

Research on the Policy Transfer Competition in the International Climate Conference Field

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Abstract

This paper studied the policy transfer phenomenon in the International Conference based on the international climate conference. In the first place, the author introduced the basic situation of the international climate conference, and used policy transfer as a tool to analyze and summarize the ways and the trend of the climate of International Climate conference policy transfer. According to the data analysis, International Conference policy transfer competitive factors have been gotten. At last the author obtained the final comprehensive

policy transfer framework of the competitive process and made several policy recommendations.

Keywords: Field of the International Conference, Policy Transfer, The support league Framework, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, Bilateral and Multilateral Agreements.

1. Introduction

Policy transfer is used to establish some kinds of theory frame, and identify the policy making process. The policy transfer usually originates in government hunting for other successful solutions when they find an unsolved problem or some policies have to be changed. With more and more communication of economics and politics between different countries, it's quite common to see the policy transfer in international conference, and it is even more frequent in recent years. Different countries discuss the ways of development, conference decision and policy transfer through the international conference and forum. The attending countries adjust the existing policies to adapt to the changes brought by policy transfer. The policy transfer in international conference field has deep and longtime effects. The process is always not only in the conference, but also lasts a long time after the conference, so it is very effective to the public policymaking process. Some national policy output could affect other countries through its own rules, while some national policy input made its own economic pattern collapses. Policy transfer between countries reflected the competition ability of policy transfer, so this paper intend to generalize key factor of building policy transfer competitiveness by studying the policy transfer phenomenon in the United Nations Climate Conference, and improve the ability of public policy transfer and make some policy suggestions accordingly.

We select the United Nations Climate Conference as our theme, which is the most influential multilateral international conference in last decades. Now it expands and develops in new technological identification and global strategic pattern. It increases the same problem the world has to face: emission of greenhouse gases and concerning the emission limits proposed building a global burden sharing system. In the 18 United Nations Climate conferences and interval time between the conferences, it emerges many institutions, programs agreements and many policy transfer phenomenon between countries. The climate game theory is facing the problem of managing global public environment volume. This problem is not only relative to every country's policy of energy environment safety, industry, science and technology competition cost, newborn invest demand, tax and public finance, so on and so forth, but also bring new influences to world economic system such as international investment, finance trade, technology transfer and it even becomes an hot topic of international politics and diplomacy. There is still much concern on existing and future interest pattern behind this hot topic. We argue about this not only limits to the climate change, we care about the change of international interests pattern and distribution of discourse right. In conclusion, international climate change and its policy transfers are much more than the topic itself. It is integrated strategic topics that closely relates to international and national politics, energy, environment, technology, and it is the most worthy and can reflective research objective.

2. The Domestic and Foreign Research Review

Policy transfer phenomenon widely exists in the world from one to another organization and government. Researches of policy transfer started from the policy transmission and spread. In 1969, Waker studied 88 cases of policy innovation spread of 48 states in the United States (Walker, 1996), and initiated the studies of policy spread transmission and transfer competition. From 1970 to 1990, the major scholars of policy transfer were Francis Berry, William D Berry, Grey, and Rodgers (Paul A. Sabatier, 2007). Their studies were not just limited in governments and states. Evans and Rose put forward process model of policy transfer, it consisted of the following stages: distinguish questions, seek potential solutions, via relations between agents and other elites, and information inflow internet to recognize

receipt, develop a route of policy transfer, policy decision, process and result (Richard Rose, 1991).

Therefore this paper started from international conferences, and studied its policy transfer method, characteristics and competition factors. We broke the obsolete thought that policy transfer is only a phenomenon of policy process, and selected the most important object of modern public policy transfer and international relations. This article continued and developed the theory of Dolowitz and Marsh (Dolowitz D, Marsh D, 1996). Many theories were proved true and policy transfer competition in international conference was put forward.

3. Background Review and Primary Investigation of Transfer Pathway

3.1 Background Review

In December of 1990, the United Nations conference decided to establish climate negotiate committee which lift the curtain on international negotiation about climate change. In May of 1992, 153 nations signed on "United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change". This document laid the foundation for climate change and international cooperation, thus was viewed as the first step to create climate control. Since 1992, the world climate conference come to an age of "world manage". There were a series of national conference about climate change. From 1995 up to now, there were 18 convention state conferences. Form 2005 up to now, G13 and Davos World Economic Forum took climate change as an important theme. Every country had ranked the climate change as a top priority in the recent past and climate change will be a hot topic in the near future, both in international policy and relations. At the same time, National interests contradiction caused by climate change was complicated. On Dec.15, 2007, the United Nations conference was past the "Bali Roadmap" which designed international carbon reduction program after 2012. According to this, on Dec.10, 2009, the Copenhagen conference reached Copenhagen Treaty which did not have legal force, it did not provide for gas emission targets, so this problem would leave to the climate conference in Mexico to be solved (Diane Stone, 2001).

From the content ad program of climate conference, we can see although the importance of global climate in the world is to reach a consensus. While through participating in global climate change institution to reduce greenhouse gases, including national economy, energy, politics, legal, social and technical field, will cause the change of the national costs and benefits. Every country has different responsibility, thus the effects of climate charge are different, the level of economic development and the ability responded to climate change are a far cry, many countries take a prudent attitude. The issue of conference and mandatory scheme can't come to a unity. So we should have a new perspective to see the game in the international conference. Study every country's position and thinking process, put forward a convincing program, and transfer its own policy to other courtiers to improve its competition in international climate conference (Henry Kissinger, 1994).

3.2 Policy Transfer Pathways and Trend of International Climate Conference Field

As one of the commonly used tools for policy formulation, policy transfer generally refers to: make a policy, administrative management or institution which a (past) government used applies to another political system, thus can improve it to be better. In the process of policy formulation, there are three main sources to search for solutions: the nation's history; learning from sub-nation's policy transfer; learning from abroad. While when making national climate policy and facing contemporary varied environment, policy makers usually make policies through the third source of transfer policies(Oberthur& Hemann,2002). With the development of globalization, the world is moving toward integration, the development of information technology promote the e-government implementation. Some policies made by some countries spread to the world quickly by varied of ways, after the selection of national intellectual and political elites, eventually adopted by other countries. This situation also exists in the process of making policies. In this paper, through the major countries' climate

policy data, the transfer pathways of the world-wide climate policy, grounded into two categories:

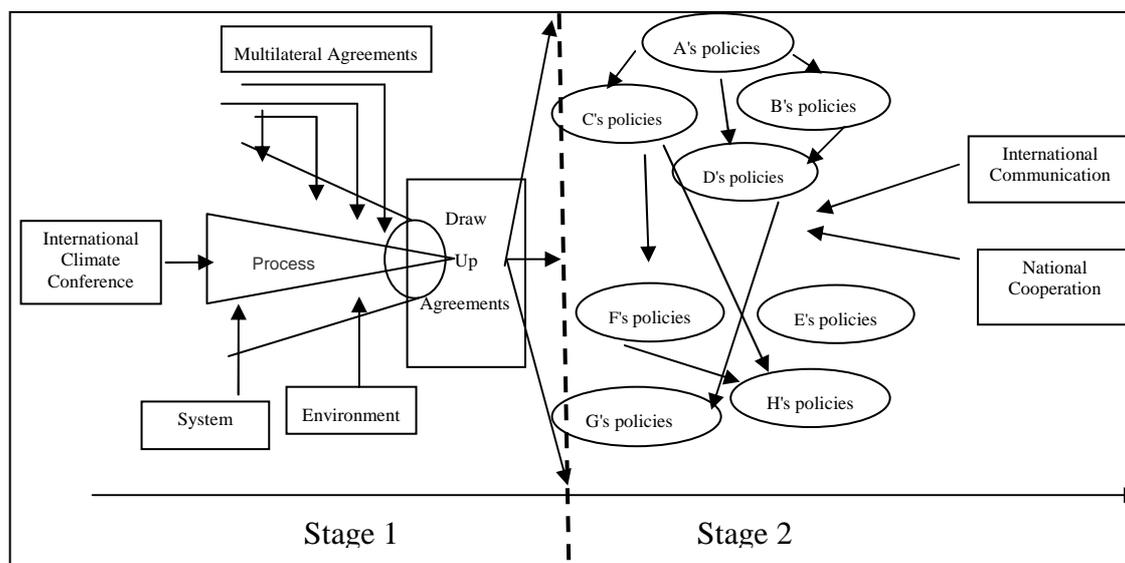


Figure 1 The transfer pathways of the world-wide climate policy

In international conference field, there are probably the following two kinds of policy transfer process:

1. During the meeting, some countries have reached some agreements, at the end of the meeting reached some united agreements, including some countries' policy advocacies and intentions. The highest level of policy transfer is the transfer of policy inspiration. Policy advocacies can be seen as a national policy will output.

2. After the meeting, according to some agreements, there will be some specific policy transfer, especially in a zone. Suppose country A's policy best suits the agreement in the meeting, after meeting, it transfer to country B, C, D, and then transfer to country E,F,G and other countries.

3.2.1 The First Type of the Policy Transfer Process: The Transfer of the Policy Leader

Policy leader are generally dominant at the meeting, during the meeting, suppose country A put forward its own policy, program and agreement, which must be based on its own national interests and its position of climate, or have been carried out in this country, has a solid foundation. Once their own ideological policies, programs and agreements to been discussed at the conference, argue and debate, and ultimately format the written conference agreement or a higher level of law, most countries in the world will comply that. Other countries, direct the policy of the country A, or within a certain range to absorb the ideas of the policy of country A to adjust its own climate policy, or in cooperation with country A to carry out climate reform. In the actual study, we found that most of the leading countries in climate policy are developed countries, such as Britain, Germany, Sweden and other EU countries, as well as Australia, Japan and other countries. These countries, with the leading edge of scientific knowledge and technology, as well as the political sensitivity of the climate issue, climate and energy development plan are drawn up before the start of the World Climate Conference. During the climate conference, these countries have the priority of action, they can reflect its governance policies, the formulation and implementation of these policies are often learned by the rest of the world, format large-scale policy transfer phenomenon.

3.2.2 The Second Type of Policy Transfer Process: The Transfer of Innovative Climate Policy

In the complex environment of climate conference field to discuss innovative institutions, these institutions associated with policies, programs, agreements, etc. There was no country ever practiced. Once these institutions are recognized at the venue, in the implementation process after the meeting, a large number of countries will actively participate in the formulation of policies and programs related to these institutions, for the first implementation of the transformation. In this process, if country B has achieved a breakthrough in some areas, other countries will follow the measures of country B, and ultimately the policy of country B was transferred. Such policy environment is that various countries develop a policy during the same period, and some of the countries develop climate policy which is innovative and acceptable, belongs to the transfer of innovative policies. Especially after 2004, a large number of various climate policy worked out, such as bio-energy program in the United Kingdom, as well a CDM (Clean Development Mechanism) policy which is first proposed by China.

4. Policy Transfer Competitive Analysis under the International Conference Field

In this paper, the policy transfer mainly took place in the negotiation of the international conference or in the national meeting of all kinds of different levels after the National Conference. The meeting protocols, mechanisms and national statement produced in the meeting. On the one hand, it is a result of an international venue negotiation, on the other hand, is a result of the international venue policy transfer competition. This section intends to use various types of research methods to analyze the national negotiations and policy transfer competitive role-playing, the system evolution, conflict of interests in the international conference.

4.1 The Bilateral or Multilateral Agreements in the Policy Transfer Competition

In December of 1990, the United Nations conference decided to establish climate negotiate committee which lift the curtain on international negotiation about climate change. In May of 1992, 153 nations signed on "United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change". This document laid the foundation for climate change and international cooperation, thus was viewed as the first step to create climate control. Since 1992, the world climate conference come to an age of "world manage". There were a series of national conference about climate change. From 1995 up to now, there were 18 convention state conferences. Form 2005 up to now, G13 and Davos World Economic Forum took climate change as an important theme. Every country had ranked the climate change as a top priority in the recent past and climate change will be a hot topic in the near future, both in international policy and relations. At the same time, National interests contradiction caused by climate change was complicated. On Dec.15, 2007, the United Nations conference was past the "Bali Roadmap" which designed international carbon reduction program after 2012. According to this, on Dec.10, 2009, the Copenhagen conference reached Copenhagen Treaty which did not have legal force, it did not provide for gas emission targets, so this problem would leave to the climate conference in Mexico to be solved (Adam J Newmark,2002).

4.2 The Scientific and Technological Knowledge and the Role of the IPCC

Scientific knowledge sociology (SSK) and Scientific and Practice which was born in the early 1970s put forward the challenge to the traditional scientific independent theory. From many aspects, reveal that science is not the power to influence other human activities, nor have immunity on these forces. On the one hand, science affect policy formulation, on the other hand, politics also play an important role in shaping science. SSK open provides us the thinking about the relationship between the science and politics, also provides a new vision

for us to recognize the global climate science which is highly relevant to the current and international politics.

The example of the socialization of scientific knowledge is the performance of the previous climate conference, the IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change). It explains that the science does not have a special status, scientific knowledge and practice is based on social political and economic interests, science and politics is not remains clearly. IPCC, as an important research organization of climate change science, in the actual operation of all kinds of political power has become the object of wrestling. Although IPCC does not directly assess the policy issues, but the assessment of scientific issues is relevant with policy. Up to now, the IPCC has released The Fourth Assessment Report. In all previous IPCC assessment, tendency of political factors involved is very clear. Especially in the process of fourth IPCC assessment report, because of the participation of a lot of experts from the European Union, the intention to lead IPCC assessment work patterns is very clear. It is aiming to take IPCC evaluation reports as a scientific weapon to promote the global mitigation actions. Although since the establishment of IPCC, it has been an independent scientific authority, but with the participation of the government, it must have some extent of political factor and becomes an important stage for national and international interest groups which compete for the right to scientific discourse.

4.3 The Game Analysis Inside and Outside the Countries in the Policy Transfer Competition

Participants in the Climate Conference and negotiating policy makers, has a dual identity. In terms of national level, needs to focus on national interests, standing on the most favorable positions and strategies of the national negotiation. Standing on the level of the entente countries, you need to do the obligations of the members, to provide advice for how to improve the international climate regime. From this perspective, the diplomatic policies and behaviors are the results of the bilateral game of the government. The strategies adopted by the Heads of Government are the most important factor to influence national policy-making. Heads of Government in the international negotiation process, on the one hand, is to consider whether his proposal will be accepted by the other international participants in the negotiations, on the other hand is to contemplate the agreement reached at the international level can receive domestic approval or not. The factors of the two levels provide the diplomatic decision opportunity and make limits for the government. Global climate governance is the interaction across national boundaries on the climate issue, realized by some behavior subjects. Observing from international political, the behavior subjects is political entity, and they conflict and cooperate in policy and political field, find some people and group. In climate conference, every country stands for its own interests, while whether the attitude is united, and has a close relationship to the attitude and cohesion in the international conference field.

Take the United States as an example, the climate issues are capricious which is inseparable with the two level game. According to the legislative process in the United States, all international agreements signed by the US government must pass by the Congress to become law. Congress plays a decisive role in the final decision on whether the United States to become the international treaty on climate change. It is discussed in the Senate and House of Representatives before it is put forward, and is influenced by interest groups, political parties and voters, NGO, etc. Political and cultural traditions from both major U.S. parties, the Democratic Party on the climate is positive, while the Republicans is negative, the contention between political parties and congressional checks and balances of the United States has had a major impact in the field of the international climate policy developments, even have a good climate policies and programs, affected by domestic, and have lag compared to the EU.

Compared with the complex domestic situation in the United States, the European Union is reasonable to adapt to internal and external level game, 1986 's "Single European Act" gives special powers of the European Community in environmental protection, the 1992 Maastricht Treaty further integrate environmental issues into the EU 's specific areas of responsibility, these treaties give the EU on behalf of the Member States to exercise within the EU and international environmental policy, and also give the responsibility of the EU to address climate change, greatly increasing the EU climate positive change. Active members of the EU

internal action to address climate issues, such as the United Kingdom from 2001 to the development of low-carbon economy, carbon trading system was established in 2002, followed by the introduction within the EU, a large number of EU member states such as Denmark, Sweden and Norway, developed a carbon tax policy .

4.4 Policy Transfer Alliance Analysis under the Support League Framework

International relations theory provides the basis for the understanding of the alliance in the multilateral negotiations, which means, we look at the alliance phenomenon in climate conference with the perspective of supporting alliance framework. The basic point of view of support league framework is that it is the policy core value system which the actors shared plays the key role in policy change. Actors' concern on an issue fit the formation of policy subsystems, while the political, economic, and other subsystems of the external environment variables affect the core values of the actors in the policy subsystem, and then make policy to changes.

After the Cold War, international political and economic system turned to a state of independence, and international organizations play a role in it, so that developing countries have an opportunity to make a difference through the negotiation process, to improve its impact on the negotiations. Understanding from international relations theory, the alliance strategy can put into effect, is due to the environment provided by the international conference, and it can work, because it is able to expand its powers, to enhance national influence. The number of alliance partners, and whether it has powerful members, are the key factors to affect alliance credibility and effectiveness, is also a prerequisite of the alliance after the establishment of follow-up strategy or tactical use. In international climate conference, countries with the different economic, political, cultural and ideological, in the previous General Assembly, there are all sorts of different alliances, because of external and internal changes in the environment, these alliances are not static, and we support to analyze the change of alliances in the international climate conference by the league framework.

In the Kyoto climate conference which is very important, the alliance between the countries can be classified into five categories: the European Union, the Group of 77 (including China), the umbrella countries like the United States, OPEC member countries, Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS). The EU plays the important role in global climate governance negotiations. Union of the Group of 77 is almost entirely composed of developing countries, with emphasis on the principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities", called for the establishment of the North-South compensation mechanism, the developed industrialized countries should take the lead in reducing emissions, and requested to give developing countries financial and technical support. Umbrella countries are including Canada, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and other countries. The change of path of these countries takes time, requires the free emissions policy, and flexibility in the implementation of carbon trading. The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries tends to emphasize the issue of climate change uncertainty. The AOSIS have the most attention and enthusiastic to support the reduction of the climate. Countries form the distinctive characteristics union by different climate core values and national interests. The five categories exist in Union Climate Conference very long, but because of internal and external changes in the environment and a balance of interests between some countries in the generation of new alliances. Division of this alliance is not immutable, countries probably because some of the standard, forming a temporary alliance, such as the Copenhagen Conference, the United States and China and other major powers, because of common interests, adhere to the reduction year is 2005, unanimous on certain interests, can form a new temporary alliances, and promote policy-making toward the development of best suits their own interests.

5. Policy Transfer Framework and Policy Recommendations of the Competitive Process

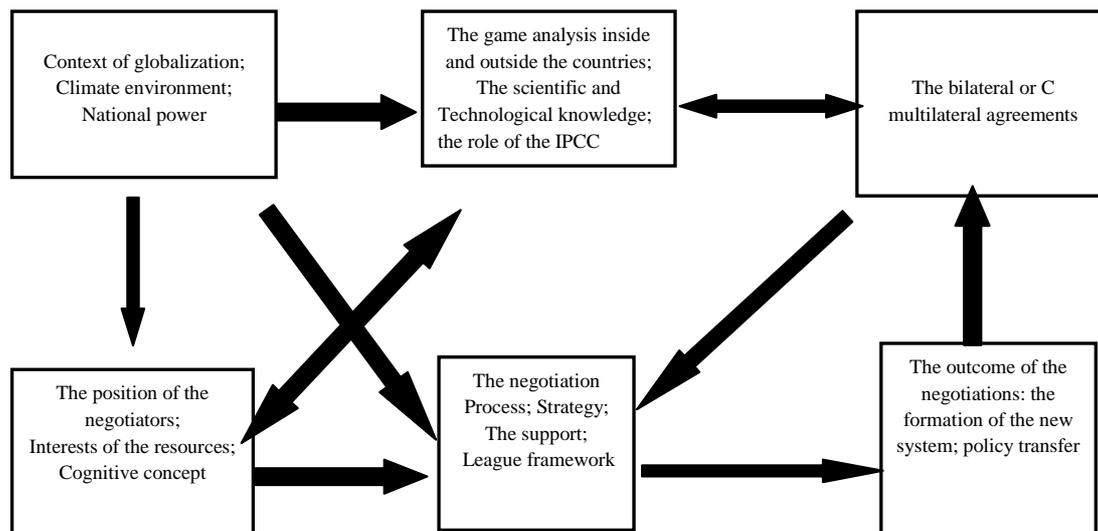


Figure 2 Policy transfer framework of the competitive process

Development in all aspects of the world political, cultural, social ethics, values are still determined by productivity, the tremendous energy of the productive forces have a direct impact on political environment and an indirect impact on the world political, cultural, social and ethical values change tendency. According to the above proposition, the policy transfer in climate conference, affected by the international political environment. This paper combined with an analysis of the above, further establish a causal relationship model of a policy transfer competition in order to render the climate conference under the policy to transfer the complete picture of competition in the political context of the broad, covering two levels of the structural surface and the process of surface, including negotiations on political, economic and environmental structure, the negotiation process and results, transfer of institutional evolution, and the other factor and the relationship between them.

This model (Figure 2) shows that the basic pattern of the negotiations is limited by the factors of the structural surface, but the negotiation process, can also change the outcome of the negotiations. Refer to the structural surface, first of all, the impact of globalization, the interdependence of international political and economic order, as well as continuing significant political and economic events or changes in technology, such as the global financial crisis, global warming, Tsushima earthquake is defined as a big environmental factor of international climate conference negotiations pattern; Secondly, the power structure factors, including the overall power of the main military and economic power, as well as the powers of the general and specific on the question of the climate conference is the basic condition of bargaining power; other international law and moral without legal validity and reputation which are informal norms, coupled with the network of interactions between the national, subnational, NGO, knowledge Community, are the factors of system surface, it will play a diversionary or strengthening role in the negotiations in climate conference. In terms of this process, the negotiations began in the country-based actors, which are national negotiator or team; negotiations based on the cognitive power of interests of the state, the resources of power, ideas or value, to set its negotiating objectives, negotiating positions, and invert it into the negotiating proposals. Secondly, the process of negotiation, is basically a process of interaction between the negotiators; negotiators use alliance issue series and a variety of strategies to influence the outcome of the negotiations; negotiation process also involves the concept and value of communication, as well as learning and socialization process. The results of the negotiations, can produce new regulations or policies possibly, create new rights and obligations, form new distribution of benefits and the transfer of policy, from the system surface, the outcome of the negotiations has the effect of promoting institutional evolution. Therefore we should start from the system surface, the process surface and any other surface,

to forge more bilateral or multilateral agreements in a double game at home and abroad, science and technology right to speak, alliances, and to adopt certain strategies in the negotiation process.

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