



Dorota Zaworska-Nikoniuk

University of Warmia and Mazury, Olsztyn, Poland

e-mail: d.zaworska-nikoniuk@uwm.edu.pl

ORCID: 0000-0003-3645-4939

## **Assumptions of the Project of the New Core Curriculum for the Subject of Health Education: An Analysis of the Discourse Among Supporters and Opponents on Internet Portals**

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### **Abstract**

The attempt to introduce a new subject of health education to Polish schools in 2024 sparked demonstrations and social protests. The main problem addressed in this paper was: What categories of analysis and meanings given to the new core curriculum for health education may be identified in the articles published online? Data was collected by searching internet archives using the Google search engine; thus, 32 articles posted on internet portals were selected for research using discourse analysis. A proprietary constructed categorisation key was used in the analysis, which was employed to map the thematic distribution in a selection of scientific articles devoted to online discourse. Five framework categories were distinguished, namely inspirational figures and authorities, descriptions of the contents of the subject, the reasons for introducing it, potential consequences, and the meanings attributed by the opponents and supporters of the reform. The origin and political entanglement of the demonstrations were highlighted, conclusions were drawn, and recommendations for pedagogy involved in social change were formulated.

**Keywords:** family life education, health education, social protests, internet portals, analysis of the discourse.

## Introduction

The attempt to introduce a new subject, i.e. health education, into Polish schools in 2024 sparked numerous debates in the media as well as demonstrations and street protests in many cities. These protests were initiated by representatives of various organisations and associations. Considering the fact that health-related content had been present in teaching since 2017 in line with the concept of distributed learning (whereby every teacher was obliged to deliver it), as well as included in the core curriculum for individual subjects<sup>1</sup> and in the preventive and educational programme at schools, such intense public interest in the reform of the subject was likely to “alert” the researchers. This is particularly true given the broader proposals for changes in Polish schools, such as reduction of weekly hours of religious instruction (from two to one), the abandonment of family life education, the introduction of civic education (to replace history and the present day) as well as the social and political climate. Particularly relevant for the latter are the upcoming presidential elections in Poland (18 May 2025) and the recent change of government in December 2023 (which went from the Law and Justice party to a coalition composed of the Civic Coalition, Poland 2050, the Polish People’s Party, and the Left). This raises concerns as to whether the protests are inspired by supporters of particular political parties and whether the heated debate on the school subject is really about health education and, therefore, the welfare of students.

## Erving Goffman’s framing theory

The mass media, which can now be considered the “fourth estate,” played a paramount role in publicising and inspiring the debate. Through media

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<sup>1</sup> Specifically, in natural, social and technical education, English, ethics, and physical education for grades I–III. Then, for grades IV–VIII, in physical education, foreign language, ethics, civic education, biology, geography, family life education, and education for safety, as well as in school educational and preventive program (with an emphasis on the axiological aspect of health and prevention, i.e. eliminating unhealthy behaviours to reduce risk factors and promote protective factors) (Wolny, pp. 12–18). In secondary schools, it was integrated into physical education, education for safety, civic education, geography, chemistry, computer science, biology, and family life education.

coverage, journalists can freely shape narratives, mobilise the public to take action and protest and influence their political decisions. This is highlighted in Erving Goffman's framing theory, which supplies the theoretical underpinning of this study. Goffman (2010) proposed isolating certain essential frameworks to understand social phenomena, thanks to which individual events may be assigned meaning. The author distinguished two types of these: primary frameworks, which are the basic structures through which people interpret reality, and fabricated frameworks, i.e. structures created deliberately to change the perception of reality, often as a means of manipulation or to achieve specific social or politically oriented goals. Media coverage shapes public opinion and affects how individuals think by assigning meaning to the aforementioned structures.

Denis McQuail (2007, p. 373) notes: "Frames define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgements and suggest remedies [...]. Framing is a way of giving some overall interpretation to isolated items of fact." Frames may also be approached as simplified cognitive schemas by means of which the mind pigeonholes short pieces of information (here referred to as "strips"), determining the behaviour of their recipients.

Framing theory may be used to show how the media present and reinforce dominant cultural messaging. In the intention of journalists (whether conscious or not), framing should elicit specific social responses in the audience. Appropriate framing, in which a phenomenon is presented as immoral, threatening to children and young persons, or disruptive to social order, causes it to be rejected by the public who were subjected a particular interpretation.

### **Methodological premises of own research**

The purpose of this study was to examine the meanings and the significance attached in media discourses to the draft of the new core curriculum for health education and to determine their potential impact on the audience.

The need to undertake this research arose from an interest in the shape of the new core curriculum for health education, which is to come into effect at primary and secondary schools starting in 2025/2026 and which was submitted (in late October 2024) for public and inter-ministerial consultation by the Minister of Education.

In its proposed form, health education was to replace family life education, a subject axiologically based on Catholic values, whose underlying idea was to situate the issues of sex education and health within the Catholic tradition of understanding the family (Chomczyńska-Miliszkiewicz, 2002)<sup>2</sup>. The premises and the core curriculum for health education were developed by an inter-ministerial team chaired by Zbigniew Izdebski; the team was composed of experts in specific areas (who would be responsible for particular sections). The direction of the reform was set out in the Draft Regulation of the Minister of Education of 29 October 2024. It stipulated the scope of the subject, its purpose and nature, defining health education as a multi-stage, multi-faceted and interdisciplinary process that ultimately fosters health literacy<sup>3</sup>. The contents of the core curriculum vary depending on the level of education (grades IV–VI, VII–VIII, or secondary school), although the structure includes several common sections (the themes differ depending on the age of the child), such as values and attitudes, physical health, physical activity, mental health, puberty, sexual health, environmental health, the internet, and addiction prevention.

In this study, the analysis focused on what was communicated in articles published on internet portals. The main query was as follows: What categories of analysis and meanings assigned to the new core curriculum for health

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<sup>2</sup> The contents of the aforementioned subject reiterated gender stereotypes (Chomczyńska-Miliszkiewicz, 2002; Chomczyńska-Rubacha, 2012; Dec-Piotrowska & Paprzycka, 2016; Przybysz, 2007), out of keeping with social, cultural, and moral changes (Muczko, Wilk & Lewandowska, 2023). The subject – in its new, expanded form, designated as health education – was to become (as initially assumed) a compulsory, separate subject.

<sup>3</sup> “Knowledge, skills, and social competences enabling accurate recognition of one’s own and others’ health needs and taking appropriate preventive and corrective measures.” Much attention is paid to disease prevention and risky behaviours (including chemical and behavioural addictions). The draft Regulation of the Minister of Education of 29 October 2024, amending the regulation on the core curriculum for preschool education and the core curriculum for general education in primary schools, including for students with moderate or severe intellectual disabilities, general education for first-level vocational schools, general education for special schools preparing for work, and general education for post-secondary schools.

education may be identified in the texts published online? The researchers opted for non-reactive inquiry (Babbie, 2008; Gibbs, 2007).

The research method is defined after M.Q. Patton (1990, p. 235) as: “a systematic set of theoretically grounded rules (techniques and their justifications) for collecting, analysing and interpreting data,” where – in the case of interpretative research – it is difficult to see the end of one stage and identify the beginning of another (Rubacha, 2010).

The material was obtained by means of an archival search, accompanied by a two-stage sample selection. Using the Google search engine, the following keywords were entered: “health education,” “core curriculum for health education,” “changes in health education.” This yielded 143 texts published by a range of portals until 31 January 2025. At this point, it was crucial to appropriately select texts originating from various sources. By constructing the message in their texts, journalists have the possibility of influencing how information is interpreted by the recipients. When composing a text, they most often have a specific goal that they want to achieve through its publication.

After a thorough review and reading of the texts, a preliminary selection was carried out using the updated criteria proposed by Violetta Kopińska (2021, p. 157): 1) temporal – the search was limited to articles published between 1 April 2024 and 31 January 2025, as this was when the discussion was most heated; 2) typological – the study included materials published on Catholic, right-wing, left-wing, teacher-oriented, and informational websites, in order to gain an overview of the range of stances adopted; 3) language of publication – the search was confined to texts in Polish; 4) quality of language – texts containing profanity<sup>4</sup> were rejected. A total of 32 texts posted by 13 online portals were examined.

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<sup>4</sup> “Profanity and swear words in Polish: a group of words and phrases in Polish commonly considered obscene, relating to religious beliefs, bodily functions, sex and procreation, and parts of the body considered embarrassing.” (Wikipedia)

Table 1. Selection of the research sample by provider

Portal name	Characteristics of the portal	Text codes <sup>5</sup>
opoka.org.pl	Run by the Opoka Foundation (established by the Polish Bishops' Conference in 1998)	N1-N6 N8; N11; N14
deon.pl	Catholic, news and community themes, run by the Society of Jesus	N7
niedziela.pl	Catholic, news and opinion-forming content, featuring reprints from the <i>Niedziela</i> weekly	N9; N10; N12; N13
proelio.pl	Catholic, run by the Frupa Proelio Foundation	N16
pch24.pl	Catholic, run by Polonia Christiana, news and opinion-forming content	N15
rynekzdrowia.pl	Medicine- and healthcare-oriented news, featuring reprints from the <i>Rynek zdrowia</i> magazine	C1
natemat.pl	News portal, covering the most important events in Poland and worldwide	C2
wyborcza.pl	News portal, featuring reprints from the <i>Gazeta Wyborcza</i> daily	C4
dziennik.pl	News, opinion-forming content and entertainment, featuring reprints from newspapers such as <i>Gazeta Prawna</i> , <i>Forsal</i> , and <i>Zdrowie</i>	C5
glos.pl	Aimed at teachers, an online version of the social and educational weekly <i>Głos Nauczycielski</i>	C7; C8; C9; C10
bryk.pl	Aimed at students, covering issues related to school education, containing study guides and summaries of the reading material	C11
strefaedukacji.pl	Education-related content aimed at parents, teachers, and students	C13; C15
bankier	News and information, covering current political, social, and financial issues	C16

Source: Author's research

<sup>5</sup> The list of code categories with the titles of the analysed sources may be found in the appendix at the end of the text. Sources represented by opponents of health education in its current form are marked with the letter N, while the numbers refer to particular texts. Sources represented by supporters of the reform and the subject in its proposed form are marked with the letter C.

The sample consisted of journalistic texts, both informational and argumentative. Most of the texts examined were argumentative (intended to persuade the reader to adopt the position expressed by the journalist (coded as N1; N2; N3; N5-N16; C1-C9; C13) by means of various communication strategies, including manipulative ones) (Furman et al., 2000). One of the texts was expressive, in the manner of an appeal (N4), aiming to compel the reader to take a particular action, while a number were informational pieces, whose main purpose was to communicate certain content (news) and explain it to the reader (C10; C11; C12; C16).

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) was used as the analytical strategy; although it is a relatively novel research approach in pedagogy, it has been employed in the works of authors such as Helena Ostrowicka (2015, 2023), Violetta Kopińska (2017), Ewa Zamojska (2010) and Justyna Dobrołowicz (2016). Discourse was construed as the use of language in a particular socio-cultural context, reflecting and influencing power structures and social relations (Fairclough & Duszak, 2008). Discourse thus understood not only reflected but also reproduced power structures (e.g. through linguistic manipulation, simplification, propagating stereotypes, prejudices based on race, gender, and other forms of cultural domination). The author of an insightful study on discourse, Teun A. van Dijk (2001, p. 11), observes that discourse research may be conducted in three dimensions: linguistic (who uses language, for what purpose, how, why, when?), psychological (what ideas or emotions do they want to convey?), and social (what interactions take place between the participants in a given situation?). The present study sought primarily to identify the meanings that journalists attempted to impart in their media texts so as to shape the readers' perception of the newly introduced subject. Preliminary analysis of these communications made it possible to define the following framework categories for the study. The texts were divided into those expressing approval for the new core curriculum (referred to here as supporters of health education in its proposed form) and those opposing the reform (referred to as the opponents).

Table 2. Adopted research frameworks

Research frameworks	Discourse of the opponents	Discourse of the supporters
Descriptions of inspirational figures and authorities	N2; N16	C2; C13; C14; C15
Descriptions of the subject’s contents	N7; N1; N3; N5; N8; N11; N12	C15; C4; C5; C8; C6; C10; C2
Reasons for introducing the subject	N12	C6; C5; C10; C8; C2; C15
Potential consequences	N3; N4; N15; N3; N13	C2; C4; C5; C8; C10; C11
Public action taken	N4; N7; N8; N11; N14	C1; C3; C16; C17.

Source: Author’s research

Research results

*Discourse of the opponents of the proposal*

Inspirational figures and authorities. The discourse of the opponents of health education is evident in the texts from Catholic portals such as Opoka, Deon, Niedziela, and Proelio. It was inspired by an open letter from Zbigniew Kaliszuk, founder of the Proelio Foundation, who thus appealed to the parents, speaking against the introduction of health education in schools. Among other things, it questioned the decision to entrust Zbigniew Izdebski with the development of the new core curriculum due to his liberal views. The author of the letter also invoked Article 48 of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland, according to which parents “have the right to rear their children in accordance with their own convictions,” noting that the compulsory nature of the subject violates the law (N16). Similar arguments are raised by the bishops in the Position of the Polish Bishops’ Conference (Jasna Góra, 2024) (N2). The authors of the content published on the aforementioned websites draw on excerpts from Proelio’s open letter and the aforementioned episcopal statement, trying to interpret them by means of fairly blunt language. Simultaneously, they present themselves as “representatives of the law,” concerned with compliance for the good of children, thus attempting to win the favour of parents.



Descriptions of the subject's contents. The full name of the subject (health education) is omitted and replaced with the term "sex education" (deliberately misleading the reader). The most frequently used terms to describe the educational content are: "permissive, depraved sex education" (N7; N16), "sexualisation" (N1), "systemic eroticisation" (N3), "anti-family sex education" (N8), "moral indoctrination" (N11), "lessons in depravity" (N12), and "indoctrination of children after the fashion of the LGBT movement" (N12). Journalists (anonymous here) attempt to discredit the competence of those creating the new programmes, especially Zbigniew Izdebski (N4), and emphasise that the team he has put together is "corrupting innocent children" through the contents of the core curriculum.

Reasons for introducing the subject. It is alleged that the development and introduction of the new curriculum in schools is an attempt on the part of Donald Tusk's government to ingratiate itself with the German government or with the LGBT community (N12), and they try to convince the reader of the politicised nature of those actions. The subsequent part of the text shows that the journalists refer to the Standards for Sexuality Education in Europe (although they do not explain their premises; instead, they call for the Polish children to be defended against German moral corruption) (N12). By presenting themselves as "defenders of Polish children" and emphasising their patriotism and aversion to Germans, they set the direction for parents to follow and encourage them to take action (in this case, social protests). They recommend reading a brochure published by the *Pro-Prawo do Życia* foundation, which explains the "paedophile standards created for Polish children in Germany" (N12). They argue that the aim of "health education" (or sex education, as it is put) is to promote "paedophile content" (N12). If the reader tried to learn about the contents taught as part of the core curriculum, they would yet again find its arbitrary interpretations, which do not actually correspond to its actual substance. The most common forms of manipulation included emotionally charged statements and alarmism targeting the parents, whose children may thus be exposed to sexual abuse – which is why they should join the protests.

Furthermore, the opponents of health education refer to the envisaged consequences of the subject. These include: "affirmation of masturbation" (N4; N3) and "pornography" (N15), "early sexual initiation" (N3), "an at-

tempt to dismantle the identity of the young generation” (N4), “abortion propaganda” (N13), “propaganda to further the LGBT cause” (N13), and “an attack on the Polish family” (N13).

Actions taken. Journalists move from specific semantics (designed to evoke negative associations) to playing on parents’ fears (about their children being harmed and about the destruction of the Polish family) in an attempt to induce them to take to the streets in protest. Most of the texts contain links to a “petition against health education” (N7) and information about the public demonstrations aimed at having the subject cancelled. Protests against the changes were indeed held in many Polish cities (including Warsaw, Kraków, and Olsztyn), and the readers of the online publications were encouraged to participate (N4; N8; N11) with various arguments: “This is the decisive battle for the innocence of Polish children” (N11). Participation in the demonstrations was attributed a patriotic and pro-family dimension, and politicians (mainly associated with Law and Justice and Confederation) joined in, trying to gain public trust among the potential voters.

The Ministry of Education’s declarations that sex education would not be compulsory did not change the discourse in the analysed portals, which recommended particular vigilance to their readers, positioning themselves as “defenders of Polish schools” (N14) and initiating further demonstrations.

### *Discourse of the supporters of the proposal*

Inspirational figures and authorities. The texts present the team of experts who created the core curriculum, underscoring the experience and high competence of its members (especially Prof. Izdebski). In order to weaken the arguments of opponents, who allege that it is anti-Catholic, one cites the position of specialists and journalists associated with the Catholic Church (C13; C14). In particular, this includes Tomasz Terlikowski – a person often regarded as an authority among Catholics (C14) and an author of a letter in defence of health education – as well as Rev. Arkadiusz Nowak, PhD, who works on the team developing the core curriculum (C13). This narrative and the reference to Catholic experts are intended to counteract a view disseminated in the media that only supporters of left-wing parties (implicitly non-Catholics) are in favour of the prospective subject, while right-wingers are its critics.

In their communications, supporters of health education (responding to the argument that it violates parental freedom of upbringing and thus contravenes Article 48 of the Constitution) invoke the students' and children's rights of access to the latest knowledge: "Health education is the right of students to reliable knowledge" (C15); "Parents should also excuse their children from Polish language classes because the compulsory material is boring" (C2).

Descriptions of the subject's content. These underscore the importance of the subject for promoting appropriate pro-health attitudes, preventing violence and addiction, and shaping interpersonal skills needed by young people in adult life. They discuss the core curriculum and its contents in detail (C4; C5; C8; C10). The knowledge is portrayed as necessary and indispensable to students: "modern knowledge" (C8), "free from prejudice and ideology" (C8), "holistic knowledge about mental, physical, social and sexual health" (C10), "prevention" (C10), "developing good dietary habits" (C10), "building young people's awareness of health" (C10). The message of family life education is questioned through the opposition (up-to-date, needed knowledge is "health education," whereas "family life education" represents useless, outdated knowledge) (C15; C6; C8). It is noted that: "it is difficult to consider family life education as health education" (C8) and "family life education focused mainly on the aspects of family relationships, as opposed to sex education" (C5). The arguments of the opponents of health education are also addressed. Refuting the allegations (the narrative of the supporters focuses on refuting the allegations of its opponents), they point to the political nature of the demonstrations: "parents succumb to propaganda" (C2), "this subject is not sex education, but health education" (C2), "some of the protesters do not even know what exactly will be taught during those classes" (C2).

Reasons for introducing the subject. The communications cite the deteriorating mental, physical, and social health of children and young people, the need to update the somewhat outdated content of "family life education," the focus on preventing risky behaviours and addictions, safeguarding students against violence as well as reliable sex education. Journalists assert: "The subject is intended to equip students with knowledge about healthy lifestyles, disease prevention and mental health care" (C6), "it is important to support young people" (C15), "a comprehensive subject adapted to the age of pupils" (C15), "prevention is now a priority" (C10). One emphasises the need

to adapt the content to the social and cultural changes taking place in Poland (and in Europe) so as to raise modern citizens. Health education is “one of the most important things that schools must teach” (C8), “a challenge for generations to come” (C8), “support for young people” (C8); also, “the role and importance of this subject represent values that cannot be overestimated in building a civil society” (C2).

As a result of introducing the subject, it is expected that students will take care of their own health and the well-being of their loved ones, counteract unfavourable situations, and show tolerance and responsibility for their actions (C2; C4). It is underlined that the educational value of the subject is “significant” (C5), “invaluable” (C2), and “like an investment in the future” (C4), while “health and education cannot wait” (C8).

Actions taken. Coordinated by the Coalition to Save Schools, the protests against health education of 11–12 January 2025, prompted the government of Donald Tusk to declare that the subject would not be compulsory. Shortly after the demonstrations, the news was announced by the Deputy Prime Minister – bypassing the Minister of Education, who learned about it from the media. The decision caused considerable dissatisfaction in the circles of medical professionals, who drew attention to the deteriorating health of children and took various steps to reinstate the compulsory status of the subject. An open letter in defence of health education was released signed by experts from the medical and social sciences communities (C1). Newspapers reported that the change in government plans was due to the political situation in the country and that the government aimed to appease public sentiments ahead of the upcoming presidential elections (C16; C1). In a radio interview (quoted in the texts), the Minister of Education stressed that the core curriculum of the new subject was “a very good, prudent and necessary programme [...] which has been destroyed by politics in that it has caused great and unnecessary confusion” (C16). The Minister announced that the programme would be evaluated but found the protests to be “harmful to children and young people” (C16).

One should note a fairly apt observation of one journalist, who stated that the health education project “was supposed to be a pillar of reform, but it became a political disgrace, degraded to the role of an elective supplement” (C3) while “leading politicians are too busy with pre-election play-safe measures” (C3), thus highlighting the politicised nature of the entire discourse.

## Conclusions

Upon analysing the core curriculum through the lens of T. van Dijk's approach (2001, p. 11), which considers linguistic, psychological, and social factors, a peculiar struggle emerges in assigning meaning to the subject's content. This struggle is influenced by appeals (protest letters) crafted by right-wing conservative circles and backed by political decision-makers. The appropriation of the language that invokes concepts such as family, patriotism, Polish identity, faith, Catholicism, concern for the welfare of children and respect for parental rights, while simultaneously inciting xenophobic and homophobic attitudes and marginalising difference and otherness, enabled journalists to manipulate citizens, prompting them to take to the streets in protest.

It is difficult to determine whether this was intentional, as journalists creating content for online portals often do so in accordance with their own value systems while also taking into account the expectations of their audience (in this case, their target readers) (Wasilewski, 2019). Consequently, they make certain framing choices that derive (sometimes even unconsciously) from their value system, ideology, and political views. Through framing, they highlight certain themes, simplify them, supply ready-made interpretative patterns and manipulate content depending on the interest groups they represent (Michalczyk, 2015).

Attacked by its opponents, the supporters of the reform had little choice but to adopt a defensive strategy, which manifested in their narratives. The experts behind the reform were presented as competent professionals with extensive subject-matter knowledge and educational experience; the objectives of the programme were elucidated as well. The body of knowledge that the experts had compiled was shown as "modern," "solid" and "European" (as opposed to the knowledge taught as part of "family life education," which was described as "outdated" and "irrelevant"). Journalists quoted politicians associated with the party currently in power and emphasised their commitment to sound education of children and young people in an attempt to reassure concerned parents. Letters from experts in the social and medical sciences were published, encouraging parents to sign them.

The analysed discourse did not include the views of students, who seemed less important and less competent to speak on their own behalf.

Recommendations. The following is proposed:

- include those concerned (especially senior primary and secondary school students) in the discourse on the proposed core curriculum; conduct diagnostic research to identify their needs with respect to knowledge;
- increase the number of social sciences representatives in public consultations aimed at modifying the draft core curriculum in the field of health education and take their positions into account;
- initiate a substantive discourse in the media involving experts and scientists (since it has been dominated by journalists and politicians) whose research focuses on the content of family life education textbooks and the essence of health education;
- discuss the history of sex education in Poland, the conditions and changes in the core curriculum for “preparation for family life” (later “family life education”) in scientific studies and popular scientific writings, approaching those issues in a historical, political and social perspective in order to make the public aware that educational discourse has invariably been a convenient backdrop for the political and ideological goals of political parties;
- present and compare the contents of the “sex education” section in European Union countries and in Poland, including a thorough analysis of the Standards for Sexuality Education in Europe.

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**Appendix: List of code categories**

Code	Source
N1	<i>Brałeś pieniądze? – pytał nastolatków seksuolog. To on napisał podstawę programową tzw. edukacji zdrowotnej.</i> [“Did you take money?” asked the sexologist to teenagers. He wrote the core curriculum for so-called health education.] <a href="https://opoka.org.pl/News/Polska/2024/tzw-edukacja-zdrowotna-zmasakrowana-przed-parlamentarnym">https://opoka.org.pl/News/Polska/2024/tzw-edukacja-zdrowotna-zmasakrowana-przed-parlamentarnym</a> , last access: 1.02.2025.
N2	<i>Mocne stanowisko biskupów: przedmiot Edukacja Zdrowotna jest sprzeczny z Konstytucją.</i> [Strong stance of bishops: Health Education is contrary to the Constitution.] <a href="https://opoka.org.pl/News/Polska/2024/biskupi-przedmiot-edukacja-zdrowotna-sprzeczny-z-konstytucja">https://opoka.org.pl/News/Polska/2024/biskupi-przedmiot-edukacja-zdrowotna-sprzeczny-z-konstytucja</a> , last access: 1.02.2025.
N3	<i>Systemowa erotyzacja pod przykrywką troski o zdrowie. Środowiska medyczne przeciw edukacji zdrowotnej.</i> [Systemic eroticisation under the guise of health care. Medical circles against health education.] <a href="https://opoka.org.pl/News/Polska/2024/systemowa-erotyzacja-pod-przykrywka-troski-o-zdrowie-polskie">https://opoka.org.pl/News/Polska/2024/systemowa-erotyzacja-pod-przykrywka-troski-o-zdrowie-polskie</a> , last access: 2.02.2025.
N4	<i>„Tak dla edukacji! Nie dla deprawacji”. 1 grudnia manifestacja przeciwko seksualizacji w szkołach.</i> [“Yes to education! No to depravity.” December 1 demonstration against sexualisation in schools.] <a href="https://opoka.org.pl/News/Polska/2024/1-grudnia-w-warszawie-manifestacja-srodowisk-prorodzinnych">https://opoka.org.pl/News/Polska/2024/1-grudnia-w-warszawie-manifestacja-srodowisk-prorodzinnych</a> , last access: 1.02.2025.
N5	<i>Niszczenie polskiej szkoły przez Panią i kierownictwo MEN.</i> [The destruction of Polish schools by You and the Ministry of Education.] <a href="https://opoka.org.pl/News/Polska/2024/niszczenie-polskiej-szkoly-konsultacje-w-sprawie-edukacji">https://opoka.org.pl/News/Polska/2024/niszczenie-polskiej-szkoly-konsultacje-w-sprawie-edukacji</a> , last access: 10.02.2025.
N6	<i>Lekcje o antykoncepcji w podstawówkach. Tak wygląda podstawa programowa edukacji zdrowotnej.</i> [Lessons on contraception in primary schools. This is what the core curriculum for health education looks like.] <a href="https://opoka.org.pl/News/Polska/2024/lekcje-o-wyborze-antykoncepcji-tak-wyglada-podstawa-programowa">https://opoka.org.pl/News/Polska/2024/lekcje-o-wyborze-antykoncepcji-tak-wyglada-podstawa-programowa</a> , last access: 1.01.2025.
N7	<i>Grupa Proelio o „edukacji zdrowotnej” w szkołach. To permissywna edukacja seksualna pod przykrywką.</i> [The Proelio Group on “health education” in schools. This is permissive sex education under the guise.] <a href="https://deon.pl/swiat/grupa-proelio-o-edukacji-zdrowotnej-w-szkolach-to-permissywna-edukacja-seksualna-pod-przykrywka,2797481">https://deon.pl/swiat/grupa-proelio-o-edukacji-zdrowotnej-w-szkolach-to-permissywna-edukacja-seksualna-pod-przykrywka,2797481</a> , last access: 1.02.2025.
N8	<i>Ponad 24,6 tys. osób podpisało petycję przeciwko antyrodzinnej edukacji seksualnej typu B i C.</i> [Over 24,600 people have signed a petition against anti-family sex education types B and C.] <a href="https://opoka.org.pl/News/Polska/2024/niemal-25-tysiecy-podpisow-pod-petycja-przeciw-antyrodzinnej">https://opoka.org.pl/News/Polska/2024/niemal-25-tysiecy-podpisow-pod-petycja-przeciw-antyrodzinnej</a> , last access: 1.01.2025.
N9	<i>Dzieci będą uczyć się o antykoncepcji, homoseksualizmie, i rozwodach. Co zawierają projekty rozporządzeń.</i> [Children will learn about contraception, homosexuality, and divorce. What the draft regulations contain.] <a href="https://plus.niedziela.pl/artykul/107327/Dzieci-beda-uczyc-sie-o-antykoncepcji-homoseksualizmie-i-rozwodach-Co-zawieraja">https://plus.niedziela.pl/artykul/107327/Dzieci-beda-uczyc-sie-o-antykoncepcji-homoseksualizmie-i-rozwodach-Co-zawieraja</a> , last access: 1.01.2025.

Code	Source
N10	<i>„TAK dla edukacji, NIE dla deprawacji”. Projekt MEN skrajnie antyrodzinny i antyspołeczny.</i> [“YES to education, NO to depravity” The Ministry of Education’s draft is extremely anti-family and anti-social.] <a href="https://www.niedziela.pl/artykul/107533/%E2%80%99ETAK-dla-edukacji-NIE-dla-deprawacji-Projekt-MEN-skrajnie-antyrodzinny">https://www.niedziela.pl/artykul/107533/%E2%80%99ETAK-dla-edukacji-NIE-dla-deprawacji-Projekt-MEN-skrajnie-antyrodzinny</a> , last access: 1.01.2025
N11	<i>Projekt obowiązkowej edukacji zdrowotnej to seksualna indoktrynacja a nie przekaz zdrowej wiedzy.</i> [The compulsory health education project is sexual indoctrination, not the transmission of healthy knowledge.] Opoka. <a href="https://opoka.org.pl/News/Polska/2024/projekt-obowiazkowej-edukacji-zdrowotnej-to-seksualna">https://opoka.org.pl/News/Polska/2024/projekt-obowiazkowej-edukacji-zdrowotnej-to-seksualna</a> , last access: 1.01.2025.
N12	<i>Przerazające! Edukacja seksualna będzie przedmiotem obowiązkowym w polskich szkołach.</i> [Terrifying! Sex education will be a compulsory subject in Polish schools.] <a href="https://www.niedziela.pl/artykul/104776/Przerazajace-Edukacja-seksualna-bedzie-przedmiotem-obowiazkowym-w-polskich">https://www.niedziela.pl/artykul/104776/Przerazajace-Edukacja-seksualna-bedzie-przedmiotem-obowiazkowym-w-polskich</a> , last access: 7.01.2025.
N13	<i>Skandaliczna podstawa programowa edukacji zdrowotnej. 13-latkowie mają szykować się do inicjacji seksualnej.</i> [Scandalous core curriculum for health education. 13-year-olds are to be prepared for sexual initiation.] <a href="https://www.niedziela.pl/artykul/106768/Skandaliczna-podstawa-programowa-edukacji-zdrowotnej-13-latkowie-maja-szykowac">https://www.niedziela.pl/artykul/106768/Skandaliczna-podstawa-programowa-edukacji-zdrowotnej-13-latkowie-maja-szykowac</a> , last access: 3.01.2025.
N14	<i>Władza ponowi próbę wprowadzenia permisywnej edukacji zdrowotnej.</i> [The authorities will renew their attempt to introduce permissive health education.] <a href="https://opoka.org.pl/News/Polska/2024/obroncy-szkoly-wladza-ponowi-probe-wprowadzenia-permisywnej">https://opoka.org.pl/News/Polska/2024/obroncy-szkoly-wladza-ponowi-probe-wprowadzenia-permisywnej</a> , last access: 1.01.2025.
N15	<i>Nowacka podpałała lont! „Edukacja zdrowotna” ma zdeprawować dzieci.</i> [Nowacka has lit the fuse! “Health education” is supposed to deprave children.] PCH24.pl, last access: 5.01.2025.
N16	<i>Nie! dla deprawacji seksualnej w szkołach.</i> [No! to sexual corruption in schools.] <a href="https://proelio.pl/petycje/viewpetition/56-nie-dla-deprawacji-seksualnej-w-szkolach">https://proelio.pl/petycje/viewpetition/56-nie-dla-deprawacji-seksualnej-w-szkolach</a> , last access: 12.01.2025.
C1	Wykowski J., Lekarze zaniepokojeni wypowiedziami polityków. Bezwzględnie utrzymać obowiązkowy charakter. [Doctors concerned about politicians’ statements. The mandatory nature must be maintained at all costs.] <a href="https://www.rynekzdrowia.pl/Polityka-zdrowotna/Lekarze-zaniepokojeni-wypowiedziami-politykow-Bezwzglednie-utrzymac-obowiazkowy-charakter,267116,14.html">https://www.rynekzdrowia.pl/Polityka-zdrowotna/Lekarze-zaniepokojeni-wypowiedziami-politykow-Bezwzglednie-utrzymac-obowiazkowy-charakter,267116,14.html</a> , last access: 8.01.2025.
C2	To będzie mocny punkt kampanii PIS. Prawica już rozpoczęła nagonkę i modli się za Ministrę i za Tuska. [This will be a strong point of the PIS campaign. The right wing has already started a smear campaign and is praying for the Minister and Tusk.] <a href="https://natemat.pl/579482,edukacja-zdrowotna-nakrecaprawice-tak-moga-wykorzystac-to-w-kampanii">https://natemat.pl/579482,edukacja-zdrowotna-nakrecaprawice-tak-moga-wykorzystac-to-w-kampanii</a> , last access: 8.01.2025.
C3	Ignaciuk M., Nieobowiązkowa edukacja zdrowotna to głęboki absurd i polityczny blamaż obecnego rządu. [Optional health education is a profound absurdity and a political disgrace for the current government.] <a href="https://strefaedukacji.pl/nieobowiazkowa-edukacja-zdrowotna-to-gleboki-absurd-i-polityczny-blamaz-obecnego-rzadu/ar/c5p2-27176613">https://strefaedukacji.pl/nieobowiazkowa-edukacja-zdrowotna-to-gleboki-absurd-i-polityczny-blamaz-obecnego-rzadu/ar/c5p2-27176613</a> , last access: 16.01.2025.

C4	Głogowski D., Lubnauer: Edukacja zdrowotna jest jak szczepionka, która ma uodpornić. [Lubnauer: Health education is like a vaccine that is supposed to immunise.] <a href="https://legaartis.pl/blog/2025/01/15/lubnauer-edukacja-zdrowotna-jest-jak-szczepionka-ktora-ma-uodpornic">https://legaartis.pl/blog/2025/01/15/lubnauer-edukacja-zdrowotna-jest-jak-szczepionka-ktora-ma-uodpornic</a> , last access: 16.01.2025
C5	Malinowska A., MEN zmienia decyzję. Nowy przedmiot wciąż budzi kontrowersje. [The Ministry of Education changes its decision. The new subject remains controversial.] <a href="https://edukacja.dziennik.pl/aktualnosci/artykuly/9713498,men-zmienia-decyzje-nowy-przedmiot-wciaz-budzi-kontrowersje.html">https://edukacja.dziennik.pl/aktualnosci/artykuly/9713498,men-zmienia-decyzje-nowy-przedmiot-wciaz-budzi-kontrowersje.html</a> , last access: 17.01.2025
C6	Edukacja zdrowotna w szkołach. Co warto wiedzieć. [Health education in schools. What you need to know.] <a href="https://alertmedyczny.pl/edukacja-zdrowotna-w-szkole-co-warto-wiedziec">https://alertmedyczny.pl/edukacja-zdrowotna-w-szkole-co-warto-wiedziec</a> , last access: 18.01.2025
C7	ZNp popiera wprowadzenie nowych przedmiotów. [The Polish Teachers' Union supports the introduction of new subjects.] <a href="https://glos.pl/zn-popiera-koncepcje-wprowadzenia-nowych-przedmiotow-edukacji-zdrowotnej-i-edukacji-obywatelskiej">https://glos.pl/zn-popiera-koncepcje-wprowadzenia-nowych-przedmiotow-edukacji-zdrowotnej-i-edukacji-obywatelskiej</a> , last access: 19.01.2025
C8	Minister Nowacka w Sejmie: „Edukacja prozdrowotna to jedna z najważniejszych kwestii, których musi uczyć szkoła”. [Minister Nowacka in the Sejm: “Health education is one of the most important issues that schools must teach.”] <a href="https://glos.pl/minister-nowacka-w-sejmie-edukacja-prozdrowotna-to-jedna-z-najwazniejszych-kwestii-ktorych-musi-uczyc-szkola">https://glos.pl/minister-nowacka-w-sejmie-edukacja-prozdrowotna-to-jedna-z-najwazniejszych-kwestii-ktorych-musi-uczyc-szkola</a> , last access: 19.01.2025
C9	Minister Nowacka: Zakładamy, że edukacja o zdrowiu wejdzie do szkół w 2026 r. Nie będzie to osobny przedmiot. [Minister Nowacka: We assume that health education will be introduced in schools in 2026. It will not be a separate subject.] <a href="https://glos.pl/minister-nowacka-zakladamy-ze-edukacja-o-zdrowiu-wejdzie-do-szkol-w-2026-r-nie-bedzie-to-osobny-przedmiot">https://glos.pl/minister-nowacka-zakladamy-ze-edukacja-o-zdrowiu-wejdzie-do-szkol-w-2026-r-nie-bedzie-to-osobny-przedmiot</a> , last access: 21.01.2025
C10	Kolejny nowy przedmiot w szkołach. Od 1 września 2025 edukacja zdrowotna zastąpi WdZ. [Another new subject in schools. From September 1, 2025, health education will replace family life education.] <a href="https://glos.pl/kolejny-nowy-przedmiot-w-szkolach-od-1-wrzesnia-2025-edukacja-zdrowotna-zastapi-wdz">https://glos.pl/kolejny-nowy-przedmiot-w-szkolach-od-1-wrzesnia-2025-edukacja-zdrowotna-zastapi-wdz</a> , last access: 21.01.2025
C11	Edukacja zdrowotna w szkołach od września 2025. Co znajdzie się w programie nauczania? [Health education in schools from September 2025. What will be included in the curriculum?] <a href="https://www.bryk.pl/artykul/edukacja-zdrowotna-w-szkolach-od-wrzesnia-2025-co-znajdzie-sie-w-programie-nauczania">https://www.bryk.pl/artykul/edukacja-zdrowotna-w-szkolach-od-wrzesnia-2025-co-znajdzie-sie-w-programie-nauczania</a> , last access: 21.01.2025.
C12	Edukacja zdrowotna od września. [Health education from September.] <a href="https://www.prawo.pl/zdrowie/edukacja-zdrowotna-w-szkolach-od-wrzesnia-2025-r,528134.html">https://www.prawo.pl/zdrowie/edukacja-zdrowotna-w-szkolach-od-wrzesnia-2025-r,528134.html</a> , last access: 21.01.2025
C13	Konczal, M. Książd o edukacji zdrowotnej. [A priest on health education.] <a href="https://strefaedukacji.pl/ksiazd-o-edukacji-zdrowotnej-ten-przedmiot-jest-potrzebny/ar/c5p2-27031669">https://strefaedukacji.pl/ksiazd-o-edukacji-zdrowotnej-ten-przedmiot-jest-potrzebny/ar/c5p2-27031669</a> , last access: 22.01.2025.
C14	Terlikowski, T. Bronię programu edukacji zdrowotnej. [I defend the health education curriculum.] <a href="https://wiadomosci.wp.pl/bronie-programu-edukacji-zdrowotnej-to-projekt-dobry-takze-z-perspektywy-katolickiej-opinia-7092926951906272">https://wiadomosci.wp.pl/bronie-programu-edukacji-zdrowotnej-to-projekt-dobry-takze-z-perspektywy-katolickiej-opinia-7092926951906272</a> , last access: 23.01.2025.

## ORIGINAL RESEARCH PROJECTS

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C15	Ignaciuk, M. Edukacja zdrowotna to prawo ucznia do rzetelnej wiedzy. [Health education is a student's right to reliable knowledge.] <a href="https://strefaedukacji.pl/edukacja-zdrowotna-to-prawo-ucznia-do-rzetelnej-wiedzy-nowy-przedmiot-poprawi-sytuacje-polakow/ar/c5-18978641">https://strefaedukacji.pl/edukacja-zdrowotna-to-prawo-ucznia-do-rzetelnej-wiedzy-nowy-przedmiot-poprawi-sytuacje-polakow/ar/c5-18978641</a> , last access: 1.01.2025.
C16	Edukacja zdrowotna będzie przedmiotem nieobowiązkowym. [Health education will be an optional subject.] <a href="https://www.bankier.pl/wiadomosc/Nowacka-W-2025-r-edukacja-zdrowotna-bedzie-przedmiotem-nieobowiazkowym-8877203.htm">https://www.bankier.pl/wiadomosc/Nowacka-W-2025-r-edukacja-zdrowotna-bedzie-przedmiotem-nieobowiazkowym-8877203.htm</a> , last access: 1.02.2025.

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