

Religious or Spiritual? Empirical Manifestations of Contemporary Changes in Poles' Self-Declarations and Media Representations

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Abstract: This paper comprises part of the current research on the phenomenon of new spirituality, conducted within the sociology of religion and social communication and media sciences. It aims to analyze selected manifestations of the new spirituality entering into the religious sphere of a religiously homogeneous society based on the example of Poland. A complementary application of quantitative and qualitative methods was proposed. The subject of the analysis is the results of a representative survey in which Poles define themselves in terms of religiosity and spirituality, with examples of their search for content on a new spirituality through online resources using the assumptions of the theory of social representations. The above concept resulted in the bipartite structure of the main part of the article. It was preceded by a theoretical introduction synthetically presenting phenomena identified as key features of new spirituality and ended with a discussion of the results and conclusions. The analyses indicate that, in Polish society, the category of phenomena and processes classified as new spirituality is distinguishable but complex and diverse. In the subsequent stages of the analysis, their socio-demographic determinants were shown, and then the media representations of the new spirituality were identified, categorized, and put into typologies.

Keywords: religiosity, spirituality, empirical manifestations of spirituality, media representations of spirituality

New spirituality, a subject of interest in many scientific disciplines, does not have an unambiguous definition or operationalization. It is a diverse, changeable, and fluid reality that takes many forms and encompasses many dimensions. Definition proposals formulated by researchers are more often descriptions of the phenomenon in its selected aspects rather than widely accepted definitions with precisely delineated meanings. This is due to the vagueness and ambiguity of the term as well as the scope and scattered nature of its designata. As a result, the concept of new spirituality remains unclear despite its boom in various science and interdisciplinary research fields.¹

¹ Bellamy, "Spiritual Values"; Davie, *Socjologia religii*; Grabowska, *Bóg a sprawa polska*; Mielicka-Pawłowska, "Religijny wymiar duchowości"; Mariański, "O nowej duchowości"; Zduniak, "Duchowość w epoce mediów elektronicznych"; Waaijman, "Spirituality"; Roof, *Spiritual Marketplace*.

This does not change the fact that, for the needs of specific questions and research projects, attempts are made to formulate it theoretically for analysis and inter-subjective discussion.² They make it more accessible yet, at the same time, unlimited in the possible directions of investigation and research questions. From the multitude of scientific studies, empirical observations, and interdisciplinary conclusions, it is possible to distinguish elements constituting spirituality as a socio-cultural phenomenon and a common feature of contemporary Western societies.³ They will be described synthetically below to provide a background to understand and further analyze the empirical material in this paper.

The new spirituality penetrates other spheres of life unrelated to religion, such as medicine, health, education, politics, and business, and finds expression in novel individual and social phenomena. It is often perceived as a socio-cultural megatrend,⁴ which has become the subject of systematic analysis in the sociology of religion since the end of the 20th century.⁵ It is also an issue explored in social communication and media studies because an increase in online interest in religion and spirituality can be observed.⁶

The expansion of a new spirituality was associated in the first decades of New Age activity with the development of the publications market popularizing spiritual ideas and practices. In the following years, it entered the digital space, starting to colonize the internet, which became one of the areas for the manifestation, supply, and consumption of spiritual products, a place for constructing individualized ideas of spirituality and expressing the *sacrum*. This finally led to scientific research on techno-spirituality or cyber-spirituality.⁷ According to Hubert Knoblauch, we now observe the interference between religious culture and popular culture, manifested in and having an effect on the development of popular spirituality that is individualized, variable, and often modified.⁸ Stieg Hjarvard interprets these phenomena in terms of mediatization typical of postmodernity, with the dominance of media culture also relating to the sphere of the *sacrum* and new spirituality.⁹

The new spirituality is viewed as a manifestation and element of processes typical of contemporary Western societies, including pluralism, secularization,

2 Konecki, "Czy ciało może być świątynią duszy?," 15–16; Mariański – Wargacki, "Nowa duchowość," 138; Pasek – Dyczewska, "Człowiek i natura," 67.

3 Davie, *Socjologia religii*, 222.

4 Libiszowska-Żółtkowska, "Resakralizacja w ponowoczesnej scenerii"; Mariański, "O nowej duchowości"; Wargacki, "Duchowość w kulturze ponowoczesnej"; Zulehner, *Spiritualität – mehr als Megatrend*.

5 Wuthnow, *After Heaven*.

6 Berger – Douglas, "The Internet as Virtual Spiritual Community," 175–188; Campbell, "Spiritualising the Internet," 1–26; Campbell, *Exploring Religious Community Online*, 205–224; Majewski, "Ewangelia w sieci," 153–184; Misztal, "Przestrzeń medialna," 157–169; Sierocki, "Oblicza religii," 59–61.

7 Holmes, "Spirituality."

8 Knoblauch, "Privatreigion/Privatisierung"; Knoblauch, "Individualisierung."

9 Hjarvard, "The Mediatization of Religion," 9–26; Hjarvard, "Three Forms of Mediatized Religion," 21–44; Hjarvard, *The Mediatization of Culture and Society*; Szulich-Kałuża, "The Pluralism of Spirituality"; Szulich-Kałuża, "Tożsamość religijna."

desecularization, and resacralization.¹⁰ It is recognized as a manifestation of religious individualization, developing under conditions of functional differentiation and pluralization of world views, progressing in societies. At the same time, it is democratic, easily accessible, and non-hierarchical.¹¹ This creates favorable circumstances for the independent construction of faith (a so-called religious *bricolage*), using elements and content from various religious and non-religious traditions.¹² In postmodernity characterized by uncertainty, risk, and liquidity, spirituality for many people means a new kind of “sacred canopy,” the equivalent of religion, providing a sense of meaning and security.¹³

In relation to religiosity, new spirituality is sometimes associated with a religious revival within or on the periphery of traditional religious organizations. It is perceived as an expression of selective religiosity or extra-religious religiosity, situated outside the boundaries of traditional religious systems and institutionalized religiosity, along with negating religious organizational forms, rituals, and cults, keeping a distance from the Church dogmatics.¹⁴

The emergence of spirituality without confessional mediation favors religious and ecclesiastical transformation. It is expressed by a decrease in religious faith declarations, the frequency of practicing religion and subjective involvement (prayers), departing from traditional religious communities and churches, and the consolidation of selective, inconsistent, and fragmented religiosity.¹⁵ In the wide range of labels used to identify concepts of spirituality, in order to specify its currently discussed empirically recognized variant, there is also the category of atheistic spirituality.¹⁶

The extent of the bonds or the alternative nature of religiosity and spirituality remains a discussion topic. On the one hand, one position postulates that spirituality, as a socio-cultural phenomenon, loses its religious connotations, emancipates itself from the influence of religion, and gains an independent status.¹⁷ On the other hand, there are arguments that it is impossible to separate these realities from each other, and some empirical studies suggest a relationship between religiosity and spirituality in the experience and awareness of the respondents.¹⁸

The new spirituality is interpreted as a return to the *sacrum* without the mediation of religion and churches. Keeping religion at a distance means, at the same time, reducing transcendence, transposing the sacred, manifesting its subjectivization and

¹⁰ Dobbelaere, *Sekularyzacja*; Taylor, *Oblicza religii dzisiaj*.

¹¹ Lynch, *The New Spirituality*.

¹² Siegers, “Spiritualität.”

¹³ Wargacki, “Duchowość w kulturze ponowoczesnej,” 27–28.

¹⁴ Knoblauch, *Populäre Religion*.

¹⁵ Mariański, “O nowej duchowości,” 50.

¹⁶ Comte-Sponville, *Duchowość ateistyczna*; Skurzak, *Duchowość ateistyczna*.

¹⁷ Chmielewski, “Duchowość chrześcijańska,” 163.

¹⁸ Motak, “Religia – religijność – duchowość.”

privatization, and moving from the vertical dimension to the horizontal reality of man and his world. Contrary to secularization theses, researchers' attention is drawn to resacralization and re-spiritualization of reality, thanks to a subjectivist orientation and the abolition of the binary concept of transcendence.¹⁹ These phenomena are associated with another distinctive feature of the new spirituality, which is its immanent character resulting from the central place of the individual and personal experience, the belief in one's ability to overcome the limitations of one's biological nature.²⁰

Man, as the subject of beliefs, the central point creating their content and ranges according to one's ideas and needs, takes the place of transcendence. Privatized spirituality appreciates and makes basic a person's experiences and sensations, the pursuit of emotional saturation. As the work of an individual, it becomes an option to choose from based on freedom, law, and the ability to autonomously create sense and meaning, delineating the boundaries of what is transcendent.²¹ At the same time, the new spirituality is treated as a carrier of a whole range of human experiences, showing an individual's potential, imagination, creativity, spontaneity, perseverance, consistency in action, relationships with oneself, others, God, spirit, or transcendence. Spirituality also includes such attitudes and impressions as delight, sanctity, adoration, sacrifice, suffering, and generosity, referring to gender differences or ecological sensitivity.²²

The horizontal and subjectivist nature of the new spirituality, its rooting in individual experience and exploration, draws attention to another feature, at the same time being the consequence of the previous ones, oriented toward psychological well-being, harmony, and unity with the universe. The new spirituality aims at holistic interpretations of the world and man, including the psyche, body, health, rest, and work. It offers practices aimed at achieving the state of perfect health for one's soul and body and even self-transcendence.²³

In trend analysis, there is a link between spirituality and caring for the quality of life as broadly understood *wellness*. Health is understood more as the absence of disease. The values are spiritual development, internal improvement, a sense of happiness and fulfillment, self-realization, and *wellness*, which lead to a state of holistic health combining the physical and mental dimensions.²⁴

According to Paul Heelas, the center of contemporary spirituality is life itself. It is the carrier of meaning and development, and spirituality is located in the depths of life, and all its practices aim toward it.²⁵

19 Luckmann, *Niewidzialna religia*; Mariański, "O nowej duchowości."

20 Bellah *et al.*, *Skłonności serca*; Mielicka-Pawłowska, "Religijność zorientowana ekologicznie."

21 Collins, *Łańcuchy rytuałów interakcyjnych*; Mariański, "O nowej duchowości."

22 King, *The Search for Spirituality*, 3, 14–15.

23 Mariański, "O nowej duchowości."

24 Sierocki, "Oblicza religii," 59–61.

25 Heelas, "Work Ethics," 78–96; Heelas, "The Spiritual Revolution," 371–372.

Empirical research strives to identify the described phenomena. The subjects of interdisciplinary analyses include practices, training, publications, and rituals, along with various forms of popularization, with their imitation or equivalents, including the mediation of internet portals.²⁶ From the perspective of social sciences, research also concerns changes in religiosity in individual countries and phenomena classified as belonging to the new spirituality. Indicators used by sociologists of religion include the self-declarations of respondents expressed in terms of religiosity and spirituality. They were used, among others, in American and European research projects.²⁷ However, the results remain controversial, as they indicate the existence of strong relationships between religiosity and spirituality; as in American society, researchers focused on a minority that describes itself as spiritual but non-religious.²⁸

Findings regarding the relationship between religiosity and spirituality in the awareness of individual societies differ depending on the cultural context and the degree of religious heterogeneity. A particularly interesting situation is observed in religiously homogeneous countries with one main denomination, such as Italy, Portugal, or Poland, where religion is rooted in culture and identity. In this study, we want to draw attention to its specificity in identifying manifestations of new spirituality.

The analyses of religiosity in Polish society indicate the coexistence of a high level of self-declaration of faith and a decline in the frequency of religious practices, a low percentage of deeply religious, eclectic beliefs, abandoning institutionalized religion, keeping away and weakening trust in the institutional Church, and finally selectivity in relation to the dogmas of faith and moral norms.²⁹ Declarations of faith do not always go hand in hand with professing full dogmatic contents. Deep faith and systematic religious practices are often accompanied by a belief in superstitions, magic, and astrology, with various para-religious phenomena.³⁰

Attitudes combining Catholicism, popular piety, and new spiritual trends are common, for example, belief in telepathy, clairvoyance, horoscopes, and the use of alternative medicine.³¹ The above-mentioned research on self-definition in terms of religiosity and spirituality also covered Polish society. According to data from the end of the nineties, non-religious spirituality was the least common in Poland among all other European countries surveyed; to this day, it is claimed that it is found in 1% to 2% of Poles.³²

²⁶ Sierocki, "Oblicza religii."

²⁷ Fuller, *Spiritual, But Not Religious*; Barker, "The Church Without and the God Within."

²⁸ Motak, "Religia – religijność – duchowość," 214.

²⁹ Mariański, "O nowej duchowości."

³⁰ Mariański, *Tożsamości religijne*, 115; Klimski, "Pluralizm religijny w Polsce."

³¹ Jędrzejek, "Na ścieżkach duchowości."

³² Barker, "The Church Without and the God Within"; Barker, "Jeszcze więcej różnorodności"; Mariański, *Nowa religijność i duchowość*, 144–164; Mariański, "O nowej duchowości," 58.

In the context outlined, exciting research questions arise as to whether and how the new spirituality marks its existence and manifests itself in a religiously homogeneous society where Church religiosity is alive and still dominant. We propose an analysis covering: 1) the results of a survey in which Poles redefine themselves in terms of religiosity and spirituality and 2) an exemplification of the search for content about a new spirituality through online resources in Poland.

In specifying the above research intentions, we ask questions about the extent to which the category of spirituality is an element of Poles' self-definition compared with religiousness or without religious references. What type of content related to spirituality do people look for and find on the internet? To what extent do people relate to the Catholic Church's religious sphere and spirituality, and to what extent are they related to the sphere of spirituality without religion? What phenomena and processes, including their directions, are indicated by the analyzed self-declarations of Poles and research into the digital space? Can stating that spirituality has become an autonomous experience of Poles be justified?

1. Methodology

Conscious that the contemporary social sciences methodology has limited possibilities in adequately approaching the phenomenon of new spirituality and finding accurate answers to these questions, we propose a complementary application of qualitative and quantitative methods.

The subject of the analysis will be data from a representative multi-topic survey conducted by KANTAR POLSKA SA in September 2020 at the request of the Institute of Sociological Sciences of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin on a statistically representative sample of 1,010 Poles aged 18+. A random household address sample was used. The research was carried out based on computer-assisted personal interviewing (CAPI), i.e., interviews in respondents' homes/apartments. The interview questionnaire consisted of several short thematic blocks, one of which concerned the religiosity and spirituality of Poles. As part of it, a modified wording of the question referred to in the introduction to this paper was proposed concerning self-determination in terms of religiosity and spirituality. The statistical analysis takes into account independent variables, which, in the light of sociological research, are dependent on various dimensions of religiosity and spirituality. In this study, they diversified the study population to a statistically significant extent. These include age, gender, education, religious practices, and an assessment of one's financial situation. The structure of the research sample is presented in Table 1.

The empirical sociological analyses will be enriched with an analysis of online material.

Table 1. The overall statistics

Variable	Category	N/M	%/SD
Sex	Man	483	47.8
	Woman	527	52.2
Age	24 and younger	113	11.2
	25–44	363	35.9
	45–64	340	33.7
	65 and older	194	19.2
Education	Elementary/Junior High	175	17.3
	Vocation	240	23.7
	High school	348	34.5
	Higher Education	247	24.5
Religious practices	Believers and regular practitioners	240	23.7
	Believers and non-regular practitioners	445	44.0
	Non-practicing believers	251	25.0
	Non-believers	74	7.3
Assessment of the material situation	I'm doing well	349	34.6
	I do well, on average	588	58.2
	I am not well-off	73	7.2

Media content on spirituality will be developed using the assumptions of the theory of social representations by Serge Moscovici.³³ We use the property of social representations that specifies the processes of collective meaning creation, resulting in shared cognitive constructs that can change individual and collective thinking in society.³⁴ According to Moscovici,³⁵ there are two essential functions of representation. First, they conventionalize (anchor) concepts, people, events, and situations into a specific linguistic or visual form. In this way, they assign them to a general, previously known category, gradually isolating their common meanings. Second, they are prescriptive in the sense that they are suggested and even imposed on people through social contacts, established structures, and the binding rules of social coexistence. These representations are intended to “make something unknown, or a mere unfamiliarity familiar.”³⁶

Representations are firmly embedded in communication practices such as dialogue, debates, media, and public and scientific discourses.³⁷ They use many

³³ Moscovici, “The Myth of the Lonely Paradigm,” 939–967; Moscovici, “The Phenomenon of Social Representations,” 3–69; Moscovici, “Notes Towards a Description of Social Representations,” 211–250; Moscovici, *The Invention of Society*; Moscovici, *Social Representations*; Moscovici, “Why a Theory of Social Representations?,” 8–35; Moscovici, *Psychoanalysis*.

³⁴ Höijer, “Social Representations Theory,” 3.

³⁵ Moscovici, “The Phenomenon of Social Representations,” 7–10.

³⁶ Moscovici, “The Phenomenon of Social Representations,” 24.

³⁷ Marková, *Dialogicality and Social Representations*.

mechanisms to conventionalize the phenomena, including naming, emotional anchoring, thematic anchoring, metaphoric anchoring, and anchoring via basic antinomies. Media representations will be treated as semantic constructs conceptualizing spirituality and generating meaning.

As indicated above, we treat online texts as semantic constructs that generate meanings. The research intends to analyze the “implementation” of the textual categories of spirituality and its manifestations, which create specific virtual dictionaries of spirituality, conceptualizing the subjects in question. The movement of internet users in the global network in search of information about spirituality indicates that modern people are interested in it, and the media space is conducive to these interests.³⁸ For those seeking knowledge and spiritual experiences, the richness of content offered in cyberspace, with its speed, ease of access, and anonymity, makes it an ideal alternative to the real world.³⁹

This study focuses on creating social representations through media communication channels using websites. We look at two representation formation mechanisms: naming and thematic anchoring. First, by calling something, “we tear it out of disturbing anonymity,” give it a genealogy and put it into complexes of specific words, locating it in reality and the identity matrix of our culture: “we extricate it from a disturbing anonymity to endow it with a genealogy and to include it in a complex of specific words, to locate it, in fact, in the identity matrix of our culture.”⁴⁰ The second mentioned mechanism – thematic anchoring – consists of the characteristics of topoi (threads, motives of phenomena in online resources).

Content analysis was used in exploring media representations of spirituality with many theoretical and definitional approaches.⁴¹ It is based on a systematic, objective identification of precisely defined properties of media messages enabling a reliable overview of the forms and specificity of messages. This project applies the inductive type of computer-mediated content analysis. It is based mainly on a detailed qualitative study of thematic topoi added *ad hoc* during the investigation. When selecting the research material for the content analysis, it was decided to choose media material from the resources of the most popular search engine Google (<https://www.google.com>). According to global rankings, it ranks first and is responsible for over 92% of all internet search and query traffic.⁴² The most popular websites among users in Poland and their outreach, according to the Media Panel Survey in March 2022, are ranked in Table 2.

³⁸ Misztal, “Przestrzeń medialna,” 159.

³⁹ Klenke, “E-Spirituality,” 250.

⁴⁰ Moscovici, *Social Representations*, 46.

⁴¹ Berelson, *Content Analysis in Communication Research*; Holsti, *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*; Krippendorff, *Content Analysis*; Neuendorf, *The Content Analysis Guidebook*.

⁴² <https://rapidapi.com/blog/best-search-engines/> (accessed 2.03.2022); <https://gs.statcounter.com/search-engine-market-share> (accessed 2.03.2022).

Table 2. Ranking of the most popular websites in Poland

Top Websites – March 2022		
Media channel	Real users	Coverage
google.com	27,949,860	93.23%
facebook.com	22,044,636	73.53%
youtube.com	21,380,598	74.80%

Source: <https://pbi.org.pl/badanie-mediapanel/wyniki-badania-mediapanel-za-marzec-2022/>;
<https://www.egospodarka.pl/174925,Badania-internetu-Gemius-PBI-II-2022,1,12,1.html>

The keyword *spirituality*⁴³ was used to compile a list of websites automatically considered by the search engine as the best match for the search term. Among them, a sample of 100 consecutive, unique natural search results (*organic search*), meaning free links to websites, were selected. The search engine algorithm is only responsible for displaying links and determining the order in which they are displayed. However, the deliberate activity of search engine administrators and applied mechanisms affect the specific order of the links.⁴⁴ The websites were archived on March 25, 2022. Next, they were subjected to qualitative content analysis, taking into account the quantitative dimension.

2. Religiousness and Spirituality of Poles in the Context of Socio-Demographic Variables

The respondents were asked: “which of the following statements describes you most accurately?” They had a choice of six proposed answers. The first item explained the term “spiritual” as “leading a spiritual life, caring for spiritual development.” In addition, the self-determination: “I am partly religious, partly spiritual” was included in the selection of answers to allow declaring their intermediate attitude, with less clearly defined boundaries. Detailed data are presented in Chart 1.

The respondents most often chose the answer: “I am a religious person but do not consider myself to be spiritual” (29.8%). In the second place, with a slightly smaller percentage of indications, came: “I am partly religious and partly spiritual” (25.2%) and 7.1% of the respondents chose to declare being both religious and

⁴³ The term *keyword* is defined in the IT sense as a word used in an information retrieval system that signals the content of a document.

⁴⁴ <https://marketingwsieci.pl/slownik-e-marketingu/wyniki-organiczne/> (accessed 2.03.2022).

spiritual. Finally, at the opposite extreme, there are declarations of spirituality without religiosity, which currently apply to every twelfth respondent.

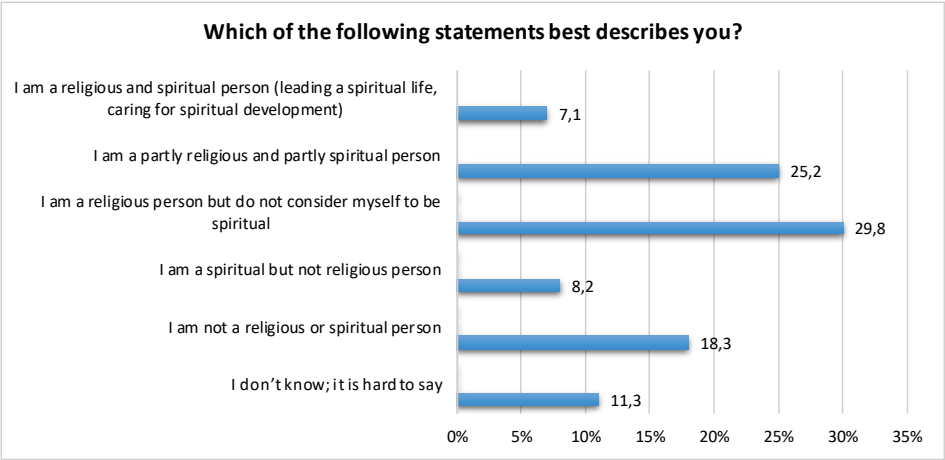


Chart 1. Self-declarations about religiosity and spirituality

The independent variables selected for the analyses significantly differentiated the study population statistically. The first is “gender.” Detailed data are presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Distribution of self-declaration according to gender

	Gender	
	Woman	Man
	Percent	
I am a religious and spiritual person (leading a spiritual life, caring for spiritual development)	8.7	5.4
I am partly religious and partly spiritual person	26.9	23.4
I am a religious person but do not consider myself to be spiritual	31.7	27.7
I am a spiritual but not religious person	9.7	6.6
I am not a religious or spiritual person	12.5	24.6
I don't know; it is hard to say	10.4	12.2
Total	100.0	100.0

For both women and men, the most frequent answer was: “I am a religious person but do not consider myself to be spiritual” (31.7% and 27.7%). However, while women in the second place more often declared themselves as being partly religious and partly spiritual, men came in second place twice as often, choosing the statement: “I am not a religious or spiritual person” (24.6%). On the other hand, the opposite statement about being both a religious and spiritual person (leading a spiritual life, caring for one’s spiritual development) was indicated by 8.7% of women as compared to only 5.4% of men. A similar finding applies to the declaration of being spiritual without practicing religion: women described themselves as such more often than men. The “gender” variable statistically significantly differentiates the studied population ($p = 0.000$, Kramer’s $V = 0.173$).

The analysis of empirical data shows several interesting regularities related to statistically significant differences in the studied populations in terms of age. The distribution of responses is presented in Table 4.

Table 4. Self-declarations according to age

	Age			
	24 and younger	25–44	45–64	65 and over
	Percent			
I am a religious and spiritual person (leading a spiritual life, caring for spiritual development)	0.9	4.1	7.9	14.4
I am partly religious and partly spiritual person	22.1	23.1	24.1	33.0
I am a religious person but do not consider myself to be spiritual	27.5	28.2	33.6	27.8
I am a spiritual but not religious person	9.7	8.5	9.1	5.7
I am not a religious or spiritual person	21.2	24.0	15.3	11.9
I don’t know; it is hard to say	18.6	12.1	10.0	7.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

With age, the percentage of respondents declaring that they are both religious and spiritual (leading a spiritual life, caring for spiritual development) increases, from 0.9% among the youngest aged up to 24 to 14.4% of people aged 65 and over. A similar tendency, but with a higher percentage of responses, is observed in people considering themselves partly religious and partly spiritual. This answer was chosen by similar percentages from the first three age groups (22.1%, 23.1%, 24.1%), with

almost 10 percentage points higher for people aged 65 and over (33%). The statement: “I am a religious person but do not consider myself to be spiritual” was most popular among respondents aged 45–64 (33.6%); in other age groups, it was about 27–28%. Spirituality without religiosity was most often declared by the youngest respondents, aged up to 24, and those aged 45–64. The analyzed independent variable differentiates the studied population statistically significantly ($p = 0.0001$, Kramer’s $V = 0.139$)

The declarations of the respondents regarding their religious and spiritual determinations also depended on education. Detailed data are presented in Table 5.

Table 5. Self-declarations based on level of education

	Education			
	Elementary/ Junior high	Vocational	High school	Higher education
	Percent			
I am a religious and spiritual person (leading a spiritual life, caring for spiritual development)	5.7	5.8	5.5	11.8
I am partly religious and partly spiritual person	21.7	23.8	27.9	25.1
I am a religious person but do not consider myself to be spiritual	33.1	35.4	26.1	27.1
I am a spiritual but not religious person	4.6	5.8	11.5	8.5
I am not a religious or spiritual person	22.3	20.0	17.2	15.8
I don't know; it's hard to say	12.6	9.2	11.8	11.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Being both religious and spiritual was most often declared by respondents with higher education. The higher the level of education, the lower the percentage of people declaring that they were neither religious nor spiritual. People with a secondary education most often considered themselves partly religious and partly spiritual, and the respondents with basic education declared themselves religious but not spiritual. The respondents with a secondary or higher education more often considered themselves spiritual but not religious than respondents with elementary and junior high school education. The relationship between the analyzed variables is statistically significant ($p = 0.010$, Kramer $V = 0.100$).

The study group is significantly differentiated by the independent variable “religious practices” ($p = 0.0001$, Kramer’s $V = 0.361$). Detailed data are presented in Table 6.

Table 6. Self-declarations according to religious practices

	Religious practice			
	Regularly practicing believer	Irregularly practicing believer	Non-practicing believer	Non-believer
	N=241	N=445	N=251	N=73
	Percent			
I am a religious and spiritual person (leading a spiritual life, caring for spiritual development)	21.6	3.8	0.9	1
I am partly religious and partly spiritual person	37.8	30.6	10.4	3
I am a religious person but do not consider myself to be spiritual	34.4	34.8	23.5	6
I am a spiritual but not religious person	0.4	6.3	17.9	13
I am not a religious or spiritual person	2.5	12.1	30.7	65
I don't know; it's hard to say	3.3	12.4	16.7	12
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100

Deeper religiosity expressed in the declarations on faith and practices corresponded with more frequent indications of being partly religious and partly spiritual or being religious and spiritual (in this case, with a difference of one percentage point between non-practicing believers at 0.9% and non-believers at 1%). As the level of religiosity decreases, the percentage of answers: “I am not a religious or spiritual person” grows. Every third non-practicing believer stated that they are neither religious nor spiritual.

It is worth noting that believers and regular practitioners most often declared they were partly religious and partly spiritual. And 21.6% of this group considered themselves to be religious and spiritual people (leading a spiritual life, caring for their spiritual development). The second answer of the surveyed believers and practitioners in terms of frequency was: “I am a religious person but do not consider myself to be spiritual” (34.4%). Among believers and irregular practitioners, the same two choices also dominate, but their order is opposite: 34.8% declared themselves to be religious without spirituality, while 30.6% considered themselves partly religious and partly spiritual. The choice: “I am a spiritual but not religious person” was an interesting point of the research. It was selected by 6.3% of believers and irregular practitioners, the most numerous among all respondents, 17.9% of respondents who believe but do not practice, and 13% non-believers.

The distribution of answers concerning financial situation was also analyzed statistically. Detailed data are presented in Table 7.

Table 7. Self-declarations regarding assessing one's material status

	Assessment of material status		
	I am doing well	I'm doing fine, average	I am not financially well-off
	Percent		
I am a religious and spiritual person (leading a spiritual life, caring for spiritual development)	7.8	6.3	11.1
I am partly religious and partly spiritual person	30.7	22.8	19.4
I am a religious person but do not consider myself to be spiritual	26.7	31.1	33.3
I am a spiritual but not religious person	7.8	9.2	2.8
I am not a religious or spiritual person	18.4	17.5	25.1
I don't know; it's hard to say	8.6	13.1	8.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

A worse financial situation is conducive to less frequent declarations of being partly religious and partly spiritual. This statement was most common among people assessing their financial situation as good. In this group, slightly fewer respondents (26.7%) chose the answer: "I am a religious person but do not consider myself to be spiritual." On the other hand, this answer was the most popular among people who assessed their financial situation as average or bad (31.1% and 33.3%). The declaration of rejecting religiosity and spirituality was most often chosen by the respondents who assessed their financial situation as bad (25.1%). Yet, the answer indicating spirituality without religiosity was chosen more frequently by people declaring an average and good financial situation. There was a significant statistical relationship between the analyzed variables ($p = 0.026$, Kramer's $V = 0.101$).

3. Media Representation: From Religious Spirituality to New Spirituality

The websites searched are arranged in terms of two criteria: their function and contents. The table below contains a list of investigated websites:

Table 8. Typology of websites

Type of website	Number of links to the website
Websites popularizing book publications	33
Websites of foundations, associations, and religious communities	19
Websites of scientific institutions (links to scientific articles, conferences, educational offers)	18
Media sites	15
Advertising sites	9
Sites with encyclopedic or dictionary entries	4
Author blog sites	2
Total	100

Source: Own study

In the compiled list, the most frequent are websites popularizing books on spirituality. Next are websites of religious communities, foundations, and associations (religious and secular), then websites of educational institutions and academic centers, and finally, a group of media websites, traditional and new. The four most frequently represented types of sites listed above will be subjected to a detailed description in terms of content to learn about the implementation of textual media representations of spirituality (mechanisms for naming and anchoring spirituality). Search engines less frequently place advertising on websites that contain definitions of spirituality and authors' blogs.

3.1. Book Content of Publishing Houses' Websites

The publishing houses' websites were categorized according to the key topics of the books on the pages. Three groups were obtained this way and organized quantitatively, starting with the most numerous represented in the research material and according to the number of website addresses assigned to a given type of spirituality: (1.1) websites with books on non-religious spirituality, (1.2) websites with books on religious spirituality, (1.3) websites with books on inclusive spirituality, combining previous types or going beyond the area of institutionalized religion. The first column lists the given type of spirituality, sorted according to the thematic key. Individual terms were selected based on the analysis of the content of websites. The sites with books on non-religious spirituality are described first (Table 9).

On the websites of positioned publishers, most books deal with the practical dimensions of spirituality realized on an individual level, including practices diversified in content and forms that develop the "I" spirituality. In addition, publishing

houses also popularize books on the role of medicine in forming a person's spirituality, concerning integral medicine ensuring harmony on the spiritual, mental, emotional, and physical levels. These serve to provide, among others, quite peculiar healings of the energy system with the help of symbols, number sequences, the use of hypnosis to achieve the state of proper functioning of the mind, as well as healing magic involving healing spells, natural remedies (medicines), and even cooking recipes and cosmetic products.

Table 9. Websites popularizing books on non-religious spirituality

Websites popularizing books	
Spirituality without religion	Website address
Spiritual practices on the personal level – the psychology of spirituality, “I” spirituality, positive thinking, self-confidence, personal development, a happy life – spiritual practices, e.g., mindfulness exercises – ethical and psychological training, Sufi meditations, Sufi mantras	https://www.taniaksiazka.pl/ksiazki-o-rozwoju-duchowym-c-82_573.html https://www.amazon.pl/b?ie=UTF8&node=20788867031 https://yogabazar.pl/product-pol-2568-Duchowosc-na-co-dzien.html https://www.practest.com.pl/duchowosc-na-co-dzien https://liberilibri.pl/duchowosc-ateistyczna https://yogabazar.pl/product-pol-2568-Duchowosc-na-co-dzien.html https://www.practest.com.pl/duchowosc-na-co-dzien https://liberilibri.pl/duchowosc-ateistyczna
Medicine and spirituality – integral medicine (intellect, emotions, body, psychotherapy) – meditation practices (healing symbols and number strings, hypnotherapy, healing magic: healing spells, natural remedies, recipes, beauty products) – body spirituality	https://www.empik.com/umysl-cialo-duchowosc-drogi-do-zdrowia-i-rozwoju-duchowego-z-perspektywy-psychoterapeuty-malinowski-pawel,p1245953229,ksiazka-p https://studioastro.pl/ksiazka_tag/duchowosc/ https://www.samosedno.com.pl/rozwoj-osobisty/2395-umysl-cialo-duchowosc-drogi-do-zdrowia-i-rozwoju-duchowego-z-perspektywy-psychoterapeuty https://audioteka.com/pl/audiobooks/rozwoj-duchowy https://www.czarnaowca.pl/kategorie/psychologia/duchowosc-ci-ala,p1708983808
Spiritual experiences: spiritism, occultism, sessions with non-physical beings	https://audioteka.com/pl/audiobooks/rozwoj-duchowy https://www.storytel.com/pl/pl/categories/21-Religia-i-duchowosc https://virtualo.pl/ebooki/duchowosc-c576/ https://liberilibri.pl/duchowosc-ateistyczna https://www.taniaksiazka.pl/ksiazki-o-rozwoju-duchowym-c-82_573.html
Eastern spirituality – Eastern mystical traditions: Buddhist and Taoist spirituality	https://audioteka.com/pl/audiobooks/rozwoj-duchowy https://virtualo.pl/ebooki/duchowosc-c576/ https://dlabystrzakow.pl/kategorie/zycie/religia-i-duchowosc
Atheistic spirituality (secular values and spirituality)	https://www.galaktyka.com.pl/rozwoj-duchowy/przebudzenie-duchowosc-bez-religii https://liberilibri.pl/duchowosc-ateistyczna

Source: Own study

On websites, users will also find books about spiritualist experiences, meaning contact with non-physical beings. They act as spiritual guides, imparting secret knowledge about God, the universe, people, spirits, and the laws that govern life. Among the publications offered, one can also find items on Eastern spirituality traditions (Buddhism, Taoism) and non-religious (atheistic) spirituality, discrediting religiosity, including the essence of internal mystical experiences explaining the latest achievements of neurobiology.

Another group of featured websites concerns books on religious spirituality.

Table 9. Websites offering books on religious spirituality

Websites popularizing books	
Religious spirituality	Website address
Christian spirituality – the spirituality of Christian saints – Ignatian spirituality – Benedictine spirituality	https://wydawnictwowam.pl/ksiazki/duchowosc https://wdrodze.pl/kategoria-produktu/ksiazki/duchowosc/ https://virtualo.pl/ebooki/duchowosc-c576/ https://wydawnictwowam.pl/ksiazki/duchowosc https://www.salwator.com/duchowosc---psychologia-duchowosci,2,815,1,produkty.html https://tyniec.com.pl/29-duchowosc
Practices of religious spirituality (prayer, meditation, spiritual exercises)	https://wdrodze.pl/kategoria-produktu/ksiazki/duchowosc/ https://www.practest.com.pl/duchowosc-na-co-dzien https://gloria24.pl/ksiazki/rozwoj-duchowy
Dependence: religiosity and spirituality	https://www.nomos.pl/ksiazki/373-duchowosc-ponowoczesna-studium-z-zakresu-socjologii-jakosciowej.html https://wydawnictwowam.pl/ksiazki/duchowosc
Women's spirituality	https://wydawnictwowam.pl/ksiazki/duchowosc https://www.storytel.com/pl/pl/categories/21-Religia-i-duchowosc
Holistic spirituality (body, soul)	https://wydawnictwowam.pl/prod.duchowosc-intymnosc-i-seksualnosc.30233.htm?sku=87207 https://www.publio.pl/duchowosc-intymnosc-i-seksualnosc-john-gallindo,p999932.html

Source: Own study

An analysis of this group of positioned publications revealed numerous proposals for the concept of spirituality rooted in the Christian religion, differentiated according to schools, rules, and spiritual exercises. Ignatian and Benedictine spiritualities, often appearing in a selected sample, are good examples. In the above list of web pages, websites referring to practices essential for developing religious spirituality are also positioned, such as: practicing prayer, Christian meditation, spiritual exercises, the aestheticization of everyday life, and reflecting on it. The following thematic

topoi in the discussed block of sites concern the relationship between spirituality and religiosity, women's spirituality from the Christian perspective, and holistic spirituality (in which a person derives deep inner peace, joy, and a sense of security and meaning in life from the harmonious unity of body and mind).

The next step presents the content of websites with books on inclusive spirituality.

Table 10. Sites with books on inclusive spirituality

Websites popularizing books	
Inclusive spirituality	Website address
Paradigm syncretism: theological, philosophical, psychological, economic	https://ksiegarnia.difin.pl/czlowiek-duchowosc-wychowanie-impulsy-mysli-o-ansema-gruna-tom-1
Syncretism of personal experiences: radical individualism, narcissism, personal autonomy, depth psychology, self-realization, self-transcendence	https://sklep.eneteia.pl/duchowosc-i-narcyzm-102.html

Source: Own study

This group of books deals with spirituality broadly speaking, combining many elements of both religious and non-religious reality, such as science in psychology, medicine, and philosophy. Inclusive spirituality in a person's life means undertaking a multi-context and syncretic approach, expressed by combining theological, philosophical, and psychological paradigms and more pragmatic ones like economic and business paradigms. The descriptions of books include references to the classics of depth psychology, Platonic, Stoic and existential trends, and the experiences of Eastern and Western mystics (St. Augustine, Thomas à Kempis, Eckhart, Suzo, St. John of the Cross). The distinguishing feature of these book proposals is promoting forms of spirituality that correspond to the orientation of modern readers on inner experience, personal autonomy, self-realization, and well-being.

3.2. Website Content of Religious Communities, Institutions, and Associations

An analysis of the contents of positioned websites with institutional source domains allows generally stating that the Christian religion is embedded in many concepts of spirituality.

Table 11. Websites of religious communities, secular institutions, and associations

Websites of religious communities, secular institutions, and associations	
Type of spirituality	Website address
Domain: religious communities	
Benedictine spirituality	http://instytutmonastyczny.pl/ http://benedyktyni.pl/duchowosc/ http://www.mogila.cystersi.pl/
Franciscan spirituality	http://www.westiarki.pl/duchowosc-4040 https://www.siostryzorlika.pl/duchowosc.html
Ignatian spirituality	https://jezuici.pl/duchowosc/
Salesian spirituality	https://most.salezjanie.pl/duchowosc/
Domain: diocesan and charitable institutions, religious movements, religious and secular associations	
Religious (theistic) spirituality	https://caritas.pl/duchowosc/ https://www.focolare.org/polska/chiara-lubich/duchowosc/ https://ksm.org.pl/duchowosc/
New Spirituality: – the spirituality of “modern” religions – non-religious spirituality – inclusive spirituality	https://redakcjabb.pl/17231/wspolczesna-duchowosc https://iam.pl/pl/megaprojekty/duchowosc https://stopuzaleznieniom.pl/artykuly/czy-jestem-uzalezniomy/ zdrowienie-alkoholikow-a-duchowosc/

Source: Own study

There is a noticeable dominance of high positioning of the official websites of Christian religious orders, representing evangelical spirituality characterized by various rules of spiritual discipline. Religious spirituality dominates in the messages on the domain addresses of other institutions. It is related to the Christian tradition, formation activity, and working out a lifestyle that integrates spirit, body, mind, will, and emotions.

Worth noting in this group are the websites of secular institutions that popularize the concepts of a new spirituality equated with “modern” religions (polytheists, duotheists, and atheists). They are based on assumptions about the lack of traditionally understood sin, the exclusion of guilty feelings, and resignation from dogmas and moral judgments.

3.3. Website Content of Educational Institutions and Academic Centers

This next group of sites is dominated by multi-topic scientific studies.

Table 12. Websites of educational institutions and academic centers

Websites of educational institutions and academic centers	
Type of spirituality	Website address
Scientific article	
The spirituality-religiosity relationship	https://www.ipri.pl/duchowosc/ https://repozytorium.uwb.edu.pl/jspui/bitstream/11320/9644/1 https://pressto.amu.edu.pl/index.php/tim/article/view/2397 https://fidesetratio.com.pl/ojs/index.php/FetR/article/view/69 https://www.ejournals.eu/pliki/art/73
Spirituality and psychology	https://journals.umcs.pl/j/article/download/ https://www.kul.pl/files/822/public/download/
Spirituality and education	https://depot.ceon.pl/bitstream/handle/123456789/13760/Duchowa https://czasopisma.marszalek.com.pl/images/pliki/em/9/em904
Spirituality and culture	https://www.kul.pl/files/102/articles/2016
Scientific research on spirituality	https://ruj.uj.edu.pl/xmlui/bitstream/handle/item/5679/
Educational offers	
Postgraduate studies, training, workshops	http://www.bobolanum.edu.pl/oferta-edukacyjna/podyplomowe-studia-duchowosci http://centrumkapucyni.pl/?portfolio=warsztaty-duchowosci-bez-leku
Academic conferences	
Spirituality and psychiatry Spirituality and the Eucharist	https://www.facebook.com/events/uniwersytet-papieski-jana-paw%C5%82a-ii-w-krakowie/ https://akademiakatolicka.pl/duchowosc-dla-warszawy/

Source: Own study

Several issues are distinguished by more frequent attendance. These include the subject of the complex and evolving relationship between spirituality and religiosity. The redefinition of spirituality results from deep religious and social processes, including departure from traditional forms of religiosity, increase in the level of individualization of religiosity, striving to have religious experiences without contact with religious institutions, so-called new religious movements, religious pluralism, and abandoning the identification of religious spirituality with Christian spirituality. Academic discourses look for adequate terms to explain complex spiritual issues as thoroughly as possible. Another thematic topos in scientific articles is spirituality considered in the model of the psychological sciences. The proposed theoretical framework relates spirituality (abstract, ideational sphere) to a person's daily, individualized lifestyle.

The researched articles also featured reflections on spirituality in postmodern culture, where it replaces religiosity with its responses to the meaning of human existence. In addition, the corpus of texts includes the topic of the scientific status of researching spirituality and the problems with defining it due to its non-observability and immeasurability. Finally, the training sessions and conferences on spirituality offered by academic and educational centers are worth mentioning. The offers concern improving one's competence in religious spirituality (for example, "fearless" spirituality), a secular scientific meeting (about the role of spirituality in mental disorders), and a cyclical conference organized in a metropolitan environment promoting religious spirituality.

3.4. Media Site Content

The fourth group of websites includes secular and religious media sites.

The largest number of secular media sites present a rich offer of spirituality, with a dominant tendency to avoid formal religiosity and even discredit it in favor of a new spirituality. The concept of new spirituality on the web pages of thematic portals classified into the first group is uncoded, and their authors do not care about doctrinal unity. The created definitions of inclusive spirituality are broad and formulated *ad hoc* depending on the adopted perspective. Nevertheless, almost all proposals are united by the conviction that the fullness of holistic spiritual development requires openness to oneself, meaning contact with one's experiences, emotions, and feelings, including harmonious unity with the world. Spirituality understood in this way is not limited to religiosity, although it may constitute an important part of it and depend on it.

It also includes other components, such as worldview, intellectual competence needed to understand oneself, awareness when forming one's moral inner life, participation in the natural world, and various beliefs and cult practices. The new spirituality is also identified with the spirituality of nature and ecology, with reverence for the Earth and the cosmos and focusing on positive, creative energy. The concept of new spirituality broadens the range of accepted theories and worldviews, fostering openness to extraordinary experiences popularized by gnostic-magical systems of an anthropocentric nature. It promotes experiences accompanying deep self-insight, natural visions, and peak experiences. Consequently, it comes close to psychology and psychotherapy and vice versa.

Spirituality without religion is presented in the material of the media domains in the context of transitioning from religious spirituality to a spirituality that breaks with religious traditions and "external" blind faith in dogmas. Leaving religion behind does not mean losing one's spirituality but entering the path of exploration. This is done by people (the so-called "none") who constitute a heterogeneous group that includes: atheists (religiously indifferent people), agnostics, typical anticlericals,

religious enthusiasts, supporters of alternative spirituality, syncretists, as well as “people disappointed or hurt by traditional religious institutions.” In the next group of media sites (the dominant number of Catholic portals), men’s and women’s spirituality turned out to be popular topoi. The spirituality of the genders is confronted, which are different from each other, and reduced to two separate worlds that cannot meet.

Table 13. Media websites

Media sites (portals, press sites, TV show sites)	
Types of spirituality	Website address
New spirituality – inclusive spirituality – new ecological spirituality – the spirituality of the seekers – personal spirituality based on subjective needs, internal experiences, feelings, sensations, need for self-development – spirituality without religion	https://dzikiezycie.pl/archiwum/2009/maj-2009/nowa-duchowosc-ekologiczna-pod-lupa https://www.miesiecznik.znak.com.pl/7172015peter-c-phan-sjuduchowiony-i-religijny-tozsamosc-wieloreligijna-dla-poszukujacych-duchowosci/ https://deon.pl/wiara/wiara-a-pseudomistyka-bezdroza-duchowosci,186630 https://zwierciadlo.pl/psychologia/503228,1,cos-wiekszego-niz-ja-o-duchowosci-bez-religii.read https://deon.pl/wiara/czym-jest-dusza-nona--ojciec-jacek-prusak-sj-na-tropach-duchowosci-bez-religii,1231427 https://zwierciadlo.pl/psychologia/353114,1,duchowosc-w-naszycz-asach-rozmowa-z-psycholożka-joanna-heidtman.read https://dziendobry.tvn.pl/styl-zycia/czym-jest-duchowosc-jak-wplywa-na-czlowieka-da299403 https://www.zwrotnikraka.pl/duchowosc-w-chorobie-nowotworowej/ https://dzikiezycie.pl/archiwum/2009/maj-2009/nowa-duchowosc-ekologiczna-pod-lupa https://dziendobry.tvn.pl/styl-zycia/duchowosc-nie-powinna-eliminowac-rozumu-da290921 https://www.zwrotnikraka.pl/duchowe-aspekty-opieki-paliatywnej/
Men’s and women’s spirituality	https://pl.aleteia.org/2019/04/27/duchowosc-mezczyzny-i-kobiety-czy-wierzimy-inaczey/ https://deon.pl/wiara/wiara-a-pseudomistyka-bezdroza-duchowosci,186630 https://pl.aleteia.org/2020/05/26/wolnosc-duchowosc-i-biblia-dla-kobiet-w-kolorze-malinowym-rozmowa-z-s-anna-maria-pudelko-ap/ https://zwierciadlo.pl/psychologia/521904,1,praca-to-nie-wszystko--mezczyzni-poszukuja-duchowosci.read https://deon.pl/wiara/wiara-a-pseudomistyka-bezdroza-duchowosci,186630
Spirituality during an illness	https://www.zwrotnikraka.pl/duchowosc-w-chorobie-nowotworowej/ https://www.zwrotnikraka.pl/duchowe-aspekty-opieki-paliatywnej/
Spirituality of business, work, money	https://zwierciadlo.pl/psychologia/179048,1,duchowosc-pieniedzy.read https://zwierciadlo.pl/lifestyle/73604,1,duchowosc-pieniadza.read

Source: Own study

Another type of spirituality found in online resources of this group of sites is spirituality during an illness. It is distinguished by the fact that people who practice spirituality more easily overcome adversities and enjoy better health. Therefore, it is a vital force that helps one overcome a mental crisis, facilitating a person's adaptation to the illness and its limitations. In the context of serious medical cases, such as cancer, on the one hand, spirituality can be a source of additional stress, spiritual anxiety, blaming God for one's illness, and asking questions about the meaning of suffering and life after death. On the other hand, spirituality can provide positive reinforcements, support the therapy process, help someone understand their current situation, and find meaning in suffering, providing a sense of hope and dignity.

The Google search engine positions spirituality with a peculiar antonymic semantic combination: business, work, and money deserve to be distinguished. It is an intriguing exemplification of extending the semantic field of the concept of spirituality to areas previously inaccessible to it and the application of the mechanism of anchoring social representations through basic antinomies. The main assumption of such spirituality is that the spiritual and material worlds can strengthen each other. The secular world is strongly related to emotions and should be governed not only by the intellect but also by internal motivation, in which self-insight plays an important role.

4. Discussion and Conclusions

The conducted analyses indicate the existence of symptoms of phenomena classified as belonging to the new spirituality along with their distinctive features described in the introduction to Poland's religiously homogeneous society. They also allow us to cautiously state that spirituality is already becoming an autonomous experience for a certain part of it, as shown in the self-descriptions of 8% of the surveyed Poles. The analyzed websites reflect the above-mentioned characteristics of the new spirituality with the dominating position taken by spiritual content in non-religious spirituality. The detailed conclusions we propose, relating to the research questions formulated in the introduction, are situated and interpreted in the context of selected findings of researchers of new spirituality contained in the theoretical part.

Several interesting regularities were found in response to the question of to what extent the category of spirituality constitutes an element of Poles' self-definition in relation to religiosity or without religious references. First, the category of people who define themselves as spiritual but non-religious includes a small percentage of respondents. However, it was higher than in previous empirical studies mentioned in the introduction. This number is significant because the respondents could indicate an intermediate option, with less expressive features, dedicated to those who did not

want to give up any explicit self-identification in favor of another. The essential and symptomatic background for the above statements is the declaration of being a religious and spiritual person (leading a spiritual life, caring for spiritual development), which had the lowest percentage of indications.

This may suggest the perception of the 7% of Poles surveyed, according to which spirituality is an integral part of religiosity and an expression of its deepened character. The low percentage of choices concerning the discussed answer could, therefore, be in line with the general tendency, according to which a deeper level of faith concerns about 8% of the population in Polish society. On the one hand, self-declarations of spirituality without religiosity can be regarded as a signal of an upward trend in relation to the previously conducted empirical research. On the other hand, it can be treated as a low percentage, considering the rich, varied, and at the same time available offers regarding spirituality, including spirituality without religion.

Women considered themselves both religious and spiritual more often, while men more often than women said that they were neither religious nor spiritual. Religiosity is favored at an older age, while spirituality is the domain of the youngest respondents, up to 24, and people aged 45–64. The youngest respondents are a generation with clearly declining religiosity, defined as an abandoned generation, a generation left to themselves, lonely and self-insufficient, looking for a sense of belonging. They move efficiently in the world of new technologies, being influenced by them and having the opportunity to implement their research in this space. In turn, the 45–64 age group is described as a stage of relative family, professional and material stability, with potentially greater financial and time resources, including the possibility of self-centeredness and realization, as well as the age of one's first personal evaluation and crises.

These experiences may underlie the search for meaning in life, sources of a sense of security, and new development directions. People with higher education more often than others defined themselves in unambiguous categories, choosing answers on opposite poles: "I am religious and spiritual (leading a spiritual life, caring for spiritual development)" or "I am not a religious or spiritual person." Secondary and higher education, associated with deepened reflectivity and greater human and social capital resources, favor the frequency of choices of partial religiosity and spirituality as well as spirituality without religiosity. On the other hand, in respondents with a lower level of education (primary and vocational), choices of religiosity without spirituality dominate, which may indicate that the range of their experiences and self-identification include only the category of religiosity.

Interesting regularities were noted in the distribution of answers based on declarations of faith and religious practices. The greater their intensity, the more often the first three answers were chosen, confirming religiosity and spirituality or religiosity without spirituality. On the other hand, the answer "I am a spiritual but not a religious person" was most often chosen by non-practicing believers who were

looking – as it can be carefully assumed – for alternatives to confessional, formalized religious practices, people seeking their ways of experiencing the *sacrum*. Less pronounced regularities were noted in the analysis of the distributions of the variable “assessment of one’s financial situation,” although two issues draw our attention. People who are financially moderate or well-off are more likely to be spiritual but not religious, which can be cautiously combined with the practices included in new spirituality requiring material resources. On the other hand, the answer: “I am neither a religious nor a spiritual person” is much more often chosen by those who judge their financial situation as poor, which in turn may reflect the life orientation that is crucial for some of these people, focused on everyday material security, excluding interests and activities in other areas of life.

The next question concerned the type of content related to the category of spirituality found online. Quantitative distributions of grouped websites show that spirituality has invaded many different thematic areas in the media space, which is also confirmed by other research on internet resources.⁴⁵ Overall, the media texts offer a rich selection of different types and forms of spirituality. The media content review allows us to formulate a thesis on a capacious, multi-contextual, and polysemantic conceptualization of spirituality. There is a lack of semantic precision in media representations of spirituality, and their characteristic feature is typological differentiation. The spiritual content of various provenance coexist, located in the areas of religious and non-religious spirituality, the spirituality of “modern” religions, inclusive spirituality, “I” spirituality, everyday spirituality, women’s and men’s spirituality, spirituality based on spiritualistic experiences, atheistic spirituality, and some concepts of spirituality create meaning relationships with antonymic meanings (e.g., the spirituality of business, work, money, medicine).

Thematic anchoring of the new spirituality is oriented toward a number of *topoi*, among which the following are quantitatively distinguished: the topos of non-religious spirituality – the presentation by secular media websites of a rich offer of spirituality with a dominant tendency to distance itself from formalized religiosity, or even to discredit it; topos spirituality of inclusion – connecting and linking different elements reality, e.g., transcendent beings, non-physical beings, nature, health, body, psyche, work, relaxation, prayer, meditation, spiritual abilities, and experiences; topoi oriented toward the subjectively understood development of the inner “I,” a transgression consisting in transcending oneself, one’s imperfect biological dimension and “spiritualizing” new areas of social reality, including everyday practices.

Resolving the issue concerning the extent the media examples of spirituality relate to the religious sphere and the Catholic Church’s spirituality and the extent to which they are present in spirituality without religion brings solutions that fit the general trends, suggesting that spirituality as a socio-cultural phenomenon loses its

⁴⁵ Rautela – Sharma, “Spirituality and Social Media”; Ramasubramanian, “Media and Spirituality,” 46.

religious connotations. However, the content of Christian spirituality, differentiated according to schools and rules (e.g., Benedictine or Ignatian), cannot be omitted.

Spirituality without religion is portrayed in the media as shifting from religious spirituality to a spirituality that breaks with religious traditions. However, giving up religion does not mean losing one's spirituality but entering the path of exploration. The richness of spirituality proposals and the advantages of using online material (with its speed and ease of access, user anonymity, and the possibility of creating content) indicate both a high demand for it and the diffusion of patterns drawn from experiences and their media representations in countries where various forms of new spirituality have already been developing dynamically for some time.

The above analysis of the survey data and the results of searching for content on spirituality in the digital space provide an outline of new spirituality reported by researchers already recognized in Western societies. In the Polish case, this means: 1) the existence of the category of spirituality in self-declarations and its media representations online, 2) symptoms of blurring the boundaries between spirituality and religiosity, including the emergence of religiosity without a church, 3) the functioning of spiritual representations relating to Christian traditions, but also spirituality related to them, connected with gender, life experiences such as suffering, illness, profession, and 4) symptoms of the emancipation of spirituality from the influence of religiosity, expressed in a person's autonomous recognition as being spiritual but not religious, and in media representations of phenomena such as spirituality entering into the area of philosophy, science, medicine, psychology, and parapsychology, the dissemination of spiritual practices of an esoteric, magical, or spiritualist nature, spirituality related to eastern mystical traditions, for example Buddhist, Taoist, as well as the sacralization and transgression of the "I."

Aware that the results of the conducted quantitative and qualitative analyses are not entirely conclusive, we can state that in Polish society, which is religiously homogeneous, individualized, syncretic, and eclectic, a new spirituality finds its place and is developing within new areas. This is reflected in the phenomena and processes discussed above, revealing at the same time new problematic areas and research questions. In particular, it would be interesting to conduct 1) in-depth, qualitative analyses of the ways of understanding, motives, justifications, and determinants of the self-declarations of religiosity and spirituality, 2) further research on media representations toward the operationalization of their potential to shape opinions and beliefs of internet users about the new spirituality, and 3) analyze the internet as a space for manifesting and creating a new spirituality.

Translated by Jan Kobyłecki

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