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# Title: Celebritization of Polish politics, and the language of comments and Internet entries. Analysis of selected examples

**Abstract:** This article deals with the possible manifestations of the ongoing process of the celebritization of politics in the view of the language of comments that occur on gossip websites which, in fact, have become the places of the deliberate image-creation of people related to politics. The means of creation comes down to publishing content associated with the private or semi-private lives of people who are engaged in politics. In addition, we can also observe a far-reaching process of the vulgarization and brutalization of the language of comments and entries which is also a specific phenomenon.

Key words: celebritization, brutalization, the language of politics

# Introduction

A ccording to the data contained in the report from a study carried out by the social research team OBOP TNS POLSKA, exactly 50% of those surveyed (the nationwide survey was carried out from October 4-7, 2012 on a randomly selected sample of 1,000 Polish inhabitants aged 15 or more) defined a celebrity as a person who is well-known and often appears on television as well as in newspapers. However, the researchers found out that 10% of the interviewees provided an incorrect answer to the question, and 40%of those surveyed were unable to explain the meaning of the term. For respondents who defined this term accurately, it was clear that celebrities live in a symbiotic relationship with the media. The statement that the importance and influence of the mass media on social life is compelling, is a popular cliché (McNair, 1998). Therefore, instead of repeating the statement, it is currently more relevant to analyze the impact of the media on the transfiguration inside other social subsystems (Oniszczuk, 2011, p. 11). One of them is the political system. Once more, without additional explanations related to the interdependence of the media and politics, for instance, at the level of interests and objectives, it can be tempting to claim that the relationship between the media and the political system might take at least three possible correlations: 1) symbolic relation; 2) mediatization of politics - associated with the domination of the mass media; and 3) politicization of the media, resulting from the political systems' objective to use the media instrumentally. Therefore, from the nature of this relationship it is apparent that the media system and political system can both cooperate as well as compete (Oniszczuk, 2011, pp. 12–13). Taking into consideration the nature of this study, in its further parts we aim to focus solely on the issue of the mediatization of politics, considering its consequences as a result of cooperation and competition.

### Mediatization and celebritization in Poland

Mediatization is a universal social process caused by the growing importance of the mass media for the functioning of various fields of modern society. Essentially, it means adapting such activities as politics, economy, culture and science to the conditions that are determined by the character of the impact of the media. There are different types of sources describing this phenomena:

- a) sociological this approach defines mediatization as the process of social and cultural change, in terms of which culture, everydayness, and identity of the people are transforming under the influence of media development. Mediatization leads to the human communicational environment becoming more diverse and larger; as a result, more and more people perform their social and communicational activities through some form of media.
- b) communicological according to which mediatization is described primarily as the social effects of the increasing media domination on communication processes. In this sense, mediatization makes it necessary for different participants in the process of public communication to take the concept of media logic and their specific activities into account (Oniszczuk, 2011, pp. 13–14).

It is possible to conclude that the active participation of the media, for instance, in the process of political communication - where communication can be defined as a relationship of two different systems: politics and the public sphere expressed by mass media (Piontek, 2011, p. 14) - can translate into media involvement in politics (Ossowski, Piontek, 2014, p. 235). Today the mass media have become the primary source of knowledge about politics. In other words, the mediatization of politics, as a result of the development of the mass media, goes beyond the usual descriptions of the system's needs. Mediatized politics is a politics which loses its autonomy and becomes dependent, in its central functions, on the mass media. Additionally, it is continually shaped by interaction with the media. This is based on the observation of how the mass media form the political content and become entwined with political processes (Mazzoleni, Schulz, 1999, p. 250), the consequence of which is the increasingly observable process of the celebritization of politics. Piontek postulates to perceive celebritization from the perspective of the cultural changes where we deal with the need to give a continuous performance in conditions of growing media visibility and an increasing interest in politicians, who are perceived as ordinary people, and not as members of a particular party (Piontek, 2011, p. 99). However, celebritization, as a process that occurs within mass culture, originally concerned actors, musicians, as well as business and fashion industry people. The aim of this process was to strengthen their position and increase their popularity by using information from their private lives. In extreme cases, the process contributed to obtaining fame of personal rather than professional origin. Gradually, the shifting of accents in the public communication of politicians from political to non-political and private topics has led to a fundamental change, as a result of which the concept of the celebritization of politics was constituted. Currently, the process of gaining political support often comes down to presenting attitudes, behavior and activities carried out in other social roles (Annusewicz, 2011, pp. 268–270). Otherwise, political celebrities are the people who lead political activities and support themselves using their privacy, as well as those who

exist in the minds of the public mainly due to their non-political, private behavior (Annusewicz, 2011, p. 271).

Assuming that we are dealing with the celebritization of politics, we might be tempted to say that this phenomenon occurs in at least three possible forms:

- 1) when a professional politician, that is a person who serves in office, or is elected in the general elections, starts to function in the world of popular culture with the aim of the effective implementation of political objectives. This type of phenomenon takes place when a politician coming from the world of popular culture uses his visibility and popularity gained as an artist to build his political position, as well as when a politician (who is not rooted in art circles) uses the tools and symbols which are typical of celebrities, for instance, takes photos with show business stars, appears at parties and takes part in public performances (e.g., as a musician, writer or actor) or uses media space previously reserved for celebrities and rising stars of pop culture;
- 2) when a famous person speaks on political matters, but does not apply for a political mandate (Piontek, Annusewicz, 2013, pp. 14–15);
- 3) it is also possible to use celebrities to support politics. In this case, it is not about their direct participation in the political game, but it is rather about arranging the commitment to endorse a particular politician or a particular group (Leszczuk-Fiedziukie-wicz, 2013, p. 76; Szostaczko, 2015; Olczyk 2013a).

The phenomenon of the celebritization of politics is therefore a two-way process. On the one hand, there is the celebritization of politicians, and on the other hand, the politicization of celebrities. Nowadays, politicians communicate in a way that is common for celebrities. It is all about the specific ways of winning attention and building an intimate relationship, with the use of tabloids, gossip websites or so-called *human interest magazines*. The celebritization of politicians is, therefore, a kind of communicational mimicry. Politicians copy and adopt celebrities' behavior, usually such behavior which they consider effective when it comes to winning the attention and emotional involvement of voters. However, celebrities use the capital of the attention gained and associated emotional ties with large groups of recipients, in various political activities in which they are involved (Olczyk, 2014, p. 163).

Celebritization, in the broad sense, is a trend in communication about politics (Street, 2012, p. 351) leading to mediatizing politicians through the same rhetorical means, media frameworks and narrative structures as are used for the presentation of celebrities. In other words, it is about building the images of political persons in accordance with the political patterns used while constructing the image of a celebrity. Therefore, celebritization defined in such a way is a product of market and socio-cultural processes which are external to political actors and media organizations.

Celebritization can also be understood as politicians using a particular, self-presentational practice which consists in a conscious application of the techniques and ways to communicate that are common for celebrities (Olczyk, 2013b, pp. 23–24).

Apart from the above, while selecting the strategy of celebritization, every politician uses the elements of theatrical spectacle, ideas taken from entertainment shows, theatrical props, gadgets and various elements the aim of which is to provoke a media spectacle. This is because nowadays the broadly understood self-presentation of politicians is based primarily on searching for such content and forms of announcements and statements that

attract an audience. Thereby, modern politicians become the stars of TV shows, heroes of tabloids and social networks. They are also the center of events or happenings, the main actors of political conventions, the protagonists of ranking lists and the faces of electoral lists, and so on (Łoszewska-Ołowska, 2015) becoming celebrities at the same time.

## Language in the process of the celebritization of politics

One possible area of phenomena connected with the celebritization of politics could be gossip websites. In our view, this kind of social network serves as an interesting base for research concerning the process of celebritization. According to Olczyk, who has analyzed this phenomenon, gossip websites are strictly specialized in the production and distribution of information, including, for instance, information on political celebrities (Olczyk, 2013b, p. 78). Gossip websites are therefore, a classic example of a communication channel for celebrities (Street, 2004, pp. 437-438). Some people who promote themselves via the Internet, gain the status of social network celebrities and become popular both on the Internet and via the Internet, at the same time becoming part of cyberspace (Siuda, 2009, p. 31). However, we are not interested in a simple description of people who decide to be present in the media space, or on gossip sites in particular. It is also rather unimportant whether they are present there by choice or submit to the pressure of the media that search for interesting topics. The description of the language which is used in order to make this specific creation is more significant for us than the process of celebritization itself. We assume that the media presence of particular politicians is not sufficient in itself to speak about the deliberate creation of an image of celebrity. At a time when politics is focused on candidates (Wattenberg, 1991), the very language that is a part of this projection, and which is used by all Internet users, requires special attention. The inclusion of such a perspective directly derives from the conviction that one of the basic elements employed to create the desired image of the world (e.g. in line with the established political purpose) is language (Bieniewicz, 2009, p. 23). "On the one hand, language is a tool of communication between people; on the other hand, language is the true representative of reality, being the system of symbolic signs that reflect the reality" (Zalewska, 2008, pp. 255–256). In fact, the mediatization of the modern world clearly results in a considerable re-evaluation in terms of human interaction, identity, the essence of communication and language (Wileczek, 2011, pp. 82-82). Therefore, we assume that language is crucial in the process of modelling ideas about modern politicians, even if they have the status of celebrities. Today, language is an essential tool for politics, and it is considered to be an extremely powerful and dangerous weapon in the political struggle (Worobiec, 2008, p. 22). In the classical theory, the language of politics was primarily a form of implicit communication in which politicians with a wide repertoire of vocabulary and structures, such as hyperbole, parenthesis, irony, euphemism, etc., talked about someone or something. Mediality and political culture does not permit explicit language (Kwiecień, 2005). It is slightly different, however, in the case of discourse carried out in virtual space. The fact that the Internet is becoming an integral part of our working lives is undisputed (Martens, 2012, p. 20; Panek, 2016). Therefore, it is understandable that those realms of human and social activities which are strictly associated with discourse and politics are transferring to the Internet. When discourse is understood as a set of events the aim of which is to negotiate meanings by the actors who actively participate in it, it is possible to assume that we are constantly dealing with an attempt to appropriately moderate the messages that occur there (Balczyńska-Kosman, 2013, p. 144). However, this is not a new observation. In every society discourses were and are created in order to control, select, organize and supervise the redistribution of information, facts and ideas. Language as such is a basic tool used in the operation of politics. Additionally, it is an indispensable attribute of power and a way of modeling, for instance, the contemporary narrative concerning politics (Kosmanowa, 2010). Language is also considered to be an instrument of subordination, the aim of which is to take possession of the language that will be used to create a presentation that ensures genuineness even at the price of being absurd (Brzozowski, 2003, p. 77). What interests us most here is the progressive process of the brutalization or vulgarization of discourse and language that occurs in the entries and comments on various gossip websites (Ilnicki, 2012). Analyzing the means of the symbolic struggle implemented using such language expressions as invectives, Kołodziejek claims that "[a]nyone can offend everyone, everyone can offend all." In recent years, political life is full of emotions and feelings that must be relieved somehow, and the most common way is verbal (Kołodziejek, 1994, p. 70). The thesis about the collapse of the culture (also political) is constantly repeated. This phenomenon refers both to the so-called mainstream media as well as to the new media which communicate with vulgarisms and astound people with their verbal brutalism (Baran, 2012, p. 86). In this diagnosis, it is possible to accept the conclusion that the aggressive language of politics has entered the spirit of society through a political elite that communicates at the same, or similar, level. We can also suggest that it may be a matter of lacking political culture (or perhaps culture in general), a lack of respect for opponents during a discussion, or intolerance towards different views. Perhaps intolerance consists of rowdiness, a reluctance to compromise on something and a passion for finding the things that connect and divide (Wiśniewska, 2010, pp. 42-44). It may be appropriate to say that this is a consequence of the anarchist freedom that is associated with the Internet by some people. It seems to be founded on a demonstration of opposition towards all standards, the proof of which is the vulgarization of the language that is used both functionally and in order to highlight the intensity of the features or the intensity of a particular position. Vulgarization and the resulting deprecation of others often result from a desire to become popular through scandal, or the accumulating aggressive language that is accessible, for instance, to the users of fora, discussion groups and gossip websites. Another consequence is the process of ennobling obscene expressions (Kowalikowa, 2008, p. 86). It could be said that language used in Internet communication is defined as a linguistic "margin" (Wileczek, 2011, pp. 89–90), and is characterized by the use of vulgarisms (Miziński, 2014). Certainly, we are dealing with the pauperization of language, and so the phenomenon of the excessive use of words with strong and negative connotations (Ożóg, 2006). Therefore, we need to take a closer look at the issue of the celebritization of politics with regard to the language of online comments and entries. What is interesting is not only the mechanism of this highly personalized discourse but the narration – an integral part of discourse – which is usually associated with the term "hate" rather than with typical political argument (Niepytalska-Osiecka, 2014; Juza, 2015).

### **Research methodology**

The Internet is full of portals that can be defined as gossip sites. The decision to carry out the analysis of Pudelek.pl was dictated by a number of reasons. The age of this domain, or the time of its first registration, was a crucial factor. An analysis tool that provides data on websites was used in order to obtain the correct data. Pudelek.pl was registered in 2005, which means that this is the oldest Polish gossip website. For comparison, such competitive sites as Plotek.pl, Plejada.pl and Kozaczek.pl were registered in 2006 and 2007. Additionally, as indicated in the report by Wirtualne Media, Pudelek. pl still ranks first among the ten sites that were looked at in this study (Wirtualne Media 2016). A summary from July 2016 showed that the site recorded more than 180 million views. By comparison, the second largest site – Plejada.pl achieved a result of over 90 million site views. In addition, Pudelek.pl is a site where network users spent the most time – the total amount was almost seven million hours. The score of Plejada.pl was almost six times lower (Wirtualne Media 2016).

Table 1

Leading gossip websites in July 2016								
Domain	Internet users	Views	Time spent (hours)	Reach				
Plejada.pl	3,509,971	92,158,359	1,1083,923	13.92%				
Pudelek.pl	3,252,640	180,270,535	6,827,211	12.90%				
Plotek.pl	3,145,029	76,004,944	633,719	12.48%				
Gwiazdy.wp.pl	2,873,685	63,770,379	575,668	11.40%				
Pomponik.pl	2,431,389	48,872,393	907,092	9.65%				
Party.pl	2,068,981	15,162,569	159,859	8.21%				
Kozaczek.pl	1,303,973	19,963,966	242,900	5.17%				
Pudelek.tv	1,136,128	4,931,224	327,299	4.51%				
Jastrzabpost.pl	882,693	4,704,751	44,500	3.50%				
Eska.pl – hot plota	794,657	2.147,796	97,801	3.15%				

Profile of the leading gossip websites

Source: Wirtualne Media 2016.

According to the authors of the Wirtualne Media report, an average user of Pudelek. pl made on average 35.8 views and used this site for about 1.43 hours. The extended time that users spent on this website may suggest that, rather than being a passive recipient of the message, he was inclined to respond to it, or to add a comment to the site article or to share a post written by another author (Wirtualne Media 2016). The content that appeared on the website may be categorized as soft news, defined by Gay Tuchman as news associated with rumors, scandals or stories of interesting people (Ossowski, 2016, p. 114). There were 1,742 articles of this kind published on Pudelek.pl. from March 1–31, 2017. Not all of them, of course, have been analyzed. To ensure the usefulness of our research, we selected and analyzed the entries carefully. From the pool of articles selected for the study, we analyzed only those on the topic of politics or political actors i.e. professionally active representatives, politicians, people who carry out very important roles in the country, as well as people who are or were associated with politics. As Ziółkowski claims, actors who are engaged in politics carry out political functions and perform political tasks. Defining actors as politicians, in this theatrical metaphor, draws attention to the conventionality and affectation Ziółkowski, 2016, p. 7). A theoretical proposal by Brian McNair complements this issue. He understands the concept of a political person as someone who acts in politics, in the sense of participating in making and promoting decisions which have wide ranging effects. This includes the institutions of public authority, political parties, pressure groups, social organizations and terrorist organizations (Hess, 2013, p. 55). Pisarek suggests that the representatives of authorities and candidates public positions, as well as citizens who, on the one hand are the targets of the activities of representatives and candidates, and, on the other hand, try to affect them sharing news and participating in the social process of coordinating opinions that concern politics, should be defined as political actors (Hess, 2013, p. 55).

Initially, we also chose those items which were related to political events and which appeared in the media. In March, the election of the President of the European Council was held, and women's demonstrations, as well as strikes in support of the European Union were organized. These events were commented on Pudelek.pl in 14 articles. The first selection made it possible to extract 127 texts, the content of which described politicians or the political situation in Poland or in the world. It was necessary, however, to select texts that were strictly related to figures associated with Polish politics or political activity. In accordance with the theory introduced by Marx Weber, we assumed that these figures are people who are professionally or non-professionally involved in politics. According to Sobkowiak it might be assumed that professional politicians are those whose

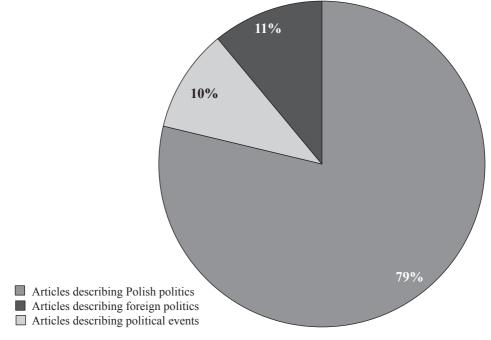


Figure 1. Division of publications due to the subject matter

Source: Own compilation based on the collected data.

main profession is politics. Sobkowiak described them as those "for whom politics is not permanently the most important thing, or for whom it absorbs all the energy of their public actions however, in certain periods of their lives they carry out important political roles. This group can be represented by people who were affiliated with the political mainstream or filled offices in the past, but today are not involved in politics either professionally or for profit. The last group represents so-called occasional politicians, defined as people acting primarily verbally, through participation in various meetings and political discussions, as well as people who take part in elections" (Sobkowiak, 1999).

The key factor in selecting the articles was the title; for instance, articles with the names of people related to the sphere of politics. This suggested that the content of the articles is directly associated with politics. We collected 113 articles of this kind. It should be noted, however, that the authors of Pudelek.pl are not confined only to commenting on people associated with national politics. From March 1–31 there were 31 publications that described the actions of foreign politicians. These were not analyzed. Three further articles were eliminated because of the video format. Therefore, from an initial pool of 127 texts, 96 were accepted for study.

These publications were later grouped by affiliation to a particular party. The classification revealed a certain regularity. The vast majority of the articles were dedicated to the activities of people in the highest offices of state, or members of the ruling party (Figure 1). Fifty-four percent of the articles concerned the representatives of Law and Justice or people associated with this party. Accordingly, the representatives of Civic Platform were described in 13% of the publications, Korwin in 12%, Kukiz'15 in 10%, Democratic Left Alliance in 5%. Another 6 articles concerned other parties which are in operation on the Polish political scene.

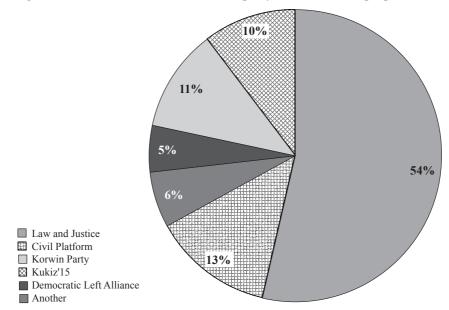


Figure 2. The division of articles based on party affiliation of the people described

Source: Own compilation based on the collected data.

#### Outcomes

The basis of the analysis was a comment left under the publication on the website. In order to verify the established hypothesis, the most popular comments were subjected to analysis. The website Pudelek.pl algorithmically selects the 3 to 5 comments which have received the highest number of 'likes' under each article. These are the comments that the readers liked the most. The final analysis examined 422 comments out of 458. Some of the articles did not qualify for the study because their form and content suggested that they belonged to a group of so-called advertising entries, which are published automatically by advanced algorithms and not by web users. In this study, the selected comments were assigned to the specified category. Comments were divided according to the presence or the lack of vulgarisms, invectives, nicknames and irony.

Table 2

	No vulgar- isms	One vulgar- ism	More than one vulgarism	Offensive epi- thet that is not a nickname	Offensive nickname that is considered to be a vulgarism	given fo	Irony, cynicism
Number of com-	398	24	1	108	17	48	64
ments contain-							
ing a particular							
phrase							

The division of comments by forms of expression applied

Source: Own compilation based on the collected data.

The results of the study do not aggregate to 100% due to the fact that it was possible to assign more than one of the above mentioned features to each comment. Comments that did not contain profanities or vulgarisms rarely contained invectives or nicknames. However, such cases also were recorded. According to the definition provided by the dictionary, "a vulgarism is a word or phrase which is a ripe, crude definition of phenomena that can be named using words that are stylistically neutral" (PWN 2017). In compliance with the portal's policy, profanities are dotted, censored and not fully presented. Verbal abuse targeted directly at another person was defined as invective. For the sake of the study, we also distinguished the category of ironic nicknames (PWN 2017). The nickname category was related to direct phrases that were used to describe a person and which expressed and gave people additional, usually humorous or vicious, names (PWN 2017). According to the definition provided by the dictionary, cynicism is an attitude towards life characterized by the disavowal of ethical principles and ignoring generally respected concepts, rights and people (PWN 2017). The comments also contained phrases which we could not assign to any particular group, however, their presence required noting. Words such as "sod off," "shame," "disgrace," or "I hate" are a great example of language vulgarization (these phrases are not swearwords, but are emotionally negative). They do not directly brutalize the language, but are pejorative expressions concerning the people who were described in the articles. Such phrases appeared in 107 comments. There were also some statements concerning an opinion about a particular person, such as "he/she has no sense of honor."

Table 3

# Occurrence of phrases that vulgarize the language of the comments, but are not vulgar

	Sod off	Disgrace	Shame	Out	I hate
Number of comments con-	13	7	44	11	32
taining a particular phrase					

Source: Own compilation based on the collected data.

Pejorative comments that could be understood as a threat in conversations not held on the web were noticeable: "I will spit on your grave soon." However, it is encouraging to see that a relatively small percentage of comments contained swearwords. Internet users were more often willing to like comments that contained a more refined form of criticism. A prominent phenomenon was bestowing nicknames upon politicians, such as: "Kaczor", "Kaczafi", "Donek", "Antek", "Macier", "Misio-Pysio", "Pisiory", "Chamtforma", "Komuchy".

Table 4

## The number of comments containing a nickname

	Kaczor	Kaczafi	Donek	Antek	Macier	Misio- Pysio	Chamt- forma	Komu- chy
The number of comments	17	4	8	12	3	14	2	9
containing a nickname								

Source: Own compilation based on the collected data.

The actual brutalization of the language used by readers and those who leave comments is undeniable. The language of potentially anonymous Internet users of the Pudelek.pl site is characterized by a large amount of offensive words and phrases, direct invectives, insults and profanities. The vast majority of comments addressed at the representatives of the ruling party were pejorative and unfavorable. Fifty-eight percent of negative comments contained offensive phrases and were addressed to people associated with Law and Juice. However, it does not mean that there were no positive comments. We identified 28 positive comments that included such phrases as "bravo," "congratulations," "keep it up." It is worth mentioning that these comments were not used in an ironic or cynical way.

Table 5

	Law and Justice	Civic Platform	Kukiz'15	Democratic Left Alliance	Korwin
The number of negative comments	245	25	26	10	37
The number of positive com- ments	28	34	1		

Source: Own compilation based on the collected data.

### Conclusions

Undoubtedly, the characteristics of mass communication have helped to produce a specific kind of language that is used by Internet users to comment on the reality described in the articles which are published on gossip sites. The dynamic development of the mass communication process and the changes that are occurring within it, as well as the widespread use of new media influence two major elements. First of all, a formerly unknown phenomenon has emerged in the sphere of mass communication. Communication, in its traditional sense, meant broadcasting a message by an author to passive recipients. Communication took place through channels that did not give the possibility of feedback, or feedback was not a direct form of reaction to a given message. Nowadays, Internet users, who are the recipients of a variety of content, have the opportunity to reply to a message or a statement. As claimed by Piontek, it is the web that gives the opportunity to respond to a message in a fast and accurate way (Piontek, 2011, p. 4). In other words, the feedback in the process of mass communication is identical for all of its various types, including political communication. Secondly, online communication gives a false sense of anonymity, which results in a sense of security and apparent intimacy. As Barłóg suggests, "people who use web communication experience a lower level of anxiety than during a face to face conversation" (Barłóg, 2014, p. 199). Therefore, it can be presumed that online communication increases self-confidence while forming messages and statements, and thus increases the likelihood of the writer being judgmental, or of the use of profanities and even the brutalization of the media. Interestingly, vulgarization of the language does not occur only through the use of profanities, or phrases commonly defined as "choice." Internet users are often very creative when giving nicknames to political actors. They usually use sophisticated forms of garbling names. In addition, we also observed the use of cynicism and irony. The most important thing is the fact that the willingness to comment and use profanities, and certainly the brutalization of the media, concerns in particular those materials which directly refer to people and political events. Therefore, we can conclude that the brutalization and vulgarization of the contemporary language of comments and entries, for example, on gossip websites, is also related to the process of celebritization which is visible on this kind of website, if the presence of politicians on them is interpreted as a manifestation of celebritization.

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### Celebrytyzacja polskiej polityki i język komentarzy internetowych. Analiza na wybranych przykładach

### Streszczenie

Artykuł traktuje o możliwych przejawach postępującego procesu celebrytyzacji polityki z uwzględnieniem języka komentarzy, jakie pojawiają się na plotkarskich portalach internetowych. Te ostatnie także stają się bowiem miejscem specyficznie rozumianej kreacji wizerunkowej osób/podmiotów związanych z polityką. Sam sposób tej kreacji sprowadza się do publikowania treści związanych raczej ze sferą prywatną lub półprywatną, a na pewno niemającą związku z aktywnością tych osób/podmiotów na arenie politycznej. Dodatkowo obserwować daje się także daleko posunięty proces wulgaryzacji i brutalizacji języka tych komentarzy, co również jest zjawiskiem specyficznym.

Słowa kluczowe: celebrytyzacja, brutalizacja, język polityki