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# Contemporary Forms of Religious Participation: Between Individualisation and Social Mobilisation. The Phenomenon of Differentiation from the Perspective of Empiricism and Media Discourse

Współczesne formy uczestnictwa religijnego:  
pomiędzy indywidualizacją a społeczną mobilizacją.  
Fenomen zróżnicowania w optyce empirii  
i dyskursie medialnym

## Abstract

The subject of analysis in this article is the declarations of participation in select religious events available in the Catholic Church in Poland. It will be an exploratory search on the similarities and differences among respondents, those who participate in these events, with an analysis of media discourses on the topic of events that are distinguished from others according to the above criteria. The considerations are based on the complementary use of quantitative methods (nationwide representative survey, cluster analysis) and qualitative methods (discourse analysis using the framing technique). The first part of the paper identifies three of the ten religious events in our research, and

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the participants formed a most homogenous internal group that was different from the rest. The next part situates the analysis in the context of media processes. Its goal is to determine what knowledge about the select events make up the media discourse, the linguistic and visual framework this is placed in and the meaning-creating role of these discourses while indicating the centres and fringes of frameworks. The conclusions formulated and based on the analyses note the titular phenomenon of diversification of forms of religious participation, saturating it substantively by recognising and categorising the content aspects of this differentiation.

**Keywords:** religious participation, religious diversity, media discourse, framing

### Abstrakt

Przedmiotem analiz w niniejszym artykule są deklaracje uczestnictwa w wybranych wydarzeniach religijnych oferowanych w ramach Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce, eksploracyjne poszukiwanie podobieństw i zróżnicowania respondentów – uczestników tych wydarzeń – oraz analiza dyskursów medialnych na temat wydarzeń wyróżnionych spośród innych, według powyższego kryterium. Rozważania bazują na komplementarnym zastosowaniu metod ilościowych (ogólnopolski sondaż reprezentatywny, analiza skupień) oraz jakościowych (analiza dyskursu z wykorzystaniem techniki ramowania). W pierwszej części artykułu wskazane zostały trzy spośród dziesięciu ujętych w badaniu wydarzeń religijnych, których uczestnicy tworzyli grupy najbardziej homogeniczne wewnątrznie oraz różniące się od pozostałych. Druga część sytuje analizy w kontekście procesów mediatyzacji. Jej celem jest ustalenie, jaką wiedzę o wyodrębnionych wydarzeniach, konstruuja dyskursy medialne, jakie ramy językowe i wizualne są w niej osadzone oraz jaka jest znaczeniowocząca rola tychże dyskursów z wyznaczeniem centrów i peryferiów ram. Sformułowane na podstawie analiz konkluzje odnotowują tytułowy fenomen zróżnicowania form uczestnictwa religijnego, nasycając go merytorycznie przez rozpoznanie i kategoryzowanie treściowych aspektów tegoż zróżnicowania.

**Słowa kluczowe:** uczestnictwo religijne, zróżnicowanie religijne, dyskurs medialny, ramowanie

## Introduction

The analysis of contemporary religious fields allows us to notice that there are multidirectional processes of change located within dynamic socio-cultural transformations of an international and global nature. Within religion and religiosity, researchers identify the phenomena of secularisation, individualisation and deinstitutionalisation or desecularisation in this context.<sup>1</sup>

Transformations in the field of religiosity are related to and intersect with trends within other systems and areas of individual and social life, including ecology, health care, orientation towards experiencing ‘I’, the search for the sacred and the construction of one’s religiosity along with doctrinal freedom, defined as the new

<sup>1</sup> K. Góźdz, *Historical and Theological Sources of Secularism and Secularisation*, “*Verbum Vitae*” 2022, vol. 40, no. 2, p. 359–373, DOI: 10.31743/vv.13269; J. Mariański, *Megatrendy religijne w społeczeństwach ponowoczesnych. Studium socjologiczne*, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2016; idem, *Indywidualizacja religijna i moralna jako megatrend społeczny i kulturowy*, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2021.

spirituality category.<sup>2</sup> Its characteristic features, apart from the immanent and holistic orientations, include the fulfilment of spiritual and/or religious needs on the outskirts or outside traditional Christian churches or religions.<sup>3</sup>

An example of a country where the above-mentioned phenomena and processes are becoming more and more visible is Poland, with a clear secularisation trend, but also the existence of various forms of community faith experiences. The title's issue can and is worth analysing on the example of Polish society, treating this project as *in statu nascendi* research and an exemplification of the phenomena discussed in the text. Poland's context also gives insight into the directions of changes in society with the historically established position of the Catholic Church and the traditional roots of religious identity.<sup>4</sup>

Empirical studies dealing with the issue of religious changes in Poland record declines in the levels of religious practices on the one hand and an accompanying stabilisation of the indicators of deeply religious people on the other hand.<sup>5</sup> Scientists also point to the eclecticism of beliefs and religious syncretism among people declaring to be Catholic, its weakening, but also the development of new religious identities.<sup>6</sup> These phenomena coexist, as mentioned, alongside a rich landscape of religious communities and movements, increasingly popular regional or nationwide events, and various forms of closed retreats related to temporal and spatial exclusion from everyday life.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> R. Wuthnow, *Growing Up Religious. Christians and Jews their Journey to Faith*, Beacon Press, Boston 2000; J. Cottingham, *The Spiritual Dimension. Religion, Philosophy and Human Value*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2005; H. Knoblauch, *Individualisierung, Privatisierung und Subjektivierung*, in: *Handbuch Religionssoziologie. Veröffentlichungen der Sektion Religionssoziologie der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie*, Springer VS, Wiesbaden 2018, p. 329–346, DOI: 10.1007/978-3-531-18924-6\_13; J. Mariański, *O nowej duchowości – próba opisu zjawiska*, "Nauki o wychowaniu. Studia interdyscyplinarne" 2021, no. 12, p. 40–68, DOI: 10.18778/2450-4491.12.04.

<sup>3</sup> R. Wuthnow, *The Contemporary Convergence of Art and Religion*, in: *The Oxford Handbook of the Sociology of Religion*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2009, p. 360–374, DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199588961.013.0020; P. Holmes, *Spirituality. Some Disciplinary Perspectives*, in: *Sociology of Spirituality*, eds. P.C. Jupp, K. Flanagan, Routledge, London 2007, p. 23–42; D. Motak, *Religia – Religijność – Duchowość. Przemiany zjawiska i ewolucja pojęcia*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Studia Religioznika" 2000, no. 43, p. 201–218.

<sup>4</sup> J. Mariański, *Tożsamości religijne w społeczeństwie polskim. Studium socjologiczne*, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2017; K. Kosela, *Polak i katolik. Splątana tożsamość*, Wydawnictwo Instytutu Filozofii i Socjologii PAN, Warsaw 2003.

<sup>5</sup> CBOS, *Opinie i diagnozy no. 50/2022: Sekularyzacja po polsku*, ed. M. Grabowska, Warsaw, Fundacja Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej; CBOS, *Religijność młodzieży*, prepared by R. Boguszewski, in: *Opinie i Diagnozy no. 49/2022: Młodzież 2021*, Warsaw, Fundacja Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej, p. 134–149.

<sup>6</sup> J. Mariański, *Tożsamości religijne w społeczeństwie polskim...*

<sup>7</sup> A. Petrowa-Wasilewicz, *Ruchy i stowarzyszenia katolickie*, in: *Kościół w Polsce 2023. Raport*, Katolicka Agencja Informacyjna Sp. z o.o., Instytut Dziedzictwa Myśli Narodowej im. Romana Dmowskiego i Ignacego J. Paderewskiego, Warsaw 2023, p. 96–106.

The above-mentioned transformations of the religious sphere are also related to the expanding technological and digital era, which evokes dynamic and widespread processes of mediatisation.<sup>8</sup> In addition to adapting many areas of social, political, religious and cultural life to the logic of media functioning, they take the form of communicative construction of socio-cultural reality in which the media support the flow of meanings, interpretations and discourses.<sup>9</sup>

Postmodern man finds himself at the junction between real and virtual reality, and values virtual space more highly as a zone of total freedom, quick and inexhaustible knowledge, quick connections and efficient communication.<sup>10</sup> An important perspective for understanding mediatisation processes is Stewart Hoover's theory 'from medium to meaning', which emphasises the media's participation in transmitting and creating the image of reality and the beliefs of people, environments and institutions, as well as in increasing the awareness and reflectivity of recipients.<sup>11</sup> The reflections of Norman Fairclough are of significant importance in this context, in which he emphasises that media discursive practices are not only a passive description of reality, but a manifestation of an active attitude towards it and shaping causal relationships between them and broader socio-cultural structures and processes.<sup>12</sup>

The outlined socio-cultural background creates an interpretive framework for the analysis of both traditional, long-existing forms of religious participation, as well as new forms of religious participation, understood here as joining movements, communities, organisations and the religious events they propose, which are on the contemporary map of religious choices to make. Declared participation in them is not only an aspect of religiosity that can be isolated and empirically researched, but it is one of the possible manifestations of the processes mentioned earlier. This is an interesting subject of analysis, especially due to the paradigm of differentiation that connects these processes, which are

<sup>8</sup> J. Szulich-Kałuża, *Tożsamość religijna w dobie mediatyzacji religii*, "Roczniki Nauk Społecznych" 2021, no. 1, p. 133–150, DOI: 10.18290/rns21491.9; eadem, *Mediatyzacja religii*, in: *Leksykon terminów medialnych*, eds. K. Wolny-Zmorzyński et al., Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2024, p. 74–75.

<sup>9</sup> A. Hepp, *Mediatization and the 'Molding Force' of the Media*, "Communications" 2012, no. 1, p. 1–28, DOI: 10.1515/commun-2012-0001; N. Couldry, A. Hepp, *Conceptualizing Mediatization: Contexts, Traditions, Arguments*, "Communication Theory" 2013, no. 2, p. 191–202, DOI: 10.1111/comt.12019.

<sup>10</sup> S. Frunzä, *Human Condition and the Sacred in the Digital Era*, "Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies" 2019, no. 18, p. 164.

<sup>11</sup> S. Hoover, *Complexities: Case of Religious Cultures*, in: *Mediatization: Concept, Change, Consequences*, Peter Lang, New York 2009, p. 123–138; R. Leśniczak, *Mediatyzacja religii w czasach globalizacji i neoglobalizacji. Wybrane refleksje medioznawcze*, "Studia Medioznawcze" 2022, no. 4, p. 1314, DOI: 10.33077/uw.24511617.sm.2022.4.712.

<sup>12</sup> N. Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, Polity, Cambridge 1992, p. 41; idem, *Critical Discourse Analysis: A Critical Study of Language*, Longman, London–New York 1995, p. 132.

anchored and at the same time strengthened by modernity, yet visible in many spheres of sociocultural life.

In this context, it is worth recalling the findings of Wolfgang Welsch, according to whom postmodernity is an era reconciled with the irreversibility of differences in our conceptualisations of reality. It is an era affirming diversity and dispersion, discontinuity and partiality of knowledge, while allowing for a multiplicity of opinions, offers, and choices.<sup>13</sup> Our times give particular value and even primacy to the principles of pluralism, multiculturalism, tolerance and openness. The principle of human freedom and subjective view of the surrounding world, the right to autonomous knowledge and opposition to any form of subordinating anyone by the state, groups, power systems, ideological and worldview systems, and imposed ways of perceiving reality are exposed.<sup>14</sup>

The subject of consideration will therefore be declarations of participation in selected religious events. A preliminary exploration of the discussed area of the Catholic Church's operation in Poland and the pastoral proposals offered within its structures (parishes, orders, retreat centers, etc.) indicated the diversity of the religious offer, which resulted in the selection of ten types of religious events for empirical research. For the research project, they were categorised according to their dominant character (individual or community), addressees (individuals, groups or larger communities, such as professional groups), organisational forms (days of retreat, retreats, sessions, events), religious practices mediating contact with the sacred (e.g., individual, communal, charismatic prayer, reading the Holy Scripture, silence, meditation), and finally ways of expressing, recognising and popularising religion in Poland (e.g. silence, community prayer, singing, sharing and conversation).

The analyses undertaken are empirical and based on the assumption that participation in the events discussed includes a response to the Church's institutional offer, located in the Church's various structures. It shows a subjective decision revealing interest in a given form of religious expression and satisfaction of one's religious needs.

Our first goal was to determine which of the analysed events are popular among what percentage of people. Then, we wanted to check whether and to what extent respondents declaring participation in these events create groups that are internally similar or different from others. The subject of this stage of research was an exploratory search for similarities and differences between respondents, the participants of religious events. The second goal of the analyses conducted for the article places them in the context of mediatization processes.

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<sup>13</sup> W. Welsch, *Unsere postmoderne Moderne*, Akademie Verlag, Berlin 2008.

<sup>14</sup> Z. Sareło, *Postmodernistyczny styl myślenia i życia*, in: *Postmodernizm. Wyzwanie dla chrześcijaństwa*, ed. Z. Sareło, Pallottinum, Poznań 1995, p. 92–97.

The aim was to examine and determine what knowledge about events identified based on quantitative analysis is constructed by media discourses, or, in other words, to characterise the meaning-creating role of these discourses. This was achieved by searching for and framing online semiotic resources and then determining the meaning potential of discourses on the analysed forms of religious participation. At the same time, we were interested in determining what content was omitted (deletion effect) and what content was added and exposed (addition effect).

In achieving the goals formulated in this way, we rely on the complementary use of quantitative and qualitative methods, which will be presented in parts II and III of the study, respectively. At the stage of quantitative research, the designed procedure will ultimately lead to the identification of environments that stand out from others, their homogeneity and diversity, making them the subject of a qualitative procedure. It, in turn, will focus on analysing the content of media discourses and aim to capture a compendium of socially constructed knowledge regarding participation in the discussed religious events.

## Methods

The subject of this part of the study is data from a representative multi-topic survey conducted in September 2020 on a representative sample of 1,010 Poles, aged 15+. It was conducted using the CATI method based on an interview questionnaire. It included, among others, questions about self-definition in terms of religiosity and spirituality,<sup>15</sup> and then participation in religious events categorised according to the areas of spirituality represented in them, widespread in the Polish Catholic Church and according to the entities conducting and addressees of these events.

In the first phase, data analysis is exploratory. We present independent variables that, in light of sociological research, are related to participation in particular religious events and have statistically significantly diversified the studied population. These include age, gender, education, place of residence, religious practices, assessment of the financial situation, and self-declarations regarding religiosity. In the next step, we propose cluster analysis, which in turn allowed us to select groups of events for qualitative analyses.

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<sup>15</sup> W. Szymczak, J. Szulich-Kałuża, *Religious or Spiritual? Empirical Manifestations of Contemporary Changes in Poles' Self-Declarations and Media Representations*, "Verbum Vitae" 2022, vol. 40, no. 2, p. 813–842.

In our times, discourse analysis comes in various varieties. It is most often critical, linguistic and social analysis,<sup>16</sup> and multimodal discourse analysis has become particularly popular in recent years. The 21st century is a time of stabilisation of the cognitive field in terms of multimodality, meaning the multi-semiotic complexity of the created representations of the reality surrounding us, and in particular media messages.<sup>17</sup> Already in the second half of the 20th century, Halliday's model of discourse analysis<sup>18</sup> began to take into account other codes of meaning creation than language, which had long been treated as the dominant social semiotic system.

Multimodality becomes an interdisciplinary approach that provides concepts, methods and research frameworks for describing media practices and does not favour any one semiotic code.<sup>19</sup> Multimodal and online communication increasingly models discursive practices.<sup>20</sup> Cross-references/links create extensive network structures, constructing thematically related hypertexts. They open up an interesting research field due to their hypertext nature, non-linearity and the creation of knowledge bases that are more extensive than those from classic media.

When selecting research material for discourse analysis, it was decided to select Internet messages using the most popular Internet search engine, Google (<https://www.google.com>). According to world rankings, it is first and responsible for 91.58% of all Internet users' search and query traffic on the Internet (data for October 2023).<sup>21</sup> Using the keywords 'enthronement movements', 'Christian meditations' and 'religious order retreats' as search terms, we selected a list of 100 items ordered according to the relevance of the search engine's recommendation algorithm (search date: 25 April 2023). Since an important element of Internet user activity is the free use of references/links in the network structure

<sup>16</sup> M. Kopytkowska, Ł. Kumiega, *Krytyczna analiza dyskursu: konteksty, problemy, kierunki rozwoju*, in: *Analiza dyskursu publicznego. Przegląd metod i perspektyw badawczych*, eds. M. Czyżewski et al., Wydawnictwo Akademickie SEDNO, Warsaw 2017.

<sup>17</sup> S. Norris, *Multimodal Discourse Analysis: A Conceptual Framework*, in: *Discourse and Technology: Multimodal Discourse Analysis*, eds. P. Levine, R. Scollon, Georgetown University Press, London–Washington 2004, p. 101–115.

<sup>18</sup> M.A.K. Halliday, *Explorations in the Functions of Language*, Edward Arnold, London 1973; idem, *Language as Social Semiotics. The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning*, University Park Press, Baltimore 1978.

<sup>19</sup> R. Iedema, *Multimodality, Resemiotization: Extending the Analysis of Discourse as Multi-Semiotic Practice*, "Visual Communication" 2003, no. 2, p. 29–57.

<sup>20</sup> C. Fraas, S. Meier, C. Pentzold, *Wprowadzenie: perspektywy interdyscyplinarnych transmedialnych badań nad dyskursem*, in: *Lingwistyka mediów. Antologia tłumaczeń*, eds. R. Opilowski, J. Jarosz, P. Staniewski, Atut, Neisse Verlag, Wrocław–Dresden 2015, p. 201.

<sup>21</sup> A. Chris, *Top 10 Search Engines in the World*, Reliablesoft, <https://www.reliablesoft.net/top-10-search-engines-in-the-world/> (accessed: 25.03.2024).

and the construction of thematically related hypertexts, we indexed Internet texts to two depth levels.

Therefore, our research corpus included a list of 100 consecutive, unrepeated, organic search results from the first search and algorithmically selected results from a second depth level for the items from the first list. Then, guided by an intentional and qualitative selection, a corpus of 42 most relevant texts was completed for the final analysis. The units of analysis were entire texts, along with their graphic layout and visual elements.

In the study, the lines of discourse were determined using a framing technique that combines theoretical inspirations from many areas, including linguistics, media sciences, sociology and psychology.<sup>22</sup> We define frames as interpretative schemes embedded in media discourse using specific words, metaphors, and images by various social actors classified as symbolic elites, e.g., journalists, experts, and politicians. Of interest were also discussions on the issue of the communicative influence of language and image on each other, as well as determining the synergy effect and the degree of coherence of this influence. We assume that in texts and media messages, keywords activate certain thinking patterns in recipients, reinforced by frames composed of linguistic expressions and image representations of various complexity (words, groups of words, sentences, fragments of texts, images, symbols, and graphic layouts on the page).

Media frames will be examined using content analysis based on the fragmented reconstruction technique, in which individual elements are first extracted and later combined into frames. The received list of frames relating to our problem field includes several details. The issue of enthronement movements includes the framework of ideological diversity and the framework of structural and functional diversity. On the topic of Christian meditation, a framework for diversified meditation practice and a framework for diversified threats were distinguished, while on the subject of monastic retreats, the following framework was established: a framework for the diversity of the retreat offer and a framework for the diversity of retreatants.

Ethical Approval: The study was conducted in accordance with the Declaration of Helsinki and approved by the Research Ethics Committee of the Institute of Sociological Sciences of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin (protocol code: 02/DKE/NS/2020).

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<sup>22</sup> K. Franczak, *Analiza ramowania*, in: *Analiza dyskursu publicznego. Przegląd metod i perspektyw badawczych*, eds. M. Czyżewski et al., Wydawnictwo Akademickie SEDNO, Warsaw 2017, p. 145.



## Results

### Participation in Religious Events in the Context of Socio-Demographic Variables and Cluster Analysis

Respondents answered questions concerning which of the following forms of retreats or religious events they had participated in at least once in the past two years (they were asked to refer to the period before the pandemic). Among all the respondents, a total of 245 people took part in any event, meaning almost one-fourth (24.3%). This group was further analysed. We were interested not only in the number of individual declarations and the measurement of the phenomenon, but also in the structure of the group and the distribution of data resulting from the cluster analysis. Thanks to it, interrelated categories of respondents participating in various religious events were identified. We treated the clusters and the events dominating them as trends emerging in 2020, which we then made the subject of a qualitative analysis in the fall of 2023. This involved examining the lines of media discourse on forms of religious participation, in particular determining the media framework of religious events whose participants, in light of our research, are characterised by the greatest uniformity (homogeneity). The structure of the research group is presented in Table 2.

Table 1. The results of the summary statistic

Variables	Category	N/M	%/SD
Gender	Man	106	43.4
	Woman	139	56.6
Education	Primary/middle school	44	18.1
	Basic	60	24.3
	High School	81	33.1
	Higher	60	24.5
Town's population recategorised	countryside	103	42.1
	small town (< 100 thousand)	62	25.1
	big city (≥ 100 thousand)	80	32.8
Age	Min. 15 Max. 86	50.00	50.12
Assessment of the material situation	I'm doing very well	9	3.7
	I'm doing rather well	80	32.6
	I'm doing tolerably, average	132	53.9
	I'm doing rather poorly	21	8.6
	I'm doing very poorly, I'm in a difficult financial situation	3	1.3
Religious practices	believer and regular practitioner	105	42.6
	believers and irregular practitioners	97	39.5
	believer but not practicing	38	15.4
	non-believer	6	2.5

The types of events respondents were asked about are marked with the abbreviations shown in Table 2, and the event groups themselves, located in the cafeteria, are the following: retreats addressed to professional or task groups – businessmen, leaders, teachers, lawyers, doctors, etc. (01 ret-business), meditation sessions, meditation schools organised by religious orders, meditation groups at Catholic parishes or associated within the World Community of Christian Meditation (02 medyt.ch), closed retreats conducted by orders, such as: Ignatian, Carmelite, Benedictine, Dominican, Franciscan and others (03 ret-religious orders), retreats ‘for the body and soul’ related to the practice of fasting, organised by orders or retreat houses (retreats with Daniel’s fast, St. Hildegard’s fast, or Dr. Ewa Dąbrowska’s diet) (04 ret-body/soul), meetings of enthronement movements (related to the cult of Jesus Christ the King) (05 enthrone), nationwide/regional religious events, e.g. festivals of faith, masses and evangelisation campaigns in city stadiums and/or with the participation of charismatics, the ‘Rosary to the Borders’, ‘Poland Under the Cross’ (06 fest/events), ‘healing’ masses (07 healing masses), events organised by communities related to the spirituality of saints, e.g. Father Pio, St. Rita, Marta Rubin, Father Ruotolo Dolindo (08 Rita/saints), Tridentine masses, events organised by traditional communities (09 masses-Tridentine), retreats organised by religious organizations, e.g. the Light-Life Movement, Neocatechumenate, Catholic Action, Catholic Youth Association, Nazareth Families, etc. (10 ret-rel.org). Respondents were to mark all events in which they participated in the period specified in the question. The frequency of selecting individual events is presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Indications of participation in individual events, N = 245

Category	N	Response %	Researched %
01 ret-business	43	9.2	17.4
02 medyt.ch.	28	6.0	11.4
03 ret-rel orders	35	7.5	14.2
04 ret-body/soul	58	12.5	23.7
05 enthrone	30	6.5	12.4
06 fest/event	46	9.9	18.8
07 healing masses	95	20.4	38.5
08 Rita/saints	37	8.0	15.0
09 Tridentine masses	52	11.3	21.4
10 ret-rel.org	40	8.6	16.3
Total	464	100.0	189.0

Due to the multiple-choice questions, in the context of further analyses, it was important to determine how often respondents marked more than one answer. The idea was to indicate the degree of co-occurrence of categories, meaning to determine the extent to which respondents, through their participation, combine specific categories of religious events. As Table 3 shows, nearly 60% of respondents chose more than one answer, i.e., more than one type of event in which they participated (among them, 36.2% indicated two events, 18.2% three, 3.8% four, and 1.3% of the people marked five events). Combining these events in the majority of respondents may indicate that there is an undisclosed (unknown to the researcher) internal division within this group of respondents, which may become the basis for two different goals: (1) determining a new classification based on co-participation in types of religious events; (2) indicating the religious events that differ from others and create the most homogeneous groups.

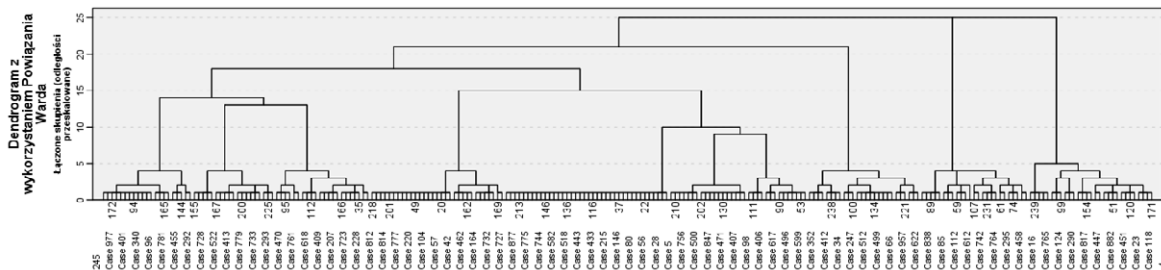
Table 3. Number of selected events

	N	%
1	99	40.5
2	89	36.2
3	45	18.2
4	9	3.8
5	3	1.3
Total	245	100.0

Using hierarchical cluster analysis, which involves dividing a complex data set into clusters (groups) in such a way that the elements in the same group are as homogeneous as possible and at the same time as heterogeneous (different) as possible from the elements in the other groups, clusters that stand out from the whole were isolated. The Ward Method was used, one of the agglomerative clustering methods, which uses the analysis of variance approach to estimate the distance between clusters.

The result of the analysis is, among others, the dendrogram, which is a graphical interpretation of the obtained effects. As can be seen from the dendrogram, at the most general level, five clusters are distinguished: first two, then one, then the remaining observations are divided into two groups. The cut-off point is introduced here. At this stage of the analysis, we can see that another specific division has emerged into five separate clusters, or that four clusters differ significantly from the rest (which still groups approximately 40% of the observations – Table 4). It is therefore worth taking a look at the clusters that were identified as a result of the analysis described above.

Dendrogram 1.



Dendrogram using the Ward Method. Linked groups (distances recalculated). Table 4 shows, how the declarations concerning events are grouped.

Table 4. Group clusters

	N	%
1	101	41.2%
2	29	11.8%
3	24	9.8%
4	27	11.0%
5	65	26.3%

The next step of the analysis was to determine how the separate clusters compare to declarations of participation in religious events. Table 5 shows the percentage of people declaring participation in a specific event in each cluster. In other words, we determined which events are dominant for particular clusters.

The table shows that the greatest uniformity (homogeneity) in terms of participation in the previously presented religious events is characterised by three clusters: 2, 3 and 4, and the events that dominate in them are: enthronement movements (95.2% of people selecting this are in this cluster), meditations (here are 85.8% of the people who pointed to this type of religious event), retreats organised by religious orders (in this case, 77.2% of the people pointing to these events are in this cluster). Therefore, we can assume that these three events generate a community of believers that is most different from the rest. This is a cognitively interesting reason to look at the characteristic features of such participation and the groups declaring them from the point of view of media creations. They follow the accepted assumption that the Internet is currently a key channel for transmitting content, and its resources, treated as discursive practices, actively co-create a multidimensional, diversified social reality.

Table 5. Groups divided into categories of religious events

		1	2	3	4	5	Total
01 ret-business	N	0	2	7	5	29	43
	%	0.0%	5.1%	15.5%	10.6%	<b>68.8%</b>	
02 medyt.ch.	N	0	4	24	0	0	28
	%	0.0%	14.2%	<b>85.8%</b>	0.0%	0.0%	
03 ret-rel orders	N	0	5	2	27	1	35
	%	0.0%	13.6%	6.7%	<b>77.2%</b>	2.5%	
04 ret-body/soul	N	27	10	3	2	16	58
	%	<b>45.9%</b>	18.0%	4.6%	4.2%	27.3%	
05 enthrone	N	0	29	0	0	1	30
	%	0.0%	<b>95.2%</b>	0.0%	0.0%	4.8%	
06 feast/event	N	17	5	10	7	8	46
	%	<b>35.9%</b>	10.3%	20.9%	16.1%	16.8%	
07 healing masses	N	62	8	3	4	17	95
	%	<b>65.9%</b>	8.2%	3.3%	4.5%	18.1%	
08 Rita/saints	N	0	3	5	3	26	37
	%	0.0%	6.8%	14.9%	8.0%	<b>70.4%</b>	
09 Tridentine masses	N	32	5	3	3	8	52
	%	<b>61.6%</b>	10.3%	6.5%	6.3%	15.4%	
10 ret-rel.org	N	4	2	3	4	27	40
	%	10.0%	6.1%	6.4%	11.0%	<b>66.5%</b>	
Total	N	101	29	24	27	65	245

## Religious Events Dominating the Clusters in the Media Discourse: Enthronement Movements, Christian Meditations, and Retreats Organized by Religious Orders

### Enthronement Movements

The first frame of the hypertext about enthrone-ment movements is their ideological diversity. It is filled with content about a multitude of social, political and legal goals, with the overriding one being the Enthronement of Jesus Christ. The first frame is based on two substructures, each of which expresses a different way of interpreting the act of enthrone-ment. The dominant substructure here is evoking, in addition to religious goals, the individual (personal) and socio-political dimensions along with their legal consequences. Enthronement is described in reference to the political, social and legal spheres:

Accepting the reign of Christ means submitting to His laws and applying them in your personal life and the life of the nation<sup>23</sup>, the act of enthronement means, first of all, recognizing Jesus Christ as the King of the nation and King of our state,<sup>24</sup> recognizing with faith the reign of Jesus, submitting and entrusting to Him one's personal life, the main purpose of performing the act is to recognize with faith the rule of Jesus, to submit and entrust to Him one's personal, family and national life in all its dimensions and to shape these according to God's laws.<sup>25</sup>

The content elements of the framework identify the religious, social, moral and legal consequences of enthronement:

Breaking with individual and otherworldly Christianity,<sup>26</sup> recognizing God's law as the superior law over all constitutions that we would like to formulate ourselves, over statutory law, the superiority of God's law over other legal documents that Poland is forced or wants to apply to itself, those formulated abroad or imposed on us,<sup>27</sup> subordination to statutory law and broadly applied in judicial practice, (...) means handing the future of our nation to the Lord Jesus with the utmost trust in God's Mercy and begging Him for a blessing, that He take into His hands the future of our country. They distinguished the Catholic religion as the true, main, basic religion, which is also defended by the state and official authorities. Religion, which is obligatory at our universities. This includes not only preparation for First Holy Communion, but also at universities and all faculties. Justice and social love will be expressed in all the acts that we implement in practice. Economic, social and political life will be intertwined with love and justice, and we will try to show these truths to others, including non-believers as well as atheists.<sup>28</sup>

The second substructure of the interpretation of enthronement relates to this act, and at the same time the axis of activity of people declaring participation in such events, primarily to the religious sphere and to shape everyday life personal relationships, including a deep relationship with Christ.

<sup>23</sup> Michael. Dla Tryumfu Niepokalanej, *Intronizacja Chrystusa Króla w Polsce*, 1.10.2015, <https://www.czasopismomichael.pl/archiwa/item/intronizacja-chrystusa-krola-w-polsce> (accessed: 10.02.2024).

<sup>24</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>25</sup> W. Wesołowski, *Czy Chrystusa można ogłosić Królem Polski*, "Niedziela Ogólnopolska" 2021, no. 47, p. 10–12, <https://www.niedziela.pl/artykul/156467/nd/Czy-Chrystusa-mozna-oglosic-Krolem-Polski> (accessed: 10.02.2024).

<sup>26</sup> Deon.pl, *O co chodzi z intronizacją?*, <https://deon.pl/kosciol/komentarze/o-co-chodzi-z-intro-nizacja,377405> (accessed: 10.02.2024).

<sup>27</sup> Michael. Dla Tryumfu Niepokalanej, *Intronizacja Chrystusa Króla...*, <https://www.czasopismo-michael.pl/archiwa/item/intronizacja-chrystusa-krola-w-polsce> (accessed: 10.02.2024).

<sup>28</sup> Ibidem.

It is important to put Christ at the center of one's life. This is not so much about putting a crown on Him, but about making Him the most important person with whom I make life decisions, and everyday choices, and in seeking tasks that God assigns. If I walk with Him through life, Jesus will tell me what to do to make this life better,<sup>29</sup> we want to accept His laws and acknowledge Him, so that He may reign in our hearts, in us,<sup>30</sup> first enabling Him to reign in our hearts to bear fruit in our lives<sup>31</sup>.

The second frame signals the structural and functional differentiation of enthronement movements. The problem field corresponds to the organisational dimension of the functioning of various sections of these movements and their connections with key people, the leaders around whom specific communities are created, function and shape their identity. This framework is activated by linguistic expressions that direct the recipient's attention to two camps: moderate and radical. The former is gathered around two people, Father Zygmunt Dobrzycki and the Krakow mystic Rozalia Celakówna:

This movement is considered more moderate because it does not postulate the enthronement of Christ as a person, but only emphasizes the royal dignity of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. It focuses on the private acceptance of the reign of Christ in the heart of every Catholic, and this makes it a personal movement of trust.<sup>32</sup>

The radical camp is centred around the following people: Fr. Tadeusz Kiersztyn and Fr. Piotr Natanek.

The second, more radical move is associated with Fr. Tadeusz Kiersztyn, an advocate of the enthronement of Christ as King of Poland.<sup>33</sup>

The media face of the enthronement movement in Poland is Fr. Piotr Natanek, and the most ardent supporters of enthronement interpreted in the radical trend – the Knights of Christ the King:

Fr. Natanek entrenched himself in his Grzechynia, among faithful people in red cloaks with the image of a crowned Jesus, but not with a crown of thorns, but with a golden one. According to their declarations, there are 2,822 Knights of Christ the King in Poland

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<sup>29</sup> W. Wesołowski, *Czy Chrystusa można ogłosić Królem Polski*, <https://www.niedziela.pl/artykul/156467/nd/Czy-Chrystusa-mozna-oglosic-Krolem-Polski> (accessed: 10.02.2024).

<sup>30</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>31</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>32</sup> Deon.pl, *O co chodzi z intronizacją?*, <https://deon.pl/kosciol/komentarze/o-co-chodzi-z-intronizacja,377405> (accessed: 10.02.2024).

<sup>33</sup> Ibidem.

and another 1,179 abroad.<sup>34</sup> On Internet television, Fr. Natanek's prayers are broadcast non-stop, which only attracts more supporters.<sup>35</sup>

The multitude of environments related to the idea of the enthronement of Jesus Christ is reflected in various groups with different names, e.g.:

Community for the Enthronement of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, Knighthood of Jesus Christ the King, The 'Rose' Association and the Heart of Jesus Foundation, Movement for the Defense of the Republic of Poland 'Self-Governing Poland', the Association 'Movement for the Enthronement of Jesus Christ the King of Poland'.<sup>36</sup>

In the analysed corpus of texts about enthronement movements, the image has a complementary function, where the text and image are semiotic partners. Graphic highlights and illustrations evoke a non-linear reception by navigating users to the exposed parts of the texts. In our interpretations, we use salience theory<sup>37</sup> and the assumption that the process of assimilating images is controlled by the most visible elements. The most numerous representations in the photographs are images of the Knights of Christ the King and national symbols (white and red flags). The authors selected visual codes that can easily be called dominant discursive codes (e.g., gatherings and public manifestations of the Knights of Christ the King, wide framing of crowds participating in the enthronement ceremonies).

The second group consists of arbitrary codes (e.g., images of Jesus Christ with royal insignia), meaning universal codes, similarly understood and read regardless of cultural conventions. The photographs are characterised by straight, frontal or slightly angled shots for deliberate positioning involving hyperbolisation of the statues of Jesus. The visual narrative is coherent, exposing national symbols (red, long capes, white and red flags) and royal symbols (insignia of power: crown, apple, scepter). In Polish culture, the red colour displayed has a highly emotional and symbolic associative value.

The graphic layout of the texts is characterised by low sensory stimulation and poor interactivity in stimulating the recipient's cognitive activity. In the

<sup>34</sup> J. Gądek, *Rycerze Chrystusa Króla na manowcach Kościoła – jest ich kilka tysięcy*, WP Wiadomości, 18.11.2016, <https://wiadomosci.wp.pl/rycerze-chrystusa-krola-na-manowcach-kosciola-jest-ich-kilka-tysiecy-6059959288717953a> (accessed: 10.02.2024).

<sup>35</sup> Deon.pl, *O co chodzi z intronizacją?*, <https://deon.pl/kosciol/komentarze/o-co-chodzi-z-intro-nizacja,377405> (accessed: 10.02.2024).

<sup>36</sup> Deon.pl, *Usadzić Chrystusa na tronie*, <https://deon.pl/kosciol/komentarze/usadzi-jezusa-na-tronie,377624> (accessed: 10.02.2024).

<sup>37</sup> L. Itti, C. Koch, *A Salience – Based Search Mechanism for Overt and Covert Shifts of Visual Attention*, "Vision Research" 2000, no. 40, p. 1489–1509.



process of perception, he is faced with an undeveloped hypertext structure, linearity and unidirectionality of communication, including the lack of need for individual selection and integration of text and visual codes. The graphic structure uses simple procedures: highlighting frames of headings, thematic sections and expert statements, changing the shape and color of fonts. The above-mentioned compositional practices may provoke non-linear reception, but their main task is to make the text more attractive and coherent.

### Christian Meditations

The content of the hypertext about Christian meditation allows reconstructing two frameworks. The first framework differentiates meditation practices based on three substructures: the essence of meditation (in a broad and narrow sense), elements and features of meditation, and a framework of topics arising from religiously and culturally 'alien' spiritual practices. The vocabulary of the first framework is dominated by terms combining meditation with the presence of God – Christ and prayer. The essence of Christian meditation, in a broad sense, is Christocentric orientation, requiring internal discipline and turning towards God and neighbors:

Meditation is a discipline. A discipline in which we learn to move into the background and direct our attention, or better yet, our whole self, to God,<sup>38</sup> an encounter with God and increasing a Christian's ability to control himself and making him sensitive to the needs of his brothers;<sup>39</sup> Meditation is interfaith, it is something very human, it is a human need. However, we, Christians, always consider, meditate and contemplate based on Christ and His grace, while other religions try to draw the sources of this internal power from themselves, from the energy of the world that surrounds them.<sup>40</sup>

The essence of meditation in the narrow sense is filled with the definitions of meditation as a prayer recited in various forms, and meditation as a practice accompanying the sacraments:

If we take meditation out of prayer, we are not dealing with Christian meditation (...). In meditation, we try to take a step back, which makes us focus not on ourselves, but

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<sup>38</sup> J. Main OSB, *Czym jest medytacja chrześcijańska?*, Deon.pl, <https://deon.pl/wiara/czym-jest-medytacja-chrzescijanska,411584> (accessed: 11.02.2024).

<sup>39</sup> Stacja7.pl, *Medytacja. Zagrożenie czy sposób na rozwój wiary? Wyjaśnia o. Leon Knabit OSB*, 23.01.2022, <https://stacja7.pl/wiara/medytacja-zagrozenie-czy-sposob-na-rozwoj-wiary-wyjasnia-o-leon-knabit-osb/> (accessed: 11.02.2024).

<sup>40</sup> T. Rusiecki, *Medytacja chrześcijańska*, katolik.pl, <https://m.katolik.pl/medytacja-chrzescijanska,22609,416,cz.html?s=3> (accessed: 11.02.2024).

on God. This is how we find our place in the world. We find the place where we should be, and our relationships – with others, with creation, with God – are organized.<sup>41</sup> If the Church is looking for new methods of meditation, we should always remember that authentic Christian prayer is the meeting of two freedoms: the infinite freedom of God with man's limited freedom.<sup>42</sup> Christian meditation leads (...) to properly experiencing the holy sacraments (...) It should be noted that the Church also has other forms of meditation and contemplation. The most popular and simplest is praying the rosary. Another form of meditation that the Church has is the devotion to the Stations of the Cross, in which we meditate on the Lord's Passion. In our Polish tradition, we have another very beautiful sung meditation on the Passion of Christ – The Sorrowful Lamentations.<sup>43</sup>

Fulfilling the discussed substructure is also characterised by conditions and even diverse criteria for proper meditation. The attempt to combine it with a mantra, a spiritual practice taken from Far Eastern culture, is interesting:

Meditation means creating a state of concentration and inner silence in us in order to meditate and absorb the secrets of our faith and what God is doing in us, not only the things that come and go;<sup>44</sup> Meditation or contemplation or consideration – as long as you devote this time to isolating yourself from the rush of the world, stopping and being with yourself and God. (...) For Christians, contemplation, meditation and reflection are supposed to help you to get to know Jesus Christ better, to connect with Him, since the gift of contemplation comes from His grace. When we sit down to meditate and cleanse our minds of thoughts of worries and everyday duties, we experience God in the desert of the heart and we discover that truly blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.<sup>45</sup>

Christian meditation consists of entering deeper into the inner life of the Trinity in the Holy Spirit.<sup>46</sup> Meditation consists of three basic elements. First, it means opening up to the Word of God, and listening to the Word of God. Second, with the help of the Word of God, we enter into our entire life history. The third element of meditation is humbly

<sup>41</sup> J. Main OSB, *Czym jest medytacja chrześcijańska?*, <https://deon.pl/wiara/czym-jest-medytacja-chrzescijanska,411584> (accessed: 11.02.2024).

<sup>42</sup> [https://www.vatican.va/roman\\_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents](https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents) (accessed: 11.02.2024)

<sup>43</sup> Wiara.pl, *Maryja wzorem medytacji*, <https://papiez.wiara.pl/doc/926634.Maryja-wzorem-medytacji> (accessed: 11.02.2024).

<sup>44</sup> A. Poleski, *Jedno słowo kontemplacji. Czym jest medytacja chrześcijańska?*, *Aleteia*, 10.04.2017, <https://pl.aleteia.org/2017/04/10/jedno-slowo-kontemplacji-czym-jest-medytacja-chrzescijanska/> (accessed: 11.02.2024).

<sup>45</sup> T. Rusiecki, *Medytacja chrześcijańska*, <https://m.katolik.pl/medytacja-chrzescijanska,22609,416,cz.html?s=3> (accessed: 11.02.2024).

<sup>46</sup> A. Poleski, *Jedno słowo kontemplacji...*, <https://pl.aleteia.org/2017/04/10/jedno-slowo-kontemplacji-czym-jest-medytacja-chrzescijanska/> (accessed: 11.02.2024).

bringing to God the reactions of the heart that arise in us as a result of the encounter of the Word of God with our lives.<sup>47</sup> Prayer is combined with a mantra, learning to say our word of prayer, our mantra. Meditation involves sitting still as much as we can and reciting a word of prayer, a mantra, in our heart, in our mind, in the depths of our being.<sup>48</sup>

The second distinguished framework allows us to reconstruct the sources of threats to Catholic meditation. These are:

No personal encounter with God. This is a fundamental threat to meditation.<sup>49</sup> In Christian meditation, closeness to God is not based on a conversation with Him, it is more than thinking about God or experiencing feelings relating to Him. Praying in silence is being with God.<sup>50</sup>

A ‘mantra’ or even ‘meditation’ can cause concern among some Christians:

There are doubts whether it is not about dissolving into some undefined Absolute. Today, among all those who recognize religious values and man’s spiritual life, there is a great return to meditation. Warnings arise that among the threats to our Catholic faith, such as incense, black magic, Satanism, occultism, etc., meditation, or more precisely - transcendent meditation, is often mentioned in the same theme. That is why we need to think about it and correct it a bit. If this “Eastern” meditation completely excludes the Christian order of values, excluding man’s personality and his relationship to the Person of God, then it excludes the basic truths of our Catholic faith, and such meditation leads to “self-soothing” or “self-love,” melting in the universe of which man is a part of, and this is not advisable for a believer.<sup>51</sup>

The analysed corpus of texts is poor in visual material. The linguistic and visual integration of the framework of knowledge about Christian meditation is at a low level. Photographs and graphics come from free photo collections: shutterstock.com, Adobe Stock, YouTube.com, loretto.pl and primarily serve an illustrative function for texts. The dominant arbitrary codes are visualisations of bodily activities: young people meditate in sitting, upright positions,

<sup>47</sup> J. Augustyn SJ, *Medytacja chrześcijańska – szanse i zagrożenia*, Mateusz.pl, <http://mateusz.pl/duchowosc/ja-mch.htm> (accessed: 11.02.2024).

<sup>48</sup> [https://www.vatican.va/roman\\_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents](https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents) (accessed: 11.02.2024)

<sup>49</sup> Stacja7.pl, *Medytacja...*, <https://stacja7.pl/wiara/medytacja-zagrozenie-czy-sposob-na-rozwoj-wiary-wyjasnia-o-leon-knabit-osb/> (accessed: 12.02.2024).

<sup>50</sup> J. Augustyn SJ, *Medytacja chrześcijańska...*, <http://mateusz.pl/duchowosc/ja-mch.htm> (accessed: 12.02.2024).

<sup>51</sup> J. Poznański SJ, *Dobrze przeżyć rekolekcje*, Mateusz.pl, <http://mateusz.pl/mt/jp/jacek-poznan-sj-sj-dobrze-przezyc-rekolekcje.htm> (accessed: 12.02.2024).

with exposed gestures of folded or raised hands, perceptual focusing of one's attention and staring at one point. The photographs are characterised by simple, frontal shots with a central location of the main motif. Worth mentioning are the stylised visualisations of nature and open spaces, enabling recipients to experience places in an immersive and engaging way. The visual narrative is unvaried, and the graphic layout of the texts is characterised by low sensory stimulation. The graphic structure of texts uses elementary techniques: highlighting experts' statements in a frame and structure and changing the shape and color of the font. The indicated graphic highlights direct the recipient's perceptual attention to the exposed parts of the texts.

### Retreats Organised by Religious Orders

In the next hypertext focusing on the topic of retreats at religious orders, the dominant framework concerns differentiating retreat practices in the context of two substructures: the first – the forms, elements, principles and places of retreats, and the second – the retreatants, meaning the recipients of retreat teachings. In the first substructure of the framework, fragments of texts evoke associations with prayer:

During closed retreats, everything is subordinated to prayer. They are often performed in silence and no talking. The retreatant receives prayer instructions, questions and impulses,<sup>52</sup> the Daily Eucharist and adoration,<sup>53</sup> and biblical retreats using the *lectio divina* method (...) these are the conditions for concentration and in-depth meetings with God. We invite them to look into God's word during this time, seek peace and listen to God, who wants to speak to our hearts; it is an opportunity to learn about the selfless worship of God in the prayer community; it is the opportunity to confront one's life with others and engage in the Church and the world.<sup>54</sup>

The following is the content in one of the forms of retreat, the 'retreat in the desert':

Today, retreats conducted in a desert climate are becoming an effective cure for our social diseases.<sup>55</sup>

The places where retreats are held are also characterised by diversity:

<sup>52</sup> D. Krawczykowski, *Rekolekcje dla wypalonych*, "Niedziela Ogólnopolska" 2022, no. 31, p. 20–21, <https://m.niedziela.pl/artykul/160728/nd/Rekolekcje-dla-wypalonych> (accessed: 12.02.2024).

<sup>53</sup> J. Juzalak, *Dokąd po duchowe wytchnienie?*, Opoka, 15.07.2022, <https://opoka.org.pl/biblioteka/Z/ZP/dokad-po-duchowe-wytchnienie> (accessed: 12.02.2024).

<sup>54</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>55</sup> Ibidem.

These places are centuries-old monasteries and retreat houses located in the quiet of the forest, as well as hermitages – for those especially longing for solitude and escape from the hustle and bustle of everyday life;<sup>56</sup> it is a real hermitage where man is alone and only with Jesus.<sup>57</sup>

The retreats proposed by religious congregations are characterised by high demands placed on retreatants and adherence to very strict rules:

The rules there were very strict. We could not even make eye contact with other participants, we had to look at their shoes;<sup>58</sup> (...) An aspect of this time away is to remain silent for 6 days. In the noise and information bustle of the modern world, this is an invaluable asset in spiritual work.<sup>59</sup>

The content of the second substructure highlights the diversity of the retreat's addresses:

Retreats are conducted for lay people, clergy and consecrated persons (...). Retreats for married couples or biblical retreats using the lectio divina method (...) are for people who want to experience true separation from the world;<sup>60</sup> everyone is invited to participate in the retreats, both those who are associated with the Church daily, as well as those who rarely attend Holy Masses.<sup>61</sup>

The visual material accompanying the texts is sparse and quite homogeneous in its content, primarily serving as an illustration for the texts. Analogous to the previous examples discussed, we are dealing here with poor linguistic and visual integration of presenting the knowledge regarding Christian retreats. Photographs and graphics come from free photo collections, like shutterstock.com, Adobe Stock, YouTube.com, Luna Vandrone, or Photo Granary. New items include announcements, boards and posters promoting retreat meetings with detailed information, such as the exact place and date of the event or informa-

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<sup>56</sup> S. Karnacewicz, *Rzecznik KEP: każde rekolekcje to duchowe SPA*, Dzieje.pl – Portal historyczny, 7.03.2020, <https://dzieje.pl/dziedzictwo-kulturowe/rzecznik-kep-kazde-rekolekcje-duchowe-spa> (accessed: 12.02.2024).

<sup>57</sup> J. Juzalak, *Dokąd po duchowe wytchnienie?*, <https://opoka.org.pl/biblioteka/Z/ZP/dokad-po-duchowe-wytchnienie> (accessed: 12.02.2024).

<sup>58</sup> S. Karnacewicz, *Rzecznik KEP*, <https://dzieje.pl/dziedzictwo-kulturowe/rzecznik-kep-kazde-rekolekcje-duchowe-spa> (accessed: 12.02.2024).

<sup>59</sup> J. Juzalak, *Dokąd po duchowe wytchnienie?*, <https://opoka.org.pl/biblioteka/Z/ZP/dokad-po-duchowe-wytchnienie> (accessed: 12.02.2024).

<sup>60</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>61</sup> S. Karnacewicz, *Rzecznik KEP*, <https://dzieje.pl/dziedzictwo-kulturowe/rzecznik-kep-kazde-rekolekcje-duchowe-spa> (accessed: 12.02.2024).

tion about the organisers. The visual messages are dominated by arbitrary codes emphasising religious contexts, including, for example, religious symbols like candles burning on the altar or a cross with the crucified Christ in the background. These photographs are characterised by maintaining a compositional balance with one central element.

## Discussion and Conclusion

The quantitative analysis indicated the three groups most homogeneous and at the same time distinguishable from the rest, corresponding to the religious events dominating the clusters. Two of them are situated in terms of their social, community and personal aspects – at opposite poles. The third, combining elements from the previous two and having its specific features, finds a place in the middle of this continuum.

Qualitative analysis allowed us to determine the characteristic features of two marginal groups. In the case of people declaring participation in Christian meditation, it is about focusing on the personal, spiritual and, above all, the individual nature of religious practices and contact with the sacred. The so-called enthronement movements, meaning participants of the other side – in our analysis – are groups characterised by the religious, social and mobilising nature of their activities. In turn, intermediate communities are represented by people declaring participation in religious events proposed by religious orders. This group is marked by demanding rules regarding individual participation, with elements of community faith practices and expressions.

Events at opposite poles represent types of religious participation that are (1) characterised by an orientation primarily towards individual practices for cultivating faith, or (2) putting social mobilisation at the center, aimed at transforming social structures, legislation, and politics. It is worth noting that what they have in common is, in each case, a significantly different exclusivism. In the case of enthronement movements, it involves a sense of social and political mission, however, rooted, interpreted and justified (in terms of purpose) through the use of religious categories expressed through specific initiatives. In relation to Christian meditation, exclusivism concerns the practice of meditation itself, its places and forms, its demanding nature, and the differences from everyday and traditional religious practices (silence, focus on breathing, lack of movement, interaction between participants).

The identified distinctiveness of the selected and analysed groups can be model-described using several antinomies. Next, the distinguished ends of the continuum are characterised by religiosity, both individual and communal, focused on calm and expressive, directed first inward and manifested outward,

assuming first of all a relationship with the sacred and self-transformation, and assuming first of all or at the same time social, legal, or political mobilisation goals.

The media discourse lines on the analysed forms of religious participation were determined using the framing technique from the perspective of social and communicative constructivism. It states that a person constructs knowledge about reality, meaning his or her social world, and that communication activities are particularly important in this activity.<sup>62</sup> The framing allowed for an in-depth analysis and a detailed description of the internal differentiation of the three environments, indicating the axes and determinants of the differences between them. As a result of qualitative analyses and the inductive reconstruction of categorisation schemes, we obtained several detailed frameworks that can be combined into a cluster of a general differentiation framework.

Within it, a framework was set for enthronement movements, namely, ideological/programmatic diversity and structural and functional diversity. For Christian meditations, the framework was diverse meditation practice and diverse threats, and for retreats in religious orders, the framework included the diversity of the retreat offer and the diversity of retreatants. The mentioned media frameworks indicate certain categorization schemes that are aimed at interpreting and organising knowledge about selected events. The analyses also allowed for identifying elements exposed and omitted in this framework. The isolated frames are not homogeneous, and the semiotic means used to construct them are hierarchically situated. Content that dominates in the quantitative dimension has a high potential for meaning. Those with the strongest associations refer to the center of the framework, while less important ones refer to the periphery of the framework. We found that the features that make the analysed religious events attractive are primarily highlighted.

In the case of frameworks differentiating the ideological program and structural-functional issues of enthronement movements, the center is the reign of Christ interpreted in religious or religious with socio-political (national and legal) categories. By tracing the methods of explication, we will find features such as exclusivism that distinguish it from other religious movements and initiatives, such as the ambitions of a social revolution or changes in the legal and socio-political system. The center point of the framework and this socio-national trend in the enthronement movements, explicating mainly socio-political aspects, let us add, critically assessed by the Polish Episcopate, also strengthen the identified 'families' of iconic codes.

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<sup>62</sup> M. Wendland, *Konstruktywizm komunikacyjny*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Instytutu Filozofii UAM, Poznań 2011; W.A. Gamson, *A Constructionist Approach to Mass Media and Public Opinion*, "Symbolic Interaction", 1988, vol. 11, no. 2, p. 161–174, DOI: 10.1525/si.1988.11.2.161.

It turned out that the authors of media messages associate images of Christ the King and national symbolism with public manifestations and broad framing of crowds. These are examples of mechanisms shaping the socio-national script of enthronement movements. Information about facts whose role was to alleviate tensions related to the theological interpretation of the activities of these movements is omitted or less frequently mentioned. This concerns, for example, documents of the Polish Episcopate concerning the religious nature of the act of Christ's enthronement.<sup>63</sup>

In the case of the center of the framework relating to Christian meditation, linguistic terms with the greatest meaning-creating potential direct attention to the integral, close connection of Christian meditation with the presence of God – Christ and to various forms of prayer associated with meditation. The essence of Christian meditation exposed in the media turned out to be Christocentric orientation and striving for it through internal discipline, as well as the motif of meditation as a practice accompanying the sacraments.

The content regarding the broad understanding of Christian meditation, which also includes traditional forms of prayer such as the rosary, Stations of the Cross and the Sorrowful Lamentations, has peripheral meaning. Possible transformative or therapeutic effects of meditation, present in the reflection on the meditation tradition of Eastern and Western Christianity, are also omitted. For example, meditation has a supporting role in achieving peace and inner balance, which is supposed to help one open up to God's presence,<sup>64</sup> cultivate values that improve humanity, or weaken the ambivalent impact of contemporary socio-cultural phenomena.

We identified two tendencies in the central, meaning-creating components of the framework for describing monastic retreats. According to the first tendency, the hierarchy of points associates retreats with silence, mental or oral prayer, contemplative prayer, instructions on the proper practice of various forms of prayer and individual and reflective reading of the Holy Scripture. The second tendency is associated with high requirements and compliance with retreat rules relating to detailed aspects of everyday life during a retreat. Information

<sup>63</sup> *List pasterski Episkopatu Polski w sprawie Jubileuszowego Aktu Przyjęcia Jezusa za Króla i Pana*, [https://episkopat.pl/doc\\_pr/174607.list-pasterski-episkopatu-polski-w-sprawie-jubileuszowego-aktu-przyjecia-jezusa-za-krola-i-pana](https://episkopat.pl/doc_pr/174607.list-pasterski-episkopatu-polski-w-sprawie-jubileuszowego-aktu-przyjecia-jezusa-za-krola-i-pana) (accessed: 15.03.2024); *Komentarz do Jubileuszowego Aktu Przyjęcia Jezusa za Króla i Pana*, <https://episkopat.pl/doc/172791.komentarz-do-jubileuszowego-aktu-przyjecia-jezusa-za-krola-i-pana> (accessed: 15.03.2024).

<sup>64</sup> See e.g.: M. Laird, *Western Christianity and Meditation*, in: *The Oxford Handbook of Meditation*, eds. M. Farias, D. Brazier, M. Lalljee, Oxford Library of Psychology, Oxford 2021, DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198808640.013.7; C. Hovorun, *Eastern Christianity and Meditation*, in: *The Oxford Handbook of Meditation*, eds. M. Farias, D. Brazier, M. Lalljee, Oxford Library of Psychology, Oxford 2021, DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198808640.013.8.



about the retreat recipients, distinguished according to age, profession, status, religious or life needs, is peripheral.

The results of the two-stage analysis of participation in religious events and their media descriptions presented in the article point primarily to the titular phenomenon of differentiation. The analysis of media discourse, linguistic and visual semiotic resources and the resulting framework allowed us to recognise and categorise the content aspects of this differentiation. As a result of the research, we found that the phenomenon in question does not lie primarily in the initial recognition of the diversity of religious offers and events that were selected for quantitative research.

Its essence lies in the polar location of two of the three groups of respondents, most internally homogeneous and distinguished from others, representing the 'enthronement' and 'meditation' environments. An equally interesting result of the analysis is the central location of offers of religious events proposed by religious orders. This corresponds to the position of religious congregations rooted in Christian culture and their importance in the history and culture of Polish society, as well as the related recognition of their pastoral proposals.

Limitations: The article treats religious transformations in Polish society as an exemplification of the processes taking place in societies hitherto relatively homogeneous in terms of religion, in which progressive secularisation and religious differentiation are noted. The purpose of the text was to qualitatively analyse the phenomenon of religious differentiation and to formulate conclusions that this type of research procedure allows.

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