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The Image of China in Polish Media

Introduction

If one were to name two countries of the world that differ in their fundamental aspects, Poland and China would be very fit for this purpose. From a geographic, economical, cultural and political point of view, they are very distant countries indeed. Warsaw and Beijing are 7,400 kilometers apart, and Poland is 30 times smaller than China in terms of both area and population. By bold calculations, China's gross domestic product (GDP) amounts to 13% of the world's total (International Monetary Fund, 2011). The Polish GDP is less than 1% on a global scale. Poland and China are hardly equal trade partners. In 2011, trade with China amounted to less than 1% of Polish exports (21st position) but to as much as 9% of total imports (3rd position) (Ministry of Economy of Poland, 2012). On the other hand, the GDP per capita in Poland is two and a half times higher than in China. Poland belongs to the countries with the highest human development indicators, while China (Hong Kong excluded) is in the medium human development group (Klugman, 2011).

Poland is a relatively monocultural society where Christians (mainly Catholics) account for the vast majority. In China, which is officially an atheist state, the number of Christians is estimated at 3-7% (*The Economist*, February 11-17, 2012). The differences are all the more salient when the two countries are compared in terms of culture. According to Geert Hofstede's nomenclature (Hofstede, 2003), Chinese society is collectivist, Polish society is individualistic. Unlike the Poles, the Chinese have a low level of uncertainty avoidance, which means that it is easier for them to accept uncertainty. China, unlike Poland, is clearly a long-term oriented society (Hofstede & Bond, 1988).

There are also huge political differences between these two countries. China is a nuclear power and a permanent member of the UN Security Council. Poland is at best a sub-regional leader with successes such as the accession to NATO and the involvement in the war in Afghanistan and Iraq. China is a single-party system, despite the fact that the Constitution of 2004 states it to be a multi-party system under the leadership of the Communist Party of China (see the "Preamble"). In Poland, a plurality of political parties emerged after 1989. The political scene is so unstable that so far only one government has managed to hold on to power after its first term. The Polish Constitution prohibits (in Article 13) the existence of any party whose ideology refers to communism.

And yet, despite the many differences, one can also find something that Poland and China have in common. They are both part of the same system: the modern world-system. Moreover, to some extent they are in a similar situation. They are semi-peripheries of the world-system.

A world-system perspective

Why would the image of China in the Polish media be scientifically interesting? One simple answer is that every increase of knowledge is valuable. We can also, however, go beyond a purely descriptive approach and refer to the currently discussed problem of the potential demise of capitalism (Li, 2008; Amin, 2011). The thesis that I wish to state here, assuming that capitalism is indeed in decline, goes as follows: the potential demise of the capitalist world-economy creates conditions for the emergence of a new world-system and a new social reality. This depends on the ideas that we, as humans, communicate, negotiate and agree (or disagree) upon. And the ideas we create are revealed in public communication. Because of that, studies on social/public communication and the media should be interpreted within the framework of world-systems analysis.

The world-systems perspective utilizes a "world-system" concept, i.e. a historical system that covers various political and cultural entities but operates under certain rules of systemic relations and dependencies (Wallerstein, 1974, p. 15). The existence of world-systems should be considered according to Fernand Braudel's concept of *longue durée* (long term). Historically speaking, there were two types of world-systems: world-empires, which like ancient Rome had a single political structure, and world-economies that did not have such a structure. The world-system in which we live today is that of capitalist world-economy. It emerged in Europe in the sixteenth century, where it replaced the feudal system

and eventually expanded throughout the entire globe. One of the most important consequences of the development of capitalist world-economy was the enormous increase in production capacity.

Historically, world-economies were unstable and tended to be quickly incorporated by world-empires. The capitalist world-economy has avoided this fate. The consistency and stability of the world-economy is determined by the division of labor within the system. The capitalist world-economy was the first and so far the only world-system in history which had a new characteristic: the endless accumulation of capital (Wallerstein, 2004, p. 24). The presence of this feature, or more precisely its priority in the system of values, guaranteed the capitalist world-economy's stability and durability, but not its eternal existence. All historical systems rise and after some time they fall apart due to internal contradictions (amongst others). However, as Sanderson (2005, p. 184) pointed out, so far the capitalist world-economy has been handling contradictions extremely well.

The long-term stability of the capitalist world-economy depends on its ability to expand. This requires the axial division of labor, which divides the production processes into central and peripheral. Central production processes are protected (i.e. they are not competitive) by constantly forming and disintegrating quasi-monopolies. Peripheral processes are competitive. Consequently, there is an ongoing movement of surplus value from the periphery to the center. This is reflected in the division of the world-system into core states, semi-peripheries and peripheries. Core states are characterized by the prevalence of quasi-monopolies that control production processes. By contrast, peripheries are characterized by competitive processes and the fact that they are being exploited by core states. In semi-peripheries, both quasi-monopolies and competitive processes are present at the same time. Semi-peripheries are used as a buffer that protects core states from direct threat from peripheral states. The expansion of world-economy feeds the world-system with new areas of cheap labor that can significantly sustain the process of unequal exchange, and thus maintains the endless accumulation of capital.

China was incorporated into the world-economy quite late, in the 19th century, as one of the last areas of the globe (Li, 2008, p. x). By contrast, in the 16th century Poland and Eastern Europe (along with Latin America) were the first peripheries of the capitalist world-economy (Sanderson, 2005, p. 188). Currently, both Poland and China are in the same semi-peripheral zone.

The main research question that I pose in this article is whether in the image of China created in the Polish media one can find traces of this common semi-peripheral position, both in terms of potential coopera-

tion for the advancement to core state status, and – which seems more likely – in terms of potential conflict and rivalry over the surplus value distributed in the world-economy.

Data and method

First, I performed an analysis of available reports from two Polish public opinion research institutions – OBOP and CBOS – in order to find out how Poles perceived the Chinese people in the past, especially whether they discerned China's growing economic power. I focused on the period between 1990 and 2010, but I also found reports from the late 1970s and the 1980s. This preliminary analysis aimed to provide a context for the interpretation of my subsequent content analysis.

The main part of this study was the content analysis of a representative sample of Polish media texts published in the years 2009-2010. Due to technical and financial limitations, I only focused on the media that had an online digital version. I chose 14 media titles, including dailies, opinion magazines, radio and television stations, as well as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs news service (see table 1). In some cases, it was possible to confirm that the online version of the medium matched the printed edition (e.g. opinion magazines), due to the existence of an archive of all issues with dates and page numbers. In other cases (radio and television online portals) I could only assume that the news agenda of online portals does not deviate significantly from the agenda of radio and television newscasts.

I downloaded a population of 63,073 news items. They were content analyzed with Wordstat 5 (Provalis Research, 2005), a software for supervised semi-automated content analysis. I used a "dictionary" (i.e. a set of predefined, computer-coded categories) of the names of all countries in the world, originally developed for my previous research (Bukowski, 2006). This was done in order to select articles that mentioned "China" (there were 4,507 of them). From this subpopulation I drew a sample of 646 articles (roughly 50 per medium) using a sampling module built in the SPSS 19 software. I then hand-coded all 646 articles with a predefined set of categories that, I believed, were relevant for my research question.

The categories were as follows:
- Main actor in the article;
- Main actor's characteristics (negative-positive on a scale of –2, –1, 0, +1, +2);
- Secondary actor;
- Secondary actor's characteristics (scale as above);
- Temporal reference (past, present, future, and mixed variants);

- Constructed world-system position (core, semi-periphery, and periphery);
- Interaction (negative from China, negative towards China, positive from China, positive towards China, negotiations);
- Name of the source;
- Date of publication (year);
- Ideology of the source (conservative, liberal, neutral-ambivalent).

In all of the categories, the options "Non-applicable" and "Cannot tell" were also present, in order to allow every single text to be coded.

In the end, I treated all 646 articles as one linguistic corpus and performed a simple unsupervised automated content analysis which generated a list of the most frequent words that appeared in articles about China.

Table 1. Analyzed sources and their characteristics

Medium	Total population (N)	No. of articles about China (freq.)	Additional info
TVN24	9,971	659	Private TV, liberal
PSZ.PL	16,839	1,696	Independent international relations portal
Nasz Dziennik	2,816	150	Conservative Catholic daily
Newsweek Polska	2,931	243	Liberal opinion magazine, Polish edition
TVP Info	3,590	176	Public TV
RMF	11,877	609	Radio, liberal
Gazeta Wyborcza	4,863	378	Quality daily, liberal
Radio ZET	3,682	132	Radio, liberal
Polityka	384	118	Left-Liberal opinion magazine
Niezależna.Pl	2,444	125	Conservative Catholic portal
EKAI	2,433	109	Conservative Catholic radio news agency
Wprost	304	33	Opinion magazine
Tygodnik Powszechny	353	66	Liberal Catholic weekly magazine
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	586	13	Government portal

China and the Chinese in Polish opinion polls – an overview

The earliest study on the perception of other nations by the Poles in post-war Poland comes from 1967 and bears the title *Poles About Themselves and Other Nations* (OBOP, 1967). The study was performed on a sample of nearly 2,000 people from the urban environment. When asked about the nations that they disliked the most, the Chinese were pointed at by 14% of the respondents, which situated China *ex aequo* with the Russians on the third place in the ranking of least liked nations, after Germany (67%) and Czechs and Slovaks (17%). Among the nations that the Poles liked the most, the French scored first, followed by Hungarians, Russians and Americans. The same study revealed that the dislike towards the Chinese was quite profound: 64% of respondents answered that they would absolutely not agree that their daughter married a Chinaman.

In a study from 1975 (OBOP, 1975), the Chinese were 4th (out of 24) in the ranking of least liked nation (23%), following the Germans (60%), Jews (41%), and Gypsies (39%). Only 4% of respondents declared positive feelings toward the Chinese, and indifference was declared by 73%. This time, however, a sample representative of the entire population of Poles was studied.

In a study from 1982 (OBOP, 1982) researchers also asked Poles how in their opinion Poland is seen by other nations. 14% of respondents claimed that the Chinese were hostile towards the Poles. For comparison, the same report mentions that in 1978, 43% of respondents felt that the Chinese had hostile attitudes towards the Poles (in this respect, China ranked third out of 19, following West Germany and Israel). In the 80s the level of reluctance towards China clearly decreased, with a steady increase in the declared affinity (table 2). This trend continued during the 90s and 2000s.

Table 2. Negative and positive emotions toward the Chinese as declared by the respondents in various opinion polls in Poland (data in %). The data for 1981-1993 comes from OBOP Research Center, the data from 1998-2010 comes from CBOS Research Center. Source: Author's calculations based on reports by OBOP (www.obop.pl) and CBOS (www.cbos.pl).

Year	Negative	Positive
1981	15	6
1982	14	8
1983	12	9
1984	11	9

1985	10	21
1986	6	18
1987	5	16
1988	6	17
1989	7	22
1990	19	12
1991	11	14
1992	13	13
1993	11	12
1994-1997	no data	
1998	36	21
1999	37	19
2000	no data	
2001	35	22
2002	32	26
2003	39	22
2004	37	20
2005	47	16
2006	43	18
2007	38	22
2008	30	31
2009	no data	
2010	27	29

This review shows that social attitudes towards China and the Chinese in Poland have changed significantly over the past decades. Of course, we should approach some of this data with caution, given that before 1989 it was prepared under the communist regime and had to conform to the official propaganda. However, it is hard to believe that reports written before the 1989 revolution were entirely false, since they were originally intended only for the communist political elite. Most of such reports which exist today as digitalized copies still bear the sign of an old "confidential" tag.

China in the Polish media: Content analysis results

Main actors

Table 3 shows the main actors in the analyzed texts. I encoded Chinese actors only (i.e. the Chinese government, Chinese society, Chinese individuals etc.), leaving out all other, irrelevant texts. In almost half of the articles (48%), the main actor was the Chinese government. This category included collective actors, such as the Communist Party of China, ministries and individual ministers, the prime minister, the president, diplomats, and spokespersons. Their overall assessment was slightly negative (Mean = −0.24 on a scale from −2 to +2). The column SE (standard error) in the table 3 shows the dispersion of the mean.

In 25% of the articles, the main actor was society (including religious and ethnic minorities, social classes, and also entrepreneurs as a collective social group). The score on the positive-negative scale is close to zero, which means neutral characteristics. The third main actor were the markets (also a single Chinese virtual "market" as a whole), treated here as institutions of the world-economy. Entrepreneurs were also coded in this category when they were presented as institutions, rather than as a social group. The positive-negative characteristics of the markets were between neutral and positive (0.72).

The other actors occurred rarely as main actors. Individuals appeared in 6% of the articles, dissidents in 4%, the Chinese diaspora in 1% and the media below 1%. A clear quantitative difference between the first three categories of actors and others can be seen here. For this reason, hereafter I will focus primarily on the government, society and markets.

Table 3. Main actors

	Freq. (%)	Mean Positive/Negative	SE
Government	48.3	-0.24	0.08
Society	25.1	-0.05	0.08
Markets	13.5	0.72	0.13
Individuals	6.1	0.16	0.14
Dissidents	3.6	1.32	0.19
Army	1.3	0.14	0.40
Diaspora	1.3	0.00	0.22
Media	0.8	-0.25	0.25

A single main actor appeared in 85% of the articles. In the remaining 15%, there also appeared secondary actors. They were: the government (6% of all 646 articles), dissidents, society and markets (3% each). The positive-negative assessment of the secondary actors was similar to that of main actors (Mean, SE): the government (Mean –1.02, SE = 0.14), dissidents (Mean 0.94, SE = 0.17), society (Mean 0.69, SE = 0.24), markets (Mean 1.12, SE = 0.21).

Temporal reference

Table 4 shows temporal references for the main actors. In most articles, they were portrayed with reference to the present time only. This can be partly explained by the rules of the analyzed genre: news articles. Events in the present tense will be discussed later, where I present the lexical image of China. Here I will focus on references to the past and the future, and mixed categories.

Table 4. Temporal reference (% of N in rows)

	Past	Present	Future	Past mixed	Future mixed
Government	8.4	65.7	4.0	6.0	15.9
Society	9.2	69.5	3.1	9.9	8.4
Markets	1.4	58.6	8.6	5.7	25.7
Dissidents	5.3	68.4	0.0	26.3	0.0

In some articles in which the Chinese government played the role of main actor, future references were linked to the past or the present. For such situations, I used the category "future mixed". Together with the "future" category, 20% of the articles were devoted to future affairs. Examples of such articles included: the political consequences of a collapse in China's economic development, China's role in a possible conflict between the U.S. and Iran, and China's response to the events in North Korea (the death of a leader, revolution or *coup d'état*, nuclear attack on another country).

Articles with the government as main actor that referred to the past were mostly about the support that Mao Zedong gave the Khmer Rouge and about the 1989 events of Tiananmen Square.

Articles about society that referred to the past (including the "past mixed" category, 19%) were mostly about the history of religion, Christians and especially the Catholic Church in China, the 1949 Revolution

and its aftermath, and the events in Tiananmen Square. Articles about the future and future mixed (12%) focused on the changes that may occur in society if economic growth continues.

The markets were presented in the context of future events linked to the present or the past clearly more often than the other main actors (26%). These were articles about the development of trade between Europe and China, the impact of the Chinese economy on the world order in the 21st century, Chinese investments in Africa and other peripheral parts of the world-system. Articles about the past recalled the inefficiency of the Chinese economy before Deng Xiaoping's reform era. In general, the Polish media rarely wrote about China in the context of the past. The exceptions were articles about dissidents, which focused on Tibet.

Constructed world-system position

This part of the analysis dealt with the imagined (or discursively constructed) position of China in the world-system. I used the following coding rules: when an article suggested China's independence, or the fact that China played a major, decisive role in geopolitical and economic processes, that article was coded as "core" item. When an article mentioned the notion of dependence, especially on Europe or the US, that article was coded as "periphery". When China was portrayed as dependent on more powerful states of the world-system's core, but also as an active geopolitical player in the field of political and economic expansion (in South-East Asia or Africa), then the article was coded as "semi-periphery". In this process I tried to interpret texts within a larger context, taking into account all available knowledge concerning the events presented in the analyzed articles.

Table 5. Constructed world-system position (% of N in rows)

	Core or Independent	**Semi-periphery**	**Periphery**
Government	87.8	12.2	0.0
Society	32.1	57.1	10.7
Markets	58.5	41.5	0.0

Table 5 shows that the discursive construction of China's world-system position depended on who the article's main actor was. The Chinese government was presented in the vast majority of articles as independent in decision-making or as having a potentially strong impact on other countries (88%).

Society as the main actor was described primarily in the context of semi-dependence (57%). In such texts, the development and prosperity of Chinese society was presented as heavily dependent on imports and consumption of Chinese goods by Europeans and Americans. At the same time, the Chinese were portrayed as dominant over other economically and politically weaker societies.

Markets were presented in a similar vein. More than half (58%) of the texts pertained to the strength of Chinese markets and their relative independence. The rest of the texts presented markets as located in a complex network of systemic dependencies (42%). None of the texts presented markets in clearly peripheral positions. The articles that pertained to the dependence of Chinese markets discussed the need of strengthening the domestic demand, and the inability to maintain current growth based solely on exports. Occasionally, the competition between Chinese markets and other Asian markets was mentioned, along with the suggestion that China must continue to fight for a dominant position.

Interactions

This category was used to describe the interactions of main actors. It consisted of five items (options) listed below. The concepts and metaphors that illustrate the essence of the interaction are given in parentheses:
- Negative interaction towards China (attack, conquer, eliminate, compete);
- Negative interaction from China (defend, being attacked, losing influence);
- Positive interaction towards China (help, assist, support);
- Positive interaction from China (ask for help, accept help, learn from, follow);
- Negotiations (negotiate, co-operate, discuss, communicate).

Similar to the category of constructed world-system position, this coding was also based on a discursive approach: I interpreted texts in context, utilizing all the knowledge on the described events I was able to obtain and confirm from other sources. The interpretation was carried out from the perspective of Poland's semi-peripheral position and aimed at answering the question of potential conflict between Poland and China over the world-economy position.

Table 6. Discursive interactions (% of N in rows)

	Negative towards China	Negative from China	Negotia-tions	Positive towards China	Positive from China
Government	19.4	29.8	30.9	3.7	16.2
Society	23.1	19.2	3.8	46.2	7.7
Markets	21.1	34.2	13.2	7.9	23.7

The overall picture of the interaction is not easy to summarize. On the one hand, there was a large percentage of negative interactions in the texts in which the main actor was the Chinese government (49% after summing up). On the other hand, this negativity is partially offset by a substantial number of "negotiations" texts (31%). Also noteworthy are 16% of the articles whose background suggested the existence of positive interactions that came from the Chinese government. These included texts about the Chinese government's help in rebuilding previously destroyed churches in China or about the government's assurances that it was ready to support negotiations between the U.S. and Iran in order to stabilize the situation in the Middle East.

Particularly noteworthy is the small number of articles (3.8%) which were coded as "negotiations", with Chinese society as the main actor. This shows, I think, a stereotypical approach to Chinese society, which is presented in the context of either positive or negative interactions but almost never in the context of mixed (i.e. not clear-cut) intercultural communication and negotiations.

Texts that described negative interactions mentioned issues related to the activity of the Patriotic Church in China (which is independent from Vatican) and to the one-child policy. Articles that presented society in the context of positive interactions mentioned general religious activities of Chinese Christians and the need to help the Chinese people after earthquakes.

Articles about the markets were relatively balanced as far as the distribution of "interaction" codes is concerned. Codes "negative from China" (34%) and "positive from China" (24%) had a similar percentage. However, it can be clearly seen that the code "positive towards China" appeared significantly less often.

Texts that described negative interactions mostly included information about exports of counterfeit brands to Europe. Articles that were coded as "negative towards China" referred to actions of European countries aimed at limiting the expansion of Chinese markets for fear of their potential power. Articles that were coded as "positive from China" point-

ed to the opportunities that strong Chinese markets pose for the Western world, especially in a time of worldwide crisis.

Newspaper ideology and the linguistic image of China

In the final part of the study, I conducted an analysis of lexical items that occurred in all articles about China. This included ideological cleavages between the analyzed media (neutral media have been omitted here). Table 7 presents the results of qualitative analysis, in which I aimed at capturing the words that most clearly mark the differences between the conservative and liberal discourses about China.

Table 7. Linguistic image of China – differences between conservative and liberal media

Conservative	Liberal
Church, Pope, Christians, Taiwan, peace, prayer, priests, God, abortion, German, war, power/force, culture, Cambodia, communists, revolution, United Nations, values, Tibet, Europe, law/rights	Sichuan, Pyongyang, nuclear, USA, internet, Korea, labor, media, drugs, arms race, energy, terrorism, modernization, technology, entrepreneurs, aid/help, death, casualties

What is the image that emerges from the conservative media articles and what image emerges from the liberal ones? Clearly, conservative media focused on issues related to religion and normative democratic values. The words used here reflect the typical right-wing discourse fairly well: the church, a world order led by the West (the United Nations and Europe), respect for law and core values, condemnation of China's policy toward Tibet. The liberal media focused on natural disasters (earthquakes, accidents, aid/help), on China's positive role in resolving potential nuclear conflicts (Iran, North Korea, Pakistan), on strong economy (modernization, entrepreneurs, labor), but also on social communication and the problem of censorship (internet, the media).

Table 8 shows the words with the highest frequency of occurrence in articles about China, depending on the medium and time.

The vocabulary used to describe China in the media did not change between 2009 and 2010. Also, for almost all analyzed media, there were common themes: the USA, (China's) government, security, the world. As one can see, China, represented by the government as the main actor, is portrayed in the context of security in which the special, hegemonic role in the inter-state system is played by the United States, supported by the European Union.

Table 8. Linguistic image of China – typical words in articles about China

Source (medium)	2009	2010
EKAI	Church, Catholics, communist government, children, believers	Church, Catholics, government, diocese
Gazeta Wyborcza	USA, Russia, Afghanistan, Ürümqi	USA, government, world, Europe, security
MFA	EU, Poland, foreign affairs, co-operation, security	EU, Poland, foreign affairs, co-operation, security
Nasz Dziennik	USA, government, United Nations, Security Council, against	USA, government, Russia, EU, Germany
Newsweek PL	USA, security, Iran, world	Kim Jong-il, Kim Jong-un, Google, World Expo, Korea
Niezależna.pl	Taiwan, Ma Ying-jeou, USA, government, police	Province, police, government, death
Polityka	USA, world, government, labour, World War II, Cold War	USA, government, world, labour, security
PSZ.pl	USA, security, world, international, economy	USA, Asia, government, Europe
Radio Zet	USA, government, world, security	Province, government, landslide/earthquake, USA, world
RMF FM	Korea, government, world, USA	World, province, children, death
TVN 24	USA, world, Korea, Russia, XXI century	Government, USA, province, casualties, landslide/earthquake
TVP Info	USA, Barack Obama, death, security, summit	Google, death, Kosovo, casualties, EU
Tygodnik Powszechny	USA, world, war, government, power/force	USA, war, government, world, security
Wprost	USA, world, Russia, Europe, foreign policy	History, world, USA, Russia, markets

Conclusion

In some ways, China's image that emerges from the analysis of Polish media is very clear. First of all, the media write mostly about the activities of the Chinese government, society and markets. For anyone who expected that the Poles' bad historical experiences would lead to sharp criticism of China and the Communist Party, the results of this analysis could be surprising. The Communist Party of China (in the analyzed texts equated with "government"; this word is often used to designate the Communist Party) was not judged negatively. Although the Polish media occasionally referred to Tibet and the Tian'anmen Square massacre, in a quantitative sense, they were offset by many other articles that highlighted the positive aspects of China's politics. The overall assessment of both the government and Chinese society was neutral. The characteristic of markets was clearly positive.

Assuming that media content at least partially reflects the mood of the Polish public opinion and the general attitude of Polish political elites, this analysis provides arguments against the thesis about a potential Polish-Chinese conflict related to competition within the semi-peripheral zone of the world-economy. China in its political dimension (the government as main actor) is not perceived as a semi-peripheral state, nor are the Chinese markets. However, the fact that such a competition amongst semi-peripheries is not discussed in the media does not mean that it will not actually happen.

There were no articles in the Polish media which pertained in detail to changes within the world-economy. When the media write about China's political and economic rise, they simply compare it to the US using archetypical themes of global threats and global security while wondering whether China can replace the USA as the next hegemon. However, as Li (2008, pp. 109-111) convincingly writes, despite its size, China would not be able to handle the role of a hegemon. China's economic development, and particularly its potential impact (positive or negative) on global prices, may lead to a rapid destabilization of the world-system and catastrophic changes especially for semi-peripheral states. However, such topics are not approached in the Polish media at all. If the theory explaining the mechanism of the world-economy is true, Poland and other European semi-peripheries should expect serious trouble in the near future. To what extent are we Poles aware of this? The simplified image of China in our media certainly does not contribute to a better understanding of the world and its socio-economic changes.

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