LUND UNIVERSITY
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Role in Changing:

An Empirical Analysis of the European Union's Leadership Role in

International Climate Change Negotiations under UNFCCC

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Abstract:

Since the 1990s considerable attention has been paid to the European Union and the role it played in international multilateral negotiations. Recognizing that the EU played a leadership role in international climate change negotiations under the UNFCCC since the beginning, this thesis set out to investigate the changes of the EU's leadership role based on the role and leadership theories. With a particular attention on the current changes of the EU's leadership role, this thesis further shed light on the effectiveness of the EU's leadership role in the climate change negotiations.

After a longitudinal study of the EU's leadership role in the climate change negotiations, the author argues that the EU's leadership role conception did not change much, however, its role performance and recognition has been fluctuating, which lead to a recent fragmented leadership landscape. Through comparing two cases (COP 15 and COP 17), the author further argues that if the EU wants to maintain as an effective leader in the following climate negotiations, it should cooperate with other recognized leaders (the US and China) and invest more sources in instrumental leadership to gain support from developing countries.

Key Words: European Union, Climate Change, Leadership, role, UNFCCC

Words Count: 19218

Abbreviation List:

AOSIS   Alliance of Small Island States

AWG-LCA   Ad Hoc Working Groups on Long-term Cooperation Action

AWG-KP   Ad Hoc Working Groups on Further Commitments for Annex 1
               Parties under the Kyoto Protocol

BASIC   Brazil, South Africa, India and China

CDM   Clean Development Mechanism

COP   Conference of the Parties

ETS   Emission Trading System

ECCP   European Climate Change Programme

EU   European Union

GHGs   Greenhouse Gases

INC   Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee

LDC   Least Developed Countries

UK   United Kingdom

US   United States

UN   United Nations

UNFCCC   United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

WTO   World Trade Organization

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1. Introduction

> "Responding to the challenge of climate change is the ultimate political test for our generation. Our mission, indeed our duty, is to provide the right policy framework for transformation to an environment friendly European economy and to continue to lead the international action to protect our planet."

> (European Commission President, Jos éManuel Barroso, 2008)

As the integration process intensified in Europe and the changes of the world politics after the Cold War, considerable attentions have been given to the role of the European Union (EU)[1] in global affairs and its capacity to lead in the multilateral international negotiations, especially in the area of Climate Change. Due to its size and economic power, the EU carries weight in the world politics that it has significant influence in certain areas, even comparative to the major powers including United States. The term of 'leadership' is always used vaguely to describe the EU's role in the certain global affairs, such as Climate Change negotiations. Premising that the EU played a leadership role in international climate change negotiations under the UNFCCC since the beginning, this thesis set out to investigate the changes of the EU's leadership role based on the role and leadership theories.

Motivations

Climate change, currently, has shifted from a marginal issue that once only attracted a fairly selected group of atmosphere scientist into a well-acknowledged and highly controversial political issue, which attracts tremendous attention from both political and academic cycles and is assumed to have "potentially transformative and/or calamitous consequences for virtually all policy areas" (Jordan eds, 2010: 1). In the international

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[1] Up until 2009 only the European Community enjoyed legal personality, originally granted by the Treaty of Rome. Under the Lisbon Treaty, the Union became the successor to the Community acquiring legal personality. For descriptive clarity, "EU" will be used throughout this thesis.

level, climate change issue has been frequently addressed in different occasions, such as the G8 meetings and G20 meetings since 2005, and the United Nations (UN) also has systematically and regularly debated it at General Assembly sessions. Actually, "there is hardly any high-level international political encounter in which the issue is not discussed" (Oberthür & Pallemaerts, 2010: 12). In the European level, this issue is also a standing item at the European Council meetings. The issue of climate change, in short, became an issue of "high politics" (Jordan, 2010; Wurzel & Connelly, 2011; etc). The reason behind this change of political status is not only because of the awareness of the potential catastrophic effects to all human beings that climate change may bring about, but also because of the "wicked" characteristics of climate change issue: "it cuts cross international borders, exacerbating existing tensions between rich and poorer states; it is stubbornly resistant to simple 'technological fixes' such as new forms of energy generation or carbon capture; and it challenges prevailing social norms and practices, which are predicted on very high levels of carbon consumption" (Jordan, Huitema & Asselt, 2010:4).

The breadth and complexity of climate change determines that this issue cannot be dealt with by one state or few states. As the EU Commission president Barroso (2011) said, "[C]limate change is a global threat requiring a global response". At a descriptive level, the title of this thesis signals that I am interested in understanding climate change in the multilateral international negotiations under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). Because now, multilateral negotiations constitute "the most prominent method by which states address joint problems, resolve disagreements, and formulate common norms in world politics" (Tallberg, 2006: 5). The title also reveals that the main focus of the analysis is the EU's leadership role in the climate change negotiations. The EU's role in the negotiation merits closer examination for several reasons. Firstly, as the third largest emitter of greenhouse gases (after China and US) and one of the most important economic actors, the EU contributed around 11% of Global emissions in 2006 (ibid). So the EU's action in controlling GHGs emission is important for combating climate change globally. Secondly, the EU has being played a

central role in the climate change politics. Actually, since the 1990s, the EU has sought to lead the world in climate change negotiations by, for example, striving to save Kyoto Protocol after the US abdication in 2001 and pushing for stringent commitment. As the Commission claimed, "the EU owns it to both present and future generation to put its own house in order and to provide both leadership and example to developed and developing countries like" (Jordan, Huitema & Asselt, 2010: 6).

The principle research objectives are two-fold: first, the research is designed to assess the variation of the EU's leadership role in climate change politics; based on the accomplishment of the first objective, the second one is to test the applicability of leadership theory in explaining the effectiveness of leadership role and to answer the research question: how (under what conditions) the EU can maintain an effective leadership in the future?

The main research questions are formulated as the following:

▷*How did the EU's leadership role change in the international climate negotiations since the 1990s?*

▷*Why is there such a surprising difference between the EU's leadership effectiveness at Copenhagen and at Durban? How can the EU maintain as an effective leader in the fragmented leadership landscape?*

The argument proceeds as the following. In part 2, theoretical framework will be sketched out, using role theory and leadership theory. Based on Bretherton and Vogler's (2006) criteria for "actorness", the EU will be assessed if it is qualified to be regarded as a global actor; In part 3, the methods used in this thesis will be introduced and discussed, the principle methods used in this thesis includes: qualitative literature review, text analysis, secondary analysis and comparative case study; Part 4 will deal with the first research question, analyzing the changes from both the EU's side and other's side; Part 5 will touch upon two cases and answer the second research question through

comparing them. Part 6 is the conclusion part, which will summarize the main findings of this thesis.

2. Theoretical Framework:

This section aims to sketch out a framework for analysis based on leadership theory (Young, 1991; Uderdal, 1994; Grubb & Gupta, 2000; Lindenthal, 2009) and role theory (Harnisch, Frank and Maull, 2011; Elgström and Smith, 2006; Elgström, 2006; Wendt, 1999; Holsti, 1970) that will help to the examination and subsequent evaluation of the changes and the effectiveness of the EU's leadership role in international climate negotiations.

However, surveying the role of the EU in relation to climate change negotiations is no easy task. The EU is neither a state nor an orthodox international organization; the precise nature of the EU's role in climate change negotiations is elusive. On the other hand, "once we accept the significance of climate change as a key arena of contemporary international relations, perhaps even achieving the status of high politics, we are forced to consider the EU itself as an actor" (Vogler and Bretherton, 2006: 3). As discussed in the introduction part, the climate change issue has moved into the "high politics". Thus, before digging into the theories, it is important to have a discussion about the actorness of the EU in the international forum.

2.1 Actorness

"How do we recognize an actor" has always been a fundamental question in the field of IR. The classic or realist approaches to IR have exclusively taken the states as the actors in the international political system. Realist approaches accept the existence of other actors, such as the intergovernmental organizations, but deem that the functions of other actors are subordinate to those of the states (Bretherton and Vogler, 2006). The EU is often categorized as an intergovernmental organization. However, this categorization

failed to capture the EU's multi-dimensional character (ibid). As the EU gradually exert significant influence in the international stage, the IR scholars began to broaden the scope of analysis to include a range of non-state actors (Vogler & Bretherton, 2006). There are various approaches, trying to explain what it means to be an international actor, after the abandonment of the template of state.

One of them is the behavioral explanation of actorness. An actor, according to this approach, would be "an entity that exhibits a degree of autonomy from its external environment, and indeed form its internal constituents, and which is capable of volition or purpose" (ibid: 16). So autonomy and ability to perform functions internally are the essential elements of an actor. In the case of EU, autonomy may relate to internal procedure of the Union, the extent to which the Union can make decisions within its own competences and promote some purposive action. Alongside Autonomy, an actor should also have the "capacity to behave actively and deliberately in relation to other actors in the international system" (Sjöstedt, 1997: 16 in Bretherton and Vogler, 2006: 17). But the problem of this approach is that it focuses exclusively on the internal factors- the issue of actor capability. Drawing from social constructivism, Vogler and Bretherton (2006: 5) argues that becoming an actor is not only the establishment of a degree of autonomy in relation to the Member States and the formulation of a set of common purpose. Actorness is also shaped by the expectations and constructions of other international actors (ibid). So, they developed a different approach to assess the actorness, based upon the criteria of *opportunity*, *presence* and *capacity*. In the next few paragraphs, I will follow this approach to examine whether the EU is qualified as a global actor in the climate change politics.

2.1.1 Opportunity

Opportunity denotes "factors in the external environment of ideas and events which constrain or enable actorness" (Bretherton & Vogler, 2006: 24). At the beginning process of the establishment of the EU, the EU was benefit from the bi-polar system, politically and economically, under the strategic protection of the US bloc. But its

actorness was also constrained by "the robust opposition of the Soviet Union to any dealings with the European entity" (Wurzel & Connelly, 2011: 31). The changes of the international political and economic environment are certainly opportunities for the EU's actorness, such as the increasing interdependence and globalization since the 1970s and the end of the Cold War in 1990s. Regarding the climate change issues, the end of the Cold War coincided with a marked rise in salience of the environmental issues, "both the factors provide opportunities for the external projection of European environmental policies" (ibid). The major opportunity, however, turned up in 2001, "U.S. obstructionism and disengagement across a range of negotiations" and the formal denunciation of the Kyoto Protocol made the EU become "the only game in town" and provided the EU with an unique opportunity to "capitalize on its economic and environmental presence and to assume a leadership role in the climate change negotiations" (Vogler & Bretherton, 2006: 9).

2.1.2 Presence

Bretherton and Vogler (2006), following Allen and Smith's (1990) argument about presence, define it as "the ability to exert influence externally; to shape the perceptions, expectations and behavior of other" (p27). This presence is not about the purposive external action, it is an indication of the actor's structural power. In Vogler's words, "it is a consequence of being" (ibid). In respect of the climate change, the fundamental source of the Union's presence is related to "the scale of economic activity in the Union, its historic, present and future contribution to climate changes" (Wurzel & Connelly, 2011: 30). As one of the largest economic entity and GHGs emitter, the EU has a certain degree of presence in the climate change negotiations. Another important aspect of the EU's presence is the "external, often unanticipated or unintended, consequences of the Union's internal priorities and policies" (Bretherton & Vogler, 2006: 27). For instance, the Emission Trading System (ETS), which has already been operational since 2005, was established as a means to help the EU to fulfill its Kyoto commitment. Since the ETS was designed to be an open system, if it were adopted outside the Union, then EU presence would be greatly extended.

2.13 Capacity

In order to build up presence and seize the opportunities, the EU should also have certain capacities. Capacity, according to Bretherton and Vogler (2006:24), refers to "the internal context of EU external action – the availability of policy instruments and understanding about the Union's ability to utilize these instruments, in response to opportunity and /or to capitalize on presence". Besides the capacity to negotiate effectively with third parties, which was criticized in a bulk of literatures, Bretherton and Vogler also summarized several other prerequisites for capability, namely:

- shared commitment to set a set of overarching values and principles;
- The ability to identify priorities and to formulate coherent and consistent policies;
- Capability in the deployment of diplomatic, economic, and other instruments in support of common polices; and
- Public and parliamentary support to legitimize action.

(Vogler & Bretherton, 2006: 10)

In general, setting common values/principles and identifying priorities and policies are not in question. The Common Provisions of the Treaty on European Union and the commitments that EU made before have already proved this point. In question, rather, are the ability to negotiate and capability to deploy instruments. The latter two involves internal decision-making procedure (shared competence between member states and EU on environmental issues) and the problem of coherence and consistency.

Following Bretherton and Vogler's argumentation of the EU's actorness, even though EU is facing some difficulties in its capacities, the EU's global presence and favorable opportunities allows the EU to act in the global stage. As Wurzel and Connelly (2011:34) put it, the Union has clearly been "an identifiable and purposive actor and possesses many of the associated capabilities" in the international climate change politics.

Accepting the EU as a global actor sui generis allows us to further investigate what role the EU plays in the international climate change negotiations. As mentioned before, the

EU has sought to take a leading role in the climate change negotiations since 1990s. And it is widely accepted that the EU is capable of leading the climate change process (Gupta & Grubb, 2000: 47). In the following two sessions, I will focus on the role theory and leadership theory, which will help to understand the EU's leadership role in the climate change negotiations.

2.2 Role Theory

As said by Aggestam (2006), there is no one general role theory to reflect on why, when or how certain role phenomena occur (in Elgström and Smith, 2006: 11). So, this part aims to outline the basic framework for how to apply role theory to analyze the EU's role in the international climate change negotiations.

2.2.1 Role theory in IR

The concept of "role", originally developed by sociologists, was first brought into International Relations (foreign policy analysis) by K.H. Holsti in his seminal 1970 article to "ascertain the regular behavioral patterns of classes of states in the bipolar Cold War structure" (Harnisch, 2011:7), such as "non-aligned", "allies", "satellites" (Holsti,1970). Early role theory-based research, according to Breuning (2011), remained closely connected to structural theories of IR, mainly focus on the "alter" side of the role, that is, "the the constrains and opportunities presented by the international environment" (Breuning, 2011: 17) rather than the conceptions of the domestic decision makers (ego side). Some scholars, such as Walker (1979) and Wish (1980) tried to find the correlation between the "national role conceptions of political leaders and the foreign policy behavior of their nations" (ibid). Some others focused their research on the connection between state size and foreign policy behavior, for example East (1973) and Thies (2001) (Breuning, 2011: 18). But theses researches still stayed close to a structural interpretation of the role concept.

Another strand of role theory is closely connected to the constructivism concept of identity or (self-) image (Wendt, 1999). This kind of research, not like the early structural interpretation of role concept, goes beyond "the observable material

characteristics of states", and to "make intelligible the perspective of decision makers within the context of their interpretation of the collective self-understanding of the citizens of the states" (Breuning, 2011: 20). Hopf (2002), Wendt (1999) and Browning (2007) are the outstanding scholars in this field. Even though they use diverse terminology and have different ideas, for example, Wendt argues that agency (role performance) and structures (international system) are "mutually constitutive and codetermined", while Hopf holds that "identity can be entirely domestically driven" and Browning argues that "identities are intersubjectively negotiated in interactions with others" (ibid, 21), in essence, these scholars each "tap into various aspects of the role theory framework": norms could be seen as constituting role prescription, agency may be akin to role performance, and identity is often akin to national role conception (ibid, 21-22). This constructivism interpretation of roles is quite applicable in explaining the changes of the roles. But first, it is important to clarify some of the key concepts of the "role".

2.2.2 Defining role and key concepts

Through a brief overview of the role theory literature, it is not hard to find several perspectives and definitions of role. For instance, Le prestre (1997) defines that "a role reflects a claim on the international system, a recognition by international actors, and a conception of identity" (Aggestam 2006: 11). Elgström and Smith (2006:5) points out that the role concept refers to "pattern of expected or appropriate behavior". And Aggestam (2006:14-18) proposed three perspectives- institutional, interactional and intentional- of how roles are constructed, sustained and changed. The institutional perspective implies that "institutions, not the actor themselves, determine roles" (ibid). The institution can be understood as "both a general pattern or categorization of activity and a particular human-constructed arrangement, formally or informally organized" (Keohane, 1994: 47, in Aggestam, 2006: 15). Applying to the research, the climate change negotiations regime constrains or even determines the rights and obligations of the leadership role and the way, in which it is played, the EU can only perform this leadership role within this given context. While this perspective is helpful in explaining

how the structure influences the agency, it "leaves little scope for interpretation and innovation of the agency" (ibid). The interactional perspective emphasizes how the roles are constructed and changed in an interactive process. Contrast to the institutional perspective, this perspective stresses the actor's capacity in determining the role. However, this perspective alone is insufficient in explaining the role for the reason that "it does not take sufficient account of the fact that actors arrive at their interaction with pre-existing identities and roles" (Aggestam, 2006: 17). Intentional perspective focuses on "how actors themselves are involved in defining roles" (ibid). In other words, the actor is not simply a passive taker of the role but an independent one who has certain freedom to choose. As said by Aggestam (2006:18), "roles are likely to leave the actor with some scope for interpretation and choice".

Taking the three perspectives into account, in this thesis, I would like to use Harnisch's (2011: 8) definition, which perceives the roles as "social positions that are constituted by ego and alter expectations regarding the purpose of an actor in an organized group". Following this definition, what roles an actor plays and effects of its role performance, is dependent on both "the actor's own consideration of its place, position, and appropriate behavior vis- à-vis others in a given social environment" (role conception, ego-part) and on the expectation and reaction of other actors (role expectation, alter-part) (Bengtsson and Elgström, 2011: 114; Elgström, 2006: 15). So, the role taking, to certain extent, is often "a result of learning and socialization in interactive processes of negotiation" (Aggestam, 2005, in Elgström, 2006: 15). However, in this process, although roles are partly determined by context, the actors still have a certain freedom to select what role to play and how to play "in a given institutional and broader social context" (Elgström and Smith, 2006: 5). Within this definition, several key concepts can be identified, namely: role expectation, role conception.

Role expectation pertains to the explicit or implicit demands by other actors (*alter*) towards what the appropriate role behavior the role-beholder (ego) should have. As Biddle (1979: 5) points out, "[r]oles are induced through the sharing of expectations of certain role behavior…those who exhibit the role are stimulated to do so because they

learn what behaviors are expected of them" (Aggestam, 2005:18). For example, when studying the EU's leadership role in the climate change negotiations, certain expectations have been generated towards this role. These expectations set limits to the range of the EU's perception of its leadership role and its role behavior. Aggestam (2005) in his analysis framework further divides the expectations into institutional expectation and international expectation, which means expectations generated from the situational context and from other actors respectively.

Role conception refers to an actor's own perception of what its behavior should be (ego) and the perceptions of the role expectations of others (alter). So, role conception, on the one hand, is derived from the actor's social identity; on the other hand, is influenced by the other actors' expectations. And Holsti (1970) said that there is a direct link between role conception and role performance. However, since the role conception is often broadly defined, as Aggestam (2005) said, role conception "does not necessarily determine outcomes directly", it only "defines the potential range of options and strategies" (p20).

2.2.3 Role changes

As for the role changes, the role theory (especially the interactional perspective) suggests that roles are not static but "sensitive to situational context and time", and are liable to change (Aggestam, 2006:22). According to Nabers (2011), role change can be understood as "a change in the shared conception and execution of typical role performance and role boundaries" (p84). Based on these discussions, a general pattern of how the role is formulated, sustained and changed (see figure 1) can be summarized. In this pattern, the actor exerts a certain role with a pre-existing role conception. This role conception, which is largely determined by the actor's identity and capacity, is reshaped through confrontations with external expectations (however, actor's role conception tends to be persistent). This is the interaction process of the role-playing. So, the role formation can be seen as "a complex and dynamic interplay between self-images and actor autonomy on the one hand, and structurally driven role expectations on the other hand" (Elgström, 2006: 15). The role performance is to a great

extent characterized by the interaction of role conception and expectations, and this performance will further influence other actors' expectation towards the role. At the same time, the gap between other actor's role expectations and the actor's own role conception, as well as the gap between other's role expectations and the actor's role performance, has certain influences on other actors' perception and expectation of the actor's role in the regime, which may lead to the changes of the actor's role. For instance, if the EU's leadership role conception or performances in the climate change negotiations clash or differ from other actor's expectations, then there will be crisis or confusions about the EU's leadership role which in turn will lead to the changes of the EU's role in the negotiations
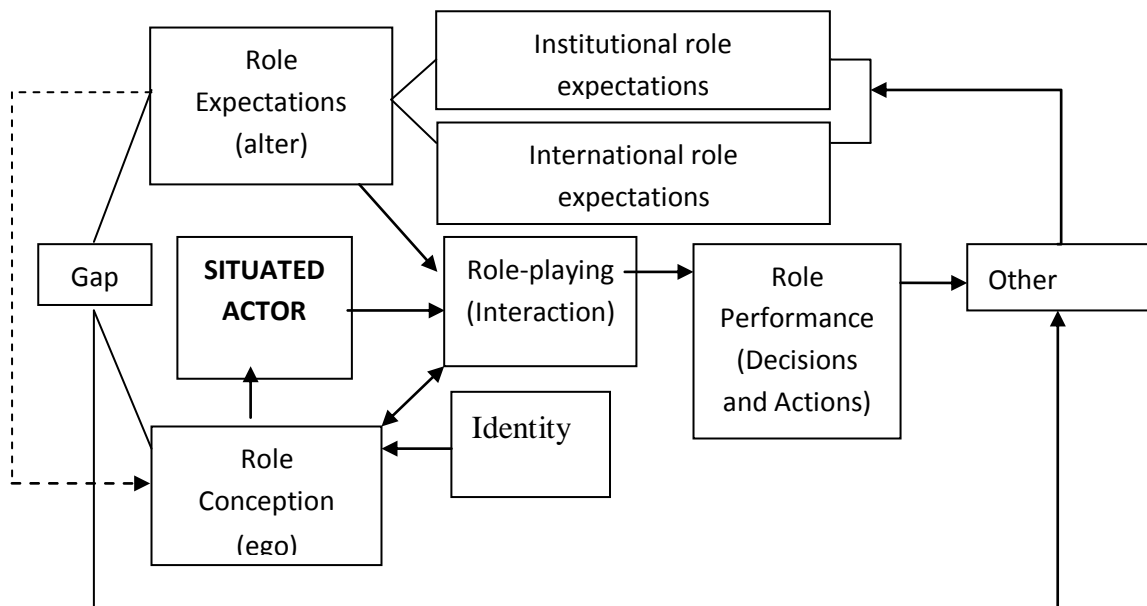
Figure 1. *Role analysis pattern*

The above is a general pattern of the changes of the role. However, in role-theoretical discussions, roles are always linked to identities (Nabers, 2011). It is said that roles and identities are co-constituted (see Figure 2). More specifically, while an actor perform a certain role within the confines of the role that confirm its identity, the identity, on the other hand, provides the actor with "a standpoint or frame of reference for interpretation of the social position the role supplies the actor with" (Nabers, 2011: 83).
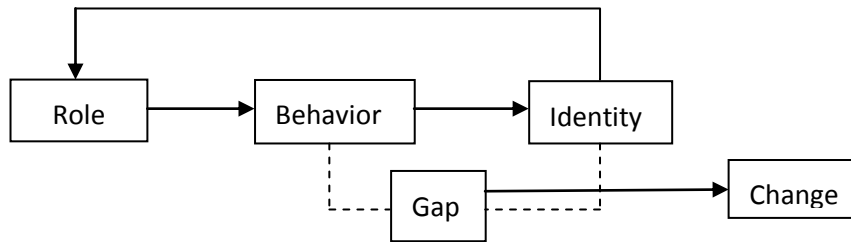
Following this discussion, role changes can be conceptualized on the basis of identity change (ibid). The role change may occur when the performance of the role does not correspond to the identity (ibid: 84). However, this identity discussion is confined to the ego side of the role, it neglects the alter side- how the other actors' reactions and expectations influence the actor's role. As shown in Figure 1, the identity can only be one of the factors that influence the actor's role conception; it does not necessarily determine the role. And in this thesis, I will not speak directly to the relationship between identity and role conception, but will analyze the changes of the role conception from a more empirical perspective, such as the EU's own perception of the leadership role, EU's ambition to lead and its capability to lead, etc.

2.3 Leadership theory: leadership as a role

Leadership is often depicted as "one particular, though very significant, function in international politics" (Nabers, 2011:88). So before addressing what the leadership means in the negotiations, it is important to have a brief discussion of the comparatively neglected aspect of leadership: why leadership is needed? Is leadership an important aspect of multilateral negotiations?

Since solving the global problems, such as climate change, requires international cooperation and in the multilateral international negotiations, "the greater the number of nation-states that join the negotiations, the more diverse can be the things that are regarded as national interests by each country, and the more complicated can be the relationship between those interests of the countries" (Nabers, 2011: 90), so, the leaders can stand out to exert their influence to persuade or mobilize other actors towards a common purpose. In this process, the leadership becomes an essential ingredient in

overcoming collective action problems. As Lindberg and Scheingold (1970) argued, "leadership is the very essence of a capacity for collective action in multilateral negotiations" (ibid).

2.3.1 Traditional Understanding of Leadership

Definitions of leadership

Leadership as a field of study has attracted considerable scholarly attention since the early 1990s. Young (1991) explored leadership from a behavioral perspective and thus defined it as "the actions of individuals who endeavor to solve or circumvent the collective action problems that plague the efforts of parties seeking to reap joint gains in processes of institutional bargaining" (p285). He also differentiated between three forms of leadership, namely structural, entrepreneurial and intellectual leadership. Following the lead of Young, Underdal (1994), Malnes (1995), Gupta and Grubb (2000) all tried to develop a more comprehensive understanding of leadership. However, it is not surprising to find that even if they developed different definitions and typologies, they are not so distinct to each other. Underdal (1994) did a more comprehensive conceptual analysis of the role of leadership in multilateral negotiation and gave one of the most commonplace definitions of leadership, which states: "Leadership is an asymmetrical relationship of influence in which one actor guides or directs the behavior of others toward a certain goal over a certain period of time" (Underdal, 1994: 178). If we break down Underdal's definition, at least three essential elements of leadership can be identified. Firstly, the leader is supposed to exercise "positive influence", that is guiding other actors rather than blocking collective action (Underdal, 1994). Secondly, the leaders should facilitate the achievement of common good or shared goal, not self-interest. That requires altruism on the part of leaders. Thirdly, the leadership should be a "fairly consistent pattern of interaction extending throughout a certain period of time" (ibid: 179). Malnes' (1995) research on the role of leadership is similar to that of Underdal's, they both emphasized that "leaders take an interest in what they get out of various arrangements, but their activity qualifies as leadership only if self-interest takes second place to collective goals" (Malnes, 1994: 94). Gupta and Grubb (2000)

summarized the above authors' definitions and typologies and came up with a new mode of leadership that can facilitate the analysis of climate change. In a nutshell, the traditional understanding of leadership emphasized two points: first, the pursuit of common good; second, the relationship between leaders and followers.

Leaders and followers

Underdal (1994) also defined leadership as a relationship between leader and followers. It follows then that both the leader and followers are important components of leadership. When most of the researches focus solely on finding leaders, more attention on followers is needed. As Nye (2008) said, followers are vital because they "empower leaders" (Parker, Karlsson & Hjerper, 2012: 3). That means if the leader is not perceived as such by the rest of the relevant actors, then the potential followers may not willing to follow the so-called leader's guide and the effectiveness of leadership will be seriously undermined. As for the interactions between leader and followers, Underdal (1994) suggested a detailed explanation:

> A leader does not supply leadership in the abstract but provides a particular "product"- a particular set of services designed to achieve some particular purpose. Similarly, followers do not demand, and will not subject themselves to, any kind of leadership; they are prepared to let themselves be led only in a particular direction and perhaps only in a certain fashion. Only to the extent that supply matches demand will a transaction occur and a leader/follower relationship be forged (Underdal, 1994: 183).

2.3.2 Constructivist Understanding of Leadership

The constructivists argue that leadership is "a distinctive type of legitimate power that 1) is recognized by a particular constituency as rightful on the basis of a shared purpose; and 2) is able to mobilize that constituency ('the followers') to contribute to the achievement of that shared social purpose" (Eckersley, 2012:7). Within this definition, legitimacy is a central component of leadership. Legitimacy, here, means "a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or

appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions" (Bengtsson and Elgström, 2011: 117). While the traditional understandings merely emphasize the fact that other actor's recognition is important, constructivists focus on the point that the would-be leader should get this recognition through rightful actions, rather than coercion. And this legitimacy is not only based on the "outputs" (Bengtsson and Elgström, 2011)-whether the would-be leader pursue collective goals, but also on "the perception of fairness or, more generally, of an evaluation of values and norms a certain actor is associated with" (ibid).

Constructivists also perceive that the leader's motivations do not have to be altruism (self-interest takes second place to collective goals), "both leaders and followers may be guided by additional purpose provided they are not incompatible with the shared social purpose that constitutes the social relationship of leader and follower" (Eckersley, 2012:7). Moreover, this constructivist understanding of leadership also implies that "leadership may be shared and even dispersed in a given community" (ibid). This point is very helpful in explaining the changes of the EU's leadership role in climate change negotiations. It teases out the currently fragmented leadership landscape within the field of climate change.

In sum, this constructivist formulation of leadership, on the one hand, is compatible with "the everyday understanding of leadership as the ability to guide or inspire others in their behavior"; on the other hand, "teases out the important dimension of social recognition in the relationship between leaders and followers" (Eckersley, 2012:7).

2.3.3 Modes of Leadership and apply to the study

After clarifying the definitions of leadership, now I will turn to discuss the typologies of leadership, which will help to better understand how the leadership role functioned and changed in the climate change negotiations.

Existing theory of leadership has different terms in describing the modes of leadership in the context of specific issue areas (Young 1991; Underdal 1994; Malnes 1995; Grubb & Gupta 2000; Parker & Karlsson 2010). Even if scholars tend to use different

terminologies, much common ground can be found between their different contributions. All this may lead to a certain amount of confusion towards the various modes of leadership. One of Grubb and Gupta's main contributions is that they summarized the development of leadership typology (see Table 1) and tried to adapt the leadership theory to the analysis of climate change negotiations. In the following analysis of the EU's leadership role, I decide to use the typology (Structural, Directional and instrumental leadership) developed by Grubb and Gupta (2000), as it is designed for analyzing climate change and provides a useful point of departure for the present study.

Table 1. Various typologies of leadership roles

Young	Underdal	Malnes	Grubb & Gupta	Brief description
Structural	Coercive	Stick and Carrots	Structual	Use of incentives based on political and economic power
Intellectual	Unilateral	Directional	Directional	Use of ideas and domestic implementation to influence the perception of other countries as to what is desirable and possible
Entrepreneurial	Instrumental	Problem-solving	instrumental	Craft structures and apply diplomatic skills

(Grubb & Gupta, 2000: 23)

Structural leadership is "associated with the exercise of power derived from political strength in the global order and the weight of an actor with respect to the problem at hand" (Grubb & Gupta, 2000: 19). In other words, the more material resources a potential leader has, the more effective that structural leadership, which can affect "the incentives of others to accept one's own terms or at least make a concession", will be (Underdal, 1994: 186). For many realists, the material preponderance is treated as synonymous as the power of coercion (Underdal) or "sticks and carrots" (Malnes). However, as Eckersley (2012:12) points out, actors with material preponderance can also possess "a range of communicative advantages", which is relative to other actors in

"advancing ideas, norms and discourses concerning the basis of international cooperation". Thus, the leader can make its voice be heard not only by coercion, but also by its "smart power" (Nye, 2008) which means the power of attraction that associated with its material advantages. Structural leadership is clearly important for climate change negotiations. The EU has some structure power, although it is weakened by the internal divergences. Nevertheless, being an economic and political power still gives the Union the ability to influence and force other actors to respond to its efforts in multilateral negotiations. As an Dutch negotiator said in an interview, "if the Netherlands speaks with a few other countries, people may listen politely. But, if the EU speaks, people listen seriously." (Kanie, 2003: 6)

Directional leadership, according to Grubb and Gupta (2000:20), is explained as "the possibility of states leading by a combination of internal and external initiatives that seek to influence the perception of other countries as to what is desirable and what is possible". Following this definition, a directional leader is supposed to make the first move or commit itself to potentially costly measures (leading by example) to demonstrate the achievability of a particular goal or the feasibility and effectiveness of a certain measure. As Kanie (2003:7) argued, directional leadership can operate as "a form of social persuasion", but, this persuasive impact is closely related to the amount of uncertainty removed. Here, the uncertainty refers to other actors' unsureness of whether the leader is ready to undertake substantial measures or just engage in "cheap talks" (Underdal, 1994: 183-185). Since the EU set good examples in mitigation ambition (such as the 8% under the Kyoto Protocol and the "20-20-20" target in 2007) and climate policies, it has been widely recognized as a directional leader in climate change negotiations.

Instrumental leadership directly links with the actual negotiation process. It tries to "find a common ground by using negotiating skills as well as skills to pursue issue-linkage, issue-based coalitions and interactive bargaining" (Gupta and Ringius, in Kaine, 2003: 8). As Underdal (1994:185) defined, instrumental leadership is "essentially a matter of finding means to achieve common ends". The empirical studies

show that this leadership mode of the EU is not as prominent as other two modes. Because of its internal slow decision-making and external organization, the EU is less able to take quick initiatives and to respond immediately during tactical negotiations. But still, the instrumental leadership has certain importance in the negotiations.

3. Methodological Framework

Having set out the theoretical framework in the last section, I will now discuss the methodological framework, which will serve as methods to aplly theories and more important, to answer the research questions.

3.1 The Research strategy

Research strategy, according to Ragin and Amoroso (2011:36), is best understood as "the pairing of a primary research objective and a specific research method". As outlined before, the principle research objectives are two-fold: first, the research is designed to assess the variation of the EU's leadership role in climate change politics; based on the accomplishment of the first objective, the second one is to test the applicability of leadership theory in explaining the effectiveness of leadership role and to answer the research question: how (under what conditions) the EU can maintain an effective leadership in the future?

In order to achieve the two objectives, and given the complex nature and relatively long time span that the research covered (the EU's engagement in United Nation Framework Convention on Climate Change can date back more than twenty years ago and the EU itself also changed massively over that period), I provide a detailed process tracing of the changes of the EU's leadership role in the international climate change negotiations from both the EU and other actors' perspective, as well as a comparative case study of the EU's performance in two specific negotiations.

3.2 Measuring change: combining qualitative and quantitative data

The first objective of this research involves measuring the changes of the EU's leadership role, however, change is not itself an entity. How to measure 'change'?

Mason and Dale (2011:165) mentioned two possible ways: through standardized survey instruments (in the form of questionnaires, codebooks, software etc) or constructed on the basis of documentary and archival evidence. Using standardized quantitative instruments, on one hand, have unquestioned advantages, for instance, it allows for the collection of comparable data over different period of time, so permitting change to be measured by systematic comparison to delineate secular trends; on the other hand, it is not the perfect way for every research on 'change': making data standardized involves processes of stripping away detail that limits its scope for analyzing the complexities of change (ibid, 172-173). On the contrary, the qualitative method has its power in providing more "telling detail" notwithstanding its unsystematic and unstandardized nature (ibid, 166). As Mason and Dale (2011) said, different methods are needed to capture different kinds of change.

In this research, Role theory assumes that an actor's role is determined by both "the actor's own role conception and by the expectations and reactions of other actors" (Elgström, 2006: 15). So, investigating the changes of role needs to encompass both 'insider' (the EU) and 'outsider' (non-EU participants) perspectives. While the insider perceptions are important particularly in "understanding the level of the EU ambitiousness and desire to take on a greater responsibility in negotiations", the outsider perceptions allow to "assess the level of effectiveness and recognition that the EU's performance has generated amongst other negotiation participants" (Megan, 2011: 19). Also as shown in leadership theory, investigations on leadership role should include both the supply and demand side of leadership (Parker, Karlsson, C & Hjerpe, 2012). Since the 'change' itself is often "perception and human judgment" (ibid), triangulating responses from both inside and outside will make this research results more reliable.

3.2.1 Measuring the changes of the EU's leadership conception
Since the EU's conception (the supply side) of leadership role is largely reflected by the development of its climate change policy and the externalization of this policy, I will conduct a qualitative literature study to have a process tracing of the EU's climate change policy development, and use the method of text analysis to analyze the EU's

official documents and policy papers, as well as other textual materials to find out whether the EU's ambition to lead in international climate negotiations has changed over time and how has the EU's leadership role performance (*Structural, Directional and Instrumental* leadership) developed and changed in the last two decades, thus focusing on the EU's internal climate change policy development and its international commitments and actions. The analysis will be conducted chronologically; the chief reason for doing this is to provide a clearer sense of the historical context in which the EU developed its leadership. Generally speaking, four phases of EU climate change policy can be identified[2]: 1) late 1980s to 1992: formation and formulation phase; 2) 1992- 1997: Kyoto protocol negotiation phase; 3) 1997-2005: Kyoto protocol rescue phase; 4) since 2005: Complying with Kyoto protocol and preparing for the post 2012 phase (Wurzel & Connelly, 2011: 30; Jordan, 2010: 255). Through reviewing relevant literature and examining important climate change policy documents in each phase, the EU's climate change policy development and leadership performance can be depicted.

However, the methods chosen in this section are not problem-free. Even though it is quite suitable to depict the changes of the EU's leadership conception through analyzing relevant texts, which texts are selected to analyze remains a problem. As Mason and Dale (2011) argued, the textual data is often 'cherry-picked' rather than selected systematically, which may lead to the problem of selection bias. The researcher plays a key role in deciding not just what materials to include but also how to 'read' it. This leads to another criticism of textual analysis - lack of objectivity. To approach these problems, I will collect textual materials from different EU institutions in different periods of time and link them with the context to make sure that the selected texts are not one-sided or over-read. Even though the official documents collected are of high modality (degree of certainty, Mckee, 2003: 97), I will bear in mind that each text should be viewed with a critical perspective in the process of interpretation.

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[2] The four periods is identified on the basis of Wurzel & Connelly (2011) and Jordan's (2010) work, according to the development of the EU's internal climate change policy and the international climate change politics.

3.2.2 Measuring the changes of the EU's leadership recognition

As for the changes of the EU's role recognition (the demand side of leadership), I will conduct a secondary qualitative analysis based on the quantitative data collected by Parker, Karlsson and Hjerpe at four consecutive climate summit (COP 14-17, 2008-2011). Using quantitative data can give us a clearer image of how the EU's leadership role recognition changed among other negotiation participants. One problem with this secondary analysis is that it cannot give a whole picture of the EU's leadership role recognition from the beginning, since the data was collected from 2008. However, the missing period can be supplemented by the previous qualitative study. It is widely accepted that the EU took on a leader's responsibility since 1990s, and became the only leader when the US withdraw from Kyoto protocol (which provide the EU with a 'diplomatic windfall' to claim the mantle of leadership, as said by Falkner, 2007). And from 2001 to 2005, the EU made great efforts to push for the ratification of the Kyoto Protocol, including promote more stringent international commitment (agreed to achieve an 8% reduction of GHGs emissions) and persuade Russia and Japan to ratify the Protocol. All these efforts bring the EU with high leadership recognition by other negotiation participants. This period was described as the 'golden age' of the EU's leadership, during which the EU was perceived as the only unchallenged leader in the climate change regime. Based on these qualitative studies, analyzing the secondary quantitative data from 2008-2011 is of high value, because it can show us the most recent and more accurate changes of the EU's leadership recognition.

There are also several limitations of using secondary analysis. One of the most criticized limitations is that the research has no control over data quality, and with data collected by other, the research lacks familiarity with data, such as information about the range of variables, the ways in which the variables have been coded, and various aspects of the organization of the data (Bryman, 2004: 205-206). Another related limitation is that secondary data may not be sufficient for your study, for example, in this research, the collected data is only available from 2008-2011, which cannot provide a holistic picture of the EU's leadership role recognition since 1990s. However, as Savage (2011)

argued, rather than worry unduly about the specific issue of re-using secondary data, we might instead concern more about working with whatever material is available (Mason and Dale, 2011:177).

3.3 A Comparative Case Study

The preliminary findings of the first part of research reveal that even if the EU has always devoted to leading in the climate change negotiations, we are currently facing a more fragmented leadership landscape than ever, with the rising of BASIC countries vying for leadership roles, notably China and the returning of the US since the inauguration of Obama administration. People began to question if the EU still has the ability to lead in the climate change negotiations, especially after its failure in COP 15 at Copenhagen 2009. However, the same cannot be said for COP 17 at Durban, where the EU was widely hailed as the hero in fashioning the surprise outcome- The Durban Platform on Enhanced Action (Eckersley, 2012:19). The profound shift towards a fragmented leadership landscape and multipolar world that was evident at Copenhagen was no less evident at Durban. So, the second objective of this research is to shed light on the question: how come the effects of EU's leadership role changed so much in this short period of time? [3] This question can be further extended to：How can the EU be an effective leader under the circumstance of fragmented leadership in the field of climate change?

And according to leadership theory, if the efforts of a leader are to bear fruit, it is usually due to the 'contributions of different forms of leadership' (Parker et al, 2012: 272). The theory further implies that, leadership will "be most effective when supply matches demand" (Underdal, 1994: 181). So, with these theory propositions in mind, this study employs a comparative case study approach to investigate the link between the EU's performances and the negotiation outcomes, as well as the interaction between the EU and other actors in the negotiations. As Yin (2009:13) explained, case study is

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[3] By asking this, I did not mean that the EU alone, should be responsible for the failure or success of the climate change negotiations, but to emphasize the fact that EU, as a leader, exerted its influence on the outcome.

most suitable when "a 'how' and 'why' question is being asked about a contemporary set of events over which the researcher has little or no control". This resonates with my research objective which aims to address a how and why question (why did the EU's leadership role effects change so dramatically) and of course, the researcher has no control of the event. Another reason to use case study is that it is "an in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular project, policy, institution, program or system in a 'real life' context" (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2011: 256), which can provide the researchers with a more holistic understanding of the research topic. And by comparing the cases one can test "whether the residual differences between two similar cases were causal or spurious in producing a difference in these cases' outcome" (George & Bennett, 2005: 6).

3.3.1 Case selection

In multiple-case studies, according to Yin (2009: 54), each case must be carefully selected so that "it either (a) predicts similar results or (b) predicts contrasting results but for anticipatable reasons". The primary criteria for case selection, as George and Bennett (2005) argued, should be relevance to the research objective. Since the objective of this part is to investigate the factors that affect the EU's leadership effectiveness in climate negotiations in the current fragmented leadership landscape, the cases should be selected from the Conference of Parties (COP) under the UNFCCC. Moreover, due to the fact that the fragmented leadership landscape was not evident until the Copenhagen Summit in 2009 (COP 15), this helps to narrow down the scope of potential cases to only three COPs, namely COP 15 (Copenhagen 2009), COP 16 (Cancun 2010) and COP 17 (Durban 2011). And in this research, COP 15 and COP 17 are selected for the reason that they are two representative COPs which have different outcomes (dependent variable), even though the EU's capacity and willingness to lead did not change that much.

3.3. 2 Organizing comparison: selection of variables to compare

The variables are selected based on the propositions of the objectives and selected theories. And as the EU is no longer recognized as the only leader, other actors' (both

other leaders and potential followers) positions and performance will also be examined in this fragmented leadership landscape. The selected variables are as following:

1. *EU's external climate policy positions and performances.* Firstly, the EU's positions in the negotiations should be examined: What are the goals or interests expressed in concrete positions that the EU wants to defend (Schunz 2011)? And based on leadership theory, all three modes of leadership will be examined and compared in the two cases in order to find out whether the EU performed differently in the two COPs that caused the different outcomes. The following questions will guide the examination and comparison: Did the EU provide resources and inducements to address the climate change problem (Structural leadership)? Did the EU demonstrate a credible domestic climate change policy and provide new ideas and solutions for dealing with the climate change problem (Directional leadership)? Did the EU act as a broker to bridge problems in negotiations (Instrumental leadership)? (Karlsson, et al, 2012: 14)

2. *Other leaders' positions and performances.* As stated before, the EU, US and China are the 'big three' in the climate change negotiations, whose performances profoundly influenced the agendas and outcomes of the COP. Comparing other leaders' (US and China) positions and performances in the negotiations, as well as the interplays of leadership performances among the leaders, may help to reveal new causal explanations of certain outcome.

3. *Potential followers' reactions.* As Underdal (1994) defines, leadership is a "relationship of influence in which one actor guides or directs the behavior of others towards a certain goal" (p178). The effectiveness of leadership also depends on whether the potential followers are willing to let their behavior to be guided. So, I will also examine whether potential followers changed their preferences to fit in with the EU.

3.3.3 Discussion of the method

Since the cases of this study are selected based on some preliminary knowledge of dependent variables (negotiation outcomes), not selected randomly and it is a small-N case study (only two cases), one potentially severe problem is the so-called "selection

bias", which means "the researcher unwittingly selects cases that represent a truncated sample along the dependent variable of the relevant population of cases" (George and Bennett, 2005: 23). According to Collier and Mahoney (1996: 59), selecting extreme cases on the dependent variable may lead the analyst to focus on cases that produce biased estimates of causal effects. However, George and Bennett (2005: 23) argued that selection on the dependent variable should not be rejected out of hand. It can help "identify which variables are not necessary or sufficient conditions for selected outcomes" and "serve the heuristic purpose of identifying the potential causal paths and variables leading to the depend variable of interest" (ibid). Another related problem is "generalization". It is argued that the results drawn from small-N studies cannot be generalized to a larger category, so the researchers should not over generalize from the cases. As noted in the research objective, this study is not to generate a broad generalization of how can the EU be an effective leader in all context. Instead it aims to provide a circumscribed "contingent generalization" of the EU's leadership effectiveness in the field of climate change.

3.4 Data collection

There is more than one approach to collect extensive data for a comparative case study. And it is crucial to bear in mind that the type of data needed is closely linked with the research objectives. Since the principle research objectives are to investigate the changes of the EU's leadership role and the EU's leadership performance in two specific negotiations, the data collected should serve to achieve those.

The qualitative evidence presented in the study is based on primary documents and secondary sources, including EU official documents and press releases, records from the UNFCCC negotiations and agreements, records of interviews and newspaper articles during the negotiations, reports and newsletters from NGOs and other organizations, as well as academic articles and books that relevant to the research questions. The EU official documents are limited to the Commission and the EU Council, as well as the Parliament's documents on the topic of EU environmental policy in general and climate change policy in specific. Member States' national documents will not be taken into

consideration, even though the Union's environmental policy competence is shared with Member States (it is the EU as an entity that this research touched upon). Among these documents and legislations, I will lay stress on EU's long-term policy framework, objectives and international commitments on mitigation, such as: strategy on climate change for 2020 and beyond [2007]. Other relevant documents on energy and transportation policy, even though closely related to climate change, will not be examined one-by-one, due to the heavy workload. Some UN documents (such as Kyoto protocol and Copenhagen protocol, Bali Map and Durban Platform, etc) are also collected purposefully as supplementary sources. Other materials (for instance, records of interview, reports and academic articles) are searched based on key words that relevant to the research questions, such as *European Union, Leadership, Climate change negotiations*.

As mentioned before, the quantitative data will rely on Parker, Karlsson and Hjerpe's (2011) survey data collected at four consecutive climate summit (COP 14-17). Even though this kind of secondary analysis has certain limitations, such as having no control of data quality and absence of key variables of data; it is still quite useful when the nature of the research limits the researcher in gathering original data. As in this research, it is rather time-consuming and quite difficult, even if not totally impossible, to get access to the delegations who participated the COP and do a scientific survey on their perceptions towards EU's leadership role. So, using the existing data is the optimum way.

4. The changes of the EU's Leadership Role

The main aim of this part is to evaluate the changes of the Union's leadership role in the area of international climate politics by scrutinizing the evolvement of European climate policy and the EU's own conception and performance of the leadership role, and also, by investigating the recognitions of the EU's leadership role from outside the Union itself.

4.1 The changes of the EU's leadership role conception and performance

Role conception, according to role theory, is largely reflected by the role performance. By conducting a process tracing of the EU's climate change policy development (internal preparation of international negotiation positions) and its performance in international climate negotiations, this part serves to find out the changes of the EU's leadership role from the side of EU itself. As noted in the methodological framework, this part of analysis will be conducted chronologically. And each phrase will conclude with an assessment of the EU's leadership role conception and performance for the respective period.

4.1.1 Late 1980s to 1992: The EU's first bid for international leadership

The late 1980s saw the beginning of the EU's climate change policy during the preparation phrase of the 1992 UN Rio Summit (Wurzel and Connelly, 2011: 5). In this period, the EU's climate change policy making focused on the coordination of member states positions. In response to the Toronto Conference (1987), which has been described as "the first major international gathering to have global warming as its principle foci" (Jordan, et al 2010:54), the Commission issued the first Communication on climate change (COM (88) 656) to "elaborate preliminary ideas about possible Community action in respect of the Greenhouse Issue" (ibid). This Communication implied that the climate change issue was firmly on the EU's institutional agenda since then. In 1990, the European Council for the first time clearly expressed its leadership intention in the Dublin Declaration:

> There is also an increasing acceptance of wider responsibility, as one of the foremost regional groupings in the world, to play a leading role in promoting concerted and effective action at global level, working with other industrialized countries, and assisting developing countries to overcome their special difficulties. The Community's credibility and effectiveness at this wider level depends in large measure on the ability to adopt progressive environmental measures for implementation and enforcement by its Member States. … The Community and its Member States have a special responsibility to encourage and participate in

international action to combat global environment problems. … The Community must use more effectively its position of moral, economic and political authority to advance international efforts to solve global problems and to promote sustainable development and respect for the global commons. (European Council 1990: Annex II : 20-22)

From this declaration, it is easy to find out that the EU's leadership aspirations were rapidly becoming more ambitious and more concrete (Jordan, et al 2010), mentioning not only the leadership intention, but also the ways to perform this role. As Schunz (2012:11) argued, this statement "sets the tone for the Union's position for the years to come". This leadership statement was further translated into a specific commitment later that year when the Council decided that the EU should stabilize its GHG emissions at 1990 levels by 2000(ibid). Prior to Rio, the Commission launched a package of proposals, including: the SAVE Programme on energy efficiency, the ALTENER Programme on renewable energies, the monitoring mechanism for CO_2 emissions, and combined tax on the carbon/energy content of fuels(Jordan, et al 2010: 58-59). However, the European Council failed to agree the tax proposal, leaving the monitoring mechanism for CO_2 emissions the only climate policy for the EU.

In the international level, the EU signed and later ratified the Framework Convention on Climate Change (FCCC) in Rio, even though the FCCC did not contain any specific and binding targets. While the EU proposed long-term targets and timetables, the US refused such binding targets and emphasized non-compliance and monitoring. When the negotiations on FCCC in the Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee (INC)[4] were nearly blocked by the US' reluctance in accepting concrete reduction targets, it is the United Kingdom (UK), notably not the EU, managed to make a bilateral compromise with the US that enabled the US government to sign the FCCC (Jordan, et al 2010: 59-60).

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[4] INC was established by the UN in 1990 to prepare an international climate convention for signature at the June 1992 'Earth Summit' in Rio.

To sum up, the EU publicly proclaimed its ambition to play a leading role in climate change politics in this period, but its performance did not correspond with this claim. Even though the EU was the only party that committed to stabilize its GHG emissions, which can be categorized as a step to directional leadership, it failed to formally commit itself to achieving any or identifying any policy measures, except the monitoring mechanism. Moreover, the fact that the UK, not the EU, broke the deadlock during the negotiation revealed that the EU failed to perform an instrumental leadership role. As Schunz (2012:13) described, the EU can only be characterized as "an ad hoc negotiation participant" in this early stage, not a leader.

4.1.2 1992- 1997: Kyoto protocol negotiation phase

The EU's climate change policy became bogged down after Rio, due to the unsmooth integration process (Jordan, et al 2010). Not until the first Conference of Parties (COP 1) in Berlin in 1995, that the common climate policy went back on the EU's agenda. Meanwhile, the EU's ambition for taking a leading role remained strong, which can be seen from the Environment Commissioner Ritt Bjerregaard's speech in 1996:

> In the time up to Kyoto we must reinstate the European Union as a leader in the combat against Climate Change by agreeing on ambitious binding commitments and agreeing on policies and measures that will make it realistically possible to reach these commitments.

Besides these leadership ambitions, the Environment Council in 1996 agreed to seek "significant overall reductions in emissions after 2000" and made the decision to limit the global average temperature rise to "2 degrees above pre-industrial level" and claimed that this target "should guide global limitation and reduction efforts" (Oberthür and Pallemaerts 2010:33; Jordan et al, 2010: 62). It was the first time that Member States agreed on 'reduction' rather than merely on 'limitation' or 'stabilization' of emissions. The EU took a step further at 1997 Environment Council when they agreed an internal burden sharing arrangement to achieve a 15% reduction by 2010. However, according to Jordan (2010:63), the individual Member States targets only achieved

two-thirds- or about 9.2%- of the 15% target. Even though another few measures were adopted (such as the strategy to reduce CO_2 emissions from cars (COM (95) 689)), the 'credibility gap' still existed between "what the EU was promising in international discussions and what the EU was capable of delivering by way of common policies and measures" (ibid: 64).

Parallel to the internal policy development, the EU was also active in the development of the international climate regime. During the first COP in Berlin 1995, the EU worked bilaterally with the developing countries, especially the Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS), to put pressure on the JUSSCANNZ countries[5], which actively performed against a binding reduction target (Schunz, 2012: 13). Eventually, Berlin Mandate was signed, calling for a protocol to be adopted at 1997 COP in Kyoto. In 1997, the Kyoto COP mainly focused on the concrete and legally binding reduction targets for the industrialized countries. The overall reduction goal was set to 5.2% based on the 1990 levels for the period of 2008-12. While the EU committed to achieving 8% reduction (originally 15%), the US and Japan accepted cuts of 7% and 6%, respectively. As Jordan (2010: 65) stated, "these numerical targets were immensely important to the EU, as they fitted its traditionally regulatory approach to governing". But on the other side, the Union had to accept some other previously opposed positions, such as accepting flexible mechanisms[6]. So at last, "everyone came away from Kyoto with something" (Andresen and Agrawala 2002: 47, in Jordan 2010: 65).

In synthesis, the EU was still willing to lead in the international climate politics, as showed in its Environment Commissioner's speech. And the EU's performance in this period was also qualified as a leader. The Negotiation processes in Berlin and Kyoto

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[5] JUSSCANNZ is a negotiating coalition of non-EU industrialized countries in COP 1, including: Japan, United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, later with Switzerland, Norway and Iceland.

[6] Flexible mechanisms in the Kyoto Protocol mainly contains two mechanisms: (1) joint implementation (JI) which allows certain countries jointly to implement GHG emission projects; and (2) clean development mechanism (CDM) under which developed countries can sponsor certified GHG emission projects in the developing countries (Wurzel & Connelly 2011: 26).

COP can be seen as successes of the EU. As many scholars stated, "without concerted pressure from the EU, [The Kyoto Protocol] would have been considerably weaker" (ibid). During the negotiations, the EU used its economical and political links with the developing countries to build a coalition around the idea of specific emission reductions for the industrialized countries, which reveals a high level of the combination of structural leadership and instrumental leadership. Furthermore, the EU showed its directional leadership by proposing a 15% reduction target. Yet, the 'credibility gap' mentioned before, made some countries doubt the authenticity of the 15% target, which weakened this directional leadership. Summed up, even though the EU performed all three types of leadership relatively successfully, "its policy still constituted little more than the sum of national policies; hardly a solid base from which to launch a fresh bid for international environmental leadership" (Jordan 2010: 64).

4.1.3 1997-2005: Kyoto protocol rescue phase

In this post-Kyoto period, the main task of the EU was to flesh out the detail and implementation of the Kyoto protocol agreed in 1997. After a painstaking process, the new burden sharing agreement was adopted to implement 8% Kyoto target in 1998. In the following two years, parallel to the stalemate of the international negotiation process, the internal climate policy development within the EU also slowed down, facing "reluctance from Member States to agree new policy measures" (Collier 2002: 183). Confronted with the need to deliver on its own Kyoto commitment to keep the international policy process moving, the Commission launched the European Climate Change Programme (ECCP) in March 2000, which aimed to identify and develop possible policies and measures to reduce GHG emissions(Jordan 2010: 67; COM (2000) 88 final: 5-8). Together with the later Emissions Trading Scheme (ETS), the launch of ECCP was a great step to close the "credibility gap" that the EU suffered since 1990s.

However, the ECCP did not change the fate of the following Hague COP 6, which collapsed due to the bitter conflicts between the EU and US around issues, such as carbon sinks and reservoirs, compliance and the provision of financial assistance to developing countries (Jordan 2010: 66). In the words of the COP President, Jan Pronk,

"the EU had become the only game in town" (Bretherton and Vogler 2006:108). To make things worse, the newly elected Bush administration formally denounced its signature of the Kyoto Protocol in March 2001, leaving the EU to confront the dilemma of whether to proceed on its own.

In June 2001, the Gothenburg European Council decided that EU would ratify the Kyoto protocol without the US. Later this year, the Commission launched three initiatives, namely: Communication on the implementation of the first stage of ECCP; Decision to ratify the Kyoto Protocol and thereby formalize the previously informal burden sharing agreement; a formal proposal to establish an emissions trading system in the EU (Jordan 2010: 68-69). It is worth dwelling a little more on the third initiative- the establishment of ETS. The ETS was the world's first large-scale transnational carbon emissions trading scheme, which set limits for the CO_2 emissions of large installations responsible for 45% of total EU CO_2 emissions (Oberthür and Pallemaerts 2010: 42). Through the "cap and trade" system, the ETS, on the one hand, allowed the firms flexibility in energy using; on the other hand, controlled the aggregate emissions. According to Bretherton and Vogler (2006:109), this system provided "a direct response to the long running question of how the EU will back up its aspirations to climate leadership with credible implementation of its commitments". Besides, the ETS set good example for other areas in the world (for instance, some states in the US), showing that the EU was a good directional leader by leading as examples.

Back to the EU's performance in international level, after the COP 7 (Marrakech) in 2001 "finalized most of the remaining operational aspects of the Protocol", the EU invested great diplomatic efforts to ensure the entry into force of Kyoto Protocol. The intensive diplomatic efforts mainly focused on persuading waverers and breaking the unity of the "umbrella group" [7] to ensure the widest possible participation of industrialized countries to ratify the Protocol (Bretherton and Vogler 2006:109). Special

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[7] The Umbrella Group is a loose coalition of non-EU industrialized countries which formed following the adoption of the Kyoto Protocol. The Group is usually consisted of Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, the Russian Federation, Ukraine and the US.

efforts were given to Japan and Russia to ensure not only the 55 ratifications, but also the 55% of developed countries CO_2 emission. While "the UK, Germany and France applied bilateral pressure on Japan", the EU work hard to make Russia on board by offering to support their application to join the World Trade Organization (WTO) (ibid). The Kyoto Protocol finally went into force after getting Russian's support. This outcome further revealed the EU as a single actor capable of coordinating structural and directional powers to address international issues.

Altogether, the EU in this period achieved great progress in internal climate policy development. With the adoption of the ambitious ECCP and the creation of ETS, the EU could finally close the "credibility gap" and thereby provide credible directional leadership. The other two types of leadership were also prominent in the process of pursuing the ratification of the Protocol. Even after the US withdrew from the Protocol and the complicated enlargement in 2004, EU's leadership ambition did not change. As said by the EU Commissioner Wallström (2001) at the World Business Council:

> "[T]he EU has exercised leadership over the last few months, together with partners from around the world, to salvage the Kyoto Protocol. We affirmed that the Kyoto agreement is the only international framework for combating climate change after the United States' withdrawal from the Protocol. … I want to continue our international leadership role".

All these demonstrated that EU was a successful leader in this period, except the failure in COP 6.

4.1.4 since 2005: Complying with Kyoto protocol and preparing for the post-2012 phase

With the Kyoto Protocol ratified and in force, the international negotiations on climate change went into a new phase- preparing for the end of the Kyoto Protocol's first commitment period in 2012, which turned out to be even more complicated than ever. During this period, the EU's leadership ambition can be best shown by its ambitious "20-20-20 by 2020" climate and energy package. The energy commissioner Dimas

(2008) argued that this package send "a clear signal to our international partners about our determination to address climate change and should convince them to follow our example".

In *Limiting Global Climate Change to 2 Degrees Celsius - The Way ahead for 2020 and Beyond* (COM (2007) 2), the EU reaffirmed its leadership ambitions in international climate change policy by proposing "a firm independent commitment to achieve at least a 20% reduction of GHG emissions by 2020" (compare to 1990 levels), and rising to 30% if and when the other industrial countries come on board (COM (2007) 2: 3). And in order to ensure a more competitive, sustainable and secure energy system, the EU also proposed a binding target that 20% of total EU energy consumption should come from renewable sources by 2020 and a non-binding commitment to reduce the EU's energy consumption by 20% compared to 2020 in a related document- *An Energy Policy for Europe* (COM (2007) 1) (Jordan 2010: 73). In January 2008, the Commission launched a climate and energy package of unprecedented scale and complicity, including a revision of the 2003 Emission Trading Directive, a Decision on sharing the effort of GHG emissions reductions in the non-ETS sector among Member States, a new and comprehensive Renewable Energy Directive, and a Directive on carbon capture and storage (Oberthür and Pallemaerts 2010: 47). The every single legislation act of this package together, according to Oberthür and Pallemaerts (2010: 47), "regulate the whole of the EU's GHG emissions, determine the division of the reduction efforts between ETS and non-ETS sectors and set the framework for how best to create synergy in achieving the objectives set by the European Council for 2020". However, when the financial crisis began to bite in 2008, some Member States began fighting for "wholesale changes to make the entire package less economically burdensome" (Jordan 2010: 75). At last, the EU had to make big concessions to water down the Commission's initial proposals. But still, the climate and energy package is of great significance, offering the right way to "maintain the momentum and deliver on Europe's ambitions for climate change, energy security and competitiveness" (COM (2008) 30: 3).

However, the EU's climate and energy package, especially the 20% reduction commitment and its "fast track" financial package for the developing countries had no influence on the final outcome of Copenhagen COP (2009). The EU was marginalized by the US and BASIC group in the final stages of the talks, which lead to an extremely weak and vague political agreement known as Copenhagen Accord rather than a comprehensive binding global treaty as expected. The Copenhagen COP, just like COP 6 in Hague, was labeled as a failure for the EU. Things began to change in the following COP 16 in Cancun, for example, EU changed its positions and relied more on instrumental leadership, but still, little progress had been made. The real change happened in COP 17 in Durban – Durban Platform was signed as a legally binding treaty that encompassed both developed and developing countries. The EU's diplomatic role represented a dramatic reverse of its role in Copenhagen; it was widely hailed as the hero of the negotiation (Eckersley 2012:19-22).

To sum up, the EU repeatedly claimed its mantle of international climate leadership, despite its debacle in Copenhagen and the financial crisis and Eurozone debt crisis in this period. And its internal climate policy development, as well as international commitment demonstrated the EU's directional leadership. While the EU failed to be a leader or failed to lead effectively in certain COPs, it achieved great success in Durban. Detailed analysis about the Copenhagen and Durban COPs will be conducted in the Fifth part of this thesis.

4.2 The changes of the EU's leadership role recognition

After reviewing the EU's internal climate policy development and its performance in international negotiations, it is not hard to find out that the EU has vested great time and effort in leading global action against climate change. However, it is not enough to simply focus on the EU's climate policy development and international performance. As argued by Underdal (1994), leadership is a kind of relationship between leaders and followers. So, it is one thing to declare yourself a leader and quite another to be recognized as such by others. This part aims to uncover the changes of the EU's leadership role recognition so that we can have a better understanding of the EU's

leadership role in international climate politics. Also, as the leadership theory suggested, only the supply side matches the demand side, can the self-claimed leader provide an effective leadership. Thus, studying external perceptions can further shed light on the question of the effectiveness of the leadership role.

As mentioned before, I will conduct a secondary analysis of the quantitative data collected by Parker, Karlsson and Hjerpe (2012) at four recent COP meetings from 2008 to 2011. A total number of 1571 feedbacks (COP14 166, COP15 453, COP16 634 and COP17 318) were received in the four meetings from the delegates and observers. Here, the delegates mainly refer to the negotiators and representatives from governments (including the EU). Observers means those who did not participate the negotiation process, including media, researchers, and representatives from NGOs. The main question asked in the survey is: "which countries, party groupings and/or organizations have, in your review, a leading role in climate negotiations?" From 2009, questions like "which factor(s) motivate you to support a certain actor as leader?" were added into the survey. All these are open-ended questions, so the respondents can choose one or more countries (or factors) as their answer. The main findings are illustrated in the following table 1.

Before analyzing these findings, it is necessary to have a qualitative review of the EU's leadership role recognition before 2008. Due to the fact that the previous studies of the EU's leadership role mainly focused upon the (in)abilities of the EU to lead, particularly relating to the '3-Cs' of Competence, capability and coherence, the demand side of leadership was relatively neglected (Megan 2011: 5). So it is not surprising that there are few systematic and sufficient researches on the EU's leadership role recognition based on quantitative data. During the late 1980s and the 1990s, it is widely recognized that the EU and US worked together and offered co-leadership on climate change. However, due to the "credibility gap" in the early 1990s, the EU was often by some actors perceived as a hypocritical leader that "based its leadership on mere rhetoric using the luxury of being greener than it is" (Elgström 2010: 8). With the establishment of ETS and the adoption of ECCP, the EU's leadership recognition began rising. Gupta

and Van der Grijp (1999), based on 67 interviews with 'players', 'subjects' and 'referees'[8], did a research on the EU's leadership role recognition over the period from 1997 to 1998, which can generally present the picture of EU's leadership recognition in the late 1990s. According to their findings, the EU enjoyed high leadership role recognition among both developed and developing countries, even the US, China and Japan all affirmed its leading role. For instance, the interviewees from Japan underlined that "the EU has been showing a number one leadership compared to other countries", and developing countries shared the idea that "the EU played a key role in the making and implementation of climate change policy" (Iceland, Indonesia, China), "[EU's leading role] is consistent that it doesn't go up and down year by year" (Indonesia) (Elgström 2010: 8). After the US withdrew from the Kyoto Protocol in 2001, the EU became the only and unchallenged leader in climate change negotiations until the big change in the 2009 Copenhagen COP. In the following, I will analyze the data from 2008-2011 to have close inspection of the recent changes of the EU's leadership role recognition, as well as the changes of the climate change leadership landscape.

As shown in the table below, the EU, US, China and G77 group are the most frequently mentioned leaders in the field of climate change. At least three conclusions can be drawn from table 2. The first one is that the EU's leadership role recognition slipped dramatically during the Copenhagen Conference, from 62% to 46%, which means there were less and less followers want to embrace the EU's negotiations goals. Meanwhile, the US and China's recognition was 53% and 48%, respectively. Actually, it is one of the main reasons (the rise of US' and China's leadership role) that the scholars argued for the failure of the EU's leadership role in Copenhagen COP. Even though the EU's leadership recognition slightly rose to 50% in Durban COP (2011), the EU lost its exclusive leadership position in climate change negotiations. Interestingly, the outcome

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[8] According to Gupta and Van der Grijp , Players refers to the key negotiators and policy-makers from the negotiating countries; subjects means the industrialists and the environmental NGOs; referees are the scientific and research community and the journalists.

in Durban COP, under the same condition, was surprisingly successful for the EU. In the next part of this thesis, I will try to explain this phenomenon.

Table 1 Leadership Recognition 2008-11 (COP 14-17) percentages

	COP 14 2008	COP15 2009	COP16 2010	COP17 2011	Diff. 2008-11
EU as Leader	62	46	45	50	-12
US as Leader	27	53	50	42	+15
China as Leader	47	48	52	50	+3
G77 as Leader	27	22	19	33	+6
N	166	453	634	318	

(Source: Parker, Karlsson and Hjerpe 2012: 11)

The second conclusion is that we are now facing a more fragmented leadership landscape in climate change negotiations. The US' leadership recognition experienced a dramatic increase after Poznan COP (2008), reaching 42% in 2011 Durban COP. China's leadership recognition had been relatively stable, rising slightly from 47% to 50%. Noteworthy in this table is that China equaled the EU as the most recognized leader in Durban COP (2011). However, there was no single clear leader on climate change. The Big Three (the EU, US and China) were all recognized as leaders, but only being recognized as such by roughly half of the respondents after COP14.

Last but not least, the developing countries were more and more recognized as leaders in climate change negotiation, such as China and G77 group. In Elgström's (2010: 15) words, we can see this as "the dawn of the new multi-polar world order", where the EU, US and large developing countries dominate the future climate change negotiations.

4.3 Conclusions on this part

The purpose of this part of research is to have a longitudinal study of the changes of the EU's leadership role both from the EU's and others' sides and to provide empirical bases for the second part of the research. Having reviewed the major developments of the EU's internal climate policy and its international performances, as well as others' recognition, it can now be concluded that:

The EU's climate policy aspirations have since the 1990s had a global dimension. After its first bid for international climate change leadership in the Dublin Declaration (1990), the EU's ambition to lead was repeatedly mentioned in its various official documents and speeches, and was mentioned more often and direct, which indicated an important fact that the EU's intention to become an active and leading entity in climate change politics, at least, did not decrease and even become stronger. Even after experiencing the economic recessions caused by the financial crisis and the failure in Copenhagen COP (2009), the EU did not give up its leadership ambition. And this ambition was underpinned by the internal development of climate policy- notably the ETS, which helped the EU fostering its credibility and enhancing its recognition as a leader.

In international level, the EU mainly performed as a directional leader. Since the early 1990s, the EU employed a "leading by example" strategy by advocating legally binding reduction targets and adopting ambitious reduction goals and policies. Yet, this directional leadership's credibility was questioned by other actors in the 1990s, since the EU was reluctant to adopt costly policies, such as the carbon-energy tax, to underpin its international commitments. Despite the inflexible and insisting position, the EU did show its instrumental leadership at times during this period, for instance, by building coalitions with developing countries to achieve the signature of Berlin Mandate (1995). A change of the EU's leadership performance showed up around 1997, when the EU began to strength its directional leadership role through adopting concrete policies and measures, especially the ECCP and ETS. Meanwhile, the instrumental leadership and structural leadership efforts were sidelined until the US retreated from the Kyoto Protocol in 2001. The EU showed considerable instrumental and structural leadership in

securing the entry into force of the Kyoto Protocol. Since 2005, however, the EU's performance was once again lacking of instrumental leadership, with the consequences that the EU did not mobilized others towards a post-Kyoto agreement. Only after experiencing the failure in Copenhagen COP (2009) that the EU re-emphasized instrumental leadership, for example, joining the Cartagena Dialogue for Progressive. Overall, the EU was deeply coined as a directional leader in the climate negotiations; the application of instrumental and structural leadership has been rather occasionally.

Being heavily influenced by the EU's leadership performances, the EU's leadership role recognition over time has also been fluctuating, from a hypocritical leader in the 1990s to an unchallenged leader enjoying high level of recognition in the period of 1997-2008. However, the recent research presented a more fragmented leadership landscape that the EU lost its exclusive leadership position in the climate change negotiations during the Copenhagen COP in 2009.

Furthermore, if we take the outcomes of the climate negotiations (see Annex1) into consideration, we can find that the effectiveness[9] of the EU's leadership role in the negotiations are heavily relied on the EU's performances of different types of leadership role and the recognition from others. For example, in the COPs which brought about positive outcomes, like COP 3 in Kyoto (1997) and COP 11 in Montreal (2005) which lead to the adoption of Kyoto Protocol, the EU exerted different kinds of leadership, especially the instrumental leadership, to achieve its objectives and enjoyed relatively high level of recognition. COP 7 in Hague (2000) and COP 15 in Copenhagen (2009) are the opposite cases, during which the EU only relied on its directional leadership and did not gain enough support from other actors. This further resonates with the leadership theory, which argues that if the efforts of a leader are to bear fruit, the leader must combine using different kinds of leadership and be recognized as a leader by other actors.

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[9] Here, the effectiveness of the EU's leadership role refers that whether the EU has achieved its goals, if it has mobilized other actors to reach a common agreement and if it is a "unitary and influential actor" (Megan 2011: 16).

However, as the recent research showed fragmented landscape on the supply side of leadership made it more difficult for the EU to attract potential followers. Then, how can the EU be an effective leader under the circumstance of fragmented leadership in the field of climate change? In the next section, I will try to answer this question.

5. A Comparative Case Study:

As noted, for almost twenty years now, the EU has very actively demonstrated a high level of engagement in international climate change negotiations. The EU's leadership indeed resulted some favorable outcomes, notably, the entry into force of the Kyoto Protocol. Yet, as the rising of the major emerging developing countries, for example, China and India, vying for leadership roles, and the returning of the US since the inauguration of Obama administration, it is widely argued that climate diplomacy in this fast-changing globalized economy and multi-polar geo-political world has challenged the EU (Verolme 2012: 11). The EU's suboptimal performance in Copenhagen summit (2009) seems to corroborate the assertion that there is not much the EU can do to influence the global talks in climate change under such a fragmented leadership landscape. Surprisingly, the Durban Conference showed a quite different picture, which is called a "triumph for European climate diplomacy". While the profound shift towards a fragmented leadership landscape and multi-polar world that was evident at Copenhagen was no less evident at Durban, then how come is there such a surprising difference between the EU's leadership effectiveness at Copenhagen and at Durban? Under what conditions can the EU be an effective leader? This part of the research aims to shed light on these questions through comparing the two cases (Copenhagen COP and Durban COP).

5.1 The Case of COP 15 in Copenhagen (2009)

5.1.1 Leading up to the Copenhagen Climate Change Conference

As the first commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol (setting emission targets for industrialized countires) will expire in 2012, the COP 15 in Copenhagen, as planed in Bali Road Map (2007), was intended to adopt a follow-up agreement beyond 2012 that

can deliver stringent measures to stop climate change from slipping out of control. The high-level segment brought about 115 world leaders to Copenhagen, making it one of the largest gatherings of world leaders ever outside UN headquarters. Their presence on a highly visible political arena raised high expectations for a successful outcome. As Secretary General Ban Ki-moon (2009) said,

> [T]his year presents the global community with a unique opportunity to address the climate challenge at the highest level of political engagement, and to chart a new course to sustainable development and global prosperity based on low-emissions green growth.

To make it possible for the Conference to produce an expected agreement, Ad Hoc Working Group on Long-Term Cooperative Action (AWG-LCA) and Ad Hoc Working Group on Further Commitments for Annex 1 Parties under the Kyoto Protocol (AWG-KP)[10] held five sessions between Bali and Copenhagen Conference to find a new global climate agreement. The main issues discussed and expected deliverable outcomes, as the UNFCCC Executive Secretary Yvo de Boer (2009) identified, would be: ambitious mid-term emission reductions by developed countries; clarity on mitigation actions by major developing countries; short- and long-term financial and technological support for developing countries (Earth Negotiations Bulletin 2009: 27). Yet, little progress had been achieved before the opening of the Copenhagen Conference. In terms of emission reduction, the developing countries, based on the "Common but differentiated principle", urged Annex 1 parties to commit to more ambitious reduction targets; on the other side, the developed countries stressed that the US and major developing countries (read India and China) should also take their

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[10] AWG-LCA and AWG-KP are two key bodies in which two parallel tracks of negotiations proposed by Bali Action Plan (BAP) are conducted. According to BAP, on one track, negotiations will be conducted under AWG-LCA to discuss long-term cooperative action to combat climate change by 194 parties of the UNFCCC (including the US); on the other track, negotiations will be held under AWG-KP to renegotiate industrialized countries' emission reductions by 184 parties to the Kyoto Protocol, which do not include the US. The AWG-LCA and AWG-KP are legally separate, even though always politically intertwined.

responsibility. As for the long-term cooperative action, the negotiations resulted redundant texts that was impossible to be adopted.

5.1.2 The Positions and Performances of Key Actors (leaders) in Copenhagen

The EU had high expectations of what could be achieved in Copenhagen prior to the Conference. In preparing for it, the EU agreed to a common negotiating mandate in 2009 in order to act uniformly at the conference. According to this mandate, the overall aim of the EU is pressing for a global, ambitious, comprehensive and legally binding international treaty (European Commission 2009). The EU also proposed several policies and measures to buttress the achievement of this goal and to exert its leadership influences. The EU agreed that the global warming average temperature needs to be kept below 2°C above the pre-industrial level (ibid), which is a clear demonstration of its directional leadership by providing new ideas. This kind of leadership can also be shown in its ambitious energy and climate package: the EU committed an unconditionally unilateral 20% emission cuts by 2020 compared to 1990 level, rising to 30% if other major economies reciprocate. On financing mitigation and adaptation measures in developing countries, the EU exerted its structural leadership by committing to contributing a fair share of the estimated 100 billion Euros that the developing countries will need annually by 2020 and providing a fair share of 'fast-start' financing for adaptation (ibid). As Curtin (2010: 3) said, while its emission reduction commitments were designed to galvanize other developed countries (especially the US) to action, the agreement on financing was designed to bring developing countries to the table.

China, presenting itself as a developing country, was even more recognized as a leader in the Copenhagen Conference than that of the EU. During the Conference, China tried to represent and defend the developing countries' interests based on the common but differentiated principle. According to China, the developed countries should take their historical responsibility to demonstrate a significant commitment to reducing emissions and to provide funds, technology and capacity building help to developing countries immediately; while the developing countries, which need to balance the environment

concerns with economic growth, should only be expected to take voluntary actions. Clearly, a legally binding agreement to all countries (except the least developed countries) was not an option for China. As China became the second largest economy and surpassed the US as the largest emitter of GHG, its structural power in the climate negotiations increased dramatically. Backed with its power, China had repeatedly resisted demands from developed countries to adopt binding limits on its emissions and had blocked specific reduction targets and timelines from being accepted during the Conference. Traditionally, this kind of actor cannot be counted as leader since it pursued its self-interests instead of common good; however, China's performance was welcomed and recognized as leadership performance by other developing countries, such as African participants. China also built blocs with India, Brazil and South Africa, known as the BASIC group, to act jointly at Copenhagen and negotiated with the US bilaterally on specific issues that directed the whole climate negotiation, showing itself as an instrumental leader. Besides, China proposed to reduce its carbon intensity- the amount of carbon dioxide emitted per unit of economic output- by 40-45% based on 2005 level (New York Times 2009). Although this reduction target is far less ambitious than the EU's up to 30% aggregate reduction and was often criticized as a "hollow gesture", it shows China's willingness to contribute to the global GHG reduction and should be considered as directional leadership.

After having stayed out of the climate negotiations during George W. Bush's time, the US decided to change course and now resume its leadership in tackling climate change in the Obama presidency. In the run-up to the Conference, the US clearly showed its leadership willingness; however, its hands were tied by the US Congress. US climate envoys stated again and again that they were not willing to repeat the "Kyoto mistake" of endorsing and international agreement that would stand no chance of adoption in the Senate, by this, the US sent a clear message that it would be not possible to conclude a legally binding treaty in Copenhagen (Schunz 2010:10). The US' main position was based on the "legally symmetrical" arrangement (Park 2010: 279), requiring all major emitters, especially china and other emerging economies, to take actions to reduce

emissions. The US also offered an emissions reduction target in the range of 17% below 2005 levels in 2020, with the ultimate goal of reducing emissions by 83% by 2050, but only in the condition that China and the other emerging economies also commit to robust mitigation contributions (White House 2009).

To sum up, it is obvious that the three leaders' positions on what should be achieved at COP 15 were conflicting with each other. Whilst the EU stubbornly insisted on achieving a legally binding agreement, China and the US had no interests in discussing any legally binding targets and timetables. In the similar vein, while China relied on "common but differentiated principle" to justify its rejection of more stringent emission reduction target, the EU insisted that all major emitters should take their responsibilities and the US simply refused to take any action unless China and other emerging economies committed themselves to robust mitigation. The incompatibility of the three largest emitters' positions, certainly, hampered the chance to achieve successful outcomes.

5.1.3 What happened in Copenhagen?

In the high-level segment, the world leaders did not reach an agreement on the expected outcomes as listed above. Instead, a rather vague and weak political agreement entitled "Copenhagen Accord" was noted[11] by the COP after a informal negotiation conducted by a group consisting of major economies and representatives of regional groups. During this process, the EU had been sidelined by the US and BASIC countries, whose leaders met privately in a meeting and made the decision that the legally binding treaty was off the negotiation table. This three-page Accord is merely a non-binding political declaration, which includes a goal of limiting temperature rise to 2 degrees, allows countries to determine their own national emission targets and policy actions and pledges financial commitments to developing countries by industrialized countries (Dimitrov 2010: 802-810). Without any concrete global targets for aggregate emission

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[11] The Conferences of Parties only take note of the Accord, not formally adopt it, due to the opposition to the Accord by seven countries.

reductions to ensure environmental results, the Accord was described as "a face-saving device to 'greenwash' the absence of a substantive agreement" (ibid: 797).

5.1.4 Assessment of the EU's leadership effectiveness in Copenhagen

While China unsurprisingly viewed the Copenhagen Accord as "significant and positive" (He Yafei 2009), the exact same outcome fell well short of the EU's expectations, neither the developed countries, nor the developing countries were willing to take a step further and to follow the EU's lead to commit to a legally binding agreement. As said by Curtin (2010: 7), there was a recognition that "the EU had been upstaged at best and humiliated at worst". Although the 2℃ limit (proposed by the EU) was accepted and enshrined in the Accord, yet, without translation into concrete policies and measures, it is nothing more than a symbolic victory for the time being (Schunz 2010).

As mentioned, the ambitious emission reduction commitment was expected to set an example and galvanize other countries to take more ambitious reduction targets. But the failure of this lead-by-example strategy was doomed when the developed and developing countries did not reach an agreement on emission reduction in AWG-KP and the EU failed to act as a broker to bridge the problem. The EU's efforts to form an alliance with developing countries (AOSIS and African countries) by offering "fast-track funding" were also failed. The developing countries not only criticized the EU's financial support as being too little and too late, but also criticized the EU's "single legally binding agreement proposal" as an attempt to "kill Kyoto" and to "weaken drastically the legal status of industrialized country commitments" (Allessi et al 2006: 9-10). Overall, the attempts by the EU to exercise structural and directional leadership were all ineffective.

And if we scrutinize the process of the Copenhagen conference, we can find that the EU seldom exerted its instrumental leadership. For most of the time, the EU was stuck in its ideal position, trying to uphold both the pressure on other players and the illusion that the negotiated outcome could still be binding (Schunz 2010: 10). The lack of instrumental leadership left the EU somewhat marginalized in Copenhagen. At the final

stage, when the US, together with BASIC countries was hammering out the Copenhagen Accord, the EU was locked out of this crucial discussion.

5.2 The Case of COP 17 in Durban (2011)

Durban Conference was held in November 2011 to continue the negotiations on the establishment of a new treaty to limit carbon emission after the first commitment period of Kyoto Protocol (2008-12). After the frustration at Copenhagen and the limited progress at Cancun, participants went to Durban with rather low expectations. In the lead-up to Durban in 2011, three official UNFCCC negotiating sessions were held, yet, little progress had been achieved. As Christiana Figueres[12] summarized, the talks were painfully slow and convoluted, meanwhile, the deepening economic crisis was making it harder to make any progress(Ares 2012: 5-6). Yet, after a 60-hour marathon negotiation session on the last day, a legally binding treaty was agreed. Even though it did not deliver many concrete results on the spot, still, this surprising outcome was seen as a "triumph for European climate diplomacy" (Verolme 2012: 2).

5.2.1 Positions of Key actors in Durban

The EU's position, while not changing too much from the one in Copenhagen, was set out in the conclusions of the 1138th Environment Council meeting. This position mainly contains three points: Firstly, the EU called for agreeing a "global and comprehensive legally-binding framework as soon as possible in order to keep the increase of global temperature below 2 degrees compared to the pre-industrial level" (Environment Council 2011: 1). Secondly, the EU also confirmed its "openness to a second commitment period under the Kyoto Protocol as part of a transition to a wider legally-binding framework" (ibid: 2). However, the openness of second commitment period was attached with conditions: A road Map - which includes a timeline with a final date and process taking into account the 2013-2015 review (United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change reassessment of progress), and the duration of a possible second commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol should not last beyond

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[12] Christiana Figueres is the Executive Secretary of the UNFCCC, succeeding Yvo de Boer since 2010.

2020 and be compatible with the timeline for development and entry into force of a future global and comprehensive legally binding framework engaging all parties (ibid:2-3). Furthermore, the EU's "climate and energy package" was still a big part of the position (known as the "20 20 20" programme). The EU reaffirmed its conditional 30% reduction (by 2020 compared to 1990) as part of a global and comprehensive agreement for the period beyond 2012(ibid:4).

China, together with other BASIC countries, presented a Common position after the Ninth BASIC Ministerial Meeting. There was nothing new in this position: they emphasized that a second commitment period of Kyoto Protocol is the essential priority for the success of Durban Conference; urges that developed countries should bear for the historical responsibilities of climate change and lead the emission cut while honoring their commitment to provide financial support and technology to developing countries for better responding the climate change. On the other hand, developing countries should take action in the framework of sustainable development (BASIC 2011: 1-3). As before, China was unwilling to accept a legally binding agreement. However, from the interviews of the head of the Chinese Delegation- Xie Zhenhua, we can sense something new of China's positions compared to the previous ones.

- China hopes to reduce the per-unit GDP greenhouse gas emission in 2020 by 40 to 45 % from 2005 levels.
- "China has a strong political will to bear the responsibilities that match the country's economic development and capabilities".
- "I would like to say that the Chinese government's position is open, positive and constructive in taking part in these negotiations we would like to unite all parties to further facilitate the negotiation process." (CNC News 2011)

US took a hard-nosed, conservative negotiating position in Durban. As Jonathan Pershing, the US Deputy Special Envoy for Climate Change, said:

- "Voluntary agreements to cut emissions agreed at previous summits in Copenhagen and Cancun were enough until 2020".

- Towards the EU's Proposal, he added, "We do not believe that conditions are ripe in Durban for a legally binding agreement. Even if China and other key polluters agreed to sign up to a new deal in the years to come, it could not guarantee our involvement. We do not want to launch negotiations on an agreement we would not be able to join".

- "We have got a whole lot of agreements that take us through to 2020." (Ares 2012: 10-11; New York Times 2011)

5.2.2 What happened in Durban?

With these different, sometimes even contradictory positions, governments headed into the negotiations. Although the negotiating process was painstakingly slow at the beginning, parties started to seek "mutual reassurance" on "how to reconcile the looming termination of the first Kyoto commitment period at the end of 2012" (Earth Negotiations Bulletin 2011:29). During the negotiations, the EU formed alliance with AOSIS, LDC (the least developed countries) based on a set of common positions, namely pursuing a legally binding treaty and the second commitment period of Kyoto Protocol. This coalition really "injected a sense of direction and pace into negotiations" in the final moments. In order to get the legally binding treaty accepted by the "opposition" (the US and BASIC), the EU, AOSIS and LDC, backed up by African Countries, strategically decided to break through the deadlock from India. In an extraordinary scene, a direct negotiation began in the plenary hall between the Indian minister and the European Union's commissioner, Connie Hedegaard (Jocobs 2011: 3). Later, the US and China, as well as some other developing countries joined the negotiation. Eventually, the US, China and India bowed to overwhelming pressure from the rest of the world, agreed to "launch a process to develop a protocol, another legal instrument or an agreed outcome with legal force under the Convention applicable to all Parties" (Earth Negotiations Bulletin 2011:30).

The agreement, known as the "Durban Platform for Enhanced Action", can be considered as a huge success for both the EU and the world. The President of COP17 Maite Nkoana-Mashabane said: "What we have achieved in Durban will play a central

role in saving tomorrow, today". According to the platform, a legally binding treaty will be prepared by 2015, and to take effect in 2020. It is notable in that it, for the first time in history, removes the so called "firewall between the developed and developing countries", all emitters (including the US, China and India) should take responsibilities to reduce emissions under this collective, rules-based legal system. However, concrete targets for mitigation or financing of the platform still need to be negotiated in the upcoming meetings.

5.2.3 Assessment of the effectiveness of the EU's leadership in Durban

Clearly, the EU performed its leadership role at Durban much better than at Copenhagen. Most of the EU's wishes, indeed, were reflected in the final agreement- Durban Platform for Enhanced Action. The legally binding treaty, which is long hoped by the EU, was finally agreed. More importantly, the US and China (the two largest emitter of greenhouse gases) came on board, agreeing that all parties should be subject to the future legal-based system. From this point of view, we can say that the EU's leadership role was exerted effectively at Durban.

In terms of the EU's leadership role performance, the EU continued to perform its directional and structural leadership via offering ambitious reduction targets and commit to providing financial support. Noteworthy is that the instrumental leadership, which was almost invisible at Copenhagen, was surprisingly successful at Durban. In the period running up to the negotiations, the EU attended the Cartagena Dialogue, a unique group of countries with progressive ambitions on climate change. Since the Dialogue brings together both the developed and developing countries, it is said that the traditional negotiating division between developed and developing countries has been shattered (Jocobs 2011:2). Although the Cartagena Dialogue is not a true alliance of ambition, the EU managed to form an alliance with AOSIS and LDC and gained wide support from other developing countries (such as African countries) within the Dialogue. Thus, it is the background work (exertion of instrumental leadership) carried by the EU that played a key role in bringing about the unexpected successful result.

5.3 The EU in the fragmented leadership landscape - Comparing the cases

Taken together, the two cases present very different pictures of the EU as a leader in international climate negotiations. While the EU was humiliated by being marginalized at Copenhagen, it was hailed as a hero at Durban.

Besides the distinct outcomes, the two cases are similar in many aspects (see table 3[13]). For example, the two negotiations were both conducted under the fragmented leadership landscape. As showed in part 4 of this paper, the EU, US and China were all recognized as leaders by roughly half of the respondents in both COPs. And according to leadership theory, leadership will be most effective where there is a match between supply and demand. So, some authors (Parker et al 2010) asserted that there was a mismatch between the supply and demand for leadership for a binding deal in COP15, and in the same way, a legally binding deal was agreed because the supply side of leadership matched the demand side in COP 17. However, after careful inspection, I found that the EU's positions in Copenhagen were almost the same as those in Durban. And the three leaders' positions were contradictory to each other both in Copenhagen and Durban. Thus, the leadership supplied by the EU did not match the demand in both COPs. Context and position factors, now, can be ruled out from the reasons that caused the different outcomes.

Table 3 Table for Comparison

	Copenhagen COP	**Durban COP**
Context	Fragmented leadership	Fragmented leadership
EU positions	Legally binding deal replace Kyoto Protocol	Legally binding deal; second commitment of

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[13] The independent variables compared here are drawn from the methodology part.

		Kyoto Protocol
China positions	Oppose legally binding deal, etc	Oppose legally binding deal, etc
US positions	Oppose legally binding deal etc	Oppose legally binding deal, etc
Interplay of leaders' positions	Conflicting	Conflicting
EU's Structural leadership	Financial support	Financial support
EU's Directional leadership	20-20-20 programme	20-20-20 programme
EU's Instrumental leadership	No	Yes, actively

One most prominent difference between the two COPs lies in the performances of the EU's leadership. The EU only exerted its directional and structural leadership in Copenhagen, however, both turned out to be ineffective. In the run up to Durban, the EU turned to the Cartagena Dialogue to form alliance with AOSIS and LDC, which was a clear demonstration of it instrumental leadership. More crucially, the EU, who exerted all the three types of leadership in Durban, successfully forced the US, China and India to accept the legally binding deal. Then we can say that one of the main reasons of the surprising difference between the outcomes of Copenhagen and Durban is: the EU exerted its leadership role differently.

It should be noted that international climate negotiations under UNFCCC are rather complicated that the independent variables used here are far from enough to give a complete answer as to why the outcomes were so different. But through this looser application of most similar comparison, we can at least have part of the explanation (probably the most fruitful part).

Obviously, the rising of the emerging economies (particularly the BASIC countries) and the returning of the US to the climate negotiation have challenged and may continue to challenge the EU' leadership. One fact that can be drawn from both of the cases is that the EU's soft diplomacy is still ultimately no match for the US' or China's 'emission power', which gives them a significant veto power in the negotiations (Eckersley 2012:23). So the ideal situation is that the leaders can bridge their splits and exercise their leadership jointly, if possible. And, the EU's shift in performance from mainly "leading by example" to stronger instrumental efforts seems to be the most appropriate way for the EU to remain as an effective leader. Another phenomenon can be seen in the cases is that developing countries (such as the AOSIS) began to seeking a bigger role in the international climate negotiations. Building alliance with these countries in multilateral forums (the Cartagena Dialogue) can offer the EU more weight to put pressure on countries that have not yet come to terms. To sum up, in order to be an effective leader in the fragmented leadership landscape, the EU should pay more attention on instrumental leadership and cooperate with the US and China.

However, there are a number of other challenges towards the EU's leadership. Continued effective EU leadership in international climate negotiations will not only depend on the EU's will and ability to exert different kinds of leadership and cooperate with others, but also rely on the EU's internal policy development to narrow the credibility gap between international commitments and domestic actions, and to enhance its institutional building. Here I will not elaborate on this, due to the limited scope of this paper.

6 Conclusions

The thesis sets out to investigate the EU's leadership role in international climate change negotiations over two decades starting from 1990s. The aim was to conduct a longitudinal study of the changes of the EU's leadership role and shed light on the most recent changes to bring forward an explanation as to why is there such a surprising difference between the EU's leadership role effectiveness at Copenhagen and at Durban?

(How can the EU maintain as an effective leader in the fragmented leadership landscape?)

The role-theoretical framework applied in this thesis has allowed for a more comprehensive understanding of the changes of the EU's leadership role, which has led to an application of the distinction between role conception/performance and role recognition.

The first research question - *How did the European Union's leadership role in international climate change negotiations changed since the 1990s?*- was answered by combining different methods, including qualitative literature review, text analysis and a secondary study of quantitative data. The reason to use such diverse methods is that different kinds of change (role performance, conception and recognition) need different way to measure. As for the changes of the EU's leadership role conception, I mainly use text analysis to analyze the documents, policy papers and speeches from the EU institutions. The finding is that EU never gives up its leadership ambition in climate change politics, even in the period of economic crisis. As for the leadership performances, EU was deeply coined as a directional leader, only exerted its instrumental and structural leadership occasionally. The performances fluctuated in different periods of time in accordance with the internal policy development. The EU's leadership role recognition was investigated by a qualitative literature review and secondary quantitative study, showing that the recognition was heavily influenced by the role performance. However, the leadership landscape showed a fragmented situation that EU lost its unchallenged leadership role and the US and China were more recognized as leaders.

Based on the results of the first part research, the second part intends to shed light on the question- *How can the EU maintain as an effective leader in the fragmented leadership landscape?*- through comparing two cases. The cases selected are Copenhagen COP and Durban COP, which have distinct outcomes. The conclusion of this part is that one of the main reasons of different outcomes is that the EU performed

its leadership role differently. While the EU failed to attract potential followers (such as AOSIS, Africa countries) in Copenhagen, the EU devoted more on Durban Conference (attending Cartagena Dialogue for example), which helped the EU gain support from AOSIS, LDC and other developing countries and put more pressure on China and the US so that forced them to agree on the legally binding treaty. So, in the following negotiations, if EU wants to be an effective leader in the fragmented leadership landscape, it should rely more on instrumental leadership and combine using different types of leadership to attract the support from other actors, and more importantly, the cooperation between the leaders (the EU, US and China) is key to the success of the negotiation.

Before bringing closure to this thesis, it is appropriate to summarize the academic values of this thesis. Firstly, it provides a comprehensive understanding of the changes of the EU's leadership role in international climate change negotiations, both from the EU's side (leadership role conception and role performance) and other actors' side (role recognition). This framework of role study in climate change negotiations can be used as a template of studying the EU's roles in other international regimes. Secondly, this study reveals the relationship between role effectiveness and role performances, and to a large extent, reflects the changes of new world order. So, the findings of this study set a foundation for the future studies of the EU's role in facing of the multi-polar world order.

However, this thesis only focuses on few factors that influence the effectiveness of the EU's leadership role (e.g. the EU's leadership role performances and the interplays between the main leaders), due to the limited scope. As mentioned before, there are some other interesting aspects that the thesis does not touch upon, for example: with the deepening of the debt crisis in Euro zone, there is a trend within the EU that Member States are much more reluctant to accept ambitious commitments. How will this crisis affect the EU's leadership role need more detailed inspection in the future. Also, the Lisbon Treaty entered into force on December 1 of 2009, which introduced some institutional innovations (for example, the establishment of new Commission on

Climate Action, the creation of President of the European Council, and the establishment of the High Representative and the European External Service). Scholars began to argue that all these changes may enhance the EU's leadership performances. However, to which extent the institutional development of the EU enhances the EU's leadership role remains to be seen in future negotiations. All these can be the focuses of future studies.

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Annex 1 Timeline of COPs and Main Political Outcomes

Division of Periods	UN Climate Negotiations	Year	Outcomes
Pre-Kyoto phase	Earth Summit (Rio)	1992	UNFCCC signed[1]
	COP 1 (Berlin)	1995	Berlin Mandate[2]
	COP 2 (Geneva)	1996	Geneva Ministerial Declaration
Negotiating on Kyoto Protocol and entering into force phase	COP 3 (Kyoto)	1997	Kyoto Protocol formally adopted [3]
	COP 4 (Buenos Aires)	1998	Finalized unresolved issues in Kyoto COP
	COP 5 (Bonn)	1999	A technical meeting, no major conclusions reached
	COP 6 (Hague)	2000	Negotiation broke down[4]
	COP 6 bis (Bonn) COP 7 (Marrakech)	2001	US withdraw from the Kyoto Protocol[5]
	COP 8 (Delhi)	2002	Delhi Declaration, calling for technology transfer and minimize the impact of climate change on developing countries
	COP 9 (Milan)	2003	Reaffirmed support for Kyoto
	COP 10 (Buenos Aires)	2004	Buenos Aires Plan of Action, emphasizing on climate change

			mitigation and adoption
	COP 11 (Montreal)	2005	Kyoto Protocol enters into force and The Montreal Action Plan [6]
Post-Kyoto Phase	COP 12 (Nairobi)	2006	Little achieved, mainly on adaptation issue
	COP 13 (Bali)	2007	Bali Road Map[7]
	COP 14 (Poznan)	2008	Negotiating a successor to the Kyoto Protocol
	COP 15 (Copenhagen)	2009	Copenhagen Accord drafted[8]
	COP 16 (Cancun)	2010	Cancun Agreements drafted and largely accepted by the COP, calling for "Green Climate Fund"
	COP 17 (Durban)	2011	The Durban Platform for Enhanced Action drafted and accepted by the COP[9]

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[1]The Convention, which was signed by 154 nations on June 1992, sets an overall framework for intergovernmental efforts to tackle the challenge posed by climate change. Under the convention, the governments should: gather and share information on GHG emissions, national policies and best practices; launch national strategies for addressing GHG emissions and adapting to expected impacts, including the provision of financial and technological support to developing countries; cooperate in preparing for adaptation to the impacts of climate change. With the principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities", developed/industrialized countries, which were listed and identified in Annex 1 of the UNFCCC, should take greater responsibility in reducing GHG emissions. (UNFCCC, http://unfccc.int/essential_background/convention/items/2627.php)

<superscript>2</superscript> In the "Berlin Mandate", the COP agreed to begin a process to strengthen the commitments on the part of industrialized countries to reduce GHG emissions beyond the year 2000 through the adoption of a protocol or other legal instrument. The EU invested great diplomatic efforts in this process, working bilaterally with developing countries to put pressure on other industrialized countries to get the mandate signed.

<superscript>3</superscript> The Kyoto Protocol outlined the GHG emissions reduction obligation for Annex I countries, and adopted some mechanisms, such as emissions trading, clean development mechanism and joint implementation. The overall reduction goal was set to 5.2% based on the 1990 levels for the period of 2008-12 for most industrialized countries and some central European economies in transition. While the EU committed to achieving 8% reduction (originally 15%), the US and Japan accepted cuts of 7% and 6%, respectively.

<superscript>4</superscript> The EU and US could not reach an agreement on the issues like carbon sinks and reservoirs, compliance and the provision of financial assistance to developing countries (within the US' proposal). Despite some compromises agreed between the United States and some EU countries, notably the UK, the EU countries as a whole, rejected the compromise positions, and the talks in The Hague collapsed. This COP was perceived as a failure for the EU's leadership role.

<superscript>5</superscript> Little progress had been made in two COPs. The two COPs took place after George W. Bush' inauguration and the US' rejection towards Kyoto Protocol; as a result, the United States delegation to the meetings declined to participate in the negotiations related to the Protocol and chose to take the role of observer at the meeting.

<superscript>6</superscript> COP 11 marked the entry into force of the Kyoto Protocol. It is noteworthy that the EU played a prominent leadership role in achieving the entering into force of the Kyoto Protocol. Moreover, the Montreal Action Plan, which was agreed at the end of the conference, "extend the life of the Kyoto Protocol beyond its 2012 expiration date and negotiate deeper cuts in greenhouse-gas emissions".

<superscript>7</superscript> The Bali Road Map is a two-year process to finalizing a binding agreement in 2009 in Copenhagen. The Bali Road Map includes the Bali Action Plan, which charts the course for a new negotiating process designed to tackle climate change, with the aim of completing this by 2009, along with a number of other decisions and resolutions (http://unfccc.int/key_documents/bali_road_map/items/6447.php).

[8] The Copenhagen COP aimed to establish an ambitious global climate agreement for the period from 2012 when the first commitment period under the Kyoto Protocol expires. However, the conference did not achieve a binding agreement for long-term action, which was seen as another failure of the EU's leadership role. At the final stage of the Conference, the EU was sidelined by the US and BASIC group. Even though the Copenhagen Accord partly reflected the EU's requests, such as temperatures should not exceed 2 degrees above pre-industrial levels, it is an extremely weak and vague political agreement rather than a comprehensive binding global treaty as widely expected.

[9] The conference agreed to a legally binding deal comprising all countries, which will be prepared by 2015, and to take effect in 2020. The agreement, known as the "Durban platform", is notable in that for the first time it includes developing countries such as China and India, as well as the US which refused to ratify the Kyoto Protocol. It is hailed as a great success for the EU, cause the EU that exerted its various leadership and became the key player in fashioning this surprise outcome.