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Judges in Polish Newspaper Headlines in 2022: A Contribution to the Media Image of the Judge

Sędziowie na pierwszych stronach gazet w 2022 r. Przyczynek do medialnego obrazu sędziego

ABSTRACT

The study fits within the scope of research on the media image of judges, which is part of a larger media image of the world. The relevance of the subject of research results from the position and significance of judges for the functioning of society and the state, as well as the interdependence between the functioning of the profession of judge, its prestige and the so-called public opinion. The aim of the article is a reconstruction of the image of the judge (its properties and relationships between these properties), the carrier of which are front pages of newspapers. Having found it reasonable to restrict the source base to paper issues of national daily newspapers representative for the Polish newspaper market, issued in 2022, the following three titles have been analysed: "Dziennik Gazeta Prawna", "Gazeta Wyborcza" and "Nasz Dziennik". These analyses allowed to: identify the properties attributed to judges in each periodical and structure them; observe the identity of the linguistic measures and devices used in the newspapers in question to shape the image of the judge and concurrently the

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different nature of images of the judge shaped on the front pages of the newspapers under research; conclude that, in all the titles examined, the images of the judge as a personal embodiment of the court (which is not always properly differentiated) are not a reflection of reality, but an interpretation thereof, and are a collection of subjective and emotionally related characteristics.

Keywords: judge; court; media image of the judge; Dziennik Gazeta Prawna; Gazeta Wyborcza; Nasz Dziennik

INTRODUCTION

We treat our article as a partial discussion of a broader problem of the media image (hereinafter: MI) of the judge, which is a component of the media image of the world (hereinafter: MIW). We aim to describe the image of the judge, which is carried by a strictly defined fragment of the media coverage. In order to achieve this goal, we wanted not only to select a list of properties that are being attributed to judges, but also to examine the issue of consistency of this image. In order to justify such a goal, it is necessary to formulate assumptions concerning both the significance of the topic addressed and the selection of the subject of analysis. The methodological basis of the article also needs to be determined.

JUSTIFICATION OF THE RELEVANCE OF THE RESEARCH SUBJECT

The relevance of the issue of the MI of the judge is determined by three premises. (1) Observation of the significance of the profession of judge for the functioning of society and the state, and interrelated assumptions of (2) the influence of the so-called public opinion on the functioning of the profession of judge and (3) the correlation between the MI of a judge and the shape of public opinion regarding the profession of judge,[1] which can be treated as interdependent variables affecting the prestige of this profession.[2]

It seems that only the first of these conditions can be regarded as manifest one. It is linked with the role and position of the judge related to the tasks assigned to them. Judges are public officials, representatives of the judiciary, who perform judicial function within justice administration exercised by courts.[3] This prejudges

[1] For example, see J. Wasilewski, *Mechanizmy medialne a wizerunek sądu w Polsce z 2010 roku*, [in:] *Współczesne media. Wolne media?*, vol. 2: *Oddziaływanie mediów*, eds. I. Hofman, D. Kępa-Figura, Lublin 2010, pp. 187–196.

[2] Cf. S. Pilipiec, M. Kępa, *The Prestige of Legal Professions among Students of Law and the Intention to Practice These Professions*, "Studia Iuridica Lublinensia" 2019, vol. 28(4), pp. 65–87.

[3] Article 2 § 1 of the Act of 27 July 2001 – Law on the system of common courts (consolidated text, Journal of Laws 2023, item 1429) in conjunction with Article 175 (1) of the Constitution of the

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the important role for the democratic state ruled by law, the Republic of Poland, played not only by courts as institutions, but also by judges as those who adjudicate in matters falling within the jurisdiction of courts.[4] This was reflected in the definition in the Polish Constitution not only of fundamental principles concerning courts administering justice in the Republic of Poland but also of the position and guarantees vested in the judge. Judges are independent in the exercise of their office and are subject only to the Polish Constitution and statutory laws.[5] Judicial independence is a complex category with differentiated normatively defined guarantees. These may be briefly listed as apoliticism, incompatibility of posts, judicial immunity or proper remuneration.[6] The status of a judge is also determined by constitutionally defined: appointment, non-removability, admissibility of judge dismissal and transfer to another position.[7]

The other two grounds for the conviction of the significance of the issue of the MI of the judge need to be proven, but their verification goes beyond the aims of our article.[8]

An argument, important for the study, confirming the validity of the assumption (3) is the 2022 CBOS survey on the respondents' beliefs regarding what influences their opinion on Polish courts and the judiciary. As we can see in the chart (see Figure 1), 52% of respondents, answering the question "Are your views on Polish courts and judges based primarily on…?", chose the answer "information from television, newspapers, the Internet".

Republic of Poland of 2 April 1997 (Journal of Laws 1997, no. 78, item 483, as amended) and Article 115 § 13 (3) *in principio* of the Act of 6 June 1997 – Criminal Code (consolidated text, Journal of Laws 2022, item 1138, as amended). See also S. Tkacz, *Sędzia jako osoba sprawiająca „wymiar sprawiedliwości"*, "Przegląd Prawa i Administracji" 2017, vol. 110, pp. 177–203.

[4] Article 2 of the Polish Constitution; W. Sokolewicz, M. Zubik, *Uwagi do art. 2 Konstytucji RP*, [in:] *Konstytucja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. Komentarz*, eds. L. Garlicki, M. Zubik, Warszawa 2016, p. 109.

[5] Article 178 (1) of the Polish Constitution. Cf. P. Wiliński, P. Karlik, *Uwagi do art. 178 Konstytucji RP*, [in:] *Konstytucja RP*, vol. 2: *Komentarz art. 87–243*, eds. M. Safjan, L. Bosek, Warszawa 2016, pp. 1007–1039 and the literature referred to therein; judgment of the Constitutional Tribunal of 24 June 1999, K 3/98, LEX no. 33153; judgment of the Constitutional Tribunal of 9 March 2016, K 47/15, LEX no. 2001897.

[6] Article 103 (2), Article 178 (2) and (3), and Article 181 of the Polish Constitution.

[7] Article 179, Article 180 (1) and (2), and Article 2 of the Polish Constitution. Cf. T. Ereciński, J. Gudowski, J. Iwulski, [in:] *Prawo o ustroju sądów powszechnych. Ustawa o Krajowej Radzie Sądownictwa. Komentarz*, ed. J. Gudowski, Warszawa 2009, p. 182 ff.

[8] Cf. J. Czapska, *Wizerunek sądu w opinii społecznej*, [in:] *Sądy w opinii społeczeństwa polskiego*, eds. M. Borucka-Arctowa, K. Pałecki, Kraków 2003, pp. 13–70.

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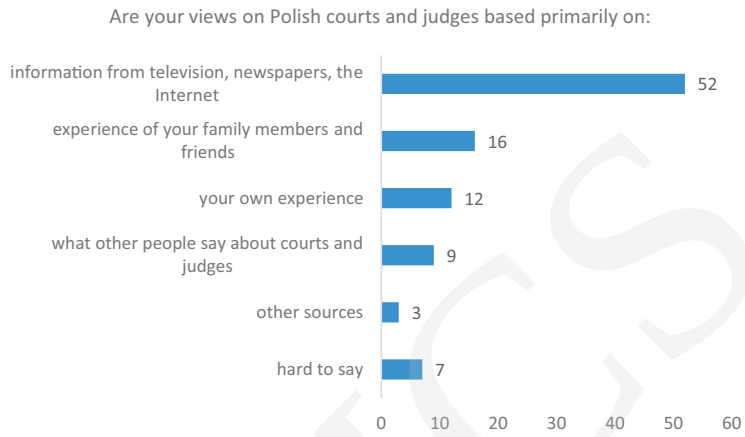


Figure 1. Conviction on the source of one's views on Polish courts and judges in the opinion of CBOS survey respondents (%)

Source: Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej (CBOS), *Społeczne oceny wymiaru sprawiedliwości*, June 2022, https://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2022/K_095_22.PDF (access: 15.4.2023), p. 7.

REASONS FOR THE CHOICE OF THE SUBJECT OF ANALYSIS

Narrowing our interest in the MI of the judge to the issue of the image contained on the front pages of the Polish newspapers of 2022, we were guided by the need to develop that part of the MI of judges which reflects its current specificity and which has the greatest social impact.

When choosing the type of medium, we focused on the press, because – as one can read in *PBC AUDIT Report* – "the press has the greatest influence on the formation of opinion in Poland. In 2022, in a ranking of the most opinion-forming media conducted by the Institute of Media Monitoring, the press had as much as 33% in terms of citation figures, TV 27%, internet portals and radio – 20% each".[9]

In limiting of the perspective on the Polish press market to daily newspapers, we were guided by two considerations: (1) the fact that dailies have the largest share of the Polish press market[10] and (2) the fact that the frequency of their publication makes them, on the one hand, the most sensitive barometer of public discourse and, on the other hand, a tool of systematic social influence.

[9] Polskie Badania Czytelnictwa, *Raport AUDYT PBC (dawniej ZKDP). Rozpowszechnianie Tytułów Prasowych w 2022 r.*, https://www.pbc.pl/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/Raport_Audyt_PBC_2022.pdf (access: 10.4.2023), p. 2.

[10] *Ibidem*.

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From the Polish daily press, we have chosen three titles: "Dziennik Gazeta Prawna", "Gazeta Wyborcza" and "Nasz Dziennik".[11] We were guided by, firstly, the formal conditions of publication of the press, such as the time of presence on the publishing market and the reach of distribution. We have chosen these journals because of their long-term presence on the market (GW since 1989, NS since 1998 and DGP since 2009) and nationwide coverage. Secondly, we have taken into account the thematic and pragmatic variables that differentiate press discourse, because they determine the relationship between the MIW and the reality covered by the media. Thus, the combination of the Catholic-nationalist ND and the liberal (centro-liberal) GW allows us to take into account the ideological diversity of press discourse. On the other hand, we decided to compare both of these general newspapers with DGP, a daily which is not distinguished by an ideological profile, but by a thematic profile (law and economics), to examine how the MI of the judge is dependent on the thematic specificity of its medium.

Therefore, we have analysed press titles that have a daily and long-term impact on established audience groups. These are probably titles with high opinion-forming potential. An additional confirmation of the opinion-forming nature of two of the three titles under consideration – GW and DGP – are the results of Polish Reading Research' report (Pol. Polskie Badania Czytelnictwa; formerly Press Distribution Control Association [Pol. Związek Kontroli Dystrybucji Prasy]) on the distribution of press titles in 2022, a tool that has been present for almost 30 years as a source of information for the advertising market (see Table 1), as well as the results of press citation research (called opinion-forming studies) conducted by the Institute of Media Monitoring (Pol. Instytut Monitorowania Mediów), showing the position of GW and DGP in relation to broadcasters representing various media channels (see Figure 2) and in a ranking limited to press broadcasters (see Figure 3).

Table 1. Sales of nationwide daily newspaper editions in 2022 – results of the Polish Reading Research' report

Titles	Paid			Free of charge
	sales of an issue	sales of a printed issue	sales of e-issue	free distribution of an issue
Nationwide dailies – the sum of average values	384,886	334,783	50,104	–
"Fakt Gazeta Codzienna"	138,160	137,919	241	–
"Super Express"	80,433	80,196	237	–
"Gazeta Wyborcza"	48,133	46,764	1,368	–
"Rzeczpospolita"	34,057	19,852	14,205	–
"Dziennik Gazeta Prawna"	31,139	14,838	16,301	–
"Gazeta Podatkowa"	20,604	16,323	4,281	–

[11] Due to the need of frequent mentioning these titles, we use the following acronyms: "Dziennik Gazeta Prawna" – DGP, "Gazeta Wyborcza" – GW, "Nasz Dziennik" – ND.

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Titles	Paid			Free of charge
	sales of an issue	sales of a printed issue	sales of e-issue	free distribution of an issue
"Przegląd Sportowy"	15,629	14,360	1,269	–
"Puls Biznesu"	13,137	3,097	10,041	–
"Parkiet Gazeta Giełdy"	3,594	1,434	2,161	–

Source: Polskie Badania Czytelnictwa, *Raport AUDYT PBC (dawniej ZKDP). Rozpowszechnianie Tytułów Prasowych w 2022 r.*, https://www.pbc.pl/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/Raport_Audyt_PBC_2022.pdf (access: 10.4.2023), p. 3.

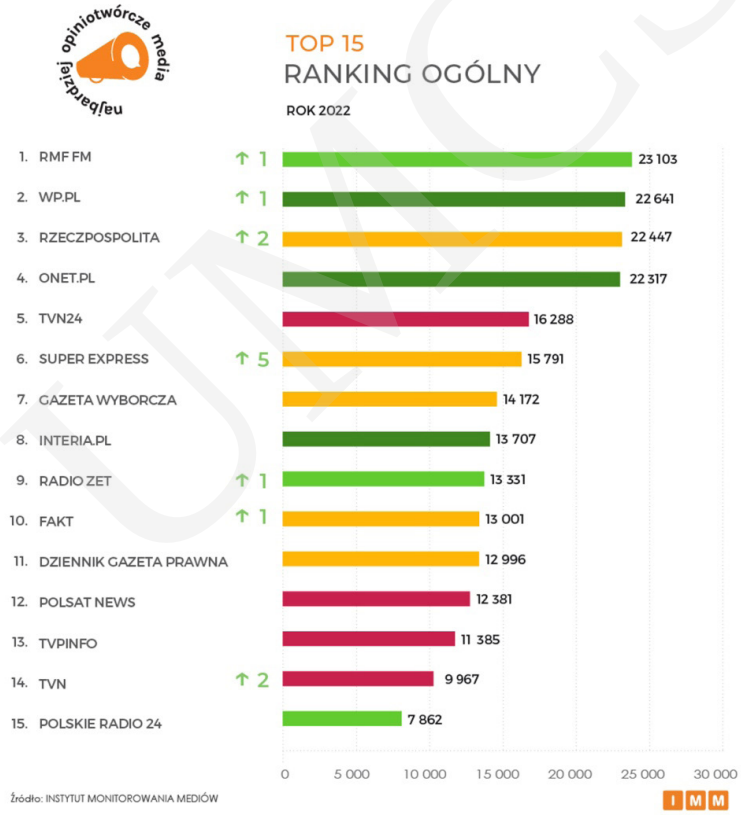


Figure 2. Results of press citations research – general ranking

Source: Instytut Monitorowania Mediów, *RMF FM najbardziej opiniotwórczym tytułem mediowym 2022 roku*, 7.2.2023, https://www.imm.com.pl/rmf-fm-najbardziej-opiniotworczym-tytulem-mediowym-2022-roku (access: 10.4.2023).

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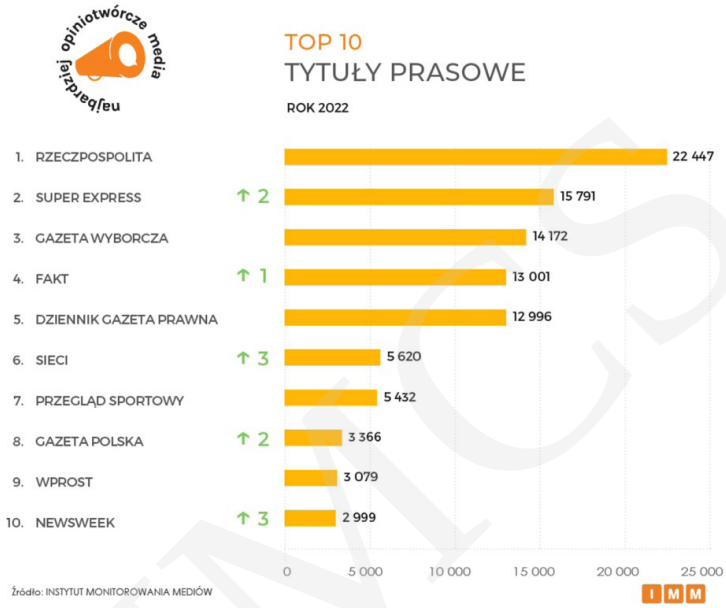


Figure 3. Results of press citations research – top 10 press titles

Source: Instytut Monitorowania Mediów, *RMF FM najbardziej opiniotwórczym tytułem mediowym 2022 roku*, 7.2.2023, https://www.imm.com.pl/rmf-fm-najbardziej-opiniotworczym-tytulem-mediowym-2022-roku (access: 10.4.2023).

Although analogous data on readership and citations regarding ND are not published, we still wanted to perform an analysis of this title due to its ideologically distinct profile.

We have limited temporally and spatially the analysis of GW, ND and DGP to the first pages of their 2022 paper issues. We have reviewed paper issues because access to them is not subject to digital exclusion. We have analysed issues of 2022 (i.e. the last full calendar year), because studies on opinion-forming of the press market are conducted in annual cycles. We limited ourselves to analysing front pages of these issues, because, as M. Ślawska synthetically puts it, the newspaper's front page

> is a formula that navigates through reality and what the reader can find inside a given issue. (…) It is the point of first contact with the description of the events presented in the newspaper – a transmitter of the adopted vision of reality of a particular group of people, the editorial board and the journalists working there. The front page is a presentation of a certain point of view and the own "interests" of the editorial board and the publisher (…). [It brings] specific content and an appropriately differentiated axiological and emotional load. In the macro-structure of the first page, there is a kind of control of the perception of the text, but also of reality.[12]

[12] M. Ślawska, *Pierwsze strony dzienników ogólnopolskich – przestrzeń radykalizacji?*, [in:] *Transmedialne i multimodalne narracje i dyskursy w obliczu zagrożeń cywilizacyjnych. Radykaliza-*

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The importance of textual and pragmatic tasks of the front page for the research interested in the perspective of the press broadcaster, is evidenced – as noted by press researcher M. Wojtak – by the meticulousness with which this fragment of newspapers is prepared.[13] This meticulousness can be considered as proof of the purposeful nature of the way of talking about reality on front pages.

Concluding the justification for the choice of the subject of the analysis, it is necessary to address the question of classification of texts from the front pages of GW, ND and DGP in 2022 as components of the source base. In creating this base, due to the similarity of the legal and media identification of the relationship of the categories of "judge" and "court", we have selected texts whose subject was a judge or court. The legal literature, which holds a professional-scientific-normative perspective on the view of reality, includes the view that judges are representatives of the judiciary, as they perform the tasks as part of justice administration exercised by courts as institutions. For this reason, judges are regarded as the subjective substrate (embodiment) of the court.[14] The media version of this relationship is shown in journalistic accounts, as they depend not only on a professional perspective, but also on a common-man perspective.[15] In media texts, the concepts of "judge" and "court" are not properly distinguished. On the contrary, they are often equated. This is also reflected in the cited studies on social evaluations of the judiciary (see Figure 1).

METHODOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE ANALYSIS

The methodological basis of the article is a combination of legal and mediolinguistic perspectives. The first is manifested by the fact of being rooted in the knowledge of the status and functioning of the legal reality entities (including the status of the judge and the relationship between the personal and institutional aspects of the functioning of the judicial system). The second is manifested by

cja języka i postaw Polaków w XXI wieku, eds. I. Kawka, W. Prażuch, M. Ślawska, Kraków 2023, pp. 236–237.

[13] See M. Wojtak, *Konfiguracja gatunkowa charakterystyczna dla pierwszej strony gazety*, [in:] *W kulturze pierwszych stron*, eds. I. Borkowski, A. Woźny, Wrocław 2005, p. 37; T. Piekot, *Pierwsza strona gazety jako komunikat*, Wrocław 2005; M. Ślawska, *Przestrzeń pierwszej strony gazety na przykładzie lokalnych dodatków „Dziennika Zachodniego"*, [in:] *Komunikowanie lokalno-regionalne w dobie społeczeństwa medialnego. Problemy teoretyczno-praktyczne*, eds. S. Michalczyk, K. Brzoza, vol. 1, Katowice 2018.

[14] As in, e.g., M. Grzymisławska-Cybulska, *Bezstronność sądu i sędziego jako element budowania zaufania do władzy sądowniczej*, "Przegląd Sejmowy" 2017, no. 5, pp. 15–31; decision of the Supreme Administrative Court of 16 October 2012, I OSK 1886/12, LEX no. 1269635; decision of the Supreme Administrative Court of 17 October 2012, I OSK 1876/12, LEX no. 1325008; decision of the Supreme Court of 16 October 2016, I NOZP 2/19, LEX no. 2749005.

[15] K. Daniel, *Normatywny i społeczny obraz sędziego*, [in:] *Sądy…*, pp. 89–147.

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the use of the category of MIW, understood as "a kind of interpretation of the so-called real world"[16] and of R. Tokarski's rule of internal motivation of connotation traits,[17] adopted by mediolinguistics from the methodology of the linguistic image of the world for the purposes of research on the MIW.[18] According to the logic of the inner motivation of connotation traits, the individual properties of the image of the judge are in semantic relationships, motivate each other and determine the direction of development of the meaning of the word *judge*, and thus the direction of development of associations linked with the fragment of reality being described.

As a consequence, the article uses both the methods developed in legal sciences, as well as press-studies and linguistic methods characteristic of mediolinguistics as a subdiscipline of social communication and media sciences and linguistics. The use of classical methods developed in legal sciences, mainly the formal-dogmatic method, which uses the rules of not only linguistic but also teleological and systemic interpretation, allowed an analysis of constitutional and statutory regulations governing the position and tasks of judges and courts. The fact of taking into account the concept of separation of powers and the location of judicial power, as well as the related judicial independence[19] are a consequence of the application of the legal-theoretical method. In turn, when describing the image of the judge, carried by front pages of the thematically diverse and ideologically polarized dailies, we took into account methodological solutions developed on the basis of the press studies (analysis of the content of the press), on the linguistic basis (semantic and pragmatic qualitative analysis developed for the linguistic description of the world image), as well as on the basis of independent media-linguistic research (multimodal analysis). These methods made it possible to describe the associations about a given fragment of reality, to determine the intensity of those associations and the degree of explicitness of the judgments about reality which gave rise to those associations. The methods of quantitative and comparative analysis of the first pages of the DGP, GW and ND from 2022 are related to both research methodologies: jurisprudential and non-jurisprudential.

[16] D. Kępa-Figura, *Medialny obraz świata – prolegomena*, [in:] *Interpretácie sveta v jazyku*, eds. P. Káša, R. Tokarski, M. Vojteková, Prešov 2015, p. 142.

[17] Cf. R. Tokarski, *Semantyka barw we współczesnej polszczyźnie*, Lublin 1995, pp. 24–34; idem, *Ramy interpretacyjne a problemy kategoryzacji (przyczynek do tzw. definicji kognitywnej)*, [in:] *Językowa kategoryzacja świata*, eds. R. Grzegorczykowa, A. Pajdzińska, Lublin 1996, p. 104.

[18] For more details on this topic, see D. Kępa-Figura, *Mediolingwistyka otwarta*, Lublin (in preparation).

[19] Cf. judgment of the Constitutional Tribunal of 19 April 1999, K 8/99, LEX no. 36399.

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JUDGES ON THE FRONT PAGES – THE QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE SOURCE BASE

1. Judges on the front pages of DGP in 2022

The analysis of the content of DGP in 2022 showed that the image of the judge is shaped on 19 first pages of the 252 DGP issues analysed. At the same time, in 3 cases out of 19, this topic appears as part of the opening text (i.e. a text whose importance is emphasized by the volume, addition of an image, position on the page, size of lettering), and in two further previews it competes for the reader's attention only with the opening text. All these 19 cases are previews for more detailed articles published in the main part of the daily edition or in thematic supplements.

For the shaping of the image of the judge, the titles in which the topic of interest appeared are already significant (see Table 2).

Table 2. Titles of texts in DGP making up the source base

Title	Date
Sąd Najwyższy z przechwytem	10.1.2022
Jak usunąć sędziego złodzieja	20.1.2022
Sędzia delegowany, wyrok za zabójstwo uchylony	22.2.2022
O sędziach od Sasa do lasa	24.3.2022
TSUE daje oręż sędziom	30.3.2022
Sędziowie bez weryfikacji	28.4.2022
Sędzia frankowicz może orzekać	16.5.2022
I prezes SN krytykuje pomysł na przebudowę sądownictwa	26.5.2022
Spór o majątki sędziów TK na nowych torach	4.7.2022
Abolicja dla sędziów	5.7.2022
Stara izba znika, nowa pod lupą Brukseli	11.7.2022
KPO bez sędziów nie ruszy	26.7.2022
„Tu nie chodzi o żadną praworządność"	8.8.2022
Nie tylko w SN testują sędziów	29.8.2022
Pierwszy taki test w NSA	1.9.2022
Rada legislacyjna ostrzega przed spłaszczeniem sądów	7.9.2022
Sędziowie za 100 punktów	22.9.2022
Wydłużone kadencje sędziów	3.10.2022
Izba jest zgodna z wyrokiem TSUE	7–9.10.2022

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

The analyses of these articles have shown that on the first pages in DGP of 2022, three parallel characteristics are activated, influencing the shaping of the MI of the judge: "judges are politically dependent", "judges who commit common crimes go unpunished", "judges have special privileges". The appearance of other char-

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acteristics – in accordance with the principle of internal motivation of connotative traits – can be treated as their specification (see Table 3).[20]

Table 3. Structure of properties attributed to the judge/court on the front pages of DGP in 2022

[1] "judges are politically dependent"		
	[1a] "judges are divided into the representatives of the 'previous' order and the 'new' order"	
		[1a1] "Polish judges, functioning in the reality of co-occurrence of two orders within the judiciary: the 'previous' and the 'new' one, are mutually conflicted"
		[1a2] "representatives of the new order assessed negatively and those of the previous order – positively"
		[1a3] "representatives of the previous order are under the pressure of the new order in the judiciary"
	[1b] "(Polish) judges are protected by the European Commission"	
[2] "judges commit common crimes or are characterised by traits inconsistent with the expected attribution of the judge as a personal embodiment of the court"		
	[2a] "judges who commit common crimes go unpunished"	
[3] "judges have special privileges"		

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

1.1. DGP – "JUDGES ARE POLITICALLY DEPENDENT"

The characteristic "judges are politically dependent" is introduced in all the publications analysed, but at various levels of explicitness. Namely only in two previews concerning the same thematic thread: in ***Sędziowie bez weryfikacji*** (*Judges Unverified*) – a journalistic statement about the participation of the Minister of Justice in filling judicial posts, and in ***Rada legislacyjna ostrzega przed spłaszczeniem sądów***[21] (*The Legislative Council Warns about the Flattening of the Courts*), which provides an account of the opinion of the Legislative Council presented in the form of reported speech, which is a way of presenting someone's view (see Figure 4).

[20] The boldfaced fragments are all highlighted by the authors. These have been used to distinguish the numbers identifying the place occupied by the characteristic in the structure of properties attributed to the judge/court and the titles of the journalistic publications under analysis.

[21] All the citations are referred to in their original wording.

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Sędziowie bez weryfikacji

SĄDOWNICTWO

Sędziowie sądów rejonowych, okręgowych i apelacyjnych po spłaszczeniu struktury sądownictwa z mocy ustawy staną się sędziami sądu powszechnego, bez weryfikacji. Jednak o tym, gdzie będą orzekać, zdecyduje minister sprawiedliwości. On będzie także decydował o tym, kto awansuje do sądów regionalnych, które zastąpią obecne sądy apelacyjne. ©℗ B6

Rada legislacyjna ostrzega przed spłaszczeniem sądów

SĄDOWNICTWO

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Planowana reforma sądów powszechnych może prowadzić do uznania, że jej celem nie jest poprawa funkcjonowania sądów, lecz jedynie pozbycie się niewygodnej ze względów politycznych grupy sędziów – ostrzega Rada Legislacyjna przy Prezesie Rady Ministrów. Chodzi o projekty autorstwa Ministerstwa Sprawiedliwości, które mają doprowadzić m.in. do spłaszczenia struktury sądownictwa. Zdaniem rady planowane zmiany mogą się spotkać m.in. z zarzutami naruszenia sędziowskiej niezawisłości, co może doprowadzić do konieczności wycofania się przez rząd z projektowanych rozwiązań. Mowa jest również o ryzyku upolitycznienia decyzji dotyczących awansów sędziów. ©℗ B6

Figure 4. Politicisation of judges/courts as an explicit assessment – previews contained on DGP front pages

Source: DGP – from the left [28.4] and [7.9].

In other publications analysed, the characteristic **[1]** appears as a result of linguistic devices that reduce the explicitness of the statement. An example of activating this property at a low level of explicitness is the preview ***Sąd Najwyższy z przechwytem*** (*Supreme Court with Interception*; see Figure 5). The reading of this property is a consequence of presentation of the mechanism of the influence of the Supreme Court's mailroom, i.e. an organisational unit of this institution, on the activity of the Supreme Court. The adoption of the presupposition "judges are politically dependent" is necessary in order to be able to make sense of the practice of forwarding by the mailroom of applications addressed to the President of the Criminal Chamber of the Supreme Court (representing the previous order in the Polish judiciary; hereinafter: CCSC) – as written in the preview – *to one of the two new chambers of the Supreme Court, the Chamber of Extraordinary Control and Public Affairs* (CECPA), or rather in order to be able to understand the position (representing the "new" order) of the First President of the Supreme Court and the President of the CECPA, who consider that *no violations have occurred* as a result of the activities of the mailroom.

At the same time, the characteristic "judges are politically dependent" is linked to a negative assessment that the Polish judiciary may depend on politics. This assessment is followed by two mechanisms activated in the title. First, the incomprehensibility of the word *interception* (Pol. *przechwyt*), the meaning of which is not specified in the context of the syntactically superior expression *Supreme Court*, can be considered a manifestation of breaking Grice's maxim of the method and a signal of initiating a conversational inference[22] leading to the reading of the

[22] On the conversational implicature in one-level (mass) media communication, see D. Kępa-Figura, *Wnioskowanie ukierunkowane kontekstem pragmatycznym w komunikacji medialnej*, [in:]

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property **[1]**. The wording of the preview shows that the nominative determination of the mechanisms of the Supreme Court as an *interception* involves the use of the verb *to intercept* as a definition of the activity performed by the Supreme Court mailroom staff subordinated to the First President of the Supreme Court. Secondly, the use of the word *interception* as a term belonging to the sports jargon (mainly professionals of some team games, e.g. basketball) and the military jargon[23] leads to the inclusion of the subject of the Polish judiciary in the scope of the influence of the conceptual metaphors POLITICS IS SPORT and POLITICS IS WAR.[24] The concept of conceptual metaphor as a mechanism of thinking about reality is a bridgehead for the interpretation of the influence on the MI of the judge of a set of traits motivated by the characteristic **[1a]** "judges are divided into representatives of the 'earlier' order and the 'new' order".



Sąd Najwyższy z przechwytem

SPRAWIEDLIWOŚĆ

Do Izby Karnej SN nie docierają wnioski o wyłączenie sędziego – alarmuje kierownictwo tej izby. Choć są adresowane do prezesa IK SN, przechwytuje je punkt kancelaryjny i przekazuje do jednej z dwóch nowych izb SN – Izby Kontroli Nadzwyczajnej i Spraw Publicznych. Zdaniem Michała Laskowskiego, prezesa IK, dzieje się to w trybie pozaustawowym. Dlatego też skierował on pismo do I prezes SN oraz prezes IKNiSP SN i zażądał oddania skierowanych do Izby Karnej wniosków o wyłączenie sędziego. Adresatki pisma uważają jednak, że do żadnych naruszeń nie doszło. ©℗ B7

Figure 5. Preview *Sąd Najwyższy z przechwytem*

Source: DGP [10.1].

It should be added that distinguishing between the "earlier" and "new" orders is also introduced in the text in a different way – by using the positive-connotation expression *is whistleblowing* to name the actions of representatives of the CCSC (*the management of the (…) Criminal Chamber of the Supreme Court (…) is whistleblow-*

Nowe zjawiska w języku, tekście i komunikacji III. Kontekst a komunikacja, eds. I. Matusiak-Kempa, S. Przybyszewski, Olsztyn 2011, pp. 279–291.

[23] One may read in the web version of *Słownik języka polskiego PWN* that *przechwyt* ("interception") means as follows: "In some team games: interception of a ball in possession of one team by a player of the opposing team" and "detection of an enemy aircraft with the aim of attacking and destroying it" (see https://sjp.pwn.pl/sjp/przechwyt;2509522, access: 10.4.2023).

[24] We refer here to the term "conceptual metaphor" as proposed by G. Lakoff and M. Johnson: "Most of our ordinary conceptual system is metaphorical in nature" which means that "human thought processes are largely metaphorical" and "the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (G. Lakoff, M. Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, Chicago–London 1980, pp. 4–6).

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ing) and by contrasting the importance of the arguments of representatives of the CCSC with arguments of the First President of the Supreme Court and the President of CECPA. While representatives of the "previous" order invoke the authority of the law (*According to Michał Laskowski, the President of the CCSC, this is done in a non-statutory manner*), representatives of the "new" order invoke their own opinion (*The addressees of the letter, however, consider that no infringements have occurred*).



„Tu nie chodzi o żadną praworządność"

WYMIAR SPRAWIEDLIWOŚCI

Pierwsza prezes Sądu Najwyższego w wywiadzie dla DGP ostro **odpowiada Ursuli von der Leyen. Nie zamierza wydawać żadnych zarządzeń wstrzymujących sędziów.** Jednocześnie nie widzi drogi wyjścia z trwającego impasu wokół polskiego sądownictwa na linii rząd–Komisja Europejska

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– Nie rozumiem, dlaczego kara (1 mln euro dziennie – red.) jest naliczana i nie wiem, co zrobić, żeby nie była naliczana. Po ostatnich wypowiedziach Ursuli von der Leyen odnoszę wrażenie, że tu nie chodzi o żadną praworządność – mówi Małgorzata Manowska. W ten sposób odnosi się do słów szefowej Komisji, która w wywiadzie dla DGP powiedziała, że prezydencka nowelizacja ustawy o SN „nie gwarantuje sędziom możliwości kwestionowania statusu innego sędziego bez ryzyka, że zostaną pociągnięci do odpowiedzialności dyscyplinarnej".

Małgorzata Manowska podziela też pogląd wyrażany w Pałacu Prezydenckim, że Komisja przekroczyła czerwoną linię, np. żądając, by każdy sędzia w Polsce mógł „po uważaniu" kontrolować status innego sędziego. – Nie wiem, czy szefowa KE legitymuje się wykształceniem prawniczym, ale jej słowa traktuję jako pewien lapsus, przejęzyczenie – mówi I prezes SN. Zapowiada, że nie zamierza wydawać żadnych zarządzeń wstrzymujących sędziów od orzekania, inaczej niż w zeszłym roku, gdy wstrzymała bieg spraw w kwestionowanej przez TSUE Izbie Dyscyplinarnej.

Właśnie rusza formowanie nowej Izby Odpowiedzialności Zawodowej, która ma

Jutro I prezes SN wylosuje 33 sędziów SN, spośród których prezydent wybierze 11 tworzących nową izbę

zastąpić Izbę Dyscyplinarną. Jutro I prezes SN wylosuje 33 sędziów SN, spośród których prezydent wybierze 11 tworzących nową izbę.

Małgorzata Manowska żałuje też, że większość rządząca nie zdecydowała się na zmiany w KRS, co do której KE również ma wątpliwości. – Niejednokrotnie mówiłam, że osobiście nie podobał mi się sposób wyboru poprzedniej KRS i nie podoba mi się wybór obecnej. Rząd i parlament nie zdecydowały się zmienić ustawy o KRS, choć miałam nadzieję, że tak się stanie. Ale nie dlatego, że KE ma rację, po prostu chciałabym, by to znęcanie się nad Polską wreszcie się zakończyło – zastrzega I prezes SN. – Mam wrażenie, że jak tylko Polska robi pół kroku do tyłu, to jest spychana na krawędź kolejnej przepaści pod pozorem obrony praworządności – kwituje rozmówczyni DGP. ©℗ A2–3

Figure 6. ***„Tu nie chodzi o żadną praworządność"***

Source: DGP [8.8].

As we pointed out at the beginning of this paragraph, in the analysed publications from DGP, the semantically superior characteristic "judges are politically dependent" is further developed with detailed features (**[1a]** and subordinate judgments **[1a1]**, as well as **[1a2]** and **[1a3]**). Some of these features appeared in the preview ***Sąd Najwyższy z przechwytem***, the analysis of which is presented above. Without presenting detailed analyses of the publications within the entire DGP

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source base, we will note the synonyms of the word *judge* appearing in them, which are a clear proof of the influence of the characteristic **[1a]** "judges are divided into representatives of the 'previous' order and the 'new' order" and the properties subordinate to **[1a]** on the image of the judge in DGP. We mean both one-word neologisms and expressions:

- *„dobrozmianowy" prezes sądu* (*the "good-change" [reformist] President of the Court*) – when referring to Dariusz Kliś (in ***Sędzia delegowany, wyrok za zabójstwo uchylony***);
- *Neosędziowie* (*neo-judges*; in ***TSUE daje oręż neosędziom***) and *„nowi" sędziowie* (*"new" judges*; [11.7] – about the judges appointed by the National Council of the Judiciary after its reform of 2017);
- *„starzy" sędziowie* (*"old" judges*; [11.7] – about the judges appointed by the National Council of the Judiciary before its reform of 2017).

It should also be noted that the DGP introduces the characteristic **[1b]** "(Polish) judges are protected by the European Commission". Reading it in the opening text ***„Tu nie chodzi o żadną praworządność"*** (*"This Is Not about Any Rule of Law"*; see Figure 6) requires reception competences that can be expected from readers of this specialist periodical: the ability to distinguish between the content being reported and the positions adopted by the authors of the article.

1.2. DGP – "judges commit common crimes or are characterised by traits inconsistent with the expected attribution of the judge as a personal embodiment of the court" vs. "judges have special privileges"

The characteristics "judges commit common crimes or are characterised by traits inconsistent with the expected attribution of the judge as a personal embodiment of the court" (e.g. bias) appeared in 3 of the 19 DGP publications analysed. In the sphere of semantic presuppositions in the texts ***Jak usunąć sędziego złodzieja*** (*How to Remove a Thief Judge*; here: "judges steal") and ***Abolicja dla sędziów*** (*Abolition for Judges*; cf. *proceedings concerning crimes committed by judges*; *abolition for judges* – "judges commit crimes") and in the sphere of pragmatic presuppositions in the short preview ***Sędzia frankowicz może orzekać*** (*A Judge Who Is a CHF Loan Borrower May Adjudicate*; cf. *The fact that a judge himself has a loan with a bank does not mean a priori that he may not adjudicate in a case in which that bank is a party and the claim is to annul the mortgage contract denominated in CHF* – "a judge can be biased"). In one of the cited publications (***Jak usunąć sędziego złodzieja***), the characteristic "judges who commit common crimes go unpunished" was introduced by means of systemic persuasive devices – interpretive syntax and emotionally charged words (cf. *Despite the fact that Appellate Court Judge Robert W. was validly convicted of stealing memory sticks, he has still not been removed from the profession*).

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The counterbalance for these negative characteristics is the conviction, contained in at least five DGP publications, that "judges have special privileges", echoing the perception of the position of a judge. It is introduced with two types of contexts: when a defined attribution of a judge is assumed and when different types of abuse committed by individual judges are mentioned. Activated at different levels of explicitness, it interacts with other elements of the structure of properties assigned to the judge on the front pages of DGP in 2022. In the preview ***Jak usunąć sędziego złodzieja***, the conviction about the special attributes of the profession of judge included in the area of pragmatic assumptions of the statement: *Some judges of the DC [Disciplinary Chamber] show caution in resolving the disciplinary cases of judges after well-known rulings of international bodies, explains Piotr Falkowski, DC SC spokesman* – is competing with the characteristic "judges are politically dependent". Reading one of these characteristics is a manifestation of the choice of a particular cognitive perspective. On the other hand, in the statement: *The head of the European Commission gave an interview to the DGP in which she believes that the new Act on the judiciary (which entered into force in mid-July) does not guarantee judges the possibility of challenging the status of other judges without risking being held accountable* – taken from the statement ***KPO bez sędziów nie ruszy*** (*The National Reconstruction Plan Will Not Be Launched Without Judges*), the pragmatic presupposition (x) "judges are entitled to the attribute of independence" does not compete with "judges are politically dependent" but rather enters into a causal relationship with it: since (y), one has to fight for keeping (x). In this example, the European Commission is depicted as defending the independence of Polish judges.

The attribution of the image of the judge with the property of independence also occurs as a result of logical argumentation in the preview ***TSUE daje oręż neosędziom*** (cf. e.g. *The mere fact that a judge was appointed in such and not other circumstances does not undermine their impartiality*). In this case, the feature "judges have special privileges", due to the presupposition of the primacy of these privileges, builds a gradation in which the politically conditioned changes in the way the Polish judiciary functions and the resulting internal divisions (cf. *old judges* vs. *neo-judges*), although assessed very negatively by the EU institutions, become (also for these institutions) less important than the attributes statutorily vested in the judge as a personal representative of the court.

Justifications for this attribution are also invoked at a higher level of explicitness – as a result of making an inference based on logical argumentation (cf. from the preview *The First President of the Supreme Court criticises the idea of the reconstruction of the judiciary: The changes planned by the Ministry of Justice in common courts are unacceptable from the perspective of guarantees of the independence of the judiciary*), or even directly (cf. *the reason [for the decision to exclude "Swiss Franc loan bor-*

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rower" judges from adjudicating in Swiss franc loan cases contrary to the resolution of the Supreme Court] is the special constitutional position of the Supreme Court).

2. Judges on the front pages of GW in 2022

The analysis of the content of GW in 2022 showed that the image of the judge is shaped on 21 first pages of the 304 GW issues analysed (see Table 4).

Table 4. Titles of texts in GW making up the source base

Title	Date
Żulczyk nie popełnił przestępstwa	11.1.2022
Ziobryści biorą Izbę	19.1.2022
PiS PRZEGRAŁ W TSUE	17.2.2022
TK IDZIE ŚLADEM PUTINA	11.3.2022
W sprawie neosędziów bez odpowiedzi	23.3.2022
Sekretne majątki	19.4.2022
Pierwszy taki wyrok	3.6.2022
Na seks sama namawiała	14.6.2022
Rząd PiS uciszał sędziego Żurka	17.6.2022
Tajne majątki	1.7.2022
Polska nie wykona wyroku	5.7.2022
PiS ma Trybunał i kroczy drogą putinowskiej Rosji	6.7.2022
Precedensowy wyrok SN	3.8.2022
Julia Przyłębska. WIERNA I SŁABA	6–7.8.2022
PRZYWRÓCONY I... ODSUNIĘTY OD ORZEKANIA	9.8.2022
Sąd krytykuje pozew	7.10.2022
Bunt sędziów	18.10.2022
Tuleya przywrócony do orzekania	30.11.2022
Papierowa niezawisłość	2.12.2022
TK „zainfekowany"	7.12.2022
Idą po KPO	15.12.2022

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

In 7 out of 21 GW publications under analysis, the image of the judge appears as part of the opening text, and in the next two they compete only with the opening texts. Analyses of these 21 texts have shown that three parallel characteristics are activated on the first pages of GW in 2022: "judges are politically dependent", "judges have special privileges" and "judges perform their duties, i.e. they adjudicate – in a right way (when as expected) or in a wrong way (when contrary to the expectation)". In accordance with the principle of internal motivation of connotative features, these characteristics are detailed. The structure of the properties assigned to the judge/court on the front pages of GW in 2022, shaping the MI of the judge is reflected in Table 5.

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Table 5. Structure of properties attributed to the judge/court on the front pages of GW in 2022

[1] "judges are politically dependent"		
	[1a] "judges are divided into the representatives of the 'previous' order and the 'new' order"	
		[1a1] "Polish judges, functioning in the reality of co-occurrence of two orders within the judiciary: the 'previous' and the 'new' one, are mutually conflicted"
		[1a2] "representatives of the new order assessed negatively and those of the previous order – positively"
		[1a3] "representatives of the previous order are under the pressure of the new order in the judiciary"
	[1b] "judges are protected by the Court of Justice of the European Union"	
[2] "judges have special privileges"		
[3] "judges perform their duties, i.e. they adjudicate – in a right way (when as expected) or in a wrong way (when contrary to the expectation)"		

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

2.1. GW – "JUDGES ARE POLITICALLY DEPENDENT"

The characteristic "judges are politically dependent" appears in at least 17 publications out of 21 analysed. "At least", since the reception of the remaining four texts (see Figure 7) may be conditional on considering this characteristic as one to form a pragmatic background of the expression.



Figure 7. Politicisation of judges/courts as part of the pragmatic context – previews from GW front pages

Source: GW – from left [11.1], [3.6], [14.6], [7.12].

The abandonment of the presentation of this analytical thread can be commented on by the observation that, like in the case of DGP, the characteristic "judges are politically dependent" are introduced at different levels of explicitness. What distinguishes GW from DGP is the more frequent introduction of this character-

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istic at a high level of explicitness and the clarity of its negative characterisation. Seven publications can be referred to here, including as many as four opening texts (***Rząd PiS uciszał sędziego Żurka*** [***The PiS Government Has Been Silencing Judge Żurek***], ***PiS ma Trybunał i kroczy drogą putinowskiej Rosji*** [***PiS Holds the Tribunal and Follows the Path of Putin's Russia***], ***Ziobryści biorą Izbę*** [***Ziobro Supporters Take Over a Supreme Court Chamber***], ***Papierowa niezawisłość*** [***Paper Independence***]) and one comprehensive multimodal preview placed over the opening text throughout the width of the front page (***PRZYWRÓCONY I… ODSUNIĘTY OD ORZEKANIA*** [*REINSTATED and… REMOVED FROM ADJUDICATING*]). The explicitness is not only a consequence of introducing the politicisation assessment directly (for example, see the previews presented in Figure 8).



Figure 8. Politicisation of judges/courts as an explicit assessment – previews contained on GW front pages

Source: GW – from left: [23.3], [3.8], [9.8].

It is also ensured by pointing to the side that is responsible for the politicisation, i.e. the government and the PiS party (cf. [17.6] ***Rząd PiS uciszał sędziego Żurka***; *Polish authorities wanted to intimidate Judge Waldemar Żurek*; [6.7] ***PiS ma Trybunał i kroczy drogą putinowskiej Rosji***) and those who represented these institutional participants ([19.1] ***Ziobryści biorą Izbę***; *Zbigniew Ziobro's trusted person*; [2.12] *Zbigniew Ziobro's schoolmate and at the same time the head of the neo-NCJ not fined*; *Judge Elżbieta Jabłońska-Malik (…) allegedly pressed two judges to withdraw the request for imposing a fine on Judge Dagmara Pawełczyk-Woicka [a friend of Zbigniew Ziobro]*).

At the same time, this mechanism is a manifestation of polarisation of the reality depicted in GW through semantically subordinate connotations **[1a]**, **[1a1]**, **[1a2]**,

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[1a3]. A vivid example of co-occurrence of this set of judgments is the opening text, already mentioned herein, ***Rząd PiS uciszał sędziego Żurka*** (see Figure 9).

Wyrok Europejskiego Trybunału Praw Człowieka

Rząd PiS uciszał sędziego Żurka

Polskie władze chciały zastraszyć sędziego Waldemara Żurka, który krytykował reformy sądownictwa – uznał wczoraj Trybunał w Strasburgu. I podkreślił, że obrona praworządności jest obowiązkiem sędziów

Łukasz Woźnicki

Trybunał po raz pierwszy wypowiedział się na temat sankcji, które spadły na polskiego sędziego krytykującego zmiany w sądach wprowadzane przez PiS. Uznał, że Polska naruszyła europejską konwencję praw człowieka. Art. 6, który gwarantuje prawo do sądu, i art. 10 zapewniający swobodę wyrażania opinii.

Orzeczenie wydał siedmioosobowy skład ETPC. Naruszenie prawa do sądu stwierdził sześcioma głosami – przy jednym głosie sprzeciwu. W sprawie naruszania swobody wypowiedzi był jednomyślny.

Bezprawna „reforma"

Waldemar Żurek jest sędzią Sądu Okręgowego w Krakowie. Od lat angażuje się w obronę niezależności sądownictwa. Twarzą sędziowskiego oporu stał się, gdy był rzecznikiem legalnej Krajowej Rady Sądownictwa protestującej przeciw zmianom godzącym w niezależność sądów.

Rada została rozwiązana przez PiS. Rzekomych przedstawicieli sędziów wybrał do Rady Sejm. Celem było upolitycznienie KRS – organu, który ma wpływ na obsadę wszystkich sądów w kraju. Odtąd KRS zaczęła pomagać PiS we wprowadzaniu zmian w sądach.

Żurek – usunięty z KRS prezydencką ustawą z 2017 r. – chciał zakwestionować przed sądem przedwczesne zakończenie swojej kadencji, ale nie miał takiej możliwości.

Wczorajszy wyrok potwierdził, że „reforma" KRS odbyła się z naruszeniem prawa. Nie istniała bowiem żadna procedura pozwalająca usuniętym z Rady sędziom odwołać się od tej decyzji. ETPC orzekł, że skutkowało to „naruszeniem samej istoty prawa do sądu".



FOT. JAKUB WŁODEK

• **Gdy sędzia Żurek zaangażował się w debatę na temat reform, zaintersowały się nim służby**

Podobny wyrok zapadł w marcu w sprawie sędziego NSA Jana Grzędy – również usuniętego z KRS. Rozstrzygnięta w czwartek sprawa była jednak o tyle odmienna, że Żurek zarzucał polskim władzom także naruszenie prawa do swobody wypowiedzi.

Mrożenie debaty

Trybunał uznał ten zarzut za słuszny. Gdy sędzia Żurek zaangażował się w debatę na temat „reform", zainteresowały się nim służby bezpieczeństwa i organy podatkowe. Opis licznych działań podejmowanych przez państwo wobec sędziego znajdziemy w uzasadnieniu wyroku.

„Mając na uwadze kumulację środków podjętych przez władze, wydaje się, że można je scharakteryzować jako strategię mającą na celu zastraszenie (lub nawet uciszenie) skarżącego w związku z poglądami, jakie wypowiedział w obronie praworządności" – podsumował Trybunał. Dodał, że kwestionowane środki niewątpliwie miały „efekt mrożący". Musiały zniechęcać nie tylko skarżącego, lecz także innych sędziów do udziału w debacie.

Adw. Małgorzata Mączka-Pacholak, pełnomocniczka sędziego: – Trybunał zauważył, że prawo do wolności wypowiedzi sędziów w sprawach dotyczących wymiaru sprawiedliwości wręcz koresponduje z obowiązkiem zabierania przez nich głosu w obronie praworządności, gdy jest ona zagrożona.

Sprawa jest jedną z ponad stu podobnych – dotyczących różnych „reform" sądownictwa PiS – którymi zajmuje się Trybunał w Strasburgu. I siódmą rozstrzygniętą. We wszystkich ETPC stwierdzał, że Polska naruszyła konwencję praw człowieka.

ETPC przyznał sędziemu Żurkowi 15 tys. euro zadośćuczynienia, a także kolejne 10 tys. euro zwrotu kosztu postępowania. Wczorajszy wyrok nie jest ostateczny. Polski rząd może się od niego odwołać. ●

• **Więcej ▶ 9**

Figure 9. The set of judgments motivated by the characteristic "judges are divided into representatives of the 'previous' order and the 'new' order" – opening text ***Rząd PiS uciszał sędziego Żurka***

Source: GW [17.6].

Their traces include, firstly, calling the representative of the "earlier" order – Judge Waldemar Żurek, *the face of the judicial resistance, a porte-parole for the* ***lawful*** *National Council of Judiciary protesting against* ***changes*** *compromising the independence of the courts*, while referring to the representatives of the "new" order as *apparent representatives of the judges*.[25] Secondly, verbalising the conviction

[25] The "new" order judges are also referred to on GW front pages as *neo-judges* and *so-called neo-judges* (for example, see [23.3], [5.7], [18.10], [2.12]). In fact, the term "neo-judges" was per-

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about the goal of the actions attributed to the PiS by the GW: *They were aimed at politicising the National Council of the Judiciary, a body which influences the staffing of all courts nationwide*. Since then, the National Council of the Judiciary (NCJ) has started helping the PiS make changes to the courts. Thirdly, calling this action *a "reform" of the NCJ* – the depreciating effect of this categorisation is based on taking the positive word *reform* in quotes.

To conclude this paragraph, one more connotation motivated by the characteristic "judges are politically dependent" must be noted – namely **[1b]** "courts are protected by the Court of Justice of the EU". This connotation is not a mere consequence of the conviction that the Polish judiciary is politicised (cf. ***PiS przegrał w TSUE*** [***PiS Has Lost in the CJEU***]: *The "money for the rule of law" principle is in line with EU law as acknowledged by the EU Court of Justice*; ***Rząd PiS uciszał sędziego Żurka***: *Polish authorities wanted to intimidate Judge Waldemar Żurek, who had criticised judicial reforms, the Strasbourg Court acknowledged yesterday. It also stressed that defending the rule of law is the duty of judges*). It is also semantically linked to the characteristic "judges have special privileges" (cf. paragraph 2.2).

2.2. GW – "judges have special privileges" vs. "judges perform their duties, i.e. they adjudicate (whether in a right or wrong way)"

The feature "judges have special privileges" appears in the structure of the image of the judge from the first pages of GW of 2022 as in the case of the DGP. And, similarly like in the DGP, a trace of gradation appears in the GW between the texts analysed: the feature "judges have special privileges" is more important than "judges are politically dependent". However, in the GW contexts where a trace of this gradation appears, the participation of representatives of the "new" order in the destruction of the attribute of judges' independence is highlighted (for example, cf. the text ***Papierowa niezawisłość***: *There is a suspicion reported of influencing unlawfully the content of a court ruling by Judge Elżbieta Jabłońska-Malik – the head of the appeal section of the District Court in Krakow*), and not the need to respect this attribute as in the DGP (cf. paragraph 1.2).

These manifestations of the conviction about a gradation of the discussed qualities influencing the image of the judge indicate that this conviction is weak, and the property "judges have special privileges" is an attribute treated as an instrument in the fight against politicisation of the Polish judiciary. This interpretation is also confirmed

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suasively explained in one of the opening texts – *people appointed to courts of law at the request of the National Council of the Judiciary politicized by the PiS* [5.7]. On the other hand, judges of the "previous" order are called *judges from before the "good change"* [6.7], *legitimate judges* [19.1], [18.10], or most often simply *judges*.

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by the characteristic **[3]** "judges perform their duties, i.e. they adjudicate" appearing in the analysed GW publications, as its occurrence entails an assessment placed in the sphere of pragmatic presuppositions: "they adjudicate in a right or wrong manner". This observation is based on an analysis of contexts in which rulings are referred to concerning the functioning of judicial institutions or, more broadly, the legal system and the work of its representatives. Resigning from repeating the previously quoted excerpts from the publication, we will cite the three-sentence preview entitled ***Sąd krytykuje pozew*** (***The Court Criticises the Lawsuit***; see Figure 10).


Sąd krytykuje pozew

Pełnomocnik TVP dopuścił się w pozwie wobec Agory plagiatu. Wytknął to sąd, który zresztą cały pozew w sprawie tekstu „Wyborczej" o Jacku Kurskim oddalił ▶9

Figure 10. ***Sąd krytykuje pozew***

Source: GW [7.10].

The statement of a high degree of certainty and assessment potential contained in this preview: *The plenipotentiary of the TVP was guilty of plagiarism in the lawsuit against the Agora company* and the description of the action performed by the court with the verb *to point out* are the signals of the conviction that the public media are dependent on the current government and the introduction of the characteristic "judges perform their duties, i.e. they adjudicate in a right manner".

3. Judges on the front pages of ND in 2022

An analysis of the contents of ND issues published in 2022 showed that the image of the judge is shaped by texts from the first 13 pages of ND of 2022 (out of 303 issues of that daily newspaper; see table 6).

Table 6. Titles of texts in ND making up the source base

Title	Date
Ideologiczny wyrok	3.1.2022
Sąd głuchy na argumenty	25.3.2022
KOMPROMIS W SPRAWIE LIKWIDACJI IZBY DYSCYPLINARNEJ	23.5.2022
Targowica w togach	3.6.2022
TSUE ZAJĄŁ SIĘ SKARGĄ KE NA POLSKĘ	29.6.2022

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Title	Date
Sądy na usługach UE	2–3.7.2022
Zastanawiająca opieszałość TK	28.7.2022
Buta sędziowskiej kasty	30.8.2022
Wyrok przeciw bezpieczeństwu	21.9.2022
Prawda się obroniła	27.9.2022
Wyrok na puszczę	5.10.2022
Nasza misja pro-life trwa [lid: Dziś przypada druga rocznica bezprecedensowego w skali Europy wyroku polskiego Trybunału Konstytucyjnego]	22–23.10.2022

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

As many as 9 of the 13 articles analysed attract the reader's attention: eight as opening texts, and the ninth as a preview, whose location on the page and graphical way of distinction are only less attractive than the opening text.

Analysis of the first pages of ND of 2022 showed that the image of the judge was influenced by two (interrelated) characteristics: "judges are politically dependent" and "judges perform their duties, i.e. they adjudicate – in a right way (when as expected) or in a wrong way (when contrary to the expectation)". The structure of properties that shape the image of the judge on the front pages of ND in 2022 is presented in Table 7.

Table 7. Structure of properties attributed to the judge/court on the front pages of ND in 2022

[1] "judges are politically dependent"	
	[1a] "the (Polish) courts succumb to the policy and ideology of the West"
	[1b] "(Polish and European) judges act contrary to the interests of Poland/Polish State/Polish society"
	[1c] "the judiciary is conflicted"
[2] "judges perform their duties, i.e. they adjudicate – in a right way (when as expected) or in a wrong way (when contrary to the expectation)"	

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

3.1. ND – "JUDGES ARE POLITICALLY DEPENDENT"

The characteristic "judges are politically dependent" is activated in at least 10 of the ND texts analysed, and for the remaining two: ***KOMPROMIS W SPRAWIE LIKWIDACJI IZBY DYSCYPLINARNEJ*** (***COMPROMISE CONCERNING THE DISSOLUTION OF THE DISCIPLINARY CHAMBER***) and ***KOSZTOWNA ZWŁOKA TRYBUNAŁU KONSTUTUCYJNEGO*** (***CONSTITUTIONAL TRIBUNAL'S COSTLY DELAY***) – written with capital letters, according to the convention adopted in the ND – is an element of the context, the knowledge of which is necessary to delineate the interpretative horizon of the community of broadcasting and reception built around ND. It should be noted that distinguishing the characteristic **[1]** "judges are politically dependent" does not show the speci-

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ficity of the image of the judge from the front pages of ND of 2022. Instead, it is determined by the properties **[1a]** and **[1b]**, which make the characteristic **[1]** more detailed, and by the fact that the development of the conviction about the politicisation of the Polish judiciary, specific for DGP and GW, with the characteristic judges are divided into representatives of the "previous" order and the "new" order is replaced in ND by the very general presupposition **[1c]** "the judiciary is conflicted". Significantly, it is presupposed only in one six-word preview ***KOMPROMIS W SPRAWIE LIKWIDACJI IZBY DYSCYPLINARNEJ***, the reading of which is based on knowledge of the meaning of the word *compromise* and knowledge of the course of liquidation of the Disciplinary Chamber.

The properties **[1a]** "(Polish) courts succumb to Western policy and ideology" and **[1b]** "(Polish and European) judges act contrary to the interests of Poland/Polish State/Polish society" – which are a detailed conviction about the politicisation of courts' actions – are closely interrelated. They are articulated most prominently in four opening texts, or indeed in their titles (***Sądy na usługach UE*** [***Courts at EU's Service***], ***Targowica w togach*** [***Traitors in Judge's Robes***], ***Zastanawiająca opieszałość TK*** [***Constitutional Tribunal's Astonishing Sluggishness***], ***Buta sędziowskiej kasty*** [***Arrogance of the Caste of Judges***]) and in one of the brief previews from the thematic section "COURT" (***Ideologiczny wyrok*** [***Ideological Ruling***]). However, in the publication ***Buta sędziowskiej kasty*** (see Figure 11), the image of the judge is shaped as a result of a negative assessment of international judicial associations which, as we read in the lead of the publication analysed, *challenged the decision of the EU Council on the Polish National Reconstruction Plan before the CJEU*, which is considered by the author of the text as a sign of support for the Polish opposition.

The negative evaluation of these associations is evidenced by the way in which they are named, act and identify the motivation for this action. Valuation is introduced not only by the journalistic expression *caste of judges* (due to the negative connotations of the noun *caste*[26]) or the word *arrogance* (in the case where the negative connotation has the status of a defining feature[27]), repeated by the author of the publication after Marcin Romanowski, quoted in the article, who attributes arrogance to international associations of judges. Valuation is also introduced as part of quoted statements made by people who can be considered as authorities in view of ND's ideological profile. Firstly, it is a consequence of calling the activities of international judicial associations by Adam Andruszkiewicz, Secretary of State in the Chancellery of the Prime Minister, *an unacceptable interference (…) in our national affairs*. Sec-

[26] Caste is a social group distinguished from others by privileges, material status or profession (see *Kasta*, https://wsjp.pl/haslo/podglad/10389/kasta, access: 10.4.2023).

[27] Arrogance is "the quality of someone who is overconfident and behaves haughtily, being convinced that he is better than others and has other rights" (see *Buta*, https://wsjp.pl/haslo/podglad/3807/buta, access: 10.4.2023).

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ondly, it is also introduced as a quotation from Marcin Romanowski (see Figure 11). At the same time, quoting is not a way of distancing oneself from the opinions contained in the citation, but of highlighting their importance. This is evidenced, among other things, by the elevation of Marcin Romanowski to the position of authority by mentioning his academic degree and position in the government, as well as by the value-laden description of the verbal activity of this authority by means of the verb *to observe* in the stylistic sense of "to say".



UNIA EUROPEJSKA

Buta sędziowskiej kasty

Unijne organizacje sędziowskie zaskarżyły do TSUE decyzję Rady UE w sprawie polskiego KPO

Rafał Stefaniuk

Trudno zliczyć, ile to już razy polska opozycja wspierana była przez zachodnie instytucje. Tym razem cztery międzynarodowe organizacje sędziowskie uważają, że polski „Krajowy plan odbudowy" powinien zostać unieważniony. Z wnioskiem w tej sprawie zwróciły się więc do Trybunału Sprawiedliwości Unii Europejskiej. Jak twierdzą, zobowiązania nałożone na Polskę w tzw. kamieniach milowych ignorują wyroki TSUE w sprawie sądownictwa. Uznały tym samym, że reforma Sądu Najwyższego opracowana przez prezydenta Andrzeja Dudę jest niewystarczająca.

– To jest niedopuszczalna ingerencja organizacji międzynarodowych w nasze krajowe sprawy. Źródłem prawa w Polsce jest Konstytucja, a nasz Naród nigdy nie uzna zwierzchności instytucji unijnych. Minęły już czasy, gdy obcy dyktowali nam treść ustaw lub wystawiali instrukcje, pouczając nas, w którym kierunku mają iść kluczowe dla przyszłości państwa polskiego reformy – mówi „Naszemu Dziennikowi" Adam Andruszkiewicz, sekretarz stanu w Kancelarii Prezesa Rady Ministrów.

Europejscy sędziowie są zdania, że wyroki TSUE muszą być wprowadzane w życie natychmiast i w całości. Z kolei tzw. kamienie milowe wynegocjowane między Komisją Europejską a rządem Mateusza Morawieckiego nie wpisują się w tę zasadę. Wskazano m.in., że sędziowie, zawieszeni decyzją nieistniejącej już Izby Dyscyplinarnej, nie zostali jeszcze przywróceni do pracy, a tzw. kamienie milowe pozwalają na odrębne postępowanie w ich sprawie. Toteż – według nich – Rada UE podjęła niezgodną z prawem decyzję o akceptacji polskiego KPO. – Każdy już dostrzega, że w tym konflikcie nie chodzi o żadną praworządność, tylko nienawiść wobec polskiego Narodu, który rozumie, czym jest odrębna, oparta na chrześcijańskich korzeniach tożsamość narodowa i państwowa suwerenność: polityczna, ekonomiczna czy energetyczna. To pokaz buty i próba siły, aby tę tożsamość i suwerenność zniszczyć – podnosi w rozmowie z nami dr Marcin Romanowski, wiceminister sprawiedliwości. □

Mamy do czynienia z niedopuszczalną ingerencją organizacji międzynarodowych w nasze krajowe sprawy

Dokończenie na s. 3

Figure 11. Opening text ***Buta sędziowskiej kasty***

Source: ND [30.8].

Without going into a detailed analysis of the remaining publications, in which the characteristics **[1a]** "the (Polish) courts succumb to the policy and ideology of the West" and **[1b]** "judges act contrary to the interests of Poland/Polish State/Polish society" are introduced, we should note their most prominent verbal examples. Prominent not only because of the high level of explicitness of the assessment introduced, but also because they are components of the titles of the analysed publications. An example of this may be the labelling of Polish judges as *targowica*

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(after the Targowica Confederation of 1792 convened with backing of the Russian Empire to counter reformist efforts undertaken by the then Polish government) used to describe "persons considered by the speaker to be traitors to the nation"[28] (cf. ***Targowica w togach***), the use of the phrase *to be at the service of* as a way to formulate an unverifiable assessment of the actions of courts which, as we read in the lead, *dismissed resolutions to hold off the lgbt ideology* (cf. ***Sądy na usługach UE***), and the negatively charged word *ideological* as a grammatical modifier characterising the Ostrołęka Regional Court ruling (cf. ***Ideologiczny wyrok***), as well as the presumption in the title ***Zastanawiająca opieszałość TK*** about the political and ideological dependence of the Constitutional Tribunal, which in two years has not issued a ruling on – as it is written in the publication – *the compatibility of the Convention of the Council of Europe on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence with the Polish Constitution*.

3.2. ND – "judges perform their duties, i.e. they adjudicate – in a right way (as expected) or in a wrong way (contrary to the expectation)"

The most explicit examples of the activation in ND of the characteristic **[2]** "judges perform their duties, i.e. they adjudicate – in a right way (as expected) or in a wrong way (contrary to the expectation)" are titles of six texts which contain an assessment of judicial decisions. Without going into a thorough analysis, the titles of the opening text – ***Wyrok przeciw bezpieczeństwu*** (***Judgment against Security***), the publication competing with the opening text – ***Sąd głuchy na argumenty*** (***A Court Deaf to Arguments***) and a brief preview ***Ideologiczny wyrok*** can be regarded as an expression of a negative assessment of judicial decisions. However, one should examine more carefully the surprising title ***Wyrok na Puszczę*** (***Judgment against the Forest***). In this case, the assessment arises from reading a wordplay based on the ambiguity of the word *judgment*. The primary, in the context of court activity, meaning of the word *judgment* as a "decision of a judge or judicial panel, constituting a ruling in criminal or civil trial" – competes with the meaning as an "irrefutable and unfavourable opinion on a certain issue"[29] activated by the introduction of a syntactic connectivity *judgment* – against someone, something: *against the Forest* (i.e. the Białowieża Forest – cf. the lead *The Białowieża Forest faces further devastation*. *This is the result of a ruling of the court that upheld the ideological demands of the so-called environmental organisation*).

Interestingly, the positive assessment of court decisions is only suggested in ND titles. In the publication titled ***Nasza misja pro-life trwa*** (***Our Pro-Life Mission Continues***), it appears as a result of recalling one of the symptoms of the effectiveness

[28] See *Targowica*, https://wsjp.pl/haslo/podglad/90092/targowica (access: 10.4.2023).
[29] Cf. *Wyrok*, https://wsjp.pl/haslo/podglad/18114/wyrok (access: 10.4.2023).

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of the title mission: *On 22 October 2020, the Constitutional Tribunal increased the legal protection of conceived children, abolishing the so-called eugenic condition, as a result of which thousands of children suspected of illness had lost their lives every year*. On the other hand, the title of another opening text ***Prawda się obroniła*** (***Truth Has Defended Itself***), which is a reference to the expression *truth defends itself*, although it is the first signal of a positive assessment of the court's action, and at the same time it is a signal of diminishing the role of its judicial activity.

The discussion of the characteristic introduced in ND "judges perform their duties, i.e. they adjudicate – in a right way (as expected) or in a wrong way (contrary to the expectation)" is a juxtaposition of two of the quoted texts: ***Sąd głuchy na argumenty*** and ***Prawda się obroniła*** (see Figure 12).



Sąd głuchy na argumenty

Mimo uznania przez sądy administracyjne zasadności decyzji odmawiającej Watchdog Polska informacji publicznej dyrektor finansowy Fundacji Lux Veritatis Lidia Kochanowicz-Mańk została skazana.

Obrona wskazuje, że sąd nie poruszył żadnego ważnego zagadnienia, które podnosiła. Dla prawników zaskakujące i trudne do akceptacji jest to, że o co innego się oskarża, a za co innego się skazuje.

Wyrok nie jest prawomocny.

s. 6

PRAWO

Prawda się obroniła

Sąd Okręgowy w Warszawie uchylił wyrok skazujący Lidię Kochanowicz-Mańk, dyrektora finansowego Fundacji Lux Veritatis, i umorzył sprawę

Zenon Baranowski

Wczoraj odbyła się rozprawa odwoławcza od haniebnego wyroku skazującego Lidię Kochanowicz-Mańk na 3 miesiące pozbawienia wolności w zawieszeniu na rok. Sąd podzielił zarzuty podnoszone przez obronę i prokuraturę w złożonych apelacjach, że stowarzyszenie Watchdog Polska nie było uprawnione do wniesienia aktu oskarżenia dotyczącego naruszenia ustawy o informacji publicznej. Sędzia Iwona Konopka w ustnym uzasadnieniu wyroku stwierdziła, że akt oskarżenia był niedopuszczalny. – Stowarzyszenie nie ma statusu pokrzywdzonego i nie było podmiotem uprawnionym do złożenia aktu oskarżenia subsydiarnego. Powinno to skutkować umorzeniem postępowania – dodała.

Sprawa dotyczy 2016 roku, kiedy Sieć Obywatelska Watchdog Polska zaczęła domagać się informacji publicznej i nigdy nie została przez Fundację Lux Veritatis zlekceważona. – Od samego początku twierdziłam, że ta sprawa nie powinna trafić na wokandę sądu karnego, że nigdy nie powinnam być oskarżoną.

Stowarzyszenie Watchdog Polska nie było uprawnione do wniesienia aktu oskarżenia przeciwko Fundacji Lux Veritatis

Ten wyrok to jednoznacznie potwierdził. Tutaj tyle było tych argumentów, które były oczywiste, i ten wyrok nie mógł być inny – mówi nam Lidia Kochanowicz-Mańk.

Mecenas Paweł Panek stwierdza, że ten akt oskarżenia można w tej sytuacji uznać za nadużycie. – Trzeba będzie przeanalizować to zdarzenie. Zastanowić się nad kontekstem społecznym, być może politycznym. Ważne jest, że sąd okręgowy stanął po stronie i Fundacji, i ojców, i po stronie prokuratora, ważne było tutaj stanowisko prokuratora, które również sąd potwierdził, że żadne dobro Watchdoga nie zostało naruszone. Nigdy ta sprawa nie powinna trafić do sądu – wyjaśnia prawnik w rozmowie z „Naszym Dziennikiem".

Cała sprawa pokazuje, że chciano uderzyć w katolickie Radio Maryja i dzieła przy nim powstałe. – To służyło temu, żeby zniechęcić ludzi do wspierania Fundacji. Stowarzyszenie Watchdog dokładnie zdaje sobie sprawę z tego, że ograniczenie darowizn naszych słuchaczy, telewidzów może spowodować problemy w funkcjonowaniu Fundacji, i nie wiem, czy to nie był najważniejszy cel Watchdoga – zauważa Lidia Kochanowicz-Mańk. □

Dokończenie na s. 3

Figure 12. ND – "judges perform their duties, i.e. they adjudicate – in a right way (as expected) or in a wrong way (contrary to the expectation)"

Source: ND – from left: [25.3], [27.9].

The sentence convicting the financial director of the Lux Veritatis Foundation was assessed as *disgraceful*, which is a manifestation of the fact that the *Court [is] deaf to arguments*. On the other hand, the dismissal of this judgment was considered a manifestation of the power of truth (cf. the title ***Prawda się obroniła***).

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CONCLUSIONS

Our conclusions regarding the MI of the judge are based on the observation that in many publications of the source database, the concepts of court and judge are not differentiated. These conclusions are of a dual nature – they refer to the form, the choice of which determined the shape of the MI of the judge and to the properties of this image.

Messages shaping the image of the judge in 2022 were published slightly more often on front pages of DGP (in 19 out of 252 issues) and GW (in 21 out of 304 issues) than of ND (in 13 out of 303 issues). This could indicate that the "power" of influence in the creation of the MI of the judge is slightly less than in the case of DGP and GW. However, this conclusion weakens the observation regarding the form of publication of the texts under analysis. While in DGP the judge/court matters appeared three times as part of an opening text and two times in previews competing for the reader's attention only with the opening text, in ND – eight opening texts and one preview almost equivalent to the opening text, that is, similarly to GW, in which it appeared in seven opening texts and in two publications competing only with the opening texts. This analysis therefore showed that the issues related to the judiciary were equally often treated by both GW and ND as a priority. It was rarely ranked in the top position in GDP.

Although individual properties of the MI of the judge in all the periodicals analysed were introduced using the same linguistic means and devices (directly, by lexical persuasive means, in the sphere of pragmatic and semantic presuppositions, as a result of initiation of conversational inference and logical argumentation), these mechanisms were used with various frequency. Without a detailed analysis of the impact of this variable on the shape of the MI of the judge, we can responsibly only identify a higher level of explicitness in GW and ND messages than DGP messages.

The analyses show a similarity between the image of the judge shaped in the front pages of DGP and GW due to sharing the property "judges are politically dependent" developed by identical (discussed above) detailing that the reason for this politicisation is the way power is exercised in Poland, as well as the property "judges have special privileges". The differences between DGP and GW can be boiled down to three issues. Firstly, the intensity of the properties attributed to judges in DGP and GW, and the way they are introduced. Secondly, the way these "special privileges" are understood. In the DGP, the opinion "judges have special privileges" echoes the thinking about the judicial function and is shown as a property close to the attribute of "special powers" normatively vested in the judge in the legal and social reality inextricably linked to the special duties and limitations which together constitute the status of the judicial profession and constitute a guarantee of independence of judges. In GW, on the other hand, these "special privileges" are treated instrumentally, as a tool in the fight against the politicisation of the Polish

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judiciary. Thirdly, a manifestation of the dissimilarity of the DGP and GW is the introduction into the image of the judge in DGP of the property "judges commit common crimes or are characterised by traits inconsistent with the expected attribution of the judge as a personal embodiment of the court", and into the image of the judge in GW of the property "judges perform their duties, i.e. they adjudicate – in a right way (as expected) or in a wrong way (contrary to the expectation)". Their occurrence shows the fact that DGP is trying to be the guardian of the social order while GW is the guardian of a certain vision of this order.

Including the third newspaper in the comparison, two issues should be noted. Firstly, the way in which the conviction about the politicisation of judges common for GW and DGP is detailed differs from that of ND, in which the cause of the politicisation is seen in succumbing to the policy and ideology of the West. It should be noted that the impact of the property "the judiciary is conflicted" on the image of the judge in ND is minimized, which is a general and individual reflection of the opinions, most important for DGP and GW, about the polarisation of the Polish judiciary between the "previous" order and the "new" order. Secondly, the characteristic, common for GW and ND, "judges perform their duties, i.e. they adjudicate – in a right way (as expected) or in a wrong way (contrary to the expectation)" strongly assessing actions of judges/courts, draws attention both to the similarity of these newspapers as politically and ideologically profiled, and to the differences resulting from the direction of this profiling.

The final conclusions address two issues. Firstly, the question whether or not there is one MI of the judge and, secondly, the nature of the relationship between the MI of the judge and the normatively designed framework for the performance of judicial function. As regards the first of those issues, it must be stated that, since the MI of the judge in these periodicals differ, there is no single MI of the judge, but there are media images of the judge. As regards the second issue, the general observation of the subjectivity and emotional nature of the MI of the judge presented on the front pages of the newspapers in question must be subject to certain reservations. Although, in all the titles analysed, the images of the judge as a personal embodiment of the court are not a reflection of reality, but an interpretation of reality, and are a collection of subjective and emotionally related characteristics, the titles analysed differ in the degree of interpretative nature. The most outstanding here is DGP, which, drawing attention to the dependence of the judiciary on political authorities and seeing the problem of its internal division, tries to maintain neutrality in the media dispute over the Polish judiciary. In the case of this specialised daily, the professional perspective on judicial reality and its impact on the image of the judge is revealed more clearly and is not treated instrumentally.

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ABSTRAKT

Opracowanie mieści się w nurcie badań nad medialnym obrazem sędziego, będącym składnikiem medialnego obrazu świata. Istotność przedmiotu badań wynika z pozycji i znaczenia sędziego dla funkcjonowania społeczeństwa i państwa oraz ze współzależności pomiędzy funkcjonowaniem zawodu sędziego, jego prestiżem a tzw. opinią publiczną. Celem artykułu jest odtworzenie obrazu sędziego (jego właściwości i relacji między tymi właściwościami), którego nośnikiem są pierwsze strony gazet. Po uzasadnieniu ograniczenia bazy materiałowej do papierowych wydań reprezentatywnych dla polskiego rynku prasowego dzienników ogólnopolskich z 2022 r., analizie poddano pierwsze strony trzech tytułów: „Dziennika Gazety Prawnej", „Gazety Wyborczej" i „Naszego Dziennika". Analizy pozwoliły na: wyłonienie właściwości przypisywanych sędziom w poszczególnych periodykach i na ich ustrukturyzowanie; spostrzeżenie tożsamości środków i zabiegów językowych wykorzystywanych w analizowanych tytułach prasowych do kształtowania obrazu sędziego i jednoczesnej odmienności obrazów sędziego ukształtowanych na pierwszych stronach analizowanych tytułów; skonstatowanie, że we wszystkich analizowanych tytułach obrazy sędziego jako osobowego reprezentanta sądu (co jednak nie zawsze jest właściwie różnicowane) nie są odbiciem rzeczywistości, lecz jej interpretacją, a także mają charakter zbioru powiązanych ze sobą subiektywnych i nacechowanych emocjonalnie charakterystyk.

Słowa kluczowe: sędzia; sąd; medialny obraz sędziego; Dziennik Gazeta Prawna; Gazeta Wyborcza; Nasz Dziennik