

RELIGIOUS THREAT. ISLAM IN THE DISCOURSE OF RIGHT-WING POLISH-LANGUAGE WEB PORTALS AFTER THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS OF 2015 IN POLAND

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ABSTRACT

The article shows religious phenomena as a part of agenda setting performed by Polish-language portals. The research included the content analysis of 3 intentionally chosen websites (niezalezna.pl, wPolityce.pl, telewizjarepublika.pl) identified as right-wing or conservative both by journalists and media researchers in Poland. The study was based on the assumption that communication via media has an effect on the formation of public opinion by raising specific topics, assigning meanings to objects, people or events, and moving issues from one agenda to another (e.g. from the area of politics to religion). The author also assumed that users and journalists working for right-wing portals view religion as a natural element of their world-view and are interested in religious themes. This is believed to be the reason why they pay more attention to these themes than journalists and publishers of left-wing media. The aim of the research was to find the basic topoi organizing narratives concerning religion, social contexts in which religion was situated and functions assigned to it in media interpretations. A qualitative analysis of texts regarding religious phenomena was performed. The results of the study showed that during the examined period of fifteen months between 2017-2018, most statements were related to Islam. However, the analyzed texts did not concern Poland directly. The texts focused on Islam in western Europe or other parts of the world. These fundamental topics were highlighted throughout the analysis using the agenda setting theory: conflict and violence, the clash of civilizations, demography, rivalry among religious ideas, the political agenda. Throughout the research, two components were distinguished – the cognitive and the affective. The cognitive component was based on scientific sources (for example, in texts about demographic problems), but then again it was limited to very basic and generalized statements. In the affective layer, negative emotions prevailed.

Key words: religion, Islam, new media ecosystem, right-wing Internet portals

Today, electronic media are used on a mass scale. This requires no specialized skills, may take place in various situations, accompany many actions, without forcing the recipient to completely focus his/her attention. Religion, similar to other social subsystems, has become an element of the world covered by the media: it appears in the mass media in many contexts: institutional, educational, pastoral, spiritual, political, ritual, etc.

This article is a case study of agenda setting performed by Polish-language right-wing portals. This selection of the environment to be investigated resulted from the purpose of the research, which was the analysis of the forms religion takes in the public sphere in contemporary Poland (rather than an answer to the question of whether or not it is visible). I assumed that users and journalists of right-wing portals treat religion as a natural element of their world-view and are interested in religious themes, which is why they pay more attention to it than journalists and recipients or publishers of left-wing media.

I was looking for the basic topoi organizing narratives concerning religion, social contexts in which religion was situated and functions assigned to it in media interpretations. I assumed that communication via media has an effect on the formation of and changes in public opinion by raising specific topics, assigning meanings to objects, people or events, moving issues from one order (agenda) to another e.g. from the area of politics to religion (Kioussis, McCombs 2004, p. 36–57).

The field of the research covers so called new media, which are based on interaction and use the internet and mobile phones. The analysis includes websites where information and social and political journalism predominate, and those dedicated to religion are omitted, e.g. Deon.pl, Wiara.pl, Adonai.pl. This reflects the purpose of the analysis. I concentrate on right-wing news services to see religion in relation to other social institutions. Religion is in the circle of interest of these services, but in their case it is not the only or a dominant topic. Moreover, right-wing portals are only rarely the subjects of interest of Polish media researchers, therefore the research is exploratory in its nature.

The research, the results of which are presented in this article, included the content analysis of 3 intentionally chosen websites (niezalezna.pl, wPolityce.pl, telewizjarepublika.pl) identified as right-wing or conservative both by journalists and media researchers in Poland.

From the 'Fourth Estate' to the 'new media ecosystem'

In the nineteen nineties, the 'Fourth Estate' metaphor, which emphasized the independence of the media from the government and other public authorities, was still popular among communication researchers. It was believed that 'independent' media were the requirement for public debate to be carried out in language understandable to citizens who vary with respect to their opinions, education and other traits, but at the same time who share basic values, language and interest in the

problems which are the source of political disputes (Legutko, Rodziwicz 2011, p. 9). This is the ideal picture; in reality the media are subject to legal restrictions and fulfill the interests of publishers, editors in chief or the companies that they belong to, nonetheless this reflects a certain way of thinking about traditional media.

However, as Jarosław Malinowski aptly stated:

technological development affects social processes and interactions. Information and communication technologies and new applications, including emerging forms of mass communication, have already shown their potential as platforms for political dialogue or discourse, agenda setting or opinion forming and for the exposure of abuse (Malinowski 2011, p. 12).

Technological changes caused the shift of communication to internet platforms and transformation of the media themselves. As a result of the digitization of media production, differences between such mass media as press, radio or television are less and less clear, and the phenomenon of convergence also refers to the new media (Koniecko 2015, p. 14). Media researchers usually highlight the interactive nature of the network, that creates the possibility of posting feedback for articles and broadcasts published earlier, is usually highlighted. Complex relationships between the traditional and new media, interactions between mainstream media and social media transform the vertical model of communication (broadcast) into a horizontal one (intercast). The feedback of all media – traditional and new, professional and non-professional (grassroot) creates the system of relations called the ‘new media ecosystem’ (Nowak 2012, p. 20). The new media ecosystem can be described as a process of continuous mutual interaction of equipment, authors, statements generated by them and consumers (Androsiuk 2017, p. 120). In that interaction content is supplemented without interruption and updated in reaction to events, publications of other media, publications of news services etc.

Technological development brought about the introduction of new communication forms and areas in the media systems, such as news portals which may function on their own or constitute supplements to traditional media – e.g. press titles or TV stations. News services and social media compete with print newspapers, gradually replacing them in the market (Maigret 2012, p. 438). The printed daily press is – or was – particularly important. In the opinion of Tadeusz Szczurkiewicz, who published in 1970 in “Sociology Studies”, daily press had a strong influence on its recipients because for most of them it was the basic source of information throughout their lives. Daily press contains various messages, whose suggestive value is reinforced by timeliness of content, and the lack of internal contradictions thanks to appropriate selection and forms of presentation (Szczurkiewicz 1970). Digitization has changed the method of producing information which is considerably different from the traditional (unidirectional) method. Information is coming without interruption and is continuously supplemented by new elements (pictures, videos etc.) and is modified by the comments and opinions of recipients (Sławińska 2016, p. 35).

Communication contexts have been 'demassified' and their audience has been fragmented. Compared with the mass communication era, the new media and context production forms that are appropriate for them – participatory journalism, social networking, user-generated news content, as well as 24-hour multidirectional flow of information – introduce into the media system a variety that has never been encountered before.

Given the issues mentioned above – technological development and changes in the pattern of media use – certain doubts appear in the literature of this field concerning the possibility of applying the communication theories developed for traditional media under these altered circumstances (Firdaus 2012, p. 22; Chaffee, Metzger 2001, p. 378) and also the postulates of using qualitative methods are proposed (Takeshita 2006).

Based on the agenda setting theory, it is assumed that an agenda exists in each social system and fulfils essential functions – it defines important items and goals on which available resources should be spent.

An agenda, first of all, consists of a set of topics communicated in a hierarchy at a given point in time. The agenda, whether a media agenda or a public agenda, is a hierarchy because the included topics do not all bear the same weight. Some receive considerable attention, others much less [...] In other words, the media frequently have strong agenda-setting effects on the public (Rashi, McCombs 2015, p. 131).

Two levels of agenda setting can be distinguished. First level agenda-setting theory concentrates on the identification of objects (problems, topics) in media coverage. Second level agenda setting includes researching the object's features which can be presented or omitted, their importance emphasized or questioned (McCombs 2005). These features are analyzed in two dimensions – cognitive and affective (positive/neutral/negative) (Kim, McCombs 2007).

The agenda setting perspective emphasizes gatekeeping by the media which, however, is not determined by the subjective inclinations of text authors or journalists but depends on the preferences of the editorial board and expectations of the audience (Gazda, Kulla 2012, p. 102). Thompson believes that participants in the media communication process fight for visibility which is the primary means of social and political competition. On one hand, the aim is to mark one's presence and achieve recognition, the lack of which may lead to complete elimination from the public domain or at least ambiguity of the image. On the other – it prevents social players from hiding certain actions (Thompson 2005, p. 49).

The new media changed the Polish media system in two ways: it extended it by the inclusion of the perspective of conservative ideas, politicians, journalists, bloggers etc. that had earlier been visible in the mainstream media only to a small extent, and it also became the new domain for disclosure of information, previously-secret documents and sensitive materials that would influence social, economic and political life.

Method

The content of websites targeted at specific recipients became the research material which included news and opinion pieces published by three intentionally chosen Internet portals (niezalezna.pl, wPolityce.pl, telewizjarepublika.pl) identified as right-wing or conservative by authors, journalists and researchers.

The discourse analysis covered the period from 1 January 2017 until 30 March 2018. This was a time when social changes were made because the conservative party in power achieved an election advantage by referring to the need for changes. I think that the transformations enacted as a result of this, even though they concern mainly state institutions, indirectly influence other areas of social life and culture, including religion.

Conservative portals in Poland are a relatively new phenomenon – niezalezna.pl created in 2008, wPolityce.pl – in 2010, and the creation of the Telewizja Republika station started in 2012. These portals were chosen for analysis because in 2016 and 2017 they had the highest number of users among right-wing portals, the highest number of viewers and users spent the most time on consuming the contents generated by these 3 websites¹.

The analysis was limited to verbal aspects, however electronic media are complex, and the news services – apart from statements – incorporate sound as well as visual elements which are connected with each other. However, due the exploratory nature of this research, it was limited to the main communication channel – verbal statements regarding religion.

In the research, I assumed a broad, inclusive understanding of religion, defining it as a system of beliefs and practices which lead to the formation of an institutionalized community. I adopted the view that

Religious representations are collective representations that express collective realities; rituals are ways of acting that are generated only within assembled groups and meant to stimulate and sustain and recreate certain mental states in these groups (Durkheim 2008, p. 11).

The unit of analysis was a title and a lead paragraph of a text regarding religion. In some cases, when I had doubts as to the meaning of the text, I took several paragraphs into account. I treated them as specific executions of discourse that is the text as understood by Ruth Wodak (2011, p. 18). I use the terms ‘statement’ and ‘text’ interchangeably.

I used electronic archives from which I drew a total of 299 texts: 50 texts were taken from niezalezna.pl website; 49 – from telewizjarepublika.pl and 200 – from

¹ TW, Niezalezna.pl i wPolityce.pl na czele serwisów prawicowych, mocno w górę Telewizja Republika.pl i DoRzeczy.pl (TOP10), 7.07.2017, *Wirtualne Media* [<http://www.wirtualnemedi.pl/artukul/serwisy-prawicowe-niezalezna-pl-i-wpolityce-pl-na-czele-mocno-w-gore-telewizjarepublika-pl-i-dorzeczy-pl-top10>; 30.07.2018].

wPolityce.pl. These numbers are dependent on the content of the portals' archives and the number of texts which referred to religion.

Discourse analysis was applied here, with the assumption that discourse contains statements in which social attitudes concerning a given topic are expressed. Discourse is an intentional action which has the ability to shape social realities (Howarth 2008, p. 194–205).

Results of the research – qualitative analysis of the discourse

The collected material has been coded, the meanings were assigned to the text units with labels (codes). A coding paradigm involving six elements (the causes, the intervening conditions, the interactions, the strategies, the contexts, the consequences of the actions) was used. As a result of this research procedure it was found that during the period covered by the analysis, the conservative media coverage included four most frequently raised topics: 1. Islam, 2. the elimination of religion from the public domain, 3. the integrative function of religion, 4. politics. Some of the statements cover more than one topic. The texts from the first group were selected for the study because they were the most numerous.

The discourse analysis showed that religion is presented as a participant in inter-religious competition. This way of analyzing religious phenomena is not new. Laurence R. Iannaccone presented competition between religions using the economic theory of religious institutions. As a result of research on seventeen western societies, he concluded that the level of religious practices and faith is higher when religions are forced to compete than if the religious market is monopolized by one dominant Church (Iannaccone 1991, p. 156–177). The topic of competition with respect to religion is also eagerly exploited by the media. In research carried out in 2005 on media coverage concerning the Catholic Church, it turned out that conflict was one of the main topics, apart from John Paul II and the local Church hierarchy. Conflict was the main topic in 25% of the press statements analyzed and the analyses showed that major world newspapers had raised mainly two things: conflict between religion and the state, and irregularities within the Church (Contreras 2007, p. 126–128).

In the discourse of the analyzed conservative media, essential differences both regarding the concept of Iannaccone and competition as analyzed by Contreras can be seen. Firstly – conflict is presented as an inter-civilizational phenomenon, secondly, it has unprecedented intensity. It does not mean rivalry between institutions or competition in the marketplace of ideas. In this case it means a fight in which all types of violence are involved, with a considerable share of direct violence.

Discourse analysis showed that Islam appears on the analyzed websites in the context of a conflict which has several variants:

1. *Fight for life and death*

The authors of the analyzed texts published on the portals describe terrorist attacks, clashes and encounters between armed forces and even war. It does not need to be an inter-religious conflict, it may proceed around divisions within the same religion:

- Islam versus intolerance and terrorism. There are many verses in Koran encouraging jihad (30.05.2017, wPolityce.pl)
- This is a war with Islam and right now we can see its consequences (6.06.2017 niezalezna.pl)
- ISIS again threatens journalists from *Charlie Hebdo*. Another controversial cover page (5.11.2017, telewizjarepublika.pl)
- The Islamic State claimed responsibility for the attack in Istanbul. It was to be the 'revenge of God's religion and reaction to the commands of' the caliph (2.01.2017, wPolityce.pl)
- Dr. El Ghamari: There are no lone wolves. These are organized terrorist attacks which infiltrate the local community (27.08.2017, wPolityce.pl)
- Vice Prime Minister Gliński: 'After the destruction of the Islamic State, the threat of attacks will be even bigger because its fighters will come to Europe' (18.08.2017, wPolityce.pl)
- Muslims are not interested in demonstrations against terrorism. Many of them even identify themselves with ISIS (14.11.2017, wPolityce.pl)

These titles create the image of Islam as a religion the doctrine of which legitimizes violence and terrorism and becomes institutionalized as ISIS and terrorist groups of smaller reach: the acts of violence which are grounded in Islam take place all over the world; the risk concerns also Europe, and additionally it is approaching and becoming stronger; Islamic terrorism finds acceptance in Muslim communities, it is supported also by followers of this religion living in Western Europe, only a few Muslims openly stand up against terrorism – according to the analysed texts.

2. *Clash of civilizations*

In 1993, Samuel Huntington stated a hypothesis that the basic conflicts of global politics will concern culture. Civilizational differences will become the causes of divisions – much deeper than those founded on ideology or economy. Civilizations differ in many aspects – language, history, tradition, approach to freedom, equality or hierarchy, formation of social relations – between god and man, husband and wife, parents and children etc. Over the course of the centuries, these differences based on religion caused the longest and the most violent conflicts (Huntington 1993, p. 25). The statements quoted further put Islam into just such a perspective (sometimes with direct references to the book *"The Clash of Civilizations"* by Huntington),

they express the conviction that Europe has become the target of an attack due to its basic values, lifestyle, convictions, and religion:

- The followers of Allah subjugate Europe. In order to take care of its survival, Europe must wake up (26.03.2017, wPolityce.pl)
- A Norwegian writer says directly: „Islam is attacking us, the world of the West. No other religion has within such an element of violence” (24.06.2017, wPolityce.pl)
- Sandra Salomon: What is happening in Europe is not migration but invasion. It is a part of a bigger plan! (28.08.2017, telewizjarepublika.pl)
- The subsequent two texts express the conviction about the impossibility of co-existence between a civilization based on Islam and a civilization based on Christianity within one society:
- Dr. Ogórek: Islam is not OK because its values completely contradict ours. We do not ask ‘whether another attack will happen’ but ‘when and where another attack will happen’ (26.06. 2017, telewizjarepublika.pl)
- ‘Immigrants at the gates’. Rev. Prof. Waldemar Cisło: Islam will never become integrated (12.06.2017, niezalezna.pl)
- Islam as presented on right-wing portals refers to unacceptable principles and, furthermore, conflicts with participation in religion having an effect on the daily lives of the people. Since they are taking place not somewhere far away in the Third World but just next to us, they affect one of the basic needs – the assurance of physical safety:
- Muslims brutally attacked Christians during their prayer in the church (23.12.2017, telewizjarepublika.pl)
- Horrifying! A crowd of Muslims marched through the Berlin underground station shouting ‘Allahu Akbar’. Europe has been colonized! (9.02.2018, wPolityce.pl)

Dr. Kister about the warnings of German security services: ‘This is a cry of despair and signal for citizens that they cannot properly perform their actions’. Lead: Islam is a very conservative and radical religion [...] It is difficult not to see that the attacks happen just in the places where societies have departed from tradition – said dr. Łukasz Kister in an interview in wPolityce.pl (4.12.2017, wPolityce.pl).

In the analyzed discourse, the relations between Islam and societies in Europe are presented as a clash of civilizations. Western Europe experiences pressure from the world of Islam, whose tools include violence, mass migration and – as will be described later – demography. The consequences of the bigger presence and visibility of Muslims in Europe go beyond religiousness and cover the entirety of social life – in both the public and private areas. These phenomena are valued negatively.

In addition, in the quoted texts Muslims were identified with migrants. In the period 2015-2018 Islam and its supporters were usually portrayed in the context of mass migration in the discourse of the Polish-language right-wing portals.

3. *Demography*

One essential factor of rivalry between religions and the civilizations is demography. Based on the official data concerning migration, demographic forecasts anticipate that in 2050 approx. 10-15% of the population in Europe will be of Muslim origin. The Muslim population is growing faster than that of followers of other religions. This results from two causes. Firstly, if religious groups are compared, Muslims are the youngest – the median age in 2015 was 24 and this was 7 years lower than the median age of non-Muslims. Secondly, they have the highest number of children – in the world, the average number of children for Muslim women is 2.9, while in other religious groups in total it is 2.2. The integrity of Islam in Europe will be favored by a low percentage of mixed marriages and low susceptibility of this religion to secularization (Lipka 2017).

With respect to cognitive value, the picture of demographic changes presented in the statements is in accord with the conclusions of demographers and is additionally supplemented by an affective component.

- Disturbing report of demographers. In 2035, Muslim women will give birth to more children than Christian women! (6.04.2017, wPolityce.pl)
- Christianity is in retreat and biology does not like a vacuum, hence the popularity of Islam (31.05.2017, telewizjarepublika.pl)
- Islam will become the biggest religion in the world. Muslims will flood Europe (3.06.2017., niezalezna.pl).

4. *Rivalry of religious ideas*

The factor contributing to the growing risk of a conflict with Islam is secularization of the public space in Europe and its re-secularization by Islam. The area of rivalry is Western Europe, in one of the quoted statements defined as post-Christian:

- Three Questions to Prof. Bartyzel: ‘The West is dying and is actually in the condition of total moral and social decomposition’. Lead: If this immigration deluge is not stopped [...], then the border and also the front line between western Islam and the rest of Europe will run somewhere between the western borders of Poland, Czech or Hungary... (20.08.2017, wPolityce.pl)
- Our interview. Prof. Ryba: ‘The West without Christianity does not understand itself, so how can it attract anybody else?’. Lead: The West without Christianity, without its tradition, does not understand itself [...], it attracts only by its prosperity, but this is only superficial assimilation. [...] On the other hand, a conflict appears in the spiritual space and then time after time it is reflected in terrorist attacks, aggression or isolation (4.08. 2017, wPolityce.pl).
- Is jihad a threat to Christians and post-Christian Europe? Will Islam replace Christianity in Europe? (24.08.2017, wPolityce.pl)

5. *From the Media to the Political Agenda*

Topics raised by the media and the meanings of Islam that they create are transferred to the political agenda. The first stage of this process is the interlocking of certain aspects of religion with political actions and players. Conservative portals perceive the relations of Islam and its followers with the political agenda in two ways:

- describing the attempts undertaken by the authorities to supervise certain dimensions of Islam within their own territory, extending control over Islam
- indicating attempts to achieve the interests of Muslim communities by active political players.

5a. Authorities reaction

The analyzed websites describe the actions of the authorities in the different countries of Western Europe which can be regarded as attempts to react to the clash of civilizations. These reactions seem to be random and uncoordinated, sometimes even contradictory, e.g. discussion about implementation of the ban on wearing the burqa versus affirmation of the burqa:

- Burqas and niqabs forbidden in Europe? More and more countries implement new regulations (22.06.2017, wPolityce.pl)
- Buzzing in Austria! President der Bellen: All women should wear burqa! (26.04.2017, telewizjarepublika.pl).
- The texts quoted below concern various issues, however they show the attempts to regulate certain essential issues connected with the functioning of religion undertaken by European countries such as the training of imams or financing of mosques. As one can see, even in secularized Western Europe, the division between religion and the state is not complete, and it is even reduced as a result of the expansion of state control over Islam.
- CDU politicians support the Islam Act. German people want to regulate such areas as the financing of mosques and the principles of educating imams (2.04.2017, wPolityce.pl).
- The Swiss people are more and more afraid of Islamic radicalism. They are demanding stronger control over imam training (31.08.2017, wPolityce.pl).

Important decision of the Italian Supreme Court: Immigrants are obliged to adapt to the values of Western society (15.05.2017, wPolityce.pl).

5b. Islam in political games

In the discourse of conservative portals, Muslims are presented as a group and politicians must seek their support during election campaigns. The attempts of Muslim players (parties) to obtain political subjectivity by entering politics in parliamentary elections was an important element of the analysed discourse.

- The victory of Macron gives hopes to the Muslims – statement of the main mosque of Paris (7.05.2017, niezalezna.pl)
- While the French are busy with Macron, three Muslim parties submitted their candidates in parliamentary elections. ‘We want secularity which respects faith’ (14.05.2017, wPolityce.pl).
- Islam is also the focus of the attention and actions of other entities e.g. political parties, state and EU officials, according to the analysed texts:
- AfD is raising the pre-election stakes. It demands the removal of Islam from the public space (18.09.2017, wPolityce.pl)
- Timmermans lost it! UE will help Muslims in the peaceful practice of their religion (18.10.2017, telewizjarepublika.pl)
- The President of Bundestag: For a long time now, Islam has been a part of Germany (31. 03.2018, telewizjarepublika.pl).
- The texts published by Polish-language conservative portals convince the recipients that Europe is undergoing an Islamization that is not a grassroots process. The intensive migration that has continued since autumn 2015, in which mainly Muslims are involved, is interpreted as a form of social engineering.
- Will Soros succeed in execution of the plan of enriching European civilization with Islamic civilization? (18.10.2017, wPolityce.pl).

Final remarks

In the article, I presented the results of qualitative analysis of three Polish internet portals of conservative orientation with respect to their coverage regarding religious phenomena. During the examined period of fifteen months in 2017-2018, most texts were related to Islam, however, none of them concerned Poland directly. The authors of analysed texts focused on Islam in western Europe or in the world.

In the typological analysis using agenda setting theory, these fundamental topics were highlighted: conflict and violence, the clash of civilizations, demography, rivalry among religious ideas, the political agenda of Muslims.

Two components were distinguished during research – the cognitive and the affective. The cognitive component is based on scientific sources, but it is not too comprehensive and is limited to very basic and generalized statements. The image of religion presented on the portals does not cover daily religious practices, the lifestyle of Muslim communities, the political and economic situation in their countries of origin and living conditions in the countries of settlement. The authors of the analysed publications do not take into consideration diversities resulting both from Islam and from the different situation of Muslims. As a consequence, Muslims appear as a homogenous community, a Muslim is a Muslim regardless of where he or she lives and where he or she comes from. The spread of Islam in Europe

is shown as a process strongly connected with migration. In the analysed texts, the image of migrants coming to Europe – young men with an inclination to violence – is dominant. There is no consideration of the incentives for undertaking a risky trip to Europe or other factors which contributed to this decision.

In summary, it can be said that the simplified and one-sided method of presenting Islam and its followers may result from a desire to maintain consistency in the coverage. With respect to the cognitive component, scientific e.g. demographic conclusions, are sometimes used in the analysed texts, however the coverage of Islam related issues mostly represents religion as a threat. In the affective layer, negative emotions prevail.

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STRESZCZENIE

Zagrożenie religijne. Islam w dyskursie prawicowych polskojęzycznych portali internetowych po wyborach parlamentarnych w 2015 roku w Polsce

W artykule przedstawiono zjawiska religijne jako element *agenda setting* realizowanego przez polskojęzyczne portale. Badaniami objęto trzy celowo wybrane serwisy informacyjne i publicystyczne identyfikowane przez autorów, dziennikarzy, użytkowników i badaczy jako prawicowe, konserwatywne. Przyjęto założenie, że komunikacja za pośrednictwem mediów wpływa na kształtowanie się i zmiany opinii publicznej poprzez podejmowanie określonych tematów, przypisywanie znaczeń do obiektów, osób lub wydarzeń, przenoszenie spraw z jednego porządku (agenda) do innego, np. z polityki do religii. Autorka założyła również, że użytkownicy i dziennikarze wybranych do badań portali traktują religię jako naturalny element ich światopoglądu, interesują się tematyką religijną, dlatego poświęcają jej więcej uwagi niż dziennikarze, odbiorcy lub wydawcy o odmiennej orientacji na światopogląd.

Celem badań było znalezienie podstawowych toposów organizujących narracje dotyczące religii, kontekstów społecznych, w których była ona sytuowana i funkcji przypisanych jej w interpretacjach medialnych. Dokonano jakościowej analizy przekazu trzech polskich serwisów informacyjnych (niezalezna.pl, wpolityce.pl, Telewizjarepublika.pl) na temat zjawisk religijnych. Rezultaty badań pokazały, że w badanym okresie 15 miesięcy w latach 2017–2018 nadawcy ci najwięcej uwagi poświęcali islamowi. Jednak żaden z analizowanych tekstów nie

dotyczył bezpośrednio Polski, tematem był islam w Europie Zachodniej lub na świecie. W analizie typologicznej za pomocą teorii agenda setting wyróżniono podstawowe tematy: konflikt i przemoc, zderzenie cywilizacji, demografia, rywalizacja między ideami religijnymi, agendę polityczną. W badaniach wyodrębniono ponadto dwa elementy – kognitywny i afektywny. Jeśli chodzi o pierwszy, można powiedzieć, że w tekstach na temat islamu wykorzystywane są ustalenia naukowe, np. Demograficzne. Jeśli chodzi o drugi – afektywny wymiar przekazu, to w dyskursie na temat islamu przewagę uzyskują emocje negatywne.

Słowa kluczowe: religia, islam, nowy ekosystem medialny, internetowe portale prawicowe