





Framing it right: China-EU relations and patterns of interaction on climate change

EU, Emerging Powers and Climate change Conference on the EU & the Emerging Powers, Brussels, April 28, 2013, 11:30 am





Research Questions

Scenario of this paper:

- What shapes Chinese frames on climate change?
- How do they compare with European frames?
- Who are the stakeholders in the domestic policy network behind the Chinese position?
- What effects do overlaps have on EU-China climate relations?





Structure

- Research question
- What are frames?
- Frames of Climate Change
- Determinants
- Stakeholders
- EU-China relations







Theoretical Framework

Social movements theory (Snow/Benford 1988)

Three core tasks of framing:

diagnostic framing for the identification of a problem and assignment of blame

prognostic framing to suggest solutions, strategies, and tactics to a problem

motivational framing that serves as a call to arms or rationale for action





Social movements theory (Snow/Benford 1988)

Theoretical I.

Ovements theory (Snow/Beil.

Assumption: framing for the problem

Align, the better cooperation can emerge

motivational framing that serves as a call to arms or rationale for action





Methodology

- Literature review (esp. Chinese writing and policy papers)
- Semi-structured interviews with academics, public think tanks, NGOs, and policy makers in Beijing.
- Questions about frames, norms, policies, motivations, personal history





Chinese behaviour in international CC negotiations is a two-level game of international and domestic pressures.

	Rio 1992, Kyoto 1997
	Common but differentiated Responsibilities
	G77, BASIC, China-India
	2007 China largest CO ₂ emitter
	2009 Copenhagen Climate Summit
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1. Diagnostic Frame

- Support of climate science: Anthropogenic
- Problem definition: climate change effects felt in China
- International power struggle
- Historical responsibility by the developed countries (CBDR)





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- Support of climate science: Anthropogenic climate change
- Problem definition: climate change effects felt in China
- International power struggle
- Historical responsibility by the developed countries (CBDR)
- EU: scientific frame, sunk costs, responsibility through financial mechanisms





2. Prognostic Frame

Strategies advocated by China:

- Global emissions reductions based on CBDR
- Protection of the status quo: extension of the Kyoto Protocol or new calculation of reduction targets
- Local policy changes since 2007 energy intensity targets, renewable energy law, carbon intensity

EU goal: global climate deal including all countries, esp. China and India





3. Motivational Frame

Reduce climate vulnerability for Chinese public, pollution

Historical responsibility, development priority, climate change equals costs

EU motivation: rolemodel, public support, responsibility by the global community, debt crisis





Determinants of changing frames

- 1. dramatic shift of energy usage, drop in energy intensity 1990-2002, increase in energy intensity after 2003
- 2. increasing environmental pollution and awareness of climate change effects





Determinants of changing frames

IPCC Fourth Assessment Report

Increase in mean temperature by 0.7° (1961-2000) in Northwest China

Increase Rainfall by 22-33% (1961-2000) in Northwest China

Extreme Rains and short duration heat waves

Tibetan and Himalaya-Hindukush glacial melting

Sea level rise (eg Zhujiang)

Tibet increased livestock production

Warmer climate, precipitation decline and droughts in most delta regions of China





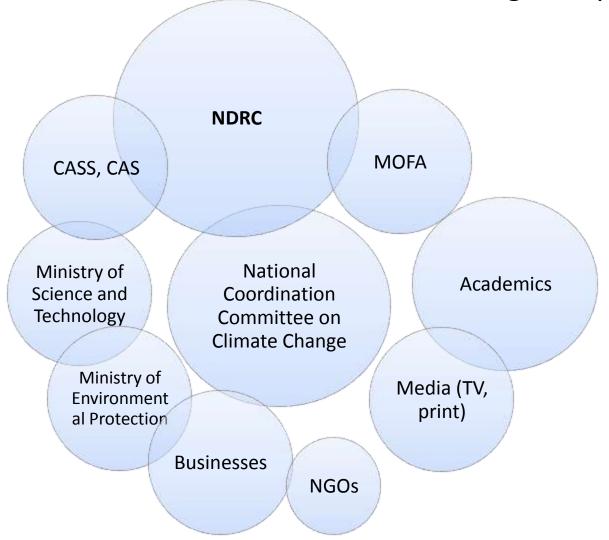
Determinants of changing frames

- 1. dramatic shift of energy usage, drop in energy intensity 1990-2002, increase in energy intensity after 2003
- 2. increasing environmental pollution
- 3. change in industrial policy which was actually beneficial for Chinese industry (Wuxi, Dezhou etc)
- 4. Great power status





The Chinese position at the UNFCCC tends to be informed by a variety of stakeholders, with the NDRC having final power.







China-EU relations are affected by Chinese stakeholders' frames on climate change.

"EU important, but incomparable"

- stronger association with the United States or Chinese particularism
- Academics, policy-makers, think tanks

"CC commitments part of EU neo-imperialist agenda"

- Eventual "natural"alliance of EU and US
- Media, selected individuals

"EU as a leader, worth analyzing"

NGOs, selected individuals





The determinants of EU-China climate relationship are changing.

Convergence

Disparity

Strategic alignment Common targets

Industrial policy and Science-policy nexus

Awareness of CC

US abstention

Stalled negotiations

Economic growth

CBDR







Conclusion

- EU-China relations in the field of climate change have evolved over the past decade due to
 - changes in the framing of the climate change debate
 - changes of determinants of Chinese policy-making in general
 - changes in the domestic decision-making structures of the Chinese climate change network.





Thank you very much.

For the full paper, please kindly send me an email. I am looking forward to your feedback: olivia.gippner@fu-berlin.de