สหภาพยุโรปและบทบาทด้านสิ่งแวดล้อมบนเวทีโลก: กรณีศึกษาของประเทศไทย

นางสาวนรารัตน์ วชิรมนาภรณ์

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

วิทยานิพนธ์นี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรปริญญาศิลปศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต
สาขาวิชายุโรปศึกษา (สหสาขาวิชา)
บัณฑิตวิทยาลัย จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย
ปีการศึกษา 2552
ลิขสิทธิ์ของจุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

THE EUROPEAN UNION AND ITS ROLE IN THE INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ARENA: THE CASE STUDY OF THAILAND

Miss Nararat Vachiramanaporn

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts Program in European Studies
(Interdisciplinary Program)
Graduate School
Chulalongkorn University
Academic Year 2009

Copyright of Chulalongkorn University

Thesis Title	THE EUROPEAN UNION AND ITS ROLE IN THE INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ARENA: THE CASE STUDY OF THAILAND
By	Miss Nararat Vachiramanaporn
Field of Study	European Studies
Thesis Advisor	Associate Professor Apirat Petchsiri, Ph.D.

Accepted by the Graduate School, Chulalongkorn University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Master's Degree

..... Dean of the Graduate School

(Associate Professor Pornpote Piumsomboon,Ph.D.)

THESIS COMMITTEE

..... Chairman

(Associate Professor Chayodom Sabhasri)

..... Thesis Advisor

(Associate Professor Apirat Petchsiri, Ph.D.)

..... External Examiner

(Professor Martin Holland)

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

นรารัตน์ วชิรมนาภรณ์ : สหภาพยุโรปกับบทบาทด้านสิ่งแวดล้อมบนเวทีสากล กรณีศึกษาของประเทศไทย. (THE EUROPEAN UNION AND ITS ROLE IN THE INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ARENA: THE CASE STUDY OF THAILAND) อ. ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก : รศ. ดร.อภิรัตน์ เพ็ชร์ศิริ, 96 หน้า.

การวิจัยนี้มีวัตุประสงค์อยู่ที่การประเมินผลระหว่างความร่วมมือ/ความช่วยเหลือจริงที่สหภาพยุโรป (อียู) มีต่อประเทศไทยในด้านสิ่งแวดล้อม และการรับรู้ของคนไทยที่มีต่อบทบาทของอียูในด้านนี้ งานวิจัยนี้แบ่งออกเป็นสองส่วน ส่วนแรก คือ การศึกษาและค้นคว้านโยบาย โครงการ และความร่วมมือต่างๆด้านสิ่งแวดล้อมที่อียูมีต่อประเทศไทย ส่วนที่สอง คือ การสำรวจความคิดเห็นของคนไทย จะเห็นได้ว่ามีการนำการวิจัยทั้งเชิงวิเคราะห์และเชิงปริมาณมาใช้เป็นเครื่องมือในงานวิจัย การสำรวจความคิดเห็นผ่านแบบสอบถามเป็นเครื่องมือในการวิจัยเชิงปริมาณ โดยแบ่งการวิจัยเป็นสองช่วงคือสอบถามกลุ่มตัวอย่างที่เป็นนิสิตปริญญาตรีจากจุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัยจำนวนสี่ร้อยคนในปีพ.ศ. 2551 และอีกสี่ร้อยคนในปีพ.ศ. 2552 จากสี่คณะ อันได้แก่ คณะรัฐศาสตร์ คณะเศรษฐศาสตร์ คณะนิติศาสตร์ และ คณะอักษรศาสตร์ ส่วนข้อมูลการวิจัยเชิงปริมาณได้มาจากการการเก็บข้อมูลข่าวที่เกี่ยวกับอียูจากหนังสือพิมพ์สี่ประเภท ได้แก่ หนังสือพิมพ์ยอดนิยม หนังสือพิมพ์คุณภาพ หนังสือพิมพ์ธุรกิจ หนังสือพิมพ์ภาษาอังกฤษ รวมทั้งมีการสัมภาษณ์เชิงลึกกับเจ้าหน้าที่ภาครัฐและภาคประชาสังคมที่เกี่ยวข้อง

ผลการวิจัยแสดงให้เห็นว่าคนไทยมีการรับรู้เกี่ยวกับอียูค่อนข้างน้อยและไม่ค่อยตระหนักถึงความสำคัญและความช่วยเหลือจากอียูในด้านสิ่งแวดล้อมในประเทศไทย เนื่องจากความยุ่งยากซับซ้อนของตัวสหภาพ แม้กระทั่งองค์การสาธารณประโยชน์ในประเทศไทยที่มีการติดต่อกับอียูก็กล่าวถึงอุปสรรคในการติดต่องานและการจัดการว่ามีเงื่อนไขค่อนข้างมากและซับซ้อน ทั้งนี้งานวิจัยนี้ทำขึ้นเพื่อให้เห็นภาพที่ชัดเจนของอียูในฐานะผู้ที่มีบทบาทโดดเด่นในด้านสิ่งแวดล้อม และแสดงให้เห็นถึงอุปสรรคและปัญหาของความร่วมมือ ไทย – อียู ในด้านสิ่งแวดล้อม โดยหวังเป็นอย่างยิ่งว่าผลการวิจัยจะเป็นประโยชน์ในการพัฒนากลยุทธ์ด้านสิ่งแวดล้อมของอียูในประเทศไทยต่อไปในอนาคต

สาขาวิชา ยุโรปศึกษา ลายมือชื่อนิสิต นรารัตน์ วชิรมนาภรณ์

ปีการศึกษา 2552 ลายมือชื่อ อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก.

#5187538220 : MAJOR EUROPEAN STUDIES

KEYWORDS : European Union / Environment / Perception

NARARAT VACHIRAMANAPORN : THE EUROPEAN UNION AND ITS ROLE IN THE INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ARENA : THE CASE STUDY OF THAILAND . THESIS ADVISOR : ASSOC. PROF. APIRAT PETCHSIRI, Ph.D. 96 pp.

The purpose of this study was to assess a gap between reality and Thai perception towards the European Union (EU) cooperation and assistances. The study separated into two parts; the contribution of the EU in the field of environment in Thailand and the perception of Thai people towards this field. Both qualitative and quantitative research methodology was utilized in this study. The quantitative research data was gathered with the aid of questionnaires. Four hundred questionnaires were conducted in 2008 and another four hundred in 2009. The sample group was Chulalongkorn undergraduate students from four faculties; political sciences, economic, law, and liberal arts. The qualitative research data consists of volume and contents of EU news coverage gathered from four types of newspaper; the most popular, quality, business-oriented, and the English language newspapers. In addition in-depth interview with twelve key informants was also contributed to the qualitative data.

The findings stated that the EU received low visibility and majority of Thai people lack of awareness of Thailand –EU environmental cooperation due to its complexity. Even among non-state-actor elite group claimed difficulties in dealing and working with the EU. This study aimed to contribute a true picture of the EU as an environmental actor and pointed out weakness and obstacle of the current relationship with Thailand so that the EU can ameliorate its strategy to Thailand in the future.

Field of Study : EUROPEAN STUDIES Student's Signature นราวัทน์ วชิรมานาภร์

Academic Year : 2009 Advisor's Signature

Acknowledgements

First and foremost I offer my sincerest gratitude to my examiner, Prof. Martin Holland, who has supported me throughout my thesis with his patience and knowledge whilst allowing me an opportunity to work as a research assistance with him and came to the National Centre on Research for Europe (NCRE) in New Zealand to expand my knowledge and gave me an access to the useful literatures related to my study altogether with his colleague, Ph.D. Natalia Chaban, his administrators, Sarah Coleman and Vanessa Absalom-Mueller and other staff and friends from the NCRE. I attribute the level of my Masters degree to my examiner encouragement and effort and without him this thesis, too, would not have been completed or written. One simply could not wish for a better or friendlier examiner.

I am grateful for my supervisor, Assoc. Prof., Ph.D. Apirat Petchsiri and my chairman Assoc. Prof. Ph.D. Chayodom Sabhasri who have sacrificed their valuable time to advice me on how to conduct the study and have provided me many useful information.

The European Studies program's administrators, Jiraporn Choochart, Vanpima Kounsuwan, and Wanwarin Panatapong, have provided heartily corporate, all the thesis submitting and defending procedures would have been next to impossible to follow without your assistance.

I would like to thank my parents and my sisters for their financial and never ending support, for the help in my study and for its success. No matter what they are always stand by me.

Lastly, I offer my regards and blessings to all of those who supported me in any respect during the completion of the thesis. They are Nithima Neungjamnong, Orrada Unhaiphol, Pensuparng Vitthayanukorn, Suchaya Tancharoenpol, Rathsaran Sireekan, Thitarat Sriwattanapong, and other European Studies's fellow. Thank you very much.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

CONTENTS

	Page
Abstract (Thai)……	iv
Abstract (English).....	v
Acknowledgements.....	vi
Contents.....	vii
List of Tables.....	x
List of Figures.....	xi
Chapter I: INTRODUCTION……	1
1.1 Background and Issues……	1
1.2 Research Questions……	9
1.3 Hypothesis……	9
1.4 Delimitation and Definitions of Terms ……	10
1.5 Research Benefits ……	13
1.6 Methodology and Research Design ……	13
1.6.1 Survey……	14
1.6.2 News Media Monitoring……	14
1.6.3 Interview……	14
Chapter II: LITERATURE REVIEW……	16
2.1 Introduction……	16
2.2 Normative Power Europe.....	17
2.2.1 The EU's Norms……	19
2.2.2 The Diffusion of EU's Norms.....	20
2.3 Climate Policy……	23
2.3.1 Global Climate Policy……	23
2.3.2 The EU Climate Leadership.....	26
2.4 Perception……	35
2.4.1 Agenda-Setting Theory.....	35

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

Chapter III: METHODOLOGY…… 43
3.1 Introduction…… 43
3.2 Survey…… 43
3.2.1 Objectives of the Survey……... 43
3.2.2 Data Collection…… 43
3.3 News Media Monitoring…… 46
3.3.1 Objectives of the Survey……... 46
3.3.2 Data Collection…… 46
3.4 Elite Interview…… 47
3.4.1 Objectives of the Interview……... 47
3.4.2 Data Collection…… 48
Chapter IV: THAILAND- EU ENVIRONMENTAL COOPERATION…… 50
4.1 Introduction…….. 50
4.2 Thailand-European Union Relationship…….. 50
4.3 The Policy of Thailand…… 52
4.4 European Union Cooperation……... 55
4.4.1 Government to Government Level…….. 56
4.4.2 Public Diplomacy…….. 63
Chapter V: SURVEYS, NEWS COVERAGE, AND INTERVIEW FINDINGS…… 66
5.1 Introduction…….. 66
5.2 The EU Through Thai University Student's Perception…… 66
5.2.1 Personal Information of the Subjects…….…… 67
5.2.2 Media Openness Behaviors……. 68
5.2.3 Perception of the EU…….…….. 72
5.3 The EU Through Thai Media's Perception…….…….. 77
5.3.1 News Coverage…….…….. 77
5.3.2 Content of News…….…….. 78
5.3.3 Content of News…….…….. 78
5.4 The EU Through Thai Elite's Perception……..……. 80

5.4.1 Opinion from the Delegation of the EU to Thailand…..…… 80
5.4.2 Thai Officials…….…….…….…….…… 81
5.4.3 Non-State-Actors…….…….……..…… 82
Chapter VI: CONCLUSION…….…… 84
REFERENCES…….…….……..…….…….…… 88
BIOGRAPHY…… 96

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

LIST OF TABLES

		Page
Table 1	Types of Leadership and Instruments……	28
Table 2	The EU Funded Projects in Different Level of Cooperation……	56
Table 3	Bilateral Cooperation……..……..	57
Table 4	Horizontal Budget Lines……	57
Table 5	ASEAN Co-operation……..……	57
Table 6	Asia Co-operation…….……	58

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

LIST OF FIGURES

		Page
Figure 1	Gender……	67
Figure 2	Age……..	67
Figure 3	Did You Vote for the Last Public Election..……	68
Figure 4	Frequency of Accessing Media for Foreign News……	69
Figure 5	Channels of Foreign News Access …….....	70
Figure 6	Newspapers Provided EU News …….	71
Figure 7	Interpersonal Communication on EU News……	72
Figure 8	Most Important Partners for Thailand……	73
Figure 9	Important of These to Thailand's Future……..	74
Figure10	State Relationship Between Thailand and Europe/ the EU…….	75
Figure11	Impact of These Issues on Thailand in the Near Future…….	76
Figure12	EU News Coverage……..……..……..……..……..	77
Figure13	Type of Coverage…….……..……..……..	78
Figure14	Centrality of the EU Environmental-related-news……..……	79
Figure15	Focus of the EU Environmental-related-news……..…….	79

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and issues

Traditionally, economic concerns have been at centre of the world's attention, however in recent decades environmental issues have raised their head at in the international level. People now pay more attention towards sustainable development especially towards the "climate change" arena. The increasing frequency of natural disasters and severe damages have raised awareness of these concerns. The environmental issues are global and borderless and to tackle them needs the world's cooperation; solutions must be taken through multilateralism. At the global level, the EU has a high profile in responding to these problems and has been perceived as a leading environmental actor. I shall explain below why Europe voluntarily has taken responsible on this issue.

In the 18th century the world changed fundamentally. The Industrial Revolution started in the United Kingdom and spread to other countries in Europe and North America later on in the 19th century[1]. The Revolution brought vast changes in daily life and almost every aspect of it was influenced in some ways; this revolution was a turning point in human history. The newly discovered power was 'stream power'[2] which gave people more choices despite animal based power, wind power and water power.[3] Change always has both positive and negative impacts. Life was easier than ever with stream power that led to new iron making techniques which improved road construction

---

[1] Encyclopædia Britannica, Industrial revolution [Online], 8 December 2009. Available from: http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/287086/Industrial-Revolution

[2] Ibid.

[3] The Open Door Team, The search for new power sources [Online], 8 December 2009. Available from: http://www.saburchill.com/history/chapters/IR/015.html

and railways[4] boosting the transportation sector while the communication between people was enhanced and made more convenient.

However, the Industrial Revolution was the root of the current environmental problems such global warming, ozone layer depletion, acid rain etc., since stream power, the driving force of the Industrial Revolution, generated from coal and gas, electricity and later oil[5] became a major source of fuel until now. These fuels are the prominent sources of carbon emission which is the major cause of the current global warming problem, thus industrialization not only accelerated the economy but also accelerated the degeneration of the world's environment. Yet, at that time Europe had no idea what they had put the world through.

The first time the environment felt the full impact of industrialization was in the 1960s. Increasing energy consumption grew at almost the same rate as the population.[6] Consumption grew especially after electrification, as the growth rate of electricity consumption in both industrialized and developing countries was rapidly increasing compared to non-electricity[7]. The more convenient way to travel and for communication also required more energy plus more people and more food with the need for more land for habitation and agriculture. Deforestation and the usage of pesticides were dramatically increased. Industrial waste products and domestic wastes were dumped into the rivers in urban areas in the major industrialized cities causing severe water

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

[4] Ibid.

[5] The Open Door Team, The second industrial revolution [Online], 8 December 2009. Available from: http://www.saburchill.com/history/chapters/IR/050.html

[6] Environmental History Resources, The industrial age [Online], 8 December 2009. Available from: http://www.eh-resources.org/timeline/timeline_industrial.html

[7] Ausubel H. Jesse, Victor G. David and Wernick K. Iddo, The environment since 1970 [Online], 10 December 2009. Available from: http://phe.rockefeller.edu/env70/

pollution which later on brought epidemics which spread throughout the continent[8]. Thereafter air pollution was the major problem Europe faced. The principal cities were covered with 'smog', the combination of smoke and fog,[9] which effectuated difficulties in traffic and the death rate increased as well. In the second half of the 20th century, acid rain was another damage to the environment caused through industrialization which alone can destroy the whole ecological system, both land and marine. Acid rain not only attacked cultivation but also man-made buildings and construction. The alarm was sounded by scientists in 1980s when they discovered that almost half of the Black Forest in Germany had disappeared.[10] The ozone depletion problems started with the discovery of CFC (chlorofluorocarbon) which was ideal for refrigeration and for the use of spray cans[11]. CFC was considered harmless up until a severe seasonal thinning of ozone over Antarctic was observed and by 1987 the world's media were reporting on a "hole in the ozone layer".[12] Since then the depletion of ozone has gained huge attention from all around the world and the efforts to heal it soon followed.

After experiencing the degeneration of the environment, the Stockholm Declaration was launched in 1972 under the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment which considered for the first time the need for a common outlook and common principles to inspire and guide the people of the world in the preservation and

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

[8] Environmental History Resources, The industrial age [Online], 8 December 2009. Available from: http://www.eh-resources.org/timeline/timeline_industrial.html

[9] Ibid.

[10] Environmental History Resources, The 20th century: The great acceleration and environmental globalization [Online], 8 December 2009. Available from: http://www.eh-resources.org/timeline/timeline_20c.html

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

enhancement of the human environment.[13] The Stockholm Declaration urged that humanity should take serious care of the environment,

'[…] through ignorance or indifference we can do massive and irreversible harm to the earthly environment on which our life and well being depend […]'.[14]

The Conference marked an important change in the development of international environmental politics emphasizing the awareness of the problems and role of education to promote the sense to preserve the environment. Furthermore it had a huge impact on the policies of the European Community (which would later become the European Union).

Moreover, the energy crisis in 1973 and 1979 (a result of the Arabian oil exporters proclaimed 'oil embargo') and the response of the United States of America which illustrated that oil reserves were not endless and technological developments were not sustainable[15]. The crisis was the catalyst for the development of environmental issues to substantially arise both in perceptions and priorities.

The awareness of environmental importance led the world leaders to participate in the 'Rio Earth Summit' in 1992 at Rio De Janeiro, Brazil, held by the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) secretariat[16]. It was the remarkable development in dealing with environment. After serious negotiations the

---

[13] United Nations Environment Program, Declaration of the United Nations conference on the human environment [Online], 5 January 2010. Available from: http://www.unep.org/Documents.Multilingual/Default.asp?DocumentID=97&ArticleID=1503

[14] Ibid.

[15] Middlebury College, The 1970's Energy Crisis [Online], 7 December 2009. Available from: http://cr.middlebury.edu/es/altenergylife/70's.htm

[16] United Nations. UN conference on environment and development (1992) [Online], 17 December 2009. Available from: http://www.un.org/geninfo/bp/enviro.html

member states adopted Agenda 21[17], the blueprint on how to develop our future in an economically, socially, environmentally and sustainable way for the sake of the next generation. The Conference Secretary-General, Maurice Strong claimed that

"[…] although Agenda 21 had been weakened by compromise and negotiation, it was still the most comprehensive and, if completed, effective program of action ever sanctioned by the international community […][18]"

The Summit notably for the first time mentioned 'climate change' resulting in the significant establishment of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change which had an influential impact on the European Union which included the 'sustainable development' agenda in the Treaty of Amsterdam and soon this norm became one of the European Union's four values combined with social solidarity, anti-discrimination and good governance.[19]

The role of European Union as an environmental actor became more prominent at the international level. An example of this leadership role was in the ratification of Kyoto Protocol in 1997 concerning the reduction of carbon emission.[20] The simultaneous response of the European Union and its member states reaffirmed the commitment to pursue a multilateral solution for such borderless problems. The then European Union Environmental Commissioner, Margot Wallstrom claimed the European Union was acting on behalf of the industrialized countries which were responsible for the greatest share of

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

---

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ian Manners, "Normative power Europe: A contradiction in terms?," Journal of Common Market Studies 40 (2002): 242-243.

[20] Alternate Energy Sources, The Kyoto Protocol summary - a quick guide to understanding it [Online], 18 December 2009. Available from: http://www.alternate-energy-sources.com/Kyoto-Protocol-summary.html

the world's emission since 1990.[21] The ratification was regarded by the European Union also as a political fulfillment, and expressed the confidence of millions of EU's citizens that the Kyoto Protocol was the best instrument available to achieve its goal to work together with other countries in tackling climate change. The Protocol gave the European Union the best opportunity to clearly show its position and send a signal to the countries around world that it took the Kyoto Protocol seriously. A number of the non-governmental organizations (NGOs), Greenpeace for instance, called on other nations to follow the EU's lead in ratifying the Kyoto Protocol,[22] however, the efforts were not as fruitful as they could be, and the largest world's pollutant the United of America refused to adopt the Protocol along with several other countries.

Nonetheless, the European Union's act demonstrated the exercise of its normative power in trying to normalize the community in the field of environment based on its history. Europe had been dealing with environmental problems long before other countries and it had tried to prevent other countries making the mistakes it did. European admitted its guilt as both the initiator of industrialization process and the third largest polluter in the world (after the US and China). Therefore the EU makes great attempts at controlling emissions, developing alternative green energies and promoting environmental agendas. Unfortunately, Europe alone cannot lead to success as environmental problems have become globalized and the world needs multilateral cooperation to cope with it.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

---

[21]Europa, European Union ratifies the Kyoto Protocol [Online], 17 December 2009. Available from: http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/02/794&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en

[22] Greenpeace archive, EU ratifies the Kyoto Protocol - back to its leadership role? [Online], 17 December 2009. Available from: http://archive.greenpeace.org/pressreleases/climate/2002may31.html

Last year, in 2009 the Copenhagen Summit was held in order to reach a new agreement (replacing the Kyoto Protocol which expires in 2012). This time expectation was high since over the past few years the effect of climate change had begun to be more and more severe. Every part of the world experienced the damages it brought; drought, flood, hurricanes, or even snow storms. Natural disasters unexpectedly occurred more often. Nowadays not only European but also the world's citizens realize the need to take action and as a result there was a large popular protest (notably the environmental NGOs and other actors related to climate change concerns) during the Summit. Despite their efforts, the Copenhagen Summit was a total failure. Developed countries (who are responsible for 75% of the greenhouse gas)[23] should have taken the lead; these countries have the greatest financial resources and technological capacity to cut their emissions. The developing countries should also commit to a concrete action plan. In the practice, the United States of America refused to sacrifice its wealth and life-style. The European Union's effort to take the lead showed its incapacity to act and its proposal on carbon emissions was ignored. The final compromise deal - that was not - legal binding, was concluded with support from China along with other emerging economics such Brazil, India and South Africa while the European Union became virtually invisible at the Summit.

As a consequence, the developing world became an interesting challenge for the EU to get these countries to buy to environmental agreements, therefore this study will examine the European Union's environmental policy in a selected developing country, Thailand, and its feedback measured through media, public opinions and interviews.

[23] European Commission, EU action against climate change: Leading global action to 2020 and beyond [Online PDF], 17 December 2009. Available from: http://ec.europa.eu/environment/climat/pdf/brochures/post_2012_en.pdf

According to the Thailand-European Community Strategy Paper (2007-2013),[24] the European Commission stated that it has mainly focused on green issues and makes an effort to enhance environmental concerns in Thailand despite the fact that Thailand is one of the developing countries which emphasizes trade matter over all other issues and gives low attention to the environment. However, climate change will increase in impact throughout the world, including in Thailand, an agricultural country that has a great dependency on climate sensitivity and has more than three thousands kilometers of coastline. Thailand is at tremendous risk from the most devastating natural disasters, the tsunami in 2004 for instance. Moreover, during the Copenhagen Summit in 2009, Bangkok featured in the exhibition called '100 places to remember before they disappear' "[…] due to the soft soils, heavy urbanization and excessive pumping out of groundwater. Some estimates suggest that the whole city is subsiding by as much as 5 cm. a year […]"[25] and the location is only two meters above sea level with a high risk of sinking.

The environmental concerns are quite new to Thailand but public attention on the issue has been rising and actions on this field are necessary to be taken. This thesis will assess the EU's influence on the issue toward Thailand and examine the awareness of Thai people toward the EU in the environmental field in which the EU claims a leading role. An assessment is mainly focused on communication effectiveness between Thai and the EU since the policies may not be well-promoted and lack awareness in the eye of third party, Thailand, in this case.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

---

[24] European Commission, Thailand-European community strategy paper for the period 2007-2013 [Online PDF], 20 February 2010. Available from: http://www.deltha.ec.europa.eu/Thailand/thailand_co-operation.htm

[25] Chuck Baclagon, Leadership crisis : Neither 'seal the deal' nor 'bend the trend [Online], 10 January 2010. Available from : http://blog.greenpeace.or.th/2009_12_01_archive.html

1.2 Research Questions

The main purpose of this study is to assess the gap between the reality of the EU's environmental role and the perception of Thai's towards those roles based on the questions;

1. What is the EU's environmental role in Thailand? What has it contributed?

2. How do Thai people perceive the EU's environmental role in Thailand? Is there any gap between the reality and perception? If yes, what are the causes of the problem?

1.3 Hypothesis

According to the first research question on the EU's environmental role in Thailand, the assumption is that the EU has a significant role in Thailand in this field as it plays a leading role at the international level. The EU takes pledge to help and to give supports (as it claims to be a normative power) to developing countries as a result, Thailand which is a developing country should benefit from that pledge too. Moreover, Thailand and the EU have long been in trade relationship (the EU is one of the largest exporting markets to Thailand) which caused the EU power and influence over Thai authority and business sector.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

The second question is the perception of Thai people toward the EU's environmental role in Thailand. It assumes that the EU has low visibility among Thai people in this field and Thais lack of good understanding on what is the EU and how is it work which led to a gap between the reality and perception. However, the EU's supports and assistances in Thailand remain known in certain groups such NGOs related to environment matter and exporting companies. Thailand is more likely to see the United

Nations, the United States of America, and Japan as the important partners who give aids and supports than the EU.

1.4 Delimitation and Definitions of Terms

This research on the European Union's environmental roles is subject to the limitations of space and time and it would be nearly impossible to assess all of the European Union's policies relating to the environment, especially as the issue is gaining increased attention from both the press and NGOs with a rapidly increasing political involvement across a wide range of concerns. Therefore this evaluation of the EU's role on the environment focuses only on 'climate change' as a case study, in the time period of October 2008 – March 2010.

- Research on the news media, public opinions and stakeholder interviews has been taken in three phases; October–December 2008, October-November 2009 and during the first quarter of 2010.

- It must be noted that the surveys of public opinion were undertaken by a number of small groups as a result slightly different methodologies were applied and the questionnaires used in the 2009 survey amended some questions from the 2008 version: however the principle questions were the same. For the interviews, interviewees and interviewers bias must be take into accounted as well and the potential objectivity of the outcome.

- Moreover, from 2006 until now, Thai newspapers have mainly been focused on internal political struggles plus the global financial crisis (2008 and 2009) as a result, these factors might reduce attention from the EU's environmental presence in Thailand.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

- The European Union is considered as a bloc and any bilateral agreements or co-operation between Thailand and any EU member states will not be taken into account. The environmental projects of the EU in Thailand that will be assessed are those launched during 2007-2013 as referred in the Thailand-EC Community Strategy Paper.

- This study examines public awareness of EU policy and how the EU promotes itself in a third country rather than discusses the process of the EU environmental projects that are being applied in Thailand.

- 'Normative power' used in the study is a way of understanding EU actions in the environmental field at both international level and in Thailand. This focuses on the exportation of EU norms and the environmental-related co-operation in Thailand. The study will not debate whether the EU is normative, civilian or a military power, nor the categorization of EU norms.

- 'Norm' is defined as the rules that a group uses to distinguish between appropriate and inappropriate values, beliefs, attitudes and behaviors. These rules may be explicit or implicit and failing to act in accordance with it may result a in sanction.[26]

- 'Environmental policy' is any course of action deliberately taken (or not taken) to manage human activities with a view to prevent, reduce, or mitigate harmful effects on nature and natural resources, and ensuring that man-made changes to the environment do not have harmful effects on humans.[27]

---

[26] Changing Mind.org., Social norms [Online PDF], 24 January 2010. Available from: http://changingminds.org/explanations/theories/social_norms.htm

[27] John McCormick, "Environmental policy in the European Union," The European Series. (2001): 21.

- 'Climate policy' are policies which are addressed to any actions contributing long-term alterations in global weather patterns, especially increases in temperature and storm activity, regarded as a potential consequence of the greenhouse effect[28], for example deforestation, water pollution, air pollution, energy consumption.

- 'Perception' is generally a process which individuals will select, organize and interpret stimuli which stimulate human sensations (hearing, seeing, smelling, tasting and touching) into meaningful pictures that is individually differentiated depending on one's experiences and characteristics[29], on the other hand, it is a process of attaining awareness, understanding or concept of information. Perception is an interplay between one's past experiences including cultural background and the interpretations of information perceived.[30]

- Agenda-setting is a mass communication theory developed by McCombs and Shaw[31] and has become widely accepted. This theory argues that if the media considers an issue in particular as worthy and give it prominence, those issues will gain attention from society, and vice versa, the issues that the media pays less attention to will be likely disappear from society's attention. This theory is also known

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

[28] Encarta® World English Dictionary, Climate change [Online dictionary], 25 February 2010. Available from: http://uk.encarta.msn.com/dictionary_1481580316/climate_change.html

[29] Somphon Wantame, Target audience analysis in mass communication (Bangkok: Kasetsart University, 2006), pp. 33-34.

[30] Perception theory [Online PDF], 14 March 2010. Available from: http://www.simplypsychology.pwp.blueyonder.co.uk/perception-theories.html

[31] Ibid.

as 'the transfer of issue salience'.[32] However, there are some limitations in the 'agenda-setting' theory used in the study since the subjects studied, university students, may not be as well-informed and possess as high interest in foreign affairs as the theory assumes and for group of people who have a strong position on one issue, the influence of the media will likely be less.

1.5 Research Benefits

1. To expand our comprehension of the Thailand - European Union co-operation and its assistance towards environmental issues in Thailand.

2. To perceive Thai perceptions on the role of European Union in the environmental field and to analyze any gap between reality and perception to give the EU an accurate image of itself through third party eyes so that the EU can plan a more effective future strategy based on the data.

3. To raise awareness of environmental concerns and the presence of the EU among Thai people in order to gain more cooperation in dealing with the issue.

1.6 Methodology and Research Design

The study is separated into two parts; the first part examines the EU environmental role and its cooperation and assistances in Thailand through three channels: government to government; through trade measures; and through propaganda. The analysis in this part is based on empirical articles, EU communication papers, strategy papers and other related documents.

---

[32] Maxwell McComb and Donald Shaw, "The agenda-setting function of the mass media," Public opinion quarterly 36 (1972): 177.

The second part is a study of the perception of Thai people towards EU's role in environmental field in Thailand. Instruments used in this part are surveys, news media monitoring and interviewing as discussed as follows;

1.6.1 Survey

The questionnaires used is drawn from the "Public, Elite and Media Perceptions of the EU in Asia Pacific Region" project which researched four different groups of Chulalongkorn undergraduate students. The first section examines the public opinions of 362 Thai undergraduate university students during the last quarter of 2008 and 400 students on 2009 from four different faculties of Chulalongkorn University (the faculty of political sciences, faculty of law, faculty of economics and the faculty of fine arts) towards the European Union. This data is the primary output from the questionnaires used in the said project.

1.6.2 News media monitoring

This section involves the observation of four different Thai newspapers namely Thairath, Matichon, The Manager and Bangkok Post. These four newspapers respectively represent a popular newspaper with the largest circulation, a popular quality newspaper, a business oriented newspaper and an English language newspaper over the period from October 22, 2008 – December 31, 2008 and the period of October 1st – November 31st, 2009. The news items observed referred only to the European Union (EU) even if it appeared in a minor role: items related to individual member states but with no reference to the EU were excluded.

1.6.3 Interviews

This study assessed perception of the EU environmental role in Thailand through three elite groups; officials from Thai Authority, representative from the delegation of the European Union in Thailand, and NGOs. The list of nine environmental NGOs both local and international involved in the study was chosen by researching

through internet. The selected five local NGOs are: Thai Environmental Network, Stop Global Warming Association, Rak Thai Foundation, Thai Climate Justice, and Good Governance for Social Development and the Environmental Institute (GSEI). The other five international NGOs consist of World Wide Fund For Nature (WWF), Greenpeace (South East Asia), Focus on the Global South, and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP).The interviewees were asked an identical set of questions related to the role of the EU's environmental policy in Thailand. These questions which have open-end format to encourage interviewees to speak freely, were designed in accordance with the thesis structure. In terms of timing, these took place in the first quarter of 2010, approximately two-four months after the Copenhagen Summit in Denmark.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will offer theoretical framework along with definition of specific terms that will carried out in this study. It will contain three main literatures; normative power, climate literature, and agenda-setting theory. The first two literatures will be applied as a guideline to analyze the EU's environmental role in Thailand and the agenda-setting theory will be applied to examine perception of the public opinion, media, and NGOs.

Normative power literature is applied as a theoretical framework in this thesis to explain the environmental role of the EU in Thailand. The EU's norm diffusion in the field of environment is based on *Manners'*[1] theory since he mentioned that sustainable development and environment protection are one of the norms that EU attempts to export to third countries. He is also categorized channels to exporting this norm.

In the climate literature, *Gupta and Ringius*[2] have described EU involvement according to the type of leadership, potential to cope with the issue and challenges. *Oberthür and Roche Kelly*[3] also developed interesting motivations for EU involvement in climate politics, however at the present time the EU seems to have lost momentum in presenting the concerns due to increased role of emerging economies countries such China, Brazil, India, South Africa.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

---

[1] Ian Manners, "Normative power Europe: A contradiction in terms?," Journal of Common Market Studies 40 (2002): 235-258.

[2] Joyeeta Gupta and Lasse Ringius, "The EU's climate leadership: Reconciling ambition and reality," International Environmental Agreement: Politics, Law and Economics 1 (2001): 281-299.

[3] Sebastian Oberthür and Claire Roche Kelly, "EU leadership in international climate policy: Achievements and challenges," The International Spectator 43, 3 (2008): 35-50.

Agenda-setting' theory[4] applied in this study will seek to comprehend EU influences in shaping Thai environmental policies and evaluate the difference between reality and perception, and whether there is a communication deficit in the relationship between Thailand-EU. This theory was developed by various communication scholars, but here the approach of McCombs and Shaw is applied as it has been used in research on international communication.

2.2 Normative Power Europe

The EU is different from any other institution the world has deal with and this difference has guided the EU to pursue their power in a normative way. During the period of the Cold War the EU learnt that threats were not only military, but non-military measures were important and effective as well. Moreover, the collapse of the regimes across Eastern Europe was caused by unsustainable leadership and the collapse of norms[5] rather than the misuse of force. Therefore the EU's role in the political world might came from a reflection of the revolution in the Eastern Europe and that revolution sent a signal to the world about the importance of normative power.[6]

The main objective of the EU in pursuing their power in normative way is to create and develop a stronger international society, well-functioning institutions through which the EU is a 'force for good'. Sjursen gave an interesting and clear definition of normative power that it might only be another expression of Eurocentric cultural imperialism, to tell others and set standards of what is right and what is fair.[7] The EU

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

---

[4] Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw, "The agenda-setting function of the mass media," Public opinion quarterly 36 (1972): 176-187.

[5] Ian Manners, "Normative power Europe: A contradiction in terms?," Journal of Common Market Studies : 238.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Helene Sjursen, "The EU as a 'normative' power: How can this be?," Journal of European Public Policy 13, 2 (2006): 248.

acts to transform the system and expects that this system might set some standards and mechanisms to ensure that the policies are consistent with it.

There are three main reasons that explain why the EU developed normative power. First reason is the European historical context which is quite different from others. Europe is considered the old world because it was the most developed compared to the rest of the world. However, European power declined with an end of imperialism and World War I and World War II. Since then Europe no longer possessed 'super power' status and the United States of America took their place. Because Europeans had experienced such tragic wars they decided to prevent such a reoccurrence by establishing the EU, therefore the use of military power in the EU is rather sensitive and seen many failures, while normative power seems to be a more sophisticated alternative and fits with the contemporary global trend as an instrument to influence other countries in the new world order where the United States of America has taken the lead. Besides it's no longer enough for the EU to represent itself only as an economic power as there is increasing resistance by its citizens to economic liberalization. The EU seeks greater legitimacy through the fundamental norms that it represents.

Second, the form of the EU itself is considered as a hybrid polity[8], a new form of governance that combines many European countries under supranationalism. Its difference led the EU to find a distinctive role from other actors[9] and saw the EU act in normative way and to redefine 'norms' in international relations. That the EU introduces environmental clauses or human rights clauses into trade agreements suggests that there is something unique about the EU when compared to other actors.

[8] Ian Manners, "Normative power Europe: A contradiction in terms?," Journal of Common Market Studies : 240-241.

[9] Helene Sjursen, "The EU as a 'normative' power: How can this be?," Journal of European Public Policy: 242.

Third is its political-legal constitution[10]; the EU will only act accordingly to its legal basis. Thus the constitution places universal norms and principles at the center of its relations both with its member states and with the rest of the world. However, Therborn has argued that in order to apply normative power successfully, the EU requires a willingness to use force as a tool to achieve its goals, to tell other countries what kind of institutions they should have.[11]

2.2.1 The EU's norms

Over past decades with, the EU has developed its own norms which can be separated into two main categories; core norms and minor norms. The first two of the EU's core norms are *peace* and *liberty* which have a historical background that express West European standpoints[12] and both of them have a legal basis as well; peace can be found in Robert Schuman's declaration in 1950, and liberty in the preambles of the Treaty of European Community (TEC) in 1957 and in the Treaty of European Union (TEU) in 1991. The other three core norms *democracy*, *rule of law* and *human rights*- were developed later in order to distinguish democratic Western Europe from communist Eastern Europe. All of these are found in the preamble and in the founding principles of the TEU and are also used as the criteria to adopt new member states (the Copenhagen criteria).[13] These core norms are tangible and very obvious in international relations; the EU has a high reputation in promoting these throughout the world. The EU's four minor norms consist of social solidarity, anti-discrimination, sustainable development and

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

---

[10] Ian Manners, "Normative power Europe: A contradiction in terms?," Journal of Common Market Studies : 240-241.

[11] Goran Therborn, "Europe in the twenty-first century," The Question of Europe, eds. Peter Gowen and Perry Anderson (1997): 357-384. Cited in Ian Manners, "Normative power Europe: A contradiction in terms?," Journal of Common Market Studies : 241.

[12] Ian Manners, "Normative power Europe: A contradiction in terms?," Journal of Common Market Studies : 242-243.

[13] Ibid., 244.

good governance[14], although these norms are contested but most of them have a legal basis except for good governance which is a principle is not as easily visible as the others. The sustainable development norm has recently received emphasis after the Rio Earth summit and its principles are laid down in the Treaty of Amsterdam. Since then Europe has pit an emphasis on the environment and set it as a high priority.

2.2.2 The Diffusion of EU's norms and its Instruments

To examine the achievement of the export of EU norms to others, we need to know how these norms have been diffused and which instruments were being applied. Many scholars have been developed diffusion factors of norms and identified instruments that have been used; here I will suggest norm's diffusion theory as drawn by Whitehead, Manners and Whitman and Kinnvall as mentioned in Manners[15]

- Contagion: 'diffusion of norms results from the unintentional diffusion of ideas from the EU to other political actors'.[16] For example a diffusion of the idea of regional integration can be seen in many examples such as regional integration in South East Asia (ASEAN) and in Mercosur in Latin America.

- Informational diffusion: 'it is the result of the range of strategic communications'.[17] This kind of diffusion will send out the EU's messages to the world and enhance its standpoints, its belief in a means of communication. The instruments of this diffusion can be separated into two

---

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Laurence Whitehead, The international dimension of democratization: Europe and the Americas (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996). Cited in Ian Manners, "Normative power Europe: A contradiction in terms?," Journal of Common Market Studies : 244.

[17] Ian Manners, "Normative power Europe: A contradiction in terms?," Journal of Common Market Studies : 244.

forms. First, the strategic informational instruments such CFSP, Common Position and Joint Actions where the EU will adopt specific positions on a particular issue or relations with a particular country and signal the rest of the world.[18] Second, the specific informational instruments are intended to establish or to re-orientate policy in a specific area[19]. It is considered a reactive instrument when applied in the international arena, EU's statement towards Thai coup d'état, for instance. It might be in the form of declarations, statements or even silence from the EU institutions, typically used by the presidency on behalf of the Union.[20]

- Procedural diffusion: 'involves the institutionalization of a relationship between the EU and a third party state or group of states'[21], bilateral agreement or even region-region dialogues (for example the EU-ASEAN agreements). Generally, it is dominated by economic relations yet, there are five different kinds of procedural relations. First, commercial agreements concluded by the EU with one or more states or international organizations.[22] It is purely economic. Second are agreements which are not purely economic based but also concluded with some other issues of interests, such as Kyoto Protocol or other international agreements. Third is a participation in an international organization as either an 'observer' or 'full membership'[23]. For the EU to be collective actor in an international organization still faces difficulty, since the existence of a polity such as the

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

[18] Ian Manners and Richard G. Whitman, "Towards identifying the international identity of the European Union: A framework for analysis of the EU's network of relationships," Journal of European Integration 21, 3 (1998): 238.

[19] Ibid., 239.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid., 245.

[22] Ibid., 240.

[23] Ibid.

EU is new and distinctive: however, the EU is now a full member of five organizations and is expected to gain more than observation status in others. Fourth are relations similar to the MFN (Most-Favored-Nations) but rarer[24] and involves traditional relations, donor-recipient relations, with conditionality and some special procedures (such as the Lomé Convention with African, Caribbean and Pacific countries). The last type of relations is the EU membership which is the strongest relationship with the Community.

- Transference: 'this diffusion takes place when the EU exchanges goods, trade, aid or technical assistance with third parties through largely substantive or financial means. Such transference may be the result of the exportation of Community norms and standards'.[25] Its method is comparable to the "carrot and stickism"[26] approach (financial rewards or economic sanctions). Positive transference stands for development aid, financial resource contributed to poor countries, but these come with conditionality (for example, human rights clauses and good governance clauses). Negative transference stands for economic sanctions.

- Overt diffusion: 'occurs as a result of the physical presence of the Union in third states and international organizations'[27], such as the presence of the delegation of the Commission (which changed to the EU delegation on the 1st December 2009) in Thailand and other countries, the embassies in third countries, visits of the troika, or even election monitoring missions.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

---

[24] Ibid., 241.

[25] Marise Cremona, "The European Union as an international actor: The issues of flexibility and linkage," European Foreign Affairs Review 3,1 (1998): 86-90. Cited in Ian Manners, "Normative power Europe: A contradiction in terms?," Journal of Common Market Studies : 245.

[26] Ian Manners, "Normative power Europe: A contradiction in terms?," Journal of Common Market Studies : 245.

[27] Ibid.

- Cultural filter: 'is based on the interplay between construction of knowledge and the creation of social and political identity by the subjects of norm diffusion'[28]. The impact of international norms toward third countries may lead to the acceptance or rejection of norms.[29] Human rights and democracy norms in China are significant example of this filter.

These six diffusions of norms and instruments will be used to assess the EU's environmental role and to get a sense of which factors work well in Thailand and which should be enhanced to gain greater success

The EU had positioned itself in a very challenging way, to become a normative power and to redefine global norms in international relations are not easy tasks to accomplish especially in the field of environment and climate change, which emphasize the sake of cosmopolitanism over sovereign state interests and more concern of the next generation's future not just the state of current economics and GDP. Sjursen[30] raised the question whether the EU can overcome power politics and break the so-called traditional foreign policy practice of great powers? If that is done, the EU would be a power that is willing to bind itself, and not only others, to common rules. Otherwise, the EU efforts might only promote their norms for their own particular interests, to offer legitimacy in enhancing their own green technologies and to sell it to others.

2.3 Climate Policy

2.3.1 Global Climate Policy

In the late 1980s, the international climate negotiations began. Climate concern was first introduced on to the world stage during the Vienna Convention in

---

[28] Ibid.

[29] Catarina Kinnvall, Cultural diffusion and political learning: The democratization of China (Lund: Lund University Press, 1995) pp. 61-71. Cited in Ian Manners, "Normative power Europe: A contradiction in terms?," Journal of Common Market Studies : 245.

[30] Helene Sjursen, "The EU as a 'normative' power: How can this be?," Journal of European Public Policy: 249.

1987[31], and proposed international restrictions on the emission of ozone destroying gas. The following year, the Toronto Conference[32] also called for a limitation of greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, proposed by the United Kingdom leader, Margaret Thatcher. Yet, the issue has gradually gained momentum after the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil and resulted in the establishment of United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)[33] which involved biological diversity and combat desertification both, strong effects from climate change. This Summit was an important milestone of international climate policy, however calls for any serious action at the summit were blocked by the US. The UNFCCC became the most important international environmental treaty dealing with the climate change agenda and aims to stabilize GHG emissions in order to prevent any catastrophe caused by human interference with climate system.[34] The member states of the treaty annually meet in the 'Conference of the Parties' (COP) to assess progress in coping with climate issues.

The next milestone in climate policy is the Kyoto Protocol which set clear emissions reduction targets for greenhouse gas. The Kyoto Protocol became the most effective instrument (legally binding) to fight climate change in that time, together with the Marrakesh Accords (adopted in 2001, COP-7) developed to determine Kyoto targets and to clarify the Protocol.[35] However both agreements lacked support from the US – the world's largest GHG emissions contributor.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

---

[31] Cutler J. Cleveland, (ed.), Climate change timeline [Online], 12 January 2010. Available from: http://www.eoearth.org/article/climate_change_timeline

[32] Ibid.

[33] United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, Feeling the heat [Online], 12 January 2010. Available from: http://unfccc.int/essential_background/feeling_the_heat/items/2913.php

[34] Climate Leaders, What is the UNFCCC & the COP? [Online], 12 January 2010. Available from: http://www.climate-leaders.org/climate-change-resources/india-at-cop-15/unfccc-cop

[35] Climate Change Information Center of Armenia, The Marrakesh Accords [Online], 12 January 2010. Available from: http://www.nature-ic.am/ccarmenia/en/?nid=845

A full list of COP conferences are shown below;[36]

- 1995 - *COP 1, The Berlin Mandate*: A comprehensive menu of actions with the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities
- 1996 - *COP 2, Geneva, Switzerland*: Rejection of policies harmonization in favor of flexibility and called for legally binding in mid-term targets
- 1997 - *COP 3, The Kyoto Protocol on Climate Change*: Legally binding agreement on GHG emissions limitation targets; 6-8% of reduction below 1990 level
- 1998 - *COP 4, Buenos Aires*: 2-years Action Plan adoption and preparation of mechanisms to implement Kyoto in 2000
- 1999 - *COP 5, Bonn, Germany*: Technical meeting
- 2000 - *COP 6, The Hague, Netherlands*: The collapse of the negotiation due to the US compromise deal
- 2001 - *COP 6, Bonn, Germany*: Resume talk after the failure in The Hague
    1. US rejection of the Kyoto Protocol
    2. Flexible Mechanisms include emissions trading, Joint Implementation and Clean Development Mechanism (CDM)
    3. Carbon Sink, wide range of activities to absorb carbon from the atmosphere
    4. Compliance procedure and mechanism, consequences for the one who fail to reach the emission targets
    5. Financing, fund to supports climate measures; Levy and other voluntary contribution from CDM fund Kyoto Protocol

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

[36] United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, UNFCCC press briefing on the outcome of Copenhagen and the way forward in 2010 [Online], 12 January 2010. Available from: http://unfccc.int/2860.php

- 2001 - *COP 7, Marrakech, Morocco*: Completion of Buenos Aires Action Plan; Rulebook for Kyoto Protocol
- 2002 - *COP 8, New Delhi, India*: Completion of Kyoto Protocol's technical issues; Guidance to the Global Environment Facility (GEF) for managing two new funds established at COP-7 to assist developing countries
- 2003 - *COP 9, Milan, Italy*: Promoting coordinated action and stronger national action on climate change
- 2004 - *COP 10, Buenos Aires, Argentina*: Impacts of climate change and adaptation measures, mitigation policies and their impacts, and technology transfer
- 2005 - COP 11/MOP 1, Montreal, Canada: The first MOP (Meeting of the Parties) for Kyoto Protocol; Kyoto Protocol was fully entry into force; Extension of the Kyoto Protocol after 2012 with deeper cut of GHG emissions
- 2006 - COP 12/MOP 2, Nairobi, Kenya: Climate tourist; First amendment of the Kyoto Protocol
- 2007 - COP 13/MOP 3, Bali, Indonesia: Bali Action Plan; Timeline, framework and structure of negotiation post-2012 (the successor of Kyoto)
- 2008 - COP 14/MOP 4, Poznan, Poland: Financial assistance to least developed countries to cope with climate disasters
- 2009 - COP 15/MOP 5, Copenhagen, Denmark: No binding agreement of maintaining world's temperature below 2 degrees Celsius to pre-industrial temperature.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

2.3.2 *The EU climate leadership*

Climate change is one of the most dangerous threats to human kind and international security. It has high priority in international politics and in order to fight climate change, it requires enormous financial resource, time and effort. Generally, climate measures undermine economic competitiveness and it would be easier to ignore the issue, however, climate concern and its impact are inevitable and must be coped

with. This is not an easy task, and the international climate negotiations faced deadlocks from time to time, therefore leadership was needed in this area. According to Manners[37] sustainable development (including climate policy) is one of the EU's minor norms which the EU tries to promote, plus the EU has claimed a leadership role in some fields of environmental policy, so the question is whether the EU can claim leadership in climate policy. Despite many calls from NGOs during the Johannesburg Conference in 2002 which urged the EU to take the lead in order to maintain the international sustainability agenda, has the EU been able to do so? This thesis focuses on the EU type of leadership, potential and challenges on climate regime to attempt to answer Thai question.

– Type of leadership

Gupta and Ringius,[38] discuss three types of leadership; structural leadership, directional leadership and instrumental leadership.

Structural leadership (carrot and stick approaches) rewards the one who complies with and imposes a punitive measure on the one who against it. Definition of structural leadership as drawn from Gupta and Ringius is "the one who acts on behalf of state and leads the bargaining process by constructive use of power that stems from the state's material".[39] In this circumstance the power that stems from the EU is an economic power however, it is not purely about the use of power but also emphasizes approaches in order to get others to cooperate as well.

Directional leadership is leadership by example. It serves as an ideal for other states and leads the way. Even though this type of leadership is quite advanced, it attempts to change the perceptions and belief of others in order to raise international moral standards.

---

[37] Ian Manners, "Normative power Europe: A contradiction in terms?," Journal of Common Market Studies : 235-251.

[38] Joyeeta Gupta and Lasse Ringius, "The EU's climate leadership: Reconciling ambition and reality," International Environmental Agreement: Politics, Law and Economics : 281-299.

[39] Ibid., 282.

Instrumental leadership emphasizes on integrative rather than distributive bargaining and not only negotiating skills are needed here but instrumental leadership also needs persuasive skill to pursue issue-based coalitions and integrative bargains.

Considering the EU's size of economy and population, the EU is a structural power; however, its leadership is not purely developed from that power but rather it aspires to act as a directional and instrumental leader. It is most obviously seen through international negotiations; in the Kyoto Protocol for instance, the EU tried to shape the agenda multilaterally, using its negotiation skills to reach agreements and implementing climate measures domestically to persuade others to follow. The strategy the EU used in the Kyoto Protocol can be listed as shown below;[40]

Table 1: Types of leadership and instruments

Leadership	Short-term	Medium-term	Long-term
Structural	Influence G-7 and G-77 through summit meetings	Coordinate strategies in other issue areas and vis-à-vis other international regimes	Use economic and material incentives to foster global industrial transformation and promote sustainable development
Directional	Strengthen implementation of SAVE, ALTENER, the Monitoring Mechanism voluntary agreements; implement domestic (and possibly regional) emissions trading	Improve credibility; improve sectoral, integration; provide demonstrable progress	Promote industrial transformation and sustainable development in the EU
Instrumental	Build a "55% coalition" able to	Strengthen	Build strong coalitions with

[40] Ibid., 294.

	ratify the Kyoto Protocol	relationship with Accession Countries and adopt second commitment targets	developing countries period

– Strategic motivations for EU climate leadership

Oberthür and Roche Kelly[41] have suggested interesting motivations to explain the EU's enthusiasm to become a global climate leader. There are three main reasons that inspire the EU to act and be involved in this policy.

First, the EU was looking for a new inspiration for integration, especially after the Lisbon Treaty delayed. Environmental protection was included in the Treaty and according to Eurobarometer, environment has always been highly supported by European citizens. European are ready to give support to EU-level actions related to the environment, and therefore can claim leadership in climate policy giving the EU an opportunity to reinforce its internal integration.

Second, the EU has a high dependency on energy imports but unfortunately in the regions where major energy reserves exist, political conflicts have developed such as in the Middle East and Russia for instance. As a consequence the EU has tried to reduce dependency on imported energy and secure their energy supplies by enhancing the development of alternative sources of energy. Consequenctly, the energy security agenda plays a significant role in climate policy.

Third, the EU is looking to position itself in the international arena since the EU itself is promoting a climate change agenda and no other potential actor can claim leadership yet; under thesecircumstances, the EU enhances its role as a climate global actor. Besides doing so, the EU believes in multilateralism and international law which provide the best scenario for the EU to enjoy its high international profile in this field.

---

[41] Sebastian Oberthür and Claire Roche Kelly, "EU leadership in international climate policy: achievements and challenges," The International Spectator 43:3 (2008): 35-50.

– EU potential in coping with climate concerns

In the early stages of implementing climate policies in Europe, the process was only slowly integrated with limited achievements; however in 1990-1996 emissions became managed to nearly stabilized levels through intensive cooperation from Germany and Britain. In addition, number of policies unrelated directly to climate policies (economic restructuring of former East Germany, unintentional consequences from energy privatization in United Kingdom, for example) were implemented and contributed to large promoted GHG emissions reduction within the EU.[42] Then the Kyoto Protocol the climate agenda, and the Commission predicted new targets for carbon emission reduction by 800 million tons by 2010 or 15% reduction compared to 1990 levels.[43] The primary source of carbon emission reductions will come from the transportation sector, especially from private cars along with renewable energies, but there were not any new related measures posed and high economic growth rates led to high emissions as well.

The EU applies its competence on trade/tax/ foreign policy and in the harmonization of laws on environment, energy and transport to reach its goal. There are four major instruments that the EU uses to reduce emissions.[44]

First, a carbon/energy tax is always included in the agenda but where tax is concerned, the issue is left in the hand of the member states. Increased tax always has a negative impact on industrial competitiveness and in some member states (namely Poland, Ireland, Spain and Greece) lenient treatment must be applied.

Second, policies which enhance demand side management are needed to cope with climate concerns in the long-term. These policies will improve the performance standards of building and equipment to have greater energy efficiency in

---

[42] Joyeeta Gupta and Lasse Ringius, "The EU's climate leadership: Reconciling ambition and reality," International Environmental Agreement: Politics, Law and Economics : 283.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid., 284-285.

power generation; SAVE (Specific Action for Vigorous Energy Efficiency) is an example of this kind of policy.

Third, promoting renewable energy such as the ALTERNER Program to cope with energy security issues, however, this program lacks of strong content, sufficient financial supports and a mechanism for assessment of the impact of emissions reduction.

Fourth, the monitoring mechanism for GHG emissions is a key program with significant potential but it needs to be seriously implemented in every member states. Later, in 2003 the ETS (Emission Trading Scheme) which set limitation of GHG emissions for the EU's climate policy, was established to support both the climate mechanism and Kyoto Protocol and became the largest trading scheme in the world.[45]

In the past decades cooperation in climate policies within the EU has been raised and the EU take this concern seriously. A list of EU climate policies since 2001 is shown as follow;[46]

- Directive 2001/77/EC :promotion of electricity produced from renewable energy sources
- Directive 2002/91/EC :energy performance of buildings
- Directive 2003/30/EC :promotion of biofuels in transport
- Directive 2004/101/EC : EU ETS under Kyoto Protocol
- Directive 2004/8/EC : promotion of cogeneration
- Directive 2006/32/EC :energy end use efficiency and energy services
- Regulation EC 842/2006 and Directive 2006/40/EC : reducing the emission of fluorinated GHG

---

[45] Europa, Emission trading system (EU ETS) [Online], 13 January 2010. Available from: http://ec.europa.eu/environment/climat/emission/index_en.htm

[46] Sebastian Oberthür and Claire Roche Kelly, "EU leadership in international climate policy: achievements and challenges," The International Spectator: 40.

There is one crucial concern of all countries (including EU member states) in supporting climate policies; it is a fear of a loss competitiveness in international markets. The concern is also applies to the US who used this reason when the Bush administration rejected the Kyoto Protocol. The EU copes with this problem by introducing 'industrial transformation'[47] based on three principles; de-materialization, de-carbonization and eco-efficiency: This is 'an increase of wealth but decrease of environmental damages by reducing material and energy intensity'.[48] The EU's as an industrialized countries responsible for the third largest emissions in the world after the US and China, has the potential to cope with climate policies, through its advanced technologies and financial support. However, the notion of normative power limited types of the EU's instrument to influence other countries to get on board, only normative and soft measures shall be apply; the EU needs to work harder and come up with a better deal to persuade them to adopt the EU's position..

- Challenges for the EU international climate leadership

Despite EU officials and some other NGOs who called for EU 'the climate leadership', the EU faces a number of challenges ahead of its international climate role.

1. The further development of EU domestic policies[49] to reduce a credibility gap between external commitments and internal policies. The EU needs to add coherence to its unsustainable trends in policies such the Common Agriculture Policy (CAP), which still encourages over supply. Moreover, tougher measures in the limitation of GHG emissions are necessary in order to meet Kyoto targets as well as increase energy efficiency within the EU member states. This challenge for the EU

[47] Joyeeta Gupta and Lasse Ringius, "The EU's climate leadership: Reconciling ambition and reality," International Environmental Agreement: Politics, Law and Economics : 290.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Sebastian Oberthür and Claire Roche Kelly, "EU leadership in international climate policy: achievements and challenges," The International Spectator: 44.

climate leadership also involes an interference of business lobbyists[50] which normally results in weakened climate measures because tougher measures could affect economic competitiveness. The EU must find a compromise approach to integrate trade policies and development aid to climate issues.

2. The EU should enhance further coordination of environmental diplomacy[51] which is the most suitable approach for the EU notion of normative power. The EU posses potential in applying this instrument due to the fact that there are twenty-seven member states of EU who have broad international contacts all over the world. However, the power of diplomacy policies are limited and leave major decisions in the hands of individual member state's foreign ministries. In order to fully benefit from this instrument, the EU should enhance better coordination of diplomatic efforts of its member states.

3. Even though enlargement has given the EU more power in the international arena, but it has also increased internal diversity. The EU will find that the larger it is, the harder it is to get consensus and advance. Additionally most of new member states are poorer than the older ones and classify as a 'developing economies' who do not share an interest in the climate agenda (both international and EU level) as much as original member states. The EU must carefully cope with enlargement: if the EU is successful in doing so enlargement will be a great opportunity for the EU to have more weight and potential as climate leader, but if the EU fails to cope with enlargement, it will erode the EU global climate role in the international arena.[52]

4. Despite coping with the enlargement, the EU must preserve and remain unified. Internal problems within the Union need to be solved and speak in

---

[50] Simon Lightfoot and Jon Burchell, "The European Union and the world summit on sustainable development: normative power Europe in action?," Journal of Common Market Studies 43,1 (2005): 87.

[51] Sebastian Oberthür and Claire Roche Kelly, "EU leadership in international climate policy: achievements and challenges," The International Spectator: 45.

[52] Ibid., 46.

one voice: EU objectives should be clear and get full support from all member states[53] because in the past the EU leadership did not faced such serious challenges from developing countries and advanced developing countries (Brazil, India, China, South Africa or South Korea), and its role was achieved with lesser efforts compared to present. There were many external factors (the US withdrawal from Kyoto Protocol, for example) that's supported EU climate leadership in the past but now the EU must rely on their own efforts. Securing EU unity is a necessary task that must be accomplished.

5. As mentioned earlier the EU faces difficult challenges from developing economies, and it must be noted that those countries play a key role in coping with climate change as well, for without their cooperation climate concerns will not be solved. Therefore climate policies must be developed in response to the needs of developing countries and enable them to make a contribution. The agenda must be broaded to the field of financial assistance and investments, technology transfer, adaptation and equity,[54] in dealing with this challenge, the EU must go beyond 'leadership by example'. [55] However, Lightfoot and Burchell[56] argued that even though the EU gives aid to these needy states, they do not give the EU support in sustainability in return.

6. The EU has always played a mediating role between the industrialized world and the developing countries however, acting as a leader in the climate agenda the EU will need to influence developing countries and fellow industrialized countries[57] learning the EU facing opposition from both sides as a result. The question is how the EU copes with this as development aid cannot be applied as an

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

---

[53] Ibid., 47.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Simon Lightfoot and Jon Burchell, "The European Union and the world summit on sustainable development: normative power Europe in action?," Journal of Common Market Studies: 88.

[57] Ibid., 81.

instrument. Furthermore, the financial crisis will slow down the willingness of the industrialized countries to contribute to the climate agenda.

2.4 Perception

The perceptions of news media, public opinion and elites in this study drawn on the EU External Perceptions project launched by the National Centre for Research on Europe, University of Canterbury, New Zealand. However, this thesis will focus only on the EU's role in environmental policy in Thailand.

Perception is an important issue that the EU should pay attention to the EU wants to have greater role on the world stage. There are many communication scholars who define perception in different ways and use different factors, but generally perception is regarded as a process in which individuals will select, organize and interpret stimuli which stimulate human sensations (hearing, seeing, smelling, tasting and touching) into meaningful pictures that differentiate individually depending on experiences and characteristics.[58]

2.4.1 *Agenda-setting theory*

Agenda-setting theory will be used to examine Thai perceptions in this study. It will correlate news media effects toward public opinion since generally, the public do not have direct experience with international affairs (including EU news and policies) and as a result they will most likely rely on media sources.

- Key concepts and terms

  – **Agenda setting** believes that the media possesses a significant influence in shaping audience attitudes, tells the audience what to think and what is important.

"The mass media force attention to certain issues. They build up public images of political figures. They are constantly presenting objects suggesting what individuals in the mass should think about, know about, have feelings about."

---

[58] Somphon Wantame, Target audience analysis in mass communication (Bangkok: Kasetsart University, 2006), pp. 33-34.

Lang and Lang in McCombs and Shaw[59]

Cohen also noted that the press may not be successful in telling the audience what to think but it is surely successful in telling them what to think about.[60]

In this study, the news media's role is to evaluate foreign news (EU related news) and enable the audience to judge other nations (EU).[61] Several key terms need to be identified in this process.

– **Salience transfer**[62] is the capacity of the mass media to transfer issues that they think are important to the public agenda.

– **Gatekeeping**[63] is a mass media function to filter contents and information and how the media controls which issues to transfer to the public audience at any given time.

– **Framing** is a concept that has various definitions; however, in this study framing is considered as a process which defines how a certain piece of media content is packaged so it will influence particular interpretations, accomplished through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion,

---

[59] Kurt Lang and Gladys Engel Lang, The Mass Media and Voting (1966). Cited in Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw, "The agenda-setting function of the mass media," Public opinion quarterly: 177.

[60] Bernard Cohen, The Press and Foreign Policy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 13. Cited in Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw, "The agenda-setting function of the mass media," Public opinion quarterly 36 (1972): 177.

[61] Natalia Chaban and Martin Holland, (eds.), The European Union and the Asia Pacific: Media, public and elite perceptions of the EU (Oxon: Routledge, 2008), p. 9.

[62] G. David Garson, Agenda setting theory [Online], 7 March 2010. Available from: http://faculty. chass.ncsu.edu/garson/PA765/agendasetting.htm

[63] Bookrags, Agenda-setting [Online], 7 March 2010. Available from: http://www.bookrags. com/wiki/Agenda-setting_theory

and elaboration.[64] It is an organized idea to enable the audience to understand relevant events and what is necessary[65] to construct a political issue or public controversy.

– **Priming**[66] is a media emphasis on one issue, making it obvious and drawing attention for the public by providing time and space to a certain issue.

- Functions of the theory

There are three components in agenda setting theory according to Sanchez[67] media agenda (issues discussed among media), public agenda (issues discussed personally) and policy agenda. These three elements are correlated; the media agenda impacts on the public mind and on what issue to discuss among the audience which then sets the public agenda and the public agenda then influences decision-makers or in the others words, influences the policy agenda. This correlation is well-suit to this study since both the news media and public opinion are studied and an analysis is drawn to account for these agenda-setting functions.

- Levels of agenda-setting

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

[64] Ibid.

[65] Claes De Vreese, Framing Europe Television news and European Integration (Amsterdam: Aksant Academic, 2003), p. 26.

[66] G. David Garson, Agenda setting theory [Online], 7 March 2010. Available from: http://faculty. chass.ncsu.edu/garson/PA765/agendasetting.htm

[67] M. Sanchez, Agenda setting theory [Online], 8 March 2010. Available from: http://zimmer. csufresno.edu/~johnca/spch100/7-4-agenda.htm

Agenda-setting has two levels as mentioned in Coleman and Banning;[68] the *first level* focuses on what the public should think about (amount of coverage); while the *second level* focuses on the characteristics of the objects/issues and suggests how to think or which part of the issue is important. There are two attributes involved in second level agenda-setting, cognitive (substantive or topics) and affective (evaluation, positive, negative or neutral).

In this thesis only first level agenda-setting will be considered since the purpose of the study is to draw a general idea/picture of the EU in the eye of Thais in the field of environment.

- Determinants of agenda-setting effects[69]
  - *Need for orientation*[70,71] varies according a combination of individual interest and the uncertainty on the issue. If these two combinations are high, the need for orientation will also be high because individuals tend to seek and rely on

[68] Renita Coleman and Stephen Davie Banning, "Network TV news' affective framing of the presidential candidates: Evidence for a second level agenda-setting effect through visual framing," Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly 83, 2 (2006): 314-315.

[69] Rolf Hügel, Werner Degenhardt, and Hans-Jürgen Weiss. "Structural equation models for the analysis of the agenda-setting process", European Journal of Communication 4 (1989): 192-193.

[70]Maxwell McCombs and David Weaver, "Voter's need for orientation and use of mass communication," [Paper prepared for the international Communication Association, Montreal, Canada], (1973) (Unpublished manuscript). Cited in Karl Erik Rosengren et al. (eds.), Media Gratifications Research. Cited in Rolf Hügel, Werner Degenhardt, and Hans-Jürgen Weiss, "Structural equation models for the analysis of the agenda-setting process," European Journal of Communication: 192-193.

[71] Maxwell McCombs and David Weaver, "Toward a merger of gratifications and agenda-setting research," (1985). Cited in Karl Erik Rosengren et al. (eds.), Media Gratifications Research. Cited in Rolf Hügel, Werner Degenhardt, and Hans-Jürgen Weiss, "Structural equation models for the analysis of the agenda-setting process," European Journal of Communication: 192-193.

information from media resulting in great influence from agenda-setting.

- *Interpersonal communication*, has controversial effects: some scholars such as McCombs and Shaw, Erbring, Weaver, reported that interpersonal communication reduced media influence but others scholars such Mullins, and Atwood reported that it enhances the media effects.[72] In my point of view I have considered this determinant as an alternative way to gather information because if the one who audience communicates with agree with that agenda, the effect should be enhanced and vice versa, if that one possesses disagreement toward that issue, the effect will probably reduced its influence.
- *Real-world cues* as studied by Erbring[73] describes that political concerns and perception of issue salience may be shaped by personal experience and media agenda. Weaver and Zhu[74] also supported this determinant as a key factor in weakening media effects through applying personal experience to override potential media effects since better information sources are more likely to diminish the influence from the mass media.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

[72] Rolf Hügel, Werner Degenhardt, and Hans-Jürgen Weiss, "structural equation models for the analysis of the agenda-setting process," European Journal of Communication: 192-193.

[73] Lutz Erbring, Edie N. Goldenberg and Arthur H. Miller, "Front-page news and real world cues: a new look at agenda-setting by the media," American Journal of Political Sceince, 24 (1980): 1-49. Cited in Rolf Hügel, Werner Degenhardt, and Hans-Jürgen Weiss, "Structural equation models for the analysis of the agenda-setting process," European Journal of Communication: 193.

[74] David Weaver and Jian-Hua Zhu, "the bridging function of interpersonal communication in agenda-setting," Journalism Quarterly 69,4 (1992): 858.

- *Issue sensitivity*[75],suggests that individuals tends to explore and be open to issues that relate to their concerns and beliefs and ignore information which is not.
- *Obtrusiveness*,[76] an issue that the public has direct contact with is an obtrusive issue where agenda-setting's influence tends to be weaken. An unobtrusive issue is the opposite, and the public tends to rely on information from media because they lack first hand experience resulting in strong agenda-setting influence. Foreign news in this thesis is considered as an unobtrusive issue since the world of international affairs tends to be 'out of reach'[77] for the public.

- Relevant concepts

There are some other concepts related to agenda-setting theory that should be considered to avoid 'blame-the-media'[78] attitudes. Nature of news in many aspects should be taken into accounted in order to analyze the data in more accurate and reliable way.

- *Attributes of news*

In reality, news that appears on the newspaper has been through many filters and process before it is presented to the public. Many factors such high cost of

---

[75] Ibid.

[76] Harold G. Zucker, "The variable nature of news media influence," in B.D. Ruben (eds), Communication Yearbook 2 (1978): 224-40. Cited in Rolf Hügel, Werner Degenhardt, and Hans-Jürgen Weiss, "Structural equation models for the analysis of the agenda-setting process," European Journal of Communication: 193.

[77] Maxwell McCombs, The agenda-setting role of the mass media in the shaping of public opinion [Online PDF], 10 March 2010. Available from: http://www.infoamerica.org/documentos_pdf /mccombs01.pdf

[78] Natalia Chaban and Martin Holland, (eds.), The European Union and the Asia Pacific: Media, public and elite perceptions of the EU, p. 9.

production and public interest, are all affected to volume and content of the news. Therefore in analyzing the data in this study a twofold perspective of news as explained below will be employed to drawn a reliable conclusion.

- News as product[79]
  - News is treated as a commodity driven by demand and supply. News that involves conflicts, warfare, natural disasters, crime, crises are easy to sell, but international news (EU news, in this case) are difficult to sell due to its high cost of production, reliance on a limited group of foreign news agencies and low involvement of domestic reporters. Moreover, foreign news are considered as 'hard' news which gain less attention from the public who tend to favour 'light' news such entertainment, sport, for instance. As a consequence, the volume of hard news has decreased while light news has increased.
- News as process[80]
  - News is treated in account to a complex web of domesticity newsroom practices and discuss by regional newsmakers such organization of coverage, theme etc. to make news more attractive to the news consumers.
  - News as process will determine the EU meanings in media discourse and the strategies in reporting EU news.

- *Propaganda*

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

---

[79] James Hamilton, All the news that's fit to sell (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004), p. 7. Cited in Natalia Chaban and Martin Holland, (eds.), The European Union and the Asia Pacific: Media, public and elite perceptions of the EU, p. 10.

[80] Ibid.

Propaganda is an approach that utilizes persuasion in international communication. It promotes and disseminates information or policies in a particular country, purposes in influences and changes attitudes of target groups rather than providing information. There are three types of propagandas internal propaganda, external propaganda and counterpropaganda. This study focused on external propaganda in environmental policies of the EU as applied to Thailand.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter three methodologies consisting of survey, news monitor, and interview will be introduced. Survey and news monitor structures will be drawn from "Public, Elite and Media Perceptions of the EU in Asia Pacific Region" project which is generally aim to seek general perception of Thai citizens toward the EU and the media openness behavior. However there are some data that can be pulled out from main questionnaire and use to analyze in this study. Besides other two techniques, news media monitoring and interview will be employed in this study to ensure credibility and clear perception of Thai citizens toward the EU.

3.2 Survey

3.2.1 Objectives of the survey

The use of surveys is one of the most widely accepted tools in gathering data to observe attitudes, behaviors, and preferences. It is not the best tool to obtain "truth" but it is suitable to this study in measure "public opinion". Thus, the survey aims to gather data that will summarize general attitudes of Thai university students toward the EC and its visibility in the environmental field, the rate of the EU's importance, and the media openness behaviors of sample group.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

3.2.2 Data collection

The survey was conducted face to face and the subjects were orally asked questions. For some multiple answers questions and rating questions, alternatives were asked randomly to avoid distortion in response since subjects tend to give emphasize to alternatives that were prior presented than the later one.

Population

The European Union policies along with other foreign policies are considered as "out of reach"[1] for public and also far away from everyday life which requires a little bit higher of education than the basic one (twelve years; six years of elementary school, three years of lower-secondary level, and three years of upper-secondary level[2]) as a result undergraduate university students were being selected as a subject since they are new generation (17-23 years old), educated, well-inform and they will become an elite group who influence Thai decision maker in the future. In so doing, also aim to avoid too many "don't know" responses from randomly public who tends to lack of the EU awareness as well.

Samples

Undergraduate students from Chulalongkorn University both male and female from four faculties which have a connection with Europe were being selected as samples. These four faculties are political sciences, law, economic, and liberal arts. Students from political sciences should be familiar to the terms of the EU and Europe since they laid a skeleton of nowadays political system as well as the students from law faculty who are required to study structure of laws, models, and regulations from Europe which also known as a regulatory states. Besides, due to the fact that the EU is one of the most important exporting markets to Thailand, the EU regulations are mainly addressed to trade sector which not only related to law but also economic. The last faculty is liberal arts which generally relates to European languages, cultures, and histories. Students from this faculty should be able to give some socially ideas of the EU. Four hundred subjects were being randomly selected each year of study (2008 and

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

---

[1] Maxwell McCombs, The agenda-setting role of the mass media in the shaping of public opinion [Online PDF.], 10 March 2010. Available from: http://www.infoamerica.org/documentos_pdf/mccombs01.pdf

[2] World Education Forum, Thailand country report [Online], 28 February 2010. Available from: http://www.unesco.org/education/wef/countryreports/thailand/rapport_3.html

2009) which means the size of sample of this instrument consists of eight hundred students.

Instrument

Below is the questions being asked in this study which is drawn from the "Public, Elite and Media Perceptions of the EU in Asia Pacific Region" project.

S1. Firstly, can you please tell me, which faculty you are enrolled in?

S2. What is your gender?

S3. Which of the following age groups do you fit into?

Q1. Which overseas countries or regions, you think, are the most important partners for Thailand?

Q2. How important to Thailand's future you consider the following regions are, on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is not important at all and 5 is very important?

Q3. When thinking about the term 'the European Union', what three thoughts come to your mind?

Q4. How would you rate the state of the relationship between Thailand and Europe/ the European Union (EU)? Would you say its…

Q5. On a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is no impact at all and 10 is a huge impact, how much impact you think the following will have on Thailand in the near future?

Q6. Are there any other issues relating to Europe/the EU that could have a significant impact on Thailand?

Q7. In your opinion, what issues should be kept in mind when Thailand is developing government policy relating to the EU?

Q8. Which of the following countries do you have personal or professional connections/ties with?

Q9. What type of connection/link is this?

Q10. How often do you access media for foreign news?

Q11. Which of the following ways do you get the most information about the EU?

Q12. Which papers provide you with news about the EU?

Q13. Which TV news programmes provide you with news about the EU?

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

Q14. Between October 23-24, 2008, the 7th Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) was held in Beijing, China. On a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is "not at all" and 5 is "extensively", to what extend did you follow the coverage of this meeting in the news media?

Q15. How often do you discuss Europe/ EU related issues with your family and friends?

Q16. How often do you discuss Europe/EU related issues with your colleagues at work?

Q17. What Europe/ EU related issues have you recently discussed?

Q18. What is your current level of education?

Q19. What is your annual parental household income?

Q20. Did you vote at the last public election?

Time period

Surveys were conducted into two phases; the first phase took place during October – December 2008, and the second phase was in October – December 2009.

3.3 News media monitoring

3.3.1 Objectives of the news media monitoring

News media monitoring aims to examine the EU's news coverage both in general news and specifically in environment-related news to assess the EU visibility in the Thai newspapers.

3.3.2 Data collection

Newsprint remains one of the most popular instruments after television for Thai citizens to gather daily information.

Population

Daily national newspapers are a target group of this study due to the fact that they are the most ordinary way for Thai people to gather information and news. Weekly, fortnightly, and monthly newspapers would deeply concentrate on specific issues but a daily newspaper tends to inform news in general way with more coverage, more popularity, and easy to access.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

Samples

In order to obtain general perception of the EU, four types of daily national newspapers were being monitored to avoid too much attention on one group. "Thairath" represents the most popular newspaper with a circulation of approximately one million. [3] Its stances are mainly on populist issues, crime and accident for example. "Matichon" regards as a quality newspaper for educated class and somehow it can be very progressive. "The Manager" represents a business-oriented newspaper together with emphasis on political issues. It also has online edition which considered being one of the most popular news on website. "Bangkok Post" represents the most popular English-language newspaper with a circulation of approximately seventy-five thousand.[4] Regarding to its positioning, Bangkok Post is substantially presented more international news than typical Thai newspaper however, local and regional news are still dominated other contents.

Instrument

The EU coverage was being cut off from the newspaper, collected and analyzed through Microsoft Excel.

Time period

News monitoring was conducted into two phases; the first phase took place during October – December 2008, and the second phase was in November – December 2009.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

3.4 Elite interview

3.4.1 Objective of the interview

---

[3] Thairath, General information [Online], 6 March 2010. Available from: http://www.thairath .co.th/ corp/index?subMenu=info

[4] Wikipedia, Media of Thailand [Online], 6 March 2010. Available from: http://en.wikipedia .org/wiki/List_of_newspapers_in_Thailand

To obtain diversify responses on the perception of the EU in the environmental field, elite opinions towards this issue is necessarily to study since they are a group of people who possess a power to influence a decision-maker. The interview aimed to gather general perception of the environmental actors in Thailand, specifically of the EU cooperation and assistances through Thai environmental projects both public and private sectors.

3.4.2 Data collection

Population

One o the most usual ways of the EU to assist one country is to give financial supports through government and non-state-actor. As a consequence, Thai official who represents Thai government and the civil society elite (non-state-actor) who should have direct experience in dealing with the EU, are a target group of the interview. Nonetheless, in order to cover as many aspects of the opinion, a representative from the EC delegation to Thailand should be counted as well as an opinion from a third party.

Samples

After researching through internet, samples are randomly selected. They can be categorized into three groups. First, Thai Authority consist of a representative from **Ministry of Foreign Affairs** (Department of European Affairs, Division I – EC and Western Europe) who directly responsible to the EU policy and a representative from **the Office of Natural Resources and Environmental Policy and Planning (ONEP)**. The ONEP is an official main pillar who deals with environmental issues and policies in Thailand. Second is a representative from **the EU delegation to Thailand** who responsible to environmental cooperation between Thailand and the EU. Third is, the representatives from non-state-actors in Thailand or the NGOs both international organization and local. The international NGOs in Thailand concerning environmental issues are not as many and harder to reach than the local as a consequence there will be four non-state-actors interviewed; **World Wide Fund For Nature (WWF)**, **Greenpeace (South East Asia)**, **Focus on the Global South**, and **the United Nations Development Program (UNDP)**.

The local NGOs consist of five organizations which are **Thai Environmental Network, Stop Global Warming Association, Rak Thai Foundation, Thai Climate Justice, and Good Governance for Social Development and the Environmental Institute (GSEI).** There will be one representative from each organization.

Instrument

The interview was performed through telephone in which conservation with interviewee was recorded. Prior interview, an interviewee will receive an introduction email which stated general information about interviewer, purpose of study, and main questions that will be asked. To make interviewing of a number of different persons from different groups more systematic and comprehensive a semi-structured interview was being applied in this study. In addition semi-structured interview will allow interviewer to adapt the questions according to the situation within the bounds of the designed-frame. Thus, a list of determined questions was prepared as follow;

1. Main environmental actors in Thailand.

2. Any EU cooperation/assistances/supports in Thailand that you know of? Any problems occurred?

3. How the EU environmental regulations/policy have effect Thailand?

4. Future trends of Thai environmental policy.

    a. Trend of environmental actors in Thailand.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

This list of questions was employed to every interviewee except a representative from the Delegation of the EU since the interview approach was not applied to the Delegation due to its rules but the informal meeting was take place instead.

CHAPTER IV
THAILAND- EU ENVIRONMENTAL COOPERATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will introduce EU cooperation, coordination and assistances to Thailand in the field of the environment to examine to what extent the EU has extended its environmental efforts in Thailand. The analysis will be based on official documents, EU communication papers and publications during the period of 2008-2009. The Thailand-EU relationship will be present first in order to provide a better understanding of the historical background between these two counterparts. The policy of Thailand, specific issues, Thailand's environmental profile, and EU cooperation will be examined respectively.

The EU's role will be examined through two approaches; first, a government to government approach including all cooperation, coordination, assistances and trade measures conducted by the EU directly with the Thai government; and second, public diplomacy of the EU policy which directly targets Thai citizens. However, the business sector also plays an important role in this field since the major emphasis of the EU is to enhance economic capacity. Yet, the EU generally communicates with the business sector through Thai cooperation so consequently I will include this relationship within the government to government approach.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

4.2 Thailand-European Community Relationship

Thailand and Europe established good relations over centuries across a wide range of areas but mostly focused on political and economic matters. Unfortunately the relationship was suspended for awhile in 2006 due to the coup d'état led by the Council for Democratic Reform (CDR), but when democratically elections were resumed relations were brought back on track again. Nonetheless, economic relations are still the most prominent area and dominate all other issues. The EU possesses the highest purchasing power in the world along with its 500 million populations, making the EU a global economic power and Thailand's key partner in the region. The EU is Thailand's

third largest trading partner after ASEAN and Japan: in 2008 trade was valued at €26.36 billion with a € 6.38 billion surplus and the total EU investment was calculated at € 0.99 billion.[1]

In recent years, Thai-EU relations changed from traditional donor-recipient to partnership. Thailand no longer asks for substantial financial support from the EU but rather has shifted to technical assistance and development cooperation with the EU playing a role as a 'facilitator of knowledge sharing'.[2] Thailand is also gradually became a donor country and has asked the EU to provide aid for its poorer neighbour countries such Laos, Myanmar/Burma, and Cambodia instead.

Thailand and the EU have engaged in many different levels of relationship both at the multilateral level (WTO, UN, etc.), regional level (ASEAN-EU), and bilateral level (Thailand-EU). As Thailand provides a lot of effort for regional integration and held the ASEAN chairmanship in 2009, the EU has given Thailand high importance in this regional context resulting in a broader range of cooperation between these two partners. Yet economic relations remain the main area of discussion meaning that the EU environmental role in this region is mainly performed through trade policy since the EU believes that the 'right trade policies can help ensure that trade supports environmental goals'[3] and it can also help countries shift to a low-carbon economy. Nonetheless, mechanisms which include environmental concerns such EU-ASEAN Trade Initiative (TREATI) does not fall in the period of study (2008-2009), a partnership cooperation agreement (PCA) and a free trade agreement (FTA) are on the table and still in the process of negotiation so are not counted as a part of this study, but the Thailand-

---

[1] Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Thai relations with the global community [Online], 10 March 2010. Available from: www.mfa.go.th

[2] European Commission, Thailand-European community strategy paper for the period 2007-2013 [Online PDF], 10 March 2010. Available from: http://www.deltha.ec.europa.eu/Thailand/thailand_co-operation.htm

[3] European Commission, Environment: Climate change [Online PDF], 17 December 2009. Available from: http://ec.europa.eu/trade/wider-agenda/environment/climate-change/

European Community Strategy Paper (2007-2013) which draws the outline of future policy framework in Thailand will be mainly examined.

4.3 The Policy of Thailand

Thailand's policy agenda has been based by the National Economic and Social Development Plans led by office of National Economic and Social Development Board which has set the country's strategies and policy frameworks for many years.

The Eighth Plan (1997-2001) was a benchmark for the country's development planning and aimed for 'people-centered development'[4] representing new values and thoughts of Thai society which sought to apply economics as a tool for a better quality of life by balancing development of the economy, society and environment.

The Ninth Plan (2002-2006) continued the people-centered development from the Eighth Plan and incorporated economic, social, political and environmental aspects aimed to achieve long-term sustainable growth. Moreover a philosophy of Sufficiency Economy[5] introduced by King H.M. Bhumibol Adulyadej, was also adopt and guided the country's development.

At the present time the Tenth Plan (2007-2011) is being applied. The principles issues and strategies are almost identical to the Ninth Plan. Thailand must be prepared for the globalization process while practicing a Sufficiency Economy philosophy. Many changes at the global level will definitely affect Thailand and there are major changes that Thailand should consider;[6]

1. Economic groupings and changes in global financial markets. China and India will be global economic driving forces. Thailand should adopt an

---

[4] Office of National Economic and Social Development Board, The 10th National Economic and Social Development Plan [Online], 10 March 2010. Available from: http://www.nesdb.go.th/Default.aspx?tabid=139

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

aggressive approach to enhance economic competitiveness, concentrate on improving domestic production in particular and prepare for currency fluctuations.

2. Advances in technologies including communications technology, biotechnology, materials technology, and nanotechnology. These technologies will blend with Thai culture and wisdom creating new value-added products. Furthermore it will also lead to new challenges in dealing with patents, licenses, and intellectual property rights.

3. Social changes. In many developed countries social structures are shifting with aging societies which will give Thailand an opportunity to export more health products and services: however, Thailand will also be threatened by a brain drain situation since skilled labour will be most likely move to a country that gives higher returns. Besides, borderless communication will make it difficult to control inappropriate information and influences toward children.

4. Free movement of people. Globalization, convenient transportation in line with multilateral and bilateral agreements will allow people to travel and work overseas more and more; therefore, Thailand should balance the proportions of Thai working aboard and foreigners working in Thailand.

5. Changes in the environment and natural resources. The rapid increase in population growth rates accelerates environmental degradation which is causing climate change. Thus international agreements and treaties now also concern the environment and some of these aspects are also considered as trade barriers. Thailand must improve its environmental

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

standards and implement a better system to manage natural resources plus adjust production process to an environmentally friendly process.

In response to these changes, Thailand shall pursue the following objectives;

"[… (1) To provide opportunities for learning combined with integrity and morality by creating linkages between families, religious institutions, and educational institutions; to enhance health services, balancing among health care, promotion, prevention, treatment and capacity rehabilitation; and to improve the security of life and property.

(2) To increase the potential of communities by linking them in networks to serve as the foundation for developing the economy and quality of life; to conserve, rehabilitate, and utilize the environment and natural resources in a sustainable fashion to achieve sufficiency and reduce poverty.

(3) To reform the production structure for goods and services for value creation on a foundation of knowledge and innovation; to promote linkages among production sectors to increase value-added.

(4) To build safety nets and risk management systems for the sectors of finance, banking, energy, factor markets, the labor market, and investment.

(5) To ensure fair competition in trade and investment for national benefit; to create mechanisms for fair distribution of the benefits of development to all segments of the population.

(6) To preserve natural resources and biodiversity, along with safeguarding the quality of the environment to be a secure foundation of national development and livelihood for both current and future generations; to create mechanisms to safeguard national benefit in a fair and sustainable manner.

(7) to promote good governance in government administration, the private business sector, and the people's sector; to expand the role and capacity of local government bodies; to promote mechanisms and processes of

participation in development; and to nurture a culture of democracy for peaceful coexistence…."][7]

In environmental preservation, Thailand aims to maintain forests at no less than 33 percent of its total land area, with conservation forests no less than 18 percent of total land area; maintain air quality above a standard not exceeding 120 milligram per cubic meter; reduce carbon emissions per person by 5 percent from the 2003 level (3.5 ton/person/year); limit the production of waste with no higher than 1 kilogram/person/day; ensure proper ways to manage hazardous wastes; and ensure that water quality is rated as fair or good (not lower than 85 percent).[8]

Accordingly, environmental issues are now always mentioned (even if not as highlighted as economic concerns) and it is a good sign that at least Thai policy-makers care and consider this issue. Thailand has even announced its intention to become a "Green and Happiness Society",[9] and as a result environmental legislation and reforms are currently being implemented aimed at achieving a more efficient approach to solving environment problems.

4.4 European Union Cooperation

Since Thailand changed from a traditional donor-recipient relationship with the EU and established partnership relations, it has allowed Thailand-EU to widen cooperation across a broad range of mutual interests. The EU shifted its aid from financial support into technical assistance for social infrastructure, development of human resource, poverty alleviation, and the environment ranging from government to private sector, universities, and NGOs.[10] Environment became one of the key focuses of

---

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

[10] European Commission, Thailand-European community strategy paper for the period 2007-2013 [Online PDF], 10 March 2010. Available from: http://www.deltha.ec.europa.eu/Thailand/thailand_co-operation.htm

EU concerns as well as the promotion of small and medium size enterprise (SMEs) and human resource development.

4.4.1 Government to government level

Thailand currently enjoys benefiting from different levels of EU-supported projects in which environment is notably included in line with other issues as shown below;[11]

Table 2: The EU funded projects in different level of cooperation

Bilateral cooperation	Support to uprooted populations	Horizontal (NGO) budget lines	ASEAN cooperation	Asia cooperation	ASEM cooperation
Economic cooperation			Economic cooperation	Trade and investment	
					Financial and social sector reform
Environment/natural resources		Environment	Environment	Environment	
			Energy		
Public health		Health			
			Higher education	Higher education	
			Intellectual property rights		
				Information technology and communication	
	Humanitarian assistance (ECHO)				

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

Bilateral cooperation:[12] among the three sectors described in Table 3, the environment/natural resources project received the largest amount of grant from the European Community (€ 8 million out of € 18 million); however the project expired in 2007.

---

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

Table 3: Bilateral Cooperation

Bilateral Co-operation

Sector	No. of projects	EC grant (million €)
Economic Co-operation	1	5.0
Public Health	1	5.0
Environment/Natural Resources	1	8.0
Total	**4**	**18.0**

Horizontal Budget lines (NGOs):[13] The EU devotes considerable efforts in promoting environmental concerns through this level: for example, Phu Khieo Wildlife sanctuary project (2002-2009) and tropical forestry small grants programs (2000-2007)[14] received significant financial support (up to € 21.13 million).

Table 4: Horizontal Budget Lines

Horizontal Budget Lines

Sector	No. of programme	EC grant (million €)
Health	3	3.10
Environment	2	21.13
Total	**5**	**24.23**

ASEAN cooperation:[15] Over five sectors described in Table 5 there are nine projects. The energy sector received the largest grant (€ 18 million) concentrated on one project, however the environmental sector received € 7.69 million divided among three programs, which makes it an active sector. The projects concerned the sound management of chemicals, global harmonized system of classification and labeling chemicals (GHS), and biodiversity preservation in ASEAN (2005-2008).

Table 5: ASEAN Co-operation

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

ASEAN Co-operation

Sector	No. of programme	EC grant (million €)
Higher Education	1	7
Intellectual Property Rights and Standard	2	16.39
Energy	1	18.0
Environment	3	7.69
Economic Co-operation	2	12.52
Total	**9**	**61.60**

Asia cooperation:[16] The four sectors here are: higher education, trade and investment, information technology and communication, and environment. Once again, environment is the center of attention, and was granted two projects wiorth € 94.7 million to programs such Asia-URBS II which focused on important environment initiatives, or the Asia Pro Eco II project which aimed to strengthen links between Asia and the EU by sharing good practices, measures, technologies and improvements in the urban environment, for example.[17]

Table 6: Asia Cooperation

ASIA Co-operation

Sector	No. of programme	EC grant (million €)
Higher Education	1	55
Trade and Investment	1	86
Information Technology and Communication	1	39.95
Environment	2	94.7
Total	**5**	**275.65**

Along with these cooperation mentioned above, the Commission also intends to pursue further interventions in five areas; democracy and human right, human and social development, migration and asylum, *environment and sustainable management of natural resources including energy*, and non-state actor development (NGOs and other civil society organizations).[18] Environmental topics are viewed as an important area of cooperation and dialogue under future PCA plans and the EU regards

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

it as a major challenge to improve environmental legislation enforcement and institutional capabilities.

In the annex four of the Strategy Paper, the EU even analyzed Thailand's environmental profile and concluded that it has focused mainly on '*green issues (forestry and biodiversity)*'[19] and suggested that Thailand needs a transfer of environmental friendly technologies. Moreover, two member states (Germany and Denmark) play significant roles in this field in association with other non-European actors such World Bank, USAID and JICA (from Japan).

- *Thailand-European Community Cooperation Facility*

Thailand-EU Cooperation Facility has drawn a skeleton framework of EU support for strategic intervention as outlined under the draft PCA which is currently under negotiation. During the period of the Facility program, 2007-2010, an indicative allocation of €8 million[20] has been committed to this bilateral cooperation. The main objective is to strengthen and diversify mutual interests between Thailand and the EU in the field of economic, political and social areas. An advanced level of socio-economic development and to deepen the relationship with the EU requires Thailand to foster a dialogue on a modern agenda.[21] Specifically, it seeks to promote civil society dialogue and facilitate interactions in the areas of: [22]

---

[19] Ibid, 37.

[20] European Commission, Multi-Annual Indicative Program (2007-2010) [Online PDF], 20 February 2010. Available from: http://www.deltha.ec.europa.eu/Thailand/d507982_Thailand_MIP.pdf

[21] European Commission, Thailand-European community strategy paper for the period 2007-2013 [Online PDF], 10 March 2010. Available from: http://www.deltha.ec.europa.eu/Thailand/thailand_co-operation.htm

[22] The Delegation of the European Union, What is Thailand-EC cooperation facility? [Online], 23 February 2010. Available from: http://www.deltha.ec.europa.eu/Thailand/thailand_programmes_tec.htm

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

- Trade and investment. To enhance market development and preparation for ASEAN-EU FTA, to help Thailand integrate deeper in regional integration and the world economy.

- Science and technology, research and higher education. Aimed at human resources development ameliorating the skills of university staff and administrations in particular and collaboration in higher quality and standards of science and technology and research.

- ***Environment***. Mainly focuses on capacity building for environmental integration and support for Thailand to join multilateral agreements concerning climate change, sound chemicals and waste management, for instance.

This cooperation offers only a small amount of financial support, but provides a strong impact and is highly visible over a limited period of time with projects selected through a Call for Proposal mechanism.[23]

Below are the lists of selected environmental-related projects (part of TEC-I initiative) launched in 2008 from the call for proposals.[24]

1. Geodetic Earth Observation Technologies for Thailand: *Environmental Change Detection and Investigation* (GEO2TECDI).

2. Capacity building of Thai food industries on *"Carbon footprint labeling"* to promote the development of low-carbon trade between EU and Thailand for climate change mitigation.

3. Corporate Social Responsibility and Market Access Partnerships "CSR-MAP" for Thai *Sustainable Tourism* Supply Chains.

---

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

4. Enhancing institutional capacities for the market development of *decentralized energy* systems in Thailand.

5. Safety and Environmental Best Practices Exchange for *Transportation of Hazardous Substances* in the Industry (SAFE - THAI).

The TEC-II second phase will continue to provide assistance and resources for the areas of trade and investment, education, science and technology, environment, energy and sustainable development of natural resources, and good governance.

The EU expected that these interventions will result in a better understanding, awareness and visibility of the EU in Thailand. Besides these projects, the EU has also financed training, educational and capacity building activities, media events and products, business-related research activities, conferences, seminars, workshops and small-scale technical assistance inputs.

During the period 2008-2009, there were nine activities relevant to the environment organized in corporation with the EU;

- 21-22 April 2008: training workshop discussed 'the EU's chemicals legislation (REACH)' held by Representatives from the Asean chemical industry, the European Commission and senior experts from Europe (funded by EU's Asia Invest program).[25]

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

[25] The Delegation of the European Union, EU Today V. 32 [Online PDF], 23 February 2010. Available from: http://www.deltha.ec.europa.eu/Publications/EU%20No%2032%20Jul_2008.pdf

- 29 May 2008: seminar on '*EU Environment Policy and its Perspective to Business'* at Imperial Queen's Park Hotel, held by Mission of Thailand to European Union and the Delegation of European Union to Thailand.[26]

- 27 November 2008: seminar on 'New EU Regulation on Illegal, unreported and unregulated (IUU) Fishing' by EU and Thai Deputy of Fisheries.[27]

- 4 February 2009: seminar on 'ThaiRoHS (Restrictions of the use of Hazardous Substances in electrical and electronic equipment) 2009' by Business Information Center.[28]

- 23-25 March 2009: training workshop on 'EU legislation on Pesticides Residues in Fruit and Vegetables' held by the European Commission's Directorate-General for Health and Consumer Protection.[29]

- 16 July 2009: conference on 'European Schemes for Carbon Reduction Impact on Trade and Business' at Dusit Thani Hotel, held by Mission of

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

[26] The Royal Thai Embassy in Brussels and Mission of Thailand to European Union, European business sector promote environmental issue, Thai manufacturers must be prepared [Online], 28 February 2010. Available from: http://news.thaieurope.net/content/view/2987/247/

[27] The Delegation of the European Union, EU Today V. 33 [Online PDF], 23 February 2010: p. 11. Available from: http://www.deltha.ec.europa.eu/2009update/EUtoday_Jan09.pdf

[28] The Delegation of the European Union, EU Today V. 34 [Online PDF], 23 February 2010: p. 16. Available from: http://www.deltha.ec.europa.eu/2009update/EUtoday_No.34_June.pdf

[29] Ibid.

Thailand to European Union, Delegation of European Union to Thailand and the Thailand Greenhouse Gas Management Organization.[30]

- 6 October 2009: roundtable discussion 'Towards a deal in Copenhagen – view on the global climate negotiations' held by Thai Ministry of Foreign Affairs and joined by the European Commission's chief climate change negotiator Artur Runge Metzger.[31]

- 8 October 2009: seminar entitled 'Green Business and implications on supply chains' addressed EU companies' environmental practices and the effects toward Thai businesses, at Grand Hyatt Erawan Hotel.[32]

- 8 October 2009: networking dinner (a talk on investment opportunities and cooperation for green business) between European and Thai business figures, decision-makers, journalists, Thai Environment Minister Suvit Khunkitti, and the European Commission's Director General for Environment Karl Falkenberg.[33]

It can be seen that these projects/activities aimed to support Thai economic reforms (making them environmentally friendly) and international competitiveness by helping the Thai government and private sector to adapt to EU

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

[30] The Royal Thai Embassy in Brussels and Mission of Thailand to European Union, EU environment policy conference 2009 [Online], 28 February 2010. Available from: http://env09.thaieurope.net /?page_id=18

[31] The Delegation of the European Union, EU Today V. 35 [Online PDF], 23 February 2010: p.15. Available from: http://www.deltha.ec.europa.eu/2010update/EUtodayNo35_December2009.pdf

[32] Ibid, 14.

[33] Ibid.

legislation and market requirements such as industrial standards, environmental regulations (WEEE, ROHS, REACH), and labeling.[34]

4.4.2 Public Diplomacy

Public Diplomacy refers to the EU's efforts to promote environmental policy directly to Thai citizens without any filtering organization/institution but through the Delegation of the European Union in Thailand. According to EU publications, online resources, and other EU related documents there are two activities that are employed;

- Photography Contest for university students entitled *"Climate Change – Reality, Threat and Hope"*,[35] launched on May 1st with a deadline of July 31st, held by the delegation of the European Union. The winners were awarded with generous prizes (50,000 baths, 30,000 baths and 15,000 baths respectively) and given visibility in publications.

- *EU Green Days* event. This was a climate change series of event during October 1-11, 2009 at Central World, aimed to raise awareness of climate concerns and of EU involvement addressed to Thai citizens as the Copenhagen climate negotiation (COP15) resumed in Denmark. This event consisted of climate change artistic works exhibition, installations and interactive activities related to climate change from the German and Finnish Embassies in Bangkok, 'What on earth' free concert, club night activity,

---

[34] European Commission, Thailand-European community strategy paper for the period 2007-2013 [Online PDF], 10 March 2010. Available from: http://www.deltha.ec.europa.eu/Thailand/thailand_co-operation.htm

[35] The Delegation of the European Union, Photography contest [Online PDF], 23 February 2010. Available from: http://www.deltha.ec.europa.eu/2009update/Competiton__Info_and_rules_in_Thai_ and_Eng.pdf

workshop for kids to help children understand climate concerns, and seminars.

The findings from this chapter indicate that the EU does not really emphasize the EU's environmental role directly to Thai citizens. An attempt to encourage Thai to mainstream environmental norms into societal norm has not been present clearly in relations. However, the EU rather engages itself at the government to government level, through trade measures where it possesses high influence and in corporation with Thai administrators can organize activities such as seminars, workshops, or training programs for the business sector as stated in the Multi-Annual Indicative Program that 'with regard to environment, cooperation efforts will primarily focus on environmental activities that impact on Thai-EU trade relations'.[36]

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

[36] European Commission, Multi-Annual Indicative Program (2007-2010) [Online PDF], 20 February 2010. Available from: http://www.deltha.ec.europa.eu/Thailand/d507982_Thailand_MIP.pdf

CHAPTER V
SURVEYS, NEWS COVERAGE, AND INTERVIEW FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

Two research questions are explored in relation to the media and survey data. The first examines EU cooperation, support, and assistance to Thailand in both the public and private sectors on perceptions of how the EU has contributed to environmental efforts in Thailand as discussed in the previous chapter. The second assesses Thai perceptions towards the EU environmental role in Thailand in order to obtain a general view on how Thais perceive the EU's support. The conclusions drawn from this analysis will determine whether there is a gap between the reality (the EU's support) and the perception of Thais towards the EU's action. To gain this knowledge, three instruments (news monitoring, surveys, and interviews) were employed to ensure the validity and reliability of the findings.

The first part of chapter five will present a comparison between the surveys of Chulalongkorn University's undergraduate students in 2008 and 2009 to assess the importance of the EU in general and specifically in the field of environment. The second part will provide a comparison of the EU news coverage during the last quarter of 2008 and 2009 from four different newspapers. The last part will examine the interviews of twelve stakeholders, both Thai and from a representative of the Delegation of the EU to Thailand.

5.2 The EU through Thai university student's perception

The survey employed in this study is drawn from the National Centre of Research on Europe's Perception project[1] (University of Canterbury) which mainly focuses on the EU perception as a whole; however this study focuses specifically on the field of

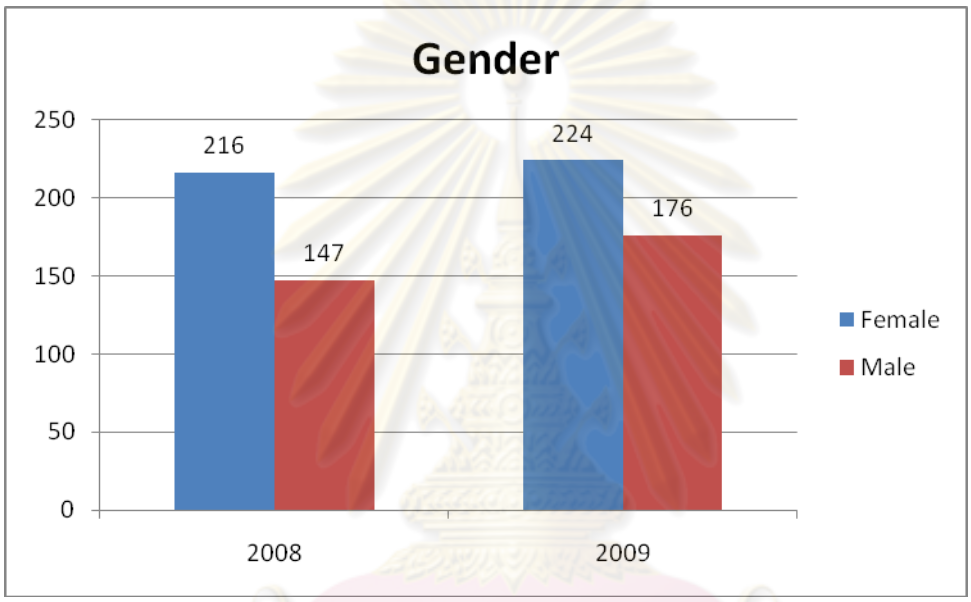
[1] Natalia Chaban and Martin Holland, (eds.), The European Union and the Asia Pacific: Media, public and elite perceptions of the EU (Oxon: Routledge, 2008).

environment. As a consequence, only environment-related findings will be discussed in this chapter. It must be noted that the sample for 2008 was only 363 due to missing or unreliable data in the sample to avoid any distortion. For 2009, the sample size was 400.

5.2.1 Personal information of the subjects

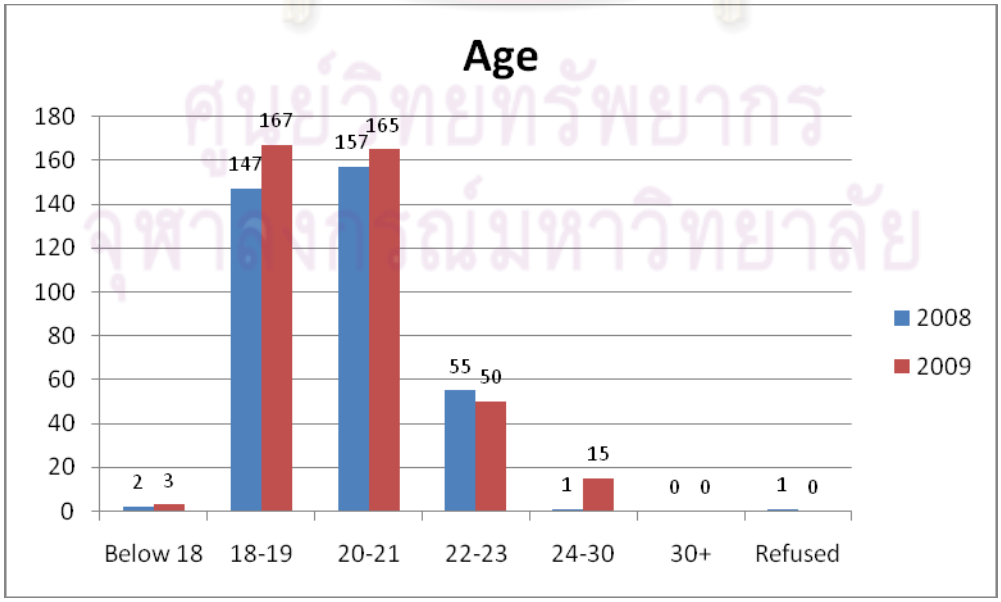
- Gender

Figure 1: Gender



- Age

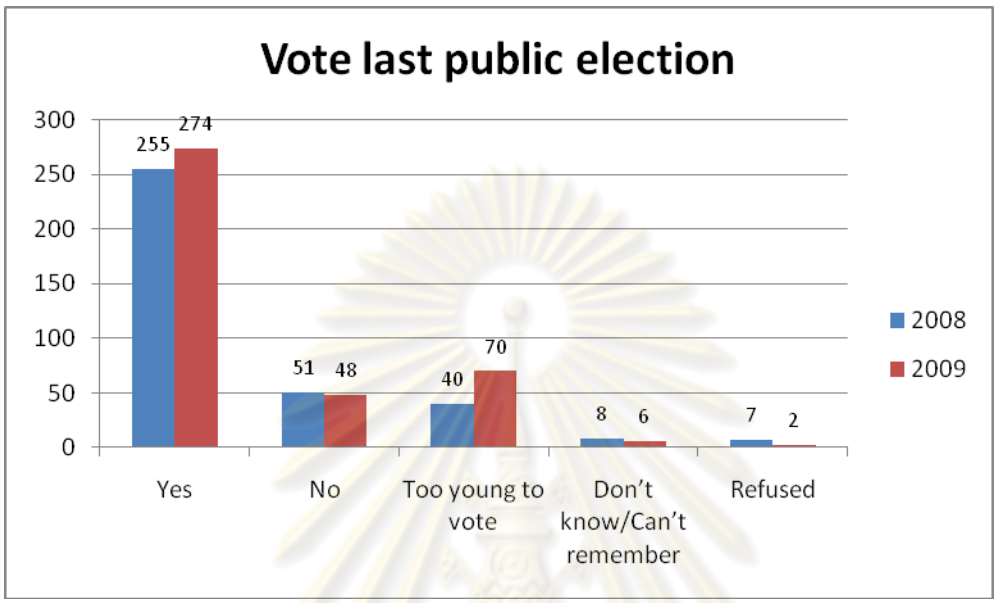
Figure 2: Age



ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

- Political participation

Figure 3: Did you vote for the last public election?



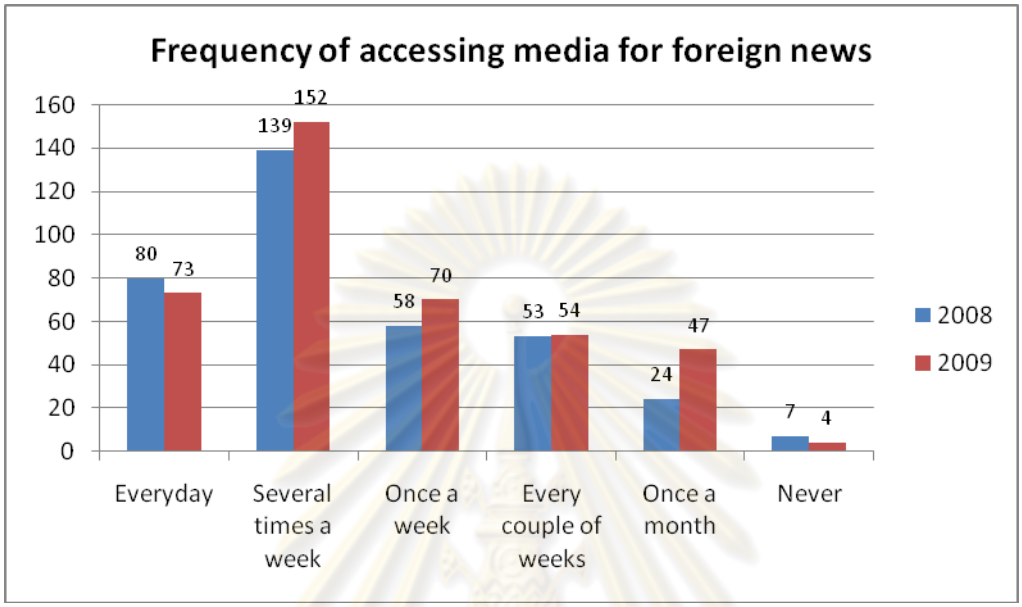
The subjects surveyed in this study share almost identical characteristics. They constitute a group of undergraduate university students both male and female aged between 18-24 years old, who according to the question on voting at the last public election, are active in terms of political participation.

5.2.2 Media openness behaviors

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

- Frequency of foreign news access

Figure 4: Frequency of accessing media for foreign news

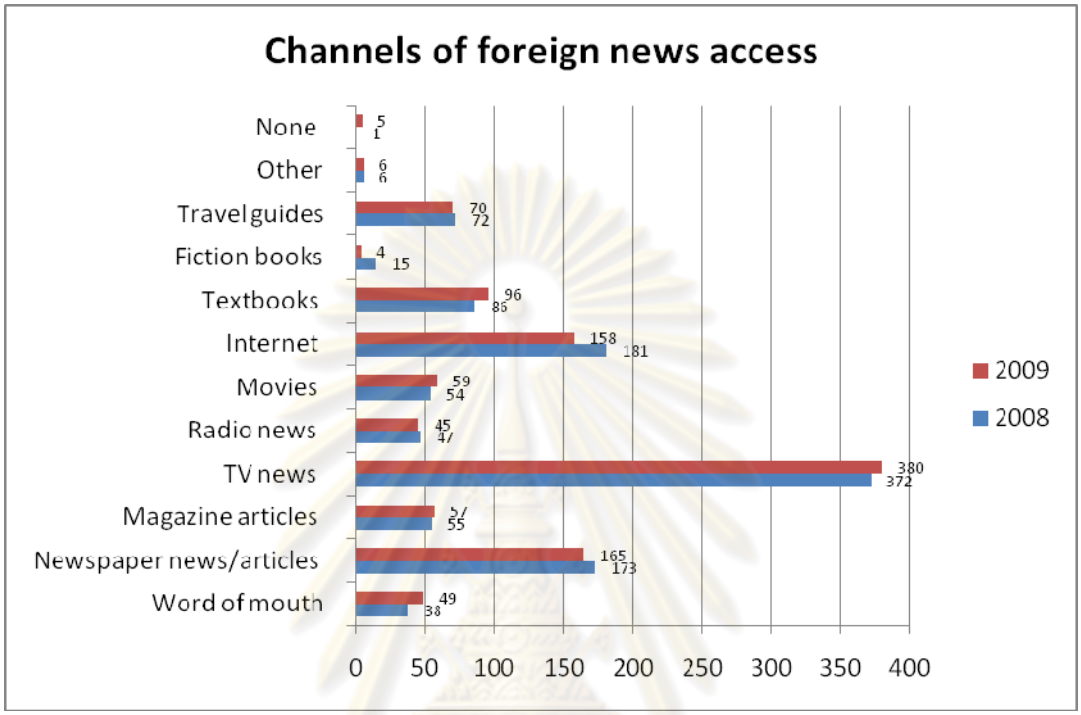


The majority of subjects clearly access foreign news several times a week, with the number increasing in 2009. The categories of “Every day a week” and “once a week” were not significantly different over the past two years.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

- Channels of foreign news access

Figure 5: Channels of foreign news access

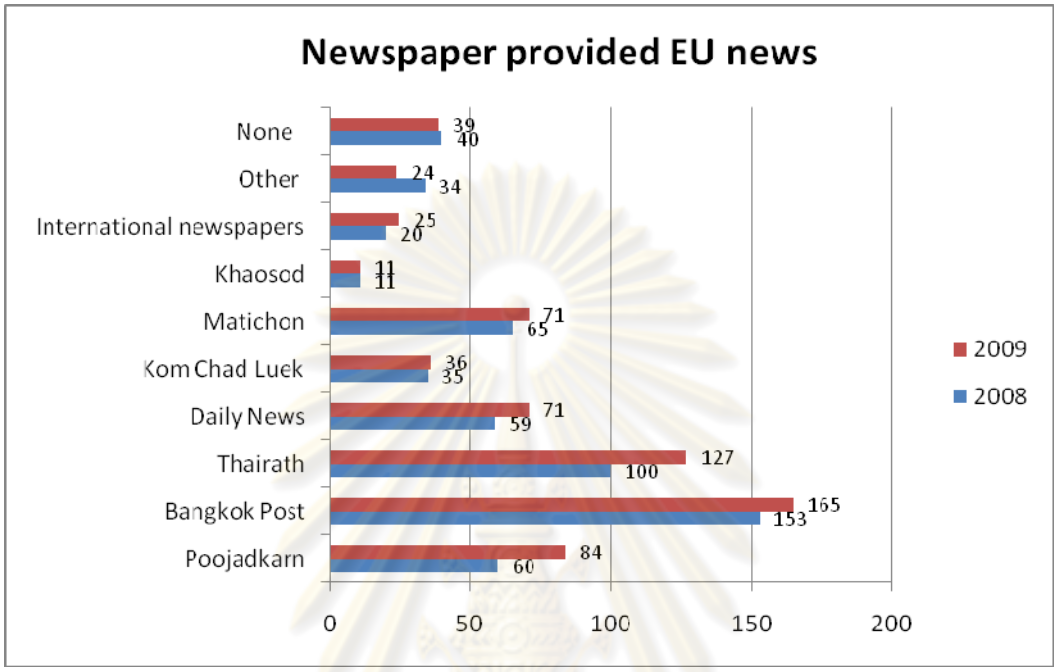


Television remains the most practical means of access foreign news. TV news in this case also included TV shows and TV programs. In 2008, the internet and newspapers were relatively popular with the internet in second place, followed by newspaper. Magazine articles and textbooks are also mentioned quite often. In 2009, newspapers beat the internet and moved in second place. However, the gap was not wide and it will be interesting to see the future of the internet as one of the most popular channels of foreign news access.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

- Newspaper provided EU news

Figure 6: Newspaper provided EU news

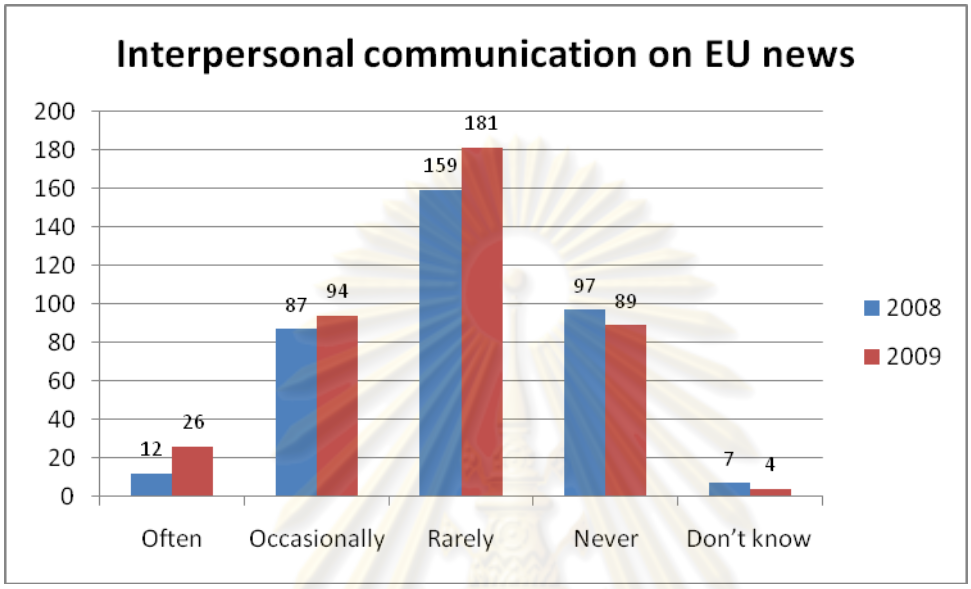


The most popular newspapers for EU news in 2008 was The Bangkok Post, Thairath, Matichon, and Poojadkarn respectively. This list of newspaper is almost identical to the selected newspapers used in newsprint monitoring except that in the monitoring The Manager was selected instead of Poojadkarn, however they both represent a business newspaper. In 2009, the result was almost the same except that Poojadkarn provided more EU coverage than Matichon.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

- Frequency of discussing Europe/EU related issues with family, friends, and/or colleagues

Figure 7: Interpersonal communication on EU news



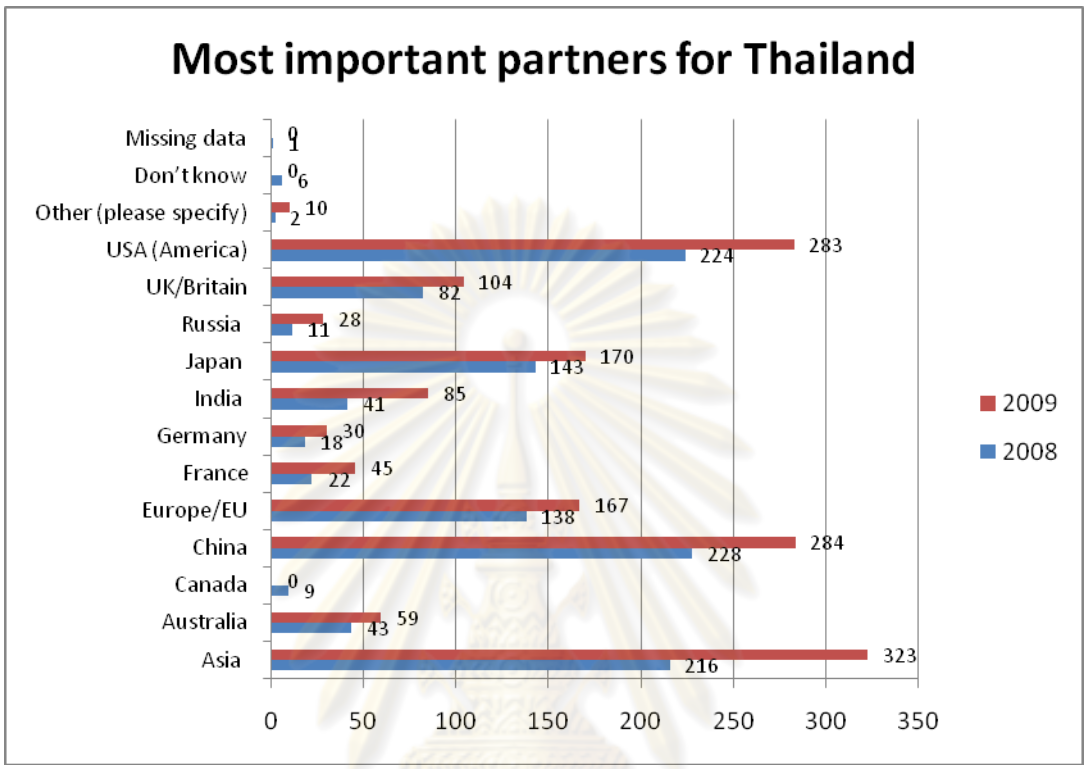
The EU was typically almost no mention of the EU at all in interpersonal communications either with family, friends, or colleagues. However, when the EU was mentioned, it was often related to travel issues, education – especially higher education, and trade related topics. The environmental issue was mentioned only once in both 2008 and 2009.

According to the graphs above on the media behavior of the subject group, it indicates that they have access of foreign news on a regular basis, several times a week mostly through television, newspapers, and internet. The most EU newspaper coverage is provided by The Bangkok Post, followed by Thairath. The trends in media access in 2008 and 2009 had no significant differences.

5.2.3 Perception of the EU

- Importance partners for Thailand

Figure 8: Most important partners for Thailand

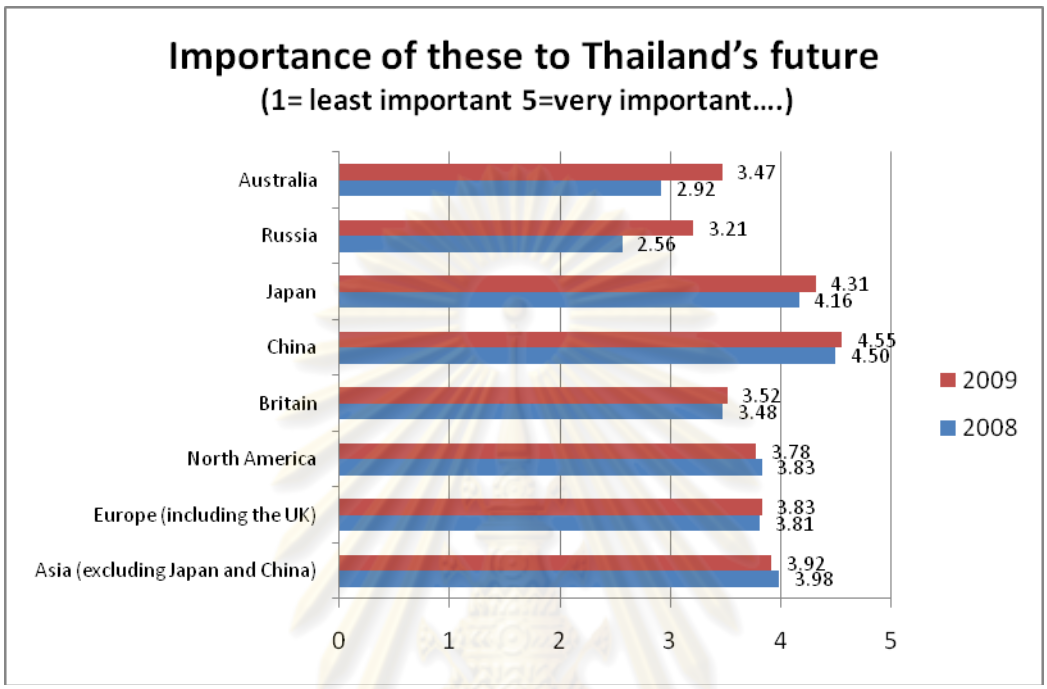


Generally, respondents in 2008 emphasized Asian nations, with China ranking first, followed by the United States of America, Asia, Japan, and then Europe/EU. In 2009, the pattern is similar to the previous year, but Asia ranked number one followed by China. Nonetheless for both years, Japan and Europe/EU have only small percentage difference between them, although Japan led Europe/EU marginally.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

- Future important region for Thailand

Figure 9: Important of these to Thailand's future

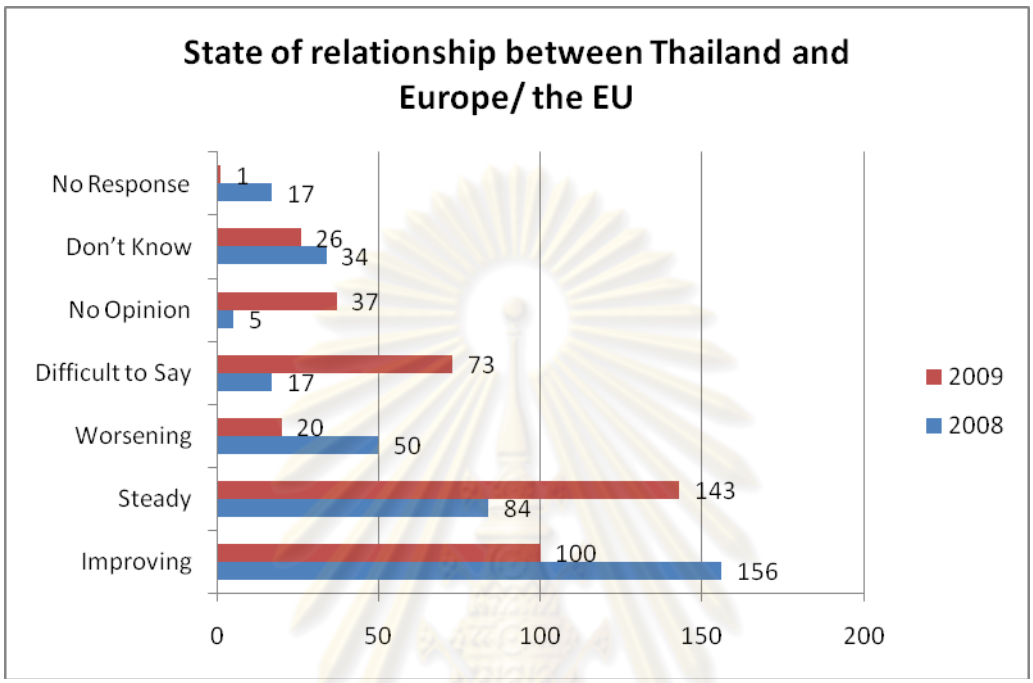


The findings in figure 9 tend to confirm the impression given in figure 8: Thailand tends to develop closer ties with Asia. The top three partners in the future for Thailand are all Asian; China, Japan, and Asia, and influence from the West is declining. In 2009, however, Europe/EU was rated to be more important to Thailand than the US.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

- State of relationship between Thailand and Europe/ the EU

Figure 10: State relationship between Thailand and Europe/ the EU

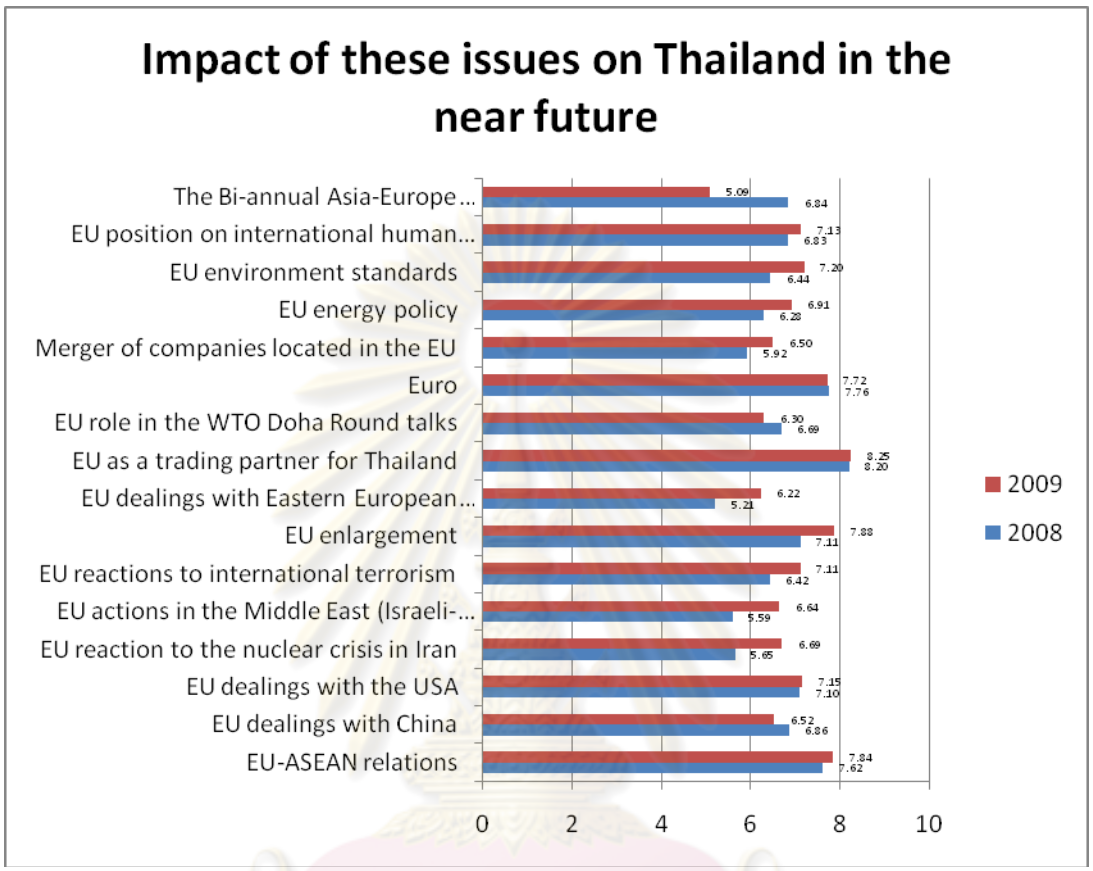


Surprisingly, the majority of respondents viewed the state of relationship between Thailand and Europe/EU as changing from 'improving' to 'steady' over the 2008/9 period and the gap between these views were distinct. There is also an increase in the 'difficult to say' category in 2009 as well.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

- Impact of these issues on Thailand in the near future

Figure 11: Impact of these issues on Thailand in the near future



The average impact of these issues in 2008 is 6.66 and the top three issues seen to have the most impact on Thailand are all related to economics; 'EU as a trading partner', 'Euro', and 'EU-ASEAN relations'. Whilst energy policy and environmental standards were rated slightly lower than average. In 2009, the average increased to 6.95. The 'EU as a trading partner' was also rated as having the most impact as was found for 2008, however, the 'EU enlargement' suddenly gained importance and was rated the most significant impact after the 'EU as a trading partner' and 'Euro'. In addition, EU environmental standards were rated above average which indicates an increased importance while energy policy remains below average.

There were two additional open-end questions in the survey which asked what issues should be kept in mind when Thailand is developing government policy relating to the EU. 86% of the responses were related to trading issues including the EU

environmental standards and trade agreements. The rest were higher education, travel, and technologies.

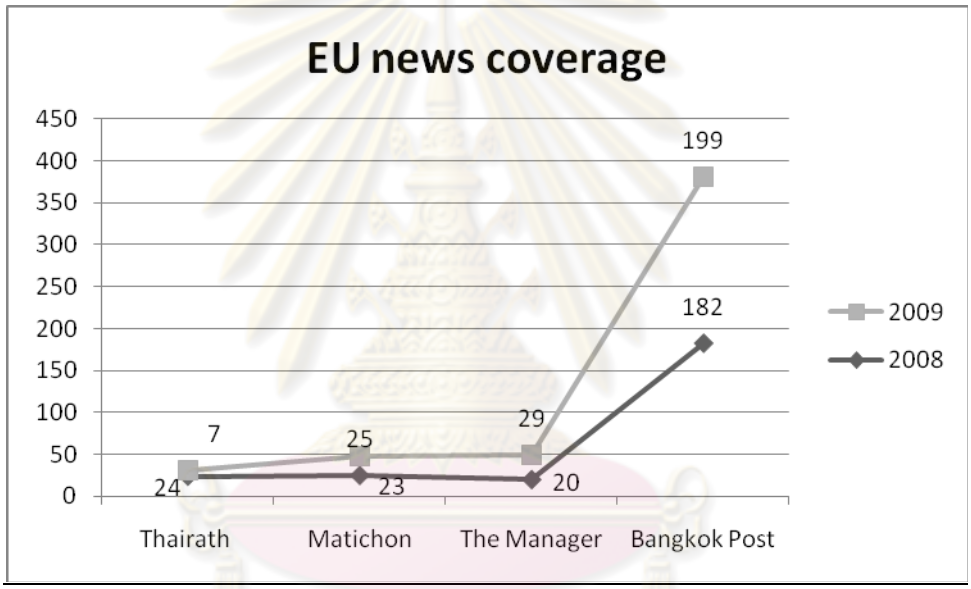
5.3 The EU through Thai media's perception

A comparison of the EU coverage in 2008 and 2009 are shown below;

5.3.1 News coverage

- EU news coverage

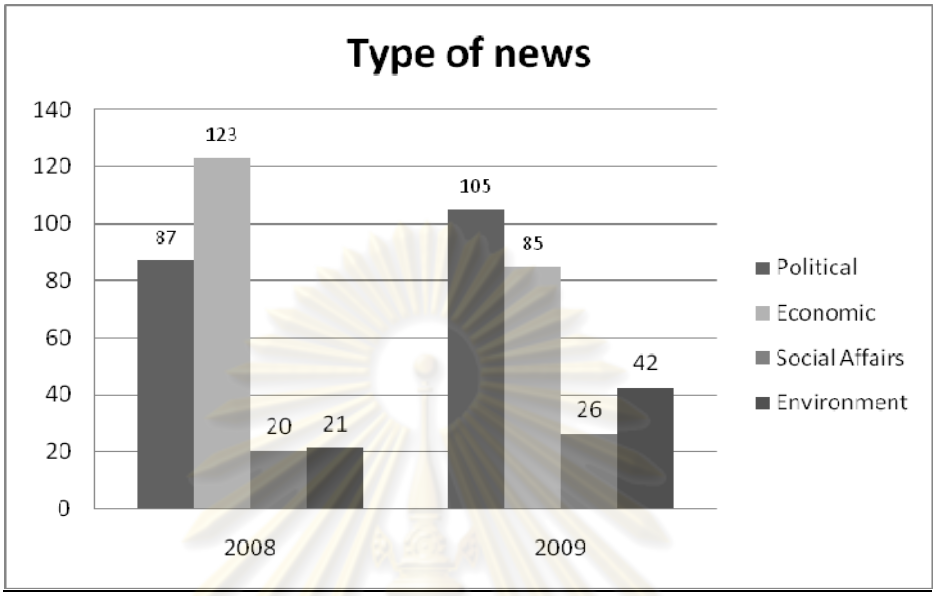
Figure 12: EU news coverage



From figure 12, The Bangkok Post provided the most EU coverage compared to others. The other three newspapers provided approximately the same amount of coverage except Thairath in 2009, which gave relatively low coverage. The number of overall EU coverage in 2008 and 2009 slightly increasing, but since 2009 was quite a big year of the EU (regarding the EU Green Day – an event related to climate change hold along the line with Copenhagen Summit – COP-15 in Denmark), an increase in the amount of coverage was predictable and understandable.

- Type of EU coverage

Figure 13: Type of coverage



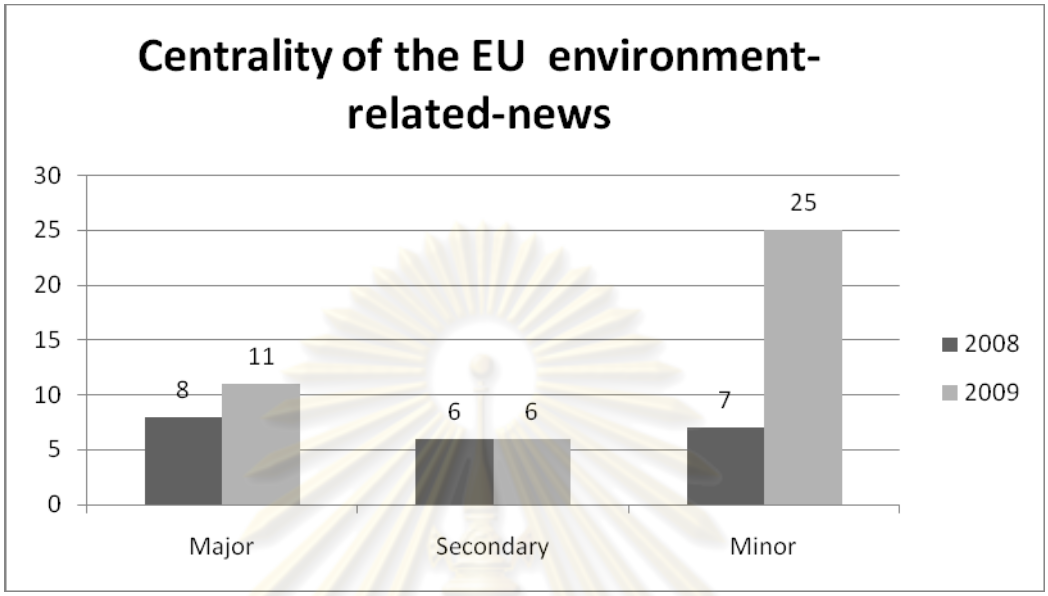
Economic news and political news were the center of focus and the EU had poor visibility in social affairs section. From figure 13 environmental news coverage doubled from 21 to 42, these news were derived from political news, economic news, and social affairs news nonetheless, the majority of news was related to environmental regulations and standards.

5.3.2 Content of news

- Centrality

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

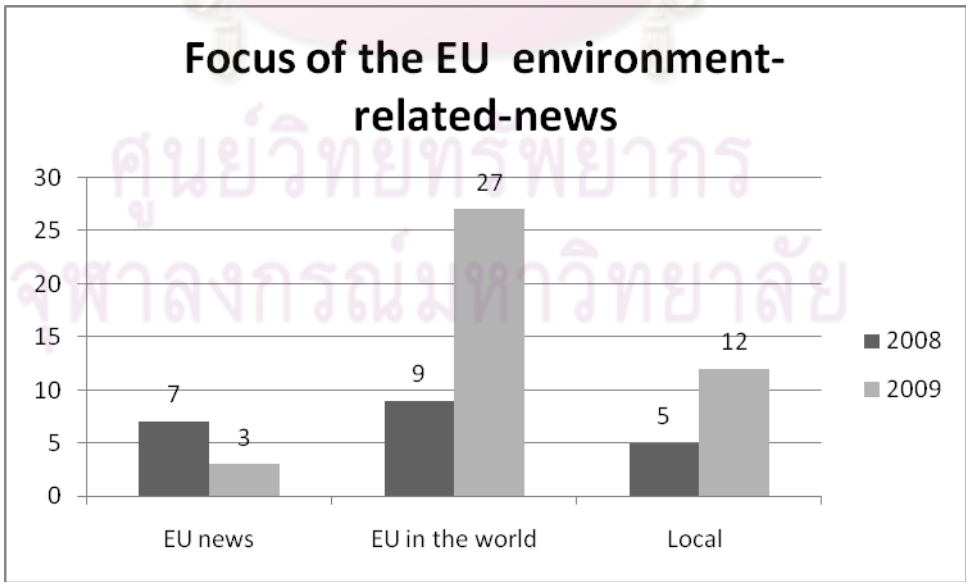
Figure 14: Centrality of the EU environmental-related-news



There was an increase in the number of EU environmental related coverage in 2009 hence the most common centrality of those news was minor while the 2008 coverage's centralities were shared among major, secondary, and minor.

- Focus

Figure 15: Focus of the EU environmental-related-news



ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

When the four selected newspapers from 2008 and 2009 presented the EU's environmental news, they were often focused on the EU environmental action in the international arena or sometimes in the Union itself rather than the EU's role in Thailand.

5.4 The EU through Thai elite's perception

This part contains opinion of various elite groups on the EU environmental role in Thailand that have been interviewed.

5.4.1 Opinion from the Delegation of the EU to Thailand

Thailand has benefited from various levels of the EU environmental assistances; global aid, regional cooperation (Asia), ASEAN cooperation, and bilateral cooperation. Environment has always been one of the main priority areas of the EU thus in the Community Strategy Paper[2] with Thailand, environmental cooperation and assistance are identified as mutual interests and EU financial support was contributed.

In 2005, ex-prime minister Thaksin Shinnawatra announced that Thailand would no longer receive development grants and graduated from a traditional relationship (donor-recipient). This announcement considered as a turning point for foreign aid given to Thailand, the EU therefore adapted to the change and emphasized policy dialogue in four main areas; trade and investment, environment, higher education, and good governance.

Thailand has been developed far beyond fundamental environment: hence Thailand demands environmental technical assistances from the EU instead of conventional programs such forest and water conservation, mangrove development, and biodiversity. As a result, most of the EU co-operation and assistance in the field of environment in Thailand are linked deeply with economic interests such as environmental standards for the exporters, market access, and industrial certification. In

---

[2] European Commission, Thailand-European community strategy paper for the period 2007-2013 [Online PDF], 10 March 2010. Available from: http://www.deltha.ec.europa.eu/Thailand/thailand_co-operation.htm

addition, the EU provides grants to NGOs through the 'call for proposal' mechanism as well.

Yet, the Delegation realized that as an environmental actor in Thailand, they have a low profile in the eyes of public; however they are working on it. The Delegation demands every project funded by the EU gives the EU due credit or acknowledgement as one of the conditions for EU grant. For example, the project granted by the EU must launch a project to the public and deliver a press release to the media. However, the progress of raising the EU's visibility is time-consuming and Thai society is very passive, and it will not be an easy task.

5.4.2 Thai Officials

An official from the Department of European Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs claimed that there are number of the EU environmental co-operation and assistance initiatives with Thailand as it tries to diversify its support from government to government to the non-state-actor sector, and to the public sector. The EU environmental regulations and policy have a huge impact on Thailand due to the fact that the EU is one of the largest markets for Thai exporters. Thus Thai exporters must be able to adapt to the EU's regulations and standards if they want to maintain competitiveness; trade with the EU, follow the EU's rules even though alternative markets are also sought.

A representative from the Office of Natural Resources and the Environmental Policy and Planning (ONEP) viewed that multilateral conferences which resulted in multilateral agreements influenced Thai environmental policy the most since Thailand is involved in almost all international organizations. In his point of view, Thai regulations and policy on the environment are good enough but lack efficiency in enforcement. Nonetheless, the EU remains a prominent actor and a good influence to Thailand in attempting to raise Thai environmental standards. In the future, Thailand will be forced (direct and indirect) to follow multilateral environmental agreements to maintain economic competitiveness.

5.4.3 Non-state-actors

Potential environmental actor in Thailand

There are various opinions on potential environmental actor in Thailand however, the most frequently mentioned were Europe/EU, the US, and Japan, followed by Denmark and Germany. Scandinavian countries, Canada, and some international organizations such as United Nations, Oxfam, and Asean were also mentioned. Denmark and Germany have had quite remarkable successes in Thailand in the past but most of their projects such as DANCED - Danish Cooperation for Environment and Development - are no longer active. However, in the future, individual actor's influence will decrease while multilateral co-operation will gain more influence, power, and acceptance. Furthermore, in Thailand, we will see stronger influences from our close neighbors – a regional influence, especially from China.

The EU's environmental role in Thailand

Some NGOs see the EU as a big supporter of environmental projects, some, barely have any direct experience in dealing with the EU but there are two things in common. First, almost all of the NGOs viewed the EU as a beast of complexity and conditionality. The EU is difficult to deal with and to understand, one of the local NGOs even said that the financial support granted from the EU is comparatively little when measured against all the procedures they had to conform to. A representative from Good Governance for Social Development and the Environmental Institute also claimed that number of the EU funded projects did not help in the long-run and there was a lack of consistency. Second, these NGOs admitted that the EU had significant influence in the business sector, in setting standards, and sometimes in environmental related laws and directives. However, the EU standards and regulations on environment were practiced the most among business sector where the regulations may be applied but lacked conceptual transference. Yet, there are critics of EU environmental standards which can act as both trade barriers and a force for good in which no one can guarantee that it will truly contributed a better environment.

Despite the fact that the EU's regulations and standards can be treated as a trade barrier, a minimum requirement we have to reach, a representative from Greenpeace considered it differently as an opportunity for Thai industries to improve standards and contribute to a sustainable means of production.

Furthermore, one representative from an international NGO asked an interesting question to Thailand - since economics influences Thailand through trade negotiation and foreign investors, if Thailand wants to trade with the EU, Thailand must apply stricter environment regulations but stricter regulations will drive away foreign investors who also have huge influence on the Thai economy. Thus which direction should Thailand pursue?

According to the interviews, it can be summarized that the majority of the NGOs perceived the EU as a prominent environmental actor, but the visibility of the EU in this field in Thailand remains limited in certain groups.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSION

Typically, Thai viewed the EU as an economic power, an important trading partner, and a regulatory beast. Thailand – EU relationship is obviously dominated by trade according to the survey. Although Asian neighborhoods (China, Japan) seem to rapidly increase their importance to Thailand, the EU/Europe still plays an important role. It was rated as a top five most important partner to Thailand both at a present time and in the future, surprisingly the EU even beat the US. In the field of environment, its impact to Thailand was rated a little bit below average in 2008 but in 2009, the EU's environmental policy has raised its impact in the eyes of Thais and was rated above average. The subjects in the survey exposed media quite often, the majority of them access to foreign news several times a week through television, newspapers, and internet. Furthermore when mentioned issues of concern to Thai people in the field of environment, it is commonly found that those issues are environmental standards, new measures on export products along with other green policy which effect Thai industries and they are usually being treated as a trade barrier.

Among thousands news in the four selected newspapers, there were only 21 news related to the EU's environment in 2008, but the coverage was doubled up in 2009 to 42 news. The amount of coverage was raised, though the majority of centrality of news in 2009 was minor; higher in number but decrease in quality. Moreover, 2009 was a big green year of the EU (held the EU's Green Day Concert along with an international meeting, Copenhagen Summit: COP-15, in Denmark) and higher number of coverage was expected though the environmental-related coverage of the EU that appeared in the newspapers were mainly about the EU environmental standards and regulations.

Unfortunately, there is another crucial factor needed to take into account - a political struggle in Thailand. Fight of the People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD – the

"Yellow Shirt") and the United front for Democracy against Dictatorship (UDD – the Red Shirt) are the center of Thai's focus up until the present day. Front page, editorial section along with other sections in the newspapers flooded with the domestic political struggle, other non-related issues were automatically diminishing their importance, including the EU news. Regarding to the aspect of news, the EU news – the foreign news itself is a hard news which is far beyond everyday life and attracts poor attention from news consumers thus it was a crucial job for the EU to raise a visibility as an environmental actor in the past two years while there is other interesting issues going on. However, the effort was fruitful as it can be considered an increase in number of coverage and the frequency of time the newspapers mentioned the EU head of Delegation's name.

From the point of view of the NGOs, the EU regards as one of the prominent environmental actors in Thailand altogether with the US, Japan, Denmark, and Germany and in the future the EU tends to remain as important with a presence of ASEAN and an increase role of pluralism. Developing regional tie will be the main focus of Thailand while multilateralism approach tends to reach deadlock due to presence of the emerging economic countries. The interview indicates that Thailand will be most likely to follow the world's trend and be a follower of the rule-setting in order to maintain competitiveness in the export sector. Nonetheless, if the EU poses aggressive measures on environment to Thailand in the future, small and medium enterprises might not be able to adopt stricter standards and shall find alternative markets, in the meantime, large enterprises will survive.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

The findings indicate that Thailand is a passive audience society in which the mass media have a large influence to. The coverage concerned on the EU by the media is the same as Thai public opinion's concern, in this case, environmental regulations and standards. In addition, many Thai NGOs experienced trouble dealing with the EU due to its procedures and the amount of paperwork which Thais are not keen on it. The EU provides almost every detail in the website however Thais expect to be served, to be

informed and they have not research for information as much as the EU expected due to working ethic different. This difference caused problems and negative attitudes to both side; Thai NGOs and the EU officials.

The EU may need to conduct more research to understand Thai society and how to deal with them since the EU's current communication strategy seems not to be perfectly suitable to Thailand. Other channels of communication should be considered, through soap opera, folktale, and concert for example. Furthermore, if the EU wants to ameliorate flow when working with Thai NGOs, it should consider changing working habit and ready to serve more.

Despite all the reasons mentioned above there is one more crucial reason that explains low visibility of the EU. The statement from ex-prime minister Thaksin Shinawatra in 2005 announced that Thailand will no longer receive financial development grant from other parties is a foolish decision since Thailand is not ready and still need a substantial amount of financial supports from foreigner but the statement had been made and there is no way to recall it. Thailand's partners are all response to it and have changed their strategies including the EU who pursues its assistances through technical assistance instead. To do so affect the EU's effort in raising visibility in Thailand, it has added difficulties and complexity to the job.

Last but not least, the EU's statement that claimed to be normative power – a force for good, and tries to export their norms does not reflect in this study. In so doing soft measures must be posed to raise Thai awareness on environment and the social responsibility which will eventually and automatically create a voluntary intention to adopt environmental friendly measures for the sake of society. Nevertheless, the EU tends to practice economic power instead of normative one as can be seen through the use of carrot and stickism approach. The obvious example is drawn in the export sector; Thai exporters who comply with the rules and be able to reach to so-called "minimum

requirements" of the EU will be allowed to export their products, and in the opposite way, the one who fail to reach those measures must seek for alternative markets. The EU's goal in greener Thai industries may be achieved but the concept and environmental sustainability norm has not been transferred. Nonetheless practicing economic power has its own advantages and it is a good start to gain attention but in the future, in order to successfully export the environmental norm, the EU should consider balancing normative approach along with the economic instruments. I believe that this conceptual framework will add effectiveness to the Thailand – EU co-operation and reduce negative attitudes among them.

There's also a skeptical on the EU's truly purpose that the EU might not be sincerely concerning environment but it is another attempt to regain momentum in the world's stage since the sign of eroding in European influence became clearer than ever while the shift of power from the Western world to emerging economic countries – to the Eastern world has began. The EU then promote green policy and exporting norms through aids and assistances to other countries expecting that they can preserve some influence over others and again. It is also aim for economic reason, if Thailand, in this case, concern more about environment, it will be likely that Thailand will buy more green technologies from the EU who possesses the most advanced technologies in it.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

REFERENCES

Alternate Energy Sources. The Kyoto Protocol Summary - A quick guide to understanding it. [Online]. (n.d.). Available from: http://www.alternate-energy-sources.com/Kyoto-Protocol-summary.html [18 December 2009].

Ausubel, J. H., V. G. David, and I. K. Wernick. The environment since 1970. [Online]. 1995. Available from: http://phe.rockefeller.edu/env70/ [10 December 2009].

Baclagon, C. Leadership crisis: Neither 'seal the deal' nor 'bend the trend. [Online]. 2009. Available from: http://blog.greenpeace.or.th/2009_12_01_archive.html [10 January 2010].

Bookrags. Agenda-setting. [Online]. (n.d.). Available from: http://www.bookrags.com/wiki/Agenda-setting_theory [7 March 2010].

Central Intelligence Agency. The World Factbook. [Online]. 2009. Available from: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/th.html [18 March 2010].

Chaban, N., and M. Holland, eds. The European Union and the Asia Pacific: Media, public and elite perceptions of the EU. Oxon: Routledge, 2008.

Changing Mind.org. Social norms. [Online PDF]. (n.d.). Available from: http://changingminds.org/explanations/theories/social_norms.htm [24 January 2010].

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

Cleveland, C. J., ed. Climate Change Timeline. [Online]. 2008. Available from: http://www.eoearth.org/article/climate_change_timeline [12 January 2010].

Climate Change Information Center of Armenia. The Marrakesh Accords. [Online]. (n.d.). Available from: http://www.nature-ic.am/ccarmenia/en/?nid=845 [12 January 2010].

Climate Leaders. What Is The UNFCCC & The Cop?. [Online]. (n.d.). Available from: http://www.climate-leaders.org/climate-change-resources/india-at-cop-15/unfccc-cop [12 January 2010].

Coleman, R., and S. D. Banning. Network TV news' affective framing of the presidential candidates: Evidence for a second level agenda-setting effect through visual framing. Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly 83, 2 (2006): 313-328.

De Vreese, C. Framing Europe television news and European integration. Amsterdam: Aksant Academic, 2003.

Encarta® World English Dictionary. Climate change. [Online dictionary]. 2009. Available from: http://uk.encarta.msn.com/dictionary_1481580316/climate_change.html [25 February 2010].

Encyclopædia Britannica. Industrial revolution. [Online]. (n.d.). Available from: http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/287086/Industrial-Revolution [8 December 2009].

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

Environmental History Resources. The 20th century: The great acceleration and environmental globalization. [Online]. (n.d.). Available from: http://www.eh-resources.org/timeline/timeline_20c.html [18 December 2009].

Environmental History Resources. The Industrial Age. [Online]. (n.d.). Available from: http://www.eh-resources.org/timeline/timeline_industrial.html [8 December 2009].

Europa. Emission trading system (EU ETS). [Online]. (n.d.). Available from: http://ec.europa.eu/environment/climat/emission/index_en.htm [13 January 2010].

Europa. European Union ratifies the Kyoto Protocol. [Online]. 2002. Available from: http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/02/794&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en [17 December 2009].

European Commission. Environment: Climate change. [Online PDF]. 2009. Available from: http://ec.europa.eu/trade/wider-agenda/environment/climate-change/ [17 December 2009].

European Commission. EU action against climate change: Leading global action to 2020 and beyond. [Online PDF]. 2009. Available from: http://ec.europa.eu/environment/climat/pdf/brochures/post_2012_en.pdf [17 December 2009].

European Commission. Multi-Annual Indicative Program (2007-2010). [Online PDF]. 2009. Available from: http://www.deltha.ec.europa.eu/Thailand/d507982_Thailand_MIP.pdf [20 February 2010].

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

European Commission. Thailand-European Community strategy paper for the period 2007-2013. [Online PDF]. 2009. Available from: http://www.deltha.ec.europa.eu/Thailand/thailand_co-operation.htm [20 February 2010].

Garson, G. D. Agenda Setting Theory. [Online]. (n.d.). Available from: http://faculty.chass.ncsu.edu/garson/PA765/agendasetting.htm [7 March 2010].

Gupta, J., and L. Ringius. The EU's climate leadership: reconciling ambition and reality. International Environmental Agreement: Politics, Law and Economics 1 (2001): 281-299.

Greenpeace archive. EU ratfies the Kyoto Protocol - Back to its leadership role?. [Online]. 2002. Available from: http://archive.greenpeace.org/pressreleases/climate/2002may31.html [17 December 2009].

Holland, M. et al. The EU through the eyes of Asia: Media, public and elite perceptions in China, Japan, Korea, Singapore and Thailand. Poland: National Centre of Research on Europe, 2007.

Hügel, R., W. Degenhardt, and H.-J. Weiss. Structural equation models for the analysis of the agenda-setting process. European Journal of Communication 4 (1989): 192-193.

Lightfoot, S., and J. Burchell. The European Union and the World Summit on Sustainable Development: Normative Power Europe in Action?. Journal of Common Market Studies 43, 1 (2005): 75-95.

Manners, I. Normative power Europe: A contradiction in terms?. Journal of Common Market Studies 40 (2002): 235-258.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

Manners, I. Normative power Europe reconsidered: Beyond the crossroads. Journal of European Public Policy 13, 2 (2006): 182-199.

Manners, I., and R. G. Whitman. Towards identifying the international identity of the European Union: A framework for analysis of the EU's network of relationships. Journal of European Integration 21, 3 (1998): 231-249.

McCombs, M. The agenda-setting role of the mass media in the shaping of public opinion. [Online PDF]. (n.d.). Available from: http://www.infoamerica.org/documentos_pdf/mccombs01.pdf [10 March 2010].

McCombs, M., and D. Shaw, The agenda-setting function of the mass media. Public Opinion Quarterly 36 (1972): 176-187.

McCormick, J. Environmental policy in the European Union. The European Series. 21 (2001): 37-49.

Middlebury College. The 1970's Energy Crisis. [Online]. (n.d.). Available from: http://cr.middlebury.edu/es/altenergylife/70's.htm [17 December 2009].

Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Thai relations with the global community. [Online]. (n.d.). Available from: www.mfa.go.th [10 March 2010].

Oberthür, S., and C. Roche Kelly. EU leadership in international climate policy: Achievements and challenges. The International Spectator 43, 3 (2008): 35-50.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

Office of National Economic and Social Development Board. The 10th National Economic and Social Development Plan. [Online]. (n.d.). Available from: http://www.nesdb.go.th/Default.aspx?tabid=139 [10 March 2010].

Perception Theory. [Online PDF]. (n.d.). Available from: http://www.simplypsychology.pwp.blueyonder.co.uk/perception-theories.html [14 March 2010].

Sanchez, M. Agenda Setting Theory. [Online]. 2002. Available from: http://zimmer.csufresno.edu/~johnca/spch100/7-4-agenda.htm [8 December 2009].

Sjursen, H. The EU as a 'normative' power: How can this be?. Journal of European Public Policy 13, 2 (2006): 235-251.

Somphon Wantame. Target audience analysis in mass communication. Bangkok: Kasetsart University, 2006.

Thairath. General information. [Online]. (n.d.). Available from: http://www.thairath.co.th/corp/index?subMenu=info [6 March 2010].

The Delegation of the European Union. EU Today V. 32. [Online PDF]. 2008. Available from: http://www.deltha.ec.europa.eu/Publications/EU%20No%2032%20Jul_2008.pdf [23 February 2010].

The Delegation of the European Union. EU Today V. 33 [Online PDF]. 2009. Available from: http://www.deltha.ec.europa.eu/2009update/EUtoday_Jan09.pdf [23 February 2010].

The Delegation of the European Union. EU Today V. 34 [Online PDF]. 2009. Available from: http://www.deltha.ec.europa.eu/2009update/EUtoday_No.34_June.pdf [23 February 2010].

The Delegation of the European Union. EU Today V. 35 [Online .pdf]. 2009. Available from: http://www.deltha.ec.europa.eu/2010update/EUtodayNo35_December 2009.pdf [23 February 2010].

The Delegation of the European Union. Photography Contest. [Online PDF]. (n.d.). Available from: http://www.deltha.ec.europa.eu/2009update/Competiton__Info_ and_rules_in_Thai_and_Eng.pdf [23 February 2010].

The Delegation of the European Union. What is Thailand-EC cooperation facility?. [Online]. 2009. Available from: http://www.deltha.ec.europa.eu/Thailand/ thailand_programmes_tec.htm [23 February 2010].

The Open Door Team. The search for new power sources. [Online]. (n.d.). Available from: http://www.saburchill.com/history/chapters/IR/015.html [8 December 2009].

The Open Door Team. The second industrial revolution. [Online]. (n.d.). Available from: http://www.saburchill.com/history/chapters/IR/050.html [8 December 2009].

The Royal Thai Embassy in Brussels and Mission of Thailand to European Union. EU Environment Policy Conference 2009. [Online]. (n.d.). Available from: http://env09.thaieurope.net/?page_id=18 [28 February 2010].

The Royal Thai Embassy in Brussels and Mission of Thailand to European Union. European business sector promote environmental issue, Thai manufacturers

must be prepared. [Online]. (n.d.). Available from: http://news.thaieurope.net/content/view/2987/247/ [28 February 2010].

United Nations. UN Conference on Environment and Development (1992) [Online]. 1997. Available from: http://www.un.org/geninfo/bp/enviro.html [17 December 2009].

United Nations Environment Program. Declaration of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment. [Online]. (n.d.). Available from: http://www.unep.org/Documents.Multilingual/Default.asp?DocumentID=97&ArticleID=1503 [5 January 2010].

United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. Feeling the heat. [Online]. (n.d.). Available from: http://unfccc.int/essential_background/feeling_the_heat/items/2913.php [12 January 2010].

United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. UNFCCC press briefing on the outcome of Copenhagen and the way forward in 2010. [Online]. (n.d.). Available from: http://unfccc.int/2860.php [13 January 2010].

Weaver, D., and Zhu Jian-Hua. The bridging function of interpersonal communication in agenda-setting. Journalism Quarterly 69, 4 (1992): 856-867.

Wikipedia. Media of Thailand. [Online]. (n.d.). Available from: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_newspapers_in_Thailand [6 March 2010].

World Education Forum. Thailand Country Report. [Online]. (n.d.). Available from: http://www.unesco.org/education/wef/countryreports/thailand/rapport_3.html [28 February 2010].

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

Biography

Nararat Vachiramanaporn was born in Chonburi in 1985 though she spent her childhood in Chachoengsao and moved back to attend a boarding school, Princess Chulabhon College Chonburi for her secondary school and high school. As she won a Rotary Youth Exchange scholarship, it took her one high school year (2002-2003) in Texas to learn foreign languages and experienced western culture. This year considered as a turning point of her life, she realized that she falls for languages and multi-cultural matters which led her to entered Kasetsart University in 2004 as a French major despite the fact that she had no basic knowledge of French language at all.

After Nararat graduated with honor in 2008, she changed her study path to Interdisciplinary Studies of European Studies at Chulalongkorn University to expand her knowledge and understanding in the western's world. Luckily enough, she received a half-scholarship offer and later on a research assistance job which helped her to contributed financial support along with occasionally event coordinator part-time job. She will graduate in summer 2010 after two years of study and plan to work with environmental non-governmental organization in the future.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย