are shown in the United States in the Indian reservations. Once there were such people who lived here but stopped existing out of their own volition, because they could not accept the fact who they biologically were* [a statement given by Abp Marek Jędraszewski, GW 2013, No. 268, p. 6].

*The expansion of gender ideology in Poland is nothing else than a new wave of impious Bolshevism (...). It aims for destruction of the traditional model of a country, nation, society, its culture, identity and family, and above all, a total elimination of the influence of Catholic Church on the lives of contemporary Poles. Under the catchword of equality of the sexes rights, gender ideology strategists are attacking the traditional ethic and moral values rooted throughout the ages in Poland through the influence of Christianity (...). A revolution under the sign*

*of gender has actually been monopolized by the “fighting feminists” (...). The Church in Poland has always been one of the pillars of the country, and this pillar, guarding the social life and, especially, the family, is being fought off by Bolshevist gender [Wojciech Reszczyński, ND 2013, No. 271, p. 24].*

*Genderism promotes rules which are in complete opposition to reality and the integral understanding of human nature [ND 2013, No. 301, p.1] and At the end of this theory there is the Devil, who hates people and is able to do everything to destroy us, whose actions are clever and subtle [ND 2013, No. 303, p. 9].*

*Genderists are like Marxists. Similarly they abhor Christianity and similarly they aim at destruction of the Church. They want to put Christians into prisons even for one word of criticism towards their ideology (...). Genderists like to act in hiding and quietly, just like mafia. They want to carry out their revolution from the above by taking over the centres of power and media. They prey on the ignorance of the citizens to circumvent democratic procedures and forcefully impose their ideology [ND 2013, No. 302, p. 10].*

*Gender ideology interferes with the most fragile social areas. Its goal is to destroy the natural social cell, namely a family consisting of a mom, dad, and children. By promoting homo-arrangements, feministic paradigms, it attempts to corrupt children, who are defenceless. It wants to denigrate the most essential of human needs, which is the need to establish a family and have offspring [ND 2014, No. 14, p. 11].*

Studies concerning socio-cultural gender and sexuality are thus described as an ideology understood as a kind of false social awareness. Circles connected to the Church are demanding protection of their interests and prohibition of discrimination based on the Creed and the

outlook related to it. The emancipation discourse is then taken over, denuded from its subversive character and appropriated, becoming a part of *mainstream* clergy politics of Church authorities. The progressive term (*gender*) is used to a regressive goal. Let us notice that the notions which are supported by the majority of Polish society, such as the emancipation of women in the professional field and of men in the private field, are treated equally with notions which are still arousing controversies, such as marriages and adoption of children by homosexual couples. It is achieved through re-emancipation of society, which is a form of *backlash* – an ideological counterattack. As Aleksandra Klich rightly ascertains in one of the articles:

*By inventing gender ideology, the Church hierarchs behave as a wounded organism. Gender is its phantom, formed out of phobia, ignorance and prejudices; imaginary representation of evil, which is a reaction to the diminishing influence of the clergy in the liberalizing society [GW 2014, No. 8, p. 2].*

#### VII. TABLOIDIZATION OF DISCOURSE ON GENDER AND SEXUALITY – SUMMARY

Presented quotations excellently depict the tabloidization of the term “gender” in the media discourse. Its appropriation by the rightist circles obstructs a substantive debate on the subjects which are important to citizens from the existentialist viewpoint. As a result, any initiatives which are corresponding with the EU’s policy concerning *gender mainstreaming*, or are in any other way related to the concepts of gender and sexuality, are criticized<sup>v</sup>. Intellectual effort necessary to understand difficult and unobvious concepts is pushed back by the chatter about “gender ideology.” The notion “you are

either with us, or against us," linked with the vision of excommunication, can successfully discourage one from independent and critical thinking<sup>VI</sup>. That is precisely the tabloidization of the discourse: reliable information is replaced by entertainment, accuracy by sensation. The Catholic clergy are playing the roles of defenders of social order and average citizens, threatened by the corrupted minorities<sup>VII</sup>. Their reasoning is based on, as I have already touched upon, the phantasmal image of the Child, re-biologisation of the sexual difference and appropriated emancipation rhetoric.

Professor Magdalena Środa claims that the Church hierarchs and rightist publicists have been working on the concept of "gender ideology" for a long time [GW 2013, No. 248, p. 2]. And, in fact, Judith Butler points out in the essay *The End of Sexual Difference? (Fragments)* that back in 1995 the newspaper *La Repubblica* reported that Vatican City demanded to erase the word *gender* from the UN's platform of non-governmental organizations devoted to the status of women, as this word was an encoded term for describing homosexuality [Butler 2012]. To the Church hierarchs the term connoted striving for abolishing sex difference.

Thus, the Polish media debate concerning the term *gender* is a part of, lasting for quite some time already, game for power in the public space. I believe that the Polish Church is aware that it requires gradual reforms, e.g. through the preparation of procedures to fight pedophilia, but also as an institution which guards the traditional social order it tries to cover this necessity by attacking gender ideology, a phantom which it itself created. To put it simply: the more the Church changes on the inside, the stronger it attacks any kind of

otherness. However paradoxically it may sound, the reforms in Church, which have for a long time been called for by leftist circles, prompted the Church to create the so-called "gender ideology".

The question remains open: what outlook tendencies will find the approval of Poles, and in what way it will affect the form of faith, lack of faith, family, parenthood, job market, social policy etc.

#### ENDNOTES

- [1] *Gazeta Wyborcza* – a nationwide socio-political journal published in Warsaw since 8th May, 1989, by a media group Agora SA. The average circulation oscillates around 211,270 copies [[http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gazeta\\_Wyborcza](http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gazeta_Wyborcza)]. *Nasz Dziennik* – a nationwide journal of the catholic profile, published since 29<sup>th</sup> January, 1998, in Warsaw by Spes LLC. According to the publisher sales oscillate around 100,000 copies with the circulation of 150,000 copies [[http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nasz\\_Dziennik](http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nasz_Dziennik)].
- [2] All underlined quotations are the author's.
- [3] Of course, it has to be highlighted that there are examples of Catholic newspapers on the media market that present a different take on the issue (for example, *Tygodnik Powszechny*), however, those newspapers do not belong to, let me put it conventionally, a group that "holds power" in the Polish Church.
- [4] Of course, it has to be highlighted that there are examples of Catholic newspapers on the media market that present a different take on the issue (for example, *Tygodnik Powszechny*), however, those newspapers do not belong to, let me put it conventionally, a group that "holds power" in the Polish Church.
- [5] Gender reconciliation act, National Program For Equal Treatment 2013-2015, the idea of asylum for people persecuted due to their sexual orientation (especially in Africa), government projects promoting the rule of equality in the workplace, all kinds of anti-discriminating educational projects (the guidebook and the program *Kindergarten of*

- Equality* by Foundation of Kindergarten Education). Even theatrical plays are criticized (*To Damascus* by Jan Klata, *Lubiewo* in Teatr Nowy, *Popieluszko* by Małgorzata Sikorska-Miszczuk) and exhibitions (a film entitled *Adoration* in Ujazdów Castle), not to mention awarding Zygmunt Bauman with the Gloria Artis medal.
- [6] At the same time, Church organizations such as Opus Dei are taking advantage of EU's resources in the realization of various projects [GW 2014, no. 2, p. 1 and 5].
- [7] Compare: D. Piontek, B. Hordecki, Sz. Ossowski, *Tabloidization of the political discourse in Polish media*, Scientific Pub. WNPiD, Poznań 2013.
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- [1] Butler Judith (2012) *The End of Sexual Difference? (Fragments)*, trans. A. Kowalcz-Pawlik, [in:] *Teorie wywrotowe. Antologia przekładów*, ed. A. Gajewska. Poznań: Publishing House Poznańskie, 2012.
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- [4] Majewska Ewa, *Sztuka jako pozór? Cenzura i inne paradoksy upolitycznienia kultury*. Cracov: Publishing House Ha!art, 2013.
- [5] Majmurek Jakub, *Religia w szkole albo historia pewnej uzurpacji*, [in:] *Edukacja. Przewodnik Krytyki Politycznej*. Warsaw, 2013.
- [6] Piontek Dorota, Hordecki Bartosz, Ossowski Szymon, *Tabloidyżacja dyskursu politycznego w polskich mediach*. Poznań: Scientific Pub WNPiD UAM, 2013.
- [7] van Dijk Teun A. (2001), *Badania nad dyskursem*, [in:] *Dyskurs jako struktura i proces*, ed. T.A. van Dijk, trans. G. Grochowski, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.