

科技部補助專題研究計畫成果報告

期末報告

從波蘭角度看中國：以語言分析法解析媒體報導與菁英意見(第2年)

計畫類別：個別型計畫
計畫編號：MOST 105-2410-H-032-020-MY2
執行期間：106年08月01日至108年07月31日
執行單位：淡江大學全球政治經濟學系

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中 華 民 國 108 年 10 月 24 日

中文摘要：本計畫分析近期中國與台灣在波蘭菁英與一般民眾心中的意象，其目的在促進波蘭社會對中國與台灣意象的了解及此一意象與波蘭對北京和台北政策的關係。本計畫將以建構主義理論為學理基礎並假設由於亞洲國家之公共論述必須執行各種功能，包括啟動，規範或辯護，波蘭社會對中國/台灣之認知與波蘭的中國/台灣政策之間有個互動聯繫。本文依媒體研究和話語分析的論點來進行研究設計，採混合式的研究方法。用於分析的數據來自檢視三份日報和三份週報一年整年的報導內容，以及從半結構化的菁英訪問。研究成果不但有助於對波中關係的理解，並可為波蘭決策者提供實用的知識，而且也有助於中國/台灣對國際關係之認知的相關研究，以及對波蘭媒體對於中國和台灣議題的報導與運用。

中文關鍵詞：中國/台灣影像，中國之感知，台灣之感知，波蘭-中國/台灣關係，新聞分析，媒體研究，語言分析，波蘭新聞

英文摘要：This project examines the most recent picture of China and Taiwan among the elites and general public in Poland. The goal is to contribute to the understanding of the image of China and Taiwan in Polish society and the relationship between this image and Warsaw's policies towards Beijing and Taipei. This study is based on the assumption derived from the constructivist theory, according to which, the picture of China and Taiwan in Polish society and policies towards them are mutually related, since the discourses on the Asian countries perform various functions, including enabling, limiting or justifying. The methods and techniques for analysis are grounded in media research and discourse analysis. The data for analysis comes from the monitoring of the three daily and three weekly papers in the period of one year as well as from the semi-structured elite interviews. This research will not only enrich literature on relations between Poland and China and provide practical knowledge for the Polish decision makers but also contribute to the research on the perception of China in international relations as well as to the understanding of the mechanisms behind the news creation and consumption on China and Taiwan in Polish media.

英文關鍵詞：Image of China/Taiwan, perception of China/Taiwan, Poland - China/Taiwan relations, press analysis, media research, discourse analysis, Polish media

**Ministry of Science and Technology (MOST) Research Grant
The Project Outcomes Report**

China and Taiwan in the Eyes of Poles
Anna Rudakowska

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II. THE SELECTED FRAGMENTS OF PUBLICATIONS
III. ASSISTANT TRAINING
IV. PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED AND APPLIED SOLUTIONS**

I. THE LIST OF DELIVERABLES

1. Publications

Anna Rudakowska

(work in progress) ‘The Picture of China in Polish Weeklies’, targeted journal Discourse & Society (SCCI).

(forthcoming 2019) with E. Trojnar and A. Zietek, ‘Unpacking Taiwan Exceptionalism: Themes and Studies’, in: A. Rudakowska, E. Trojnar and A. Zietek (eds.) *Taiwan Exceptionalism*, Kraków: Jagiellonian University Press.

(forthcoming 2019) ‘Taipei’s Soft Power at Work: The Picture of Taiwan in Polish Dailies Gazeta Wyborcza and Rzeczpospolita’, in A. Rudakowska, E. Trojnar and A. Zietek (eds.) *Taiwan Exceptionalism*, Kraków: Jagiellonian University Press.

(2019) 中國威脅：波蘭媒體觀點之檢視 (in Chinese) ‘China Threat – the Polish Media Perspective’, *Eurasian Studies Quarterly* (歐亞研究), Vol. 006 (January 2019), pp. 33-38.

2017/11/26 – 2019/1/31 – maternity leave

(2017) ‘The Social Construction of the Realm of the Discipline: Polish Sinology’, in Chih-yu Shih, Lei Tang, Peizhong He (eds.) *From Sinology to Post-Chineseness: Intellectual Histories of China, Chinese People, and Chinese Civilization*, China Social Sciences Press, pp. 110-31.

2. Conferences

(2018) ‘The Picture of China in Poland: Divergent Values and Common Interests,’ IVth Polish Political Science Congress, State in Times of Change, University of Marie-Curie Skłodowska (UMCS), Lublin, Poland, 18-20 September.

(2018) 'China as a Responsible Stakeholder – a View from Poland,' 12th Pan European Conference, A New Hope: Back to the Future of International Relations, University of Economics, Prague, Czech Republic, 12-15 September.

(2017) 'China in the Eyes of Poles: the Construction of Identity in Press,' International Academic Conference on Law, Politics and Management (IACLPM 2017) organized by the International Institute for Academic Development in cooperation with Mykolas Romeris University, Jagiellonian University, Kraków, Poland, 29-30 July.

3. Other deliverables:

- a) Literature review on the nature of news in Poland, coding methods and perception of China in the Western societies
- b) A coding sheet for analysis of news
- c) Articles from the two dailies - *Rzeczpospolita* and *Gazeta Wyborcza*, and three weeklies - *Newsweek Polska*, *Polityka* and *Wprost*, from the period of 12 months (1 November 2016 – 31 July 2017) and articles from six weeklies representing all sides of the political spectrum - *Angora*, *Do Rzeczy*, *Gość Niedzielny*, *Newsweek Polska*, *Polityka* and *Sieci* – covering the period of 12 months (1 January 2017 – 31 December 2017) organized in a data bank.
- d) Public opinion survey 'China in the Eyes of Poles' - results and report (in Polish) by Public Opinion Research Center (Centrum Badania Opinii Publicznej, CBOS). The 1000 computer-assisted personal interviews (CAPI) were held between 25 May and 1 June 2017. The target population was 18 years or older Poles. Interviewers asked 7 substantive questions as well as partial characteristics for sex, age, education, job and geographic location.

II. THE SELECTED FRAGMENTS OF PUBLICATIONS

1. Journal Article

Anna Rudakowska (work in progress) 'The Picture of China in Polish Weeklies', journal article.

Selected fragments - research questions and hypotheses

The goal of the analysis of the selected Polish newspapers is to show the ways in which China is represented in certain ways with respect to selected discursive structures with particular consequences for decisions and policies on China – enabling, limiting, justifying, supporting, etc. Within this framework, the research aims to answer the following questions: a) What is the significance and meaning of China promoted by Polish press? b) What topics present in the Western discourse on China are also promoted in Polish press? c) What policies towards China can this particular understanding of China enable, limit, justify or support?

2. Book Chapter

Anna Rudakowska, Ewa Trojnar and Agata Zietek (forthcoming 2019) ‘Unpacking Taiwan Exceptionalism: Themes and Studies’, in: A. Rudakowska, E. Trojnar and A. Zietek (eds.) *Taiwan Exceptionalism*, Kraków: Jagiellonian University Press.

Chapter 1. Unpacking Taiwan’s Exceptionalism: Themes and Studies

Anna Rudakowska, Ewa Trojnar, Agata Ziętek

Selected fragments

Take a look at the political map of the world and you will see that almost every piece of land belongs to a state. This division, in contrast, for example to the split created by a valley between two mountains, is man-made, imaginary and arbitrary, and therefore can be easily questioned. Indeed, in addition to the multiple disputed borders that permeate the world map, some countries are not recognized or partially recognized. Other states decide whether a certain political unit can be recognized as sovereign. Again, even though their decision concerns imaginary divisions created by borders, accepting or rejecting them has far-reaching consequences in real life. The unrecognized country stays outside of a club of sovereign states, which makes cooperation with its members very difficult or even impossible. It has no choice but to invent novel ways to conduct external relations. Moreover, this specific international situation has a major impact on

its politics, people's lifestyles, culture, etc. This book is about such an exceptional entity in the international community of states – Taiwan.

(...)

This research goes beyond the IR framework and analyzes the ways in which Taiwan's international situation has left its footprint on various aspects of the country's development and citizens' lives. It therefore provides a wider, more holistic, and multidisciplinary approach to issues related to the question of Taiwan's sovereignty. The authors of each chapter integrated their studies around the common theme of exceptionalism, carefully curated by the editors.

3. Book Chapter

Anna Rudakowska (forthcoming 2019) 'Taipei's Soft Power at Work: The Picture of Taiwan in Polish Dailies *Gazeta Wyborcza* and *Rzeczpospolita*', in A. Rudakowska, E. Trojnar and A. Zietek (eds.) *Taiwan Exceptionalism*, Kraków: Jagiellonian University Press.

Chapter 9. Taipei's Soft Power at Work: The Image of Taiwan in Polish Dailies *Gazeta Wyborcza* and *Rzeczpospolita*

Anna Rudakowska

Summary

Taiwan's external relations are "exceptional." Due to the island's contested international status and limited recognition, public diplomacy often provides Taipei with the only channel to conduct external affairs through the soft-power resources it enables. Therefore, in order to assess the island's foreign policies, it is crucial to understand its soft power capacity.

This chapter analyzes the challenges to the exercise of Taiwan's soft power as well as its effects in selected Polish dailies. First, it looks for themes that may enable and disable Taiwan's soft

power in the scholarly literature and documents released by Taipei's governmental actors. Second, it examines whether these themes pertaining to the island were present in two Polish dailies – *Gazeta Wyborcza* and *Rzeczpospolita* – during a one-year period from November 1, 2016 to October 31, 2017. The newspaper analysis aims to reveal narratives that are alternative to those promoted publicly and that are related to the image of Taiwan, other significant international actors, and Taiwanese governmental as well as non-state executors of public policy, all of which may contribute to an enabling or disabling environment for Taipei's soft power. It applies techniques and methods from media research and discourse analysis.

Keywords: public diplomacy, soft power, Taiwan diplomacy, newspaper analysis

4. Journal Article

Anna Rudakowska (2019) 中國威脅：波蘭媒體觀點之檢視 (in Chinese) 'China Threat – the Polish Media Perspective', *Eurasian Studies Quarterly* (歐亞研究), Vol. 006 (January 2019), pp. 33-38.

前言

誰沒有聽過「中國威脅」(China Threat)?

儘管此一概念在西方世界已經存在了一個多世紀，但由於學術界、政界和記者們的頻繁使用，這句話才在冷戰之後廣泛地為大眾所熟知。¹ 近期以來，「中國崛起」被視為是在各個面向對於全世界的國家與人民是威脅，包括在經濟、安全、生活方式、福祉、環境等層面。至於「中國威脅」如今不僅成為媒體以及新聞從業人員間熱烈討論的話題，而且也在國際關係研究學界中成為話題焦點。學者們不僅試圖分析「中國威脅」這個詞語之背後原因與本質，也聚焦其後

¹ Weiqing Song, "Securitization of the 'China Threat' Discourse: A Poststructuralist Account," *China Review*, 15:1(2015), pp.145-169.

果以及應對方式。關於「西方」對中國看法之論述雖已汗牛充棟，但主要還是指美國的觀點，其他國家的社會態度目前仍有待分析。由於不同的歷史經驗、與中國關係以及區域、國家利益等，世界其他國家的人不一定要跟美國對中國的看法相同。

這篇短文主要在探討對波蘭人而言，崛起的中國是否為一種威脅，如果是的話，主要又針對哪些方面。雖然北京並不算是華沙重要的政治夥伴，華沙在這方面與歐盟(EU)和美國的關係反而較為密切，但近年來中國與波蘭兩國首都之間的接觸，確實由於經濟因素而大大增加。其中，包括中國市場為外國企業和投資者提供越來越多的經濟機會，而且中國在「一帶一路」和推動與中東歐 16 國合作的「16+1」倡議框架內增加了該地區的活動，例如相關投資、基礎設施和交通項目。問題在於，波蘭與中國之間關係的這些新發展是否與美國所謂的「威脅」有關，或者他們的看法其實不同。本文之目的並非確定中國是否真的對波蘭有威脅，而是要探討「中國威脅」在特定之波蘭報紙上的論述，因為這些報紙在現實生活中可能會對波蘭政府以及社會在政治、金融、經濟和安全的相關決策上產生影響。

5. Book Chapter

Anna Rudakowska (2017) 'The Social Construction of the Realm of the Discipline: Polish Sinology', in Chih-yu Shih, Lei Tang, Peizhong He (eds.) *From Sinology to Post-Chineseness: Intellectual Histories of China, Chinese People, and Chinese Civilization*, China Social Sciences Press, pp. 110-31.

Abstract

This work enters into the long-standing debate on the meaning of "sinology." It takes as a springboard theoretical assumptions regarding the term's floating meaning, which, due to the shifting nature of disciplinary boundaries in which all knowledge is relative, can never be fixed. It looks at the University of Warsaw's (UW) Sinology Department and asks what Polish academia counts as discipline-specific knowledge. In order to answer that question, it analyzes the rhetorical work involved in defining and defending the discipline in selected works by and

interviews with Polish scholars who study China. It comments on the phenomenon of creating disciplinary labels, the role of external pressures on knowledge production, and the ways in which the UW Sinology Department's faculty mediates and assimilates those pressures.

III. ASSISTANT TRAINING

I have trained four Taiwanese and three Polish assistants.

Training content

Taiwanese assistants:

- The purpose and meaning of the research
- Search criteria for data
- Data organization and input
- Administrative work

Polish assistants:

- The purpose and meaning of the research
- Search criteria for data
- Data organization, input and coding
- The application of quantitative tools to analyze the level of coverage of China and Taiwan, the placement and the length of the articles
- Skills necessary for the assessment of the degree of centrality and focus of domesticity, and
- Identification of frames.

IV. PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED AND THEIR SOLUTIONS

Prolongation of the grant

Originally, I received this grant for two years starting from 1 September 2016 till 31 July 2018. However, in November 2017, I gave birth and took a year maternity leave during which I was not able to work on this research. Therefore, in order to cover the time taken for family reasons, I postponed the realization of the grant for one year, till 31 July 2019.

Data collection

According to the original research plan, I have started collecting the articles from the three daily and two weekly newspapers on 1st November. After the two months of data gathering, in January, I decided to resign from the analysis of the one of the dailies – *Fakt Gazeta Codzienna*, as the word ‘China’ has not appeared in it for the two months, except one mention of the Chinese team participation in the sport event. Therefore, I limited my data to the two daily (*Gazeta Wyborcza* and *Rzeczpospolita*) and three monthly (*Newsweek Polska*, *Polityka* and *Wprost*).

Moreover, as the number of articles in dailies, which met the selection criteria in the first two months of analysis turned to be very large, I decided to code the newspaper issues every other week, instead of every week.

Additionally, by the time when I started newspaper analysis, the Polish market for newspapers had changed with respect to the situation from the year when the research project was designed. In general, the right-wing titles, which originally enjoyed relatively low readership, became more popular and greatly increased audience. In order to adjust to this change and to cover all the voices represented in newspapers, I increased the number of analyzed newspapers and examined a new research question concerning the comparison of the picture of China and Taiwan between the titles representing different political orientations.

105年度專題研究計畫成果彙整表

計畫主持人：安娜				計畫編號：105-2410-H-032-020-MY2				
計畫名稱：從波蘭角度看中國:以語言分析法解析媒體報導與菁英意見								
成果項目				量化	單位	質化 (說明：各成果項目請附佐證資料或細項說明，如期刊名稱、年份、卷期、起訖頁數、證號...等)		
國內	學術性論文	期刊論文		1	篇	(2019) 中國威脅：波蘭媒體觀點之檢視 (in Chinese) ‘China Threat - the Polish Media Perspective’ , Eurasian Studies Quarterly (歐亞研究), Vol. 006 (January 2019), pp. 33-38.		
		研討會論文		0				
		專書		0	本			
		專書論文		0	章			
		技術報告		0	篇			
		其他		0	篇			
	智慧財產權及成果	專利權	發明專利	申請中	0	件		
				已獲得	0			
			新型/設計專利		0			
		商標權		0				
		營業秘密		0				
		積體電路電路布局權		0				
		著作權		0				
		品種權		0				
		其他		0				
	技術移轉	件數		0	件			
		收入		0	千元			
	國外	學術性論文	期刊論文		1	篇	(work in progress) ‘The Picture of China in Polish Weeklies’, journal article.	
研討會論文			3	(2018) ‘The Picture of China in Poland: Divergent Values and Common Interests,’ IVth Polish Political Science Congress, State in Times of Change, University of Marie-Curie Sklodowska (UMCS), Lublin, Poland, 18-20 September. (2018) ‘China as a Responsible Stakeholder - a View from Poland,’ 12th Pan European Conference, A New Hope: Back to the Future of International Relations,				

					University of Economics, Prague, Czech Republic, 12-15 September. (2017) ‘China in the Eyes of Poles: the Construction of Identity in Press,’ International Academic Conference on Law, Politics and Management (IACLPM 2017) organized by the International Institute for Academic Development in cooperation with Mykolas Romeris University, Jagiellonian University, Kraków, Poland, 29-30 July.
	專書			0	本
	專書論文			3	章
	技術報告			0	篇
	其他			0	篇
智慧財產權 及成果	專利權	發明專利	申請中	0	件
			已獲得	0	
		新型/設計專利		0	
	商標權		0		
	營業秘密		0		
	積體電路電路布局權		0		
	著作權		0		
	品種權		0		

		其他	0		
	技術移轉	件數	0	件	
		收入	0	千元	
參與計畫人力	本國籍	大專生	4	人次	李世明、陳巧庭、朱友寧、楊侑思
		碩士生	0		
		博士生	0		
		博士級研究人員	0		
		專任人員	0		
	非本國籍	大專生	1		賽門(Szymon Bielecki)
		碩士生	2		羅蕾(Magdalena Rolewska)、唐妙雅(Maria Stefaniak)
		博士生	0		
		博士級研究人員	0		
		專任人員	0		
其他成果 (無法以量化表達之成果如辦理學術活動、獲得獎項、重要國際合作、研究成果國際影響力及其他協助產業技術發展之具體效益事項等，請以文字敘述填列。)					

科技部補助專題研究計畫成果自評表

請就研究內容與原計畫相符程度、達成預期目標情況、研究成果之學術或應用價值（簡要敘述成果所代表之意義、價值、影響或進一步發展之可能性）、是否適合在學術期刊發表或申請專利、主要發現（簡要敘述成果是否具有政策應用參考價值及具影響公共利益之重大發現）或其他有關價值等，作一綜合評估。

1. 請就研究內容與原計畫相符程度、達成預期目標情況作一綜合評估

☒ 達成目標

☐ 未達成目標（請說明，以100字為限）

☐ 實驗失敗

☐ 因故實驗中斷

☐ 其他原因

說明：

2. 研究成果在學術期刊發表或申請專利等情形（請於其他欄註明專利及技轉之證號、合約、申請及洽談等詳細資訊）

論文：☒ 已發表 ☐ 未發表之文稿 ☐ 撰寫中 ☐ 無

專利：☐ 已獲得 ☐ 申請中 ☒ 無

技轉：☐ 已技轉 ☐ 洽談中 ☒ 無

其他：（以200字為限）

1. One journal article published

2. Two book chapters accepted for publication in co-edited book

3. Draft of the journal article

3. 請依學術成就、技術創新、社會影響等方面，評估研究成果之學術或應用價值（簡要敘述成果所代表之意義、價值、影響或進一步發展之可能性，以500字為限）

On the academic level, this research:

1. Enriched literature on relations between Poland and China as well as Poland and Taiwan;

2. Contributed to the research on perception of China and Taiwan in international relations;

3. Enhanced understanding of the mechanisms behind the news creation and consumption on China and Taiwan in Polish media.

On the practical level, it provided knowledge for the Chinese, Taiwanese and Polish decision makers in the areas of politics, economy and society.

4. 主要發現

本研究具有政策應用參考價值：☐否 ☒是，建議提供機關外交部，
(勾選「是」者，請列舉建議可提供施政參考之業務主管機關)

本研究具影響公共利益之重大發現：☒否 ☐是

說明：(以150字為限)