

PRESENTATION ABSTRACTS

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Perceptions of China within the EU

The paper discusses the contemporary perceptions of China among four member states of the European Union and in particular the case of Germany. In the year of the Olympics the perception of China in Europe deteriorated. Europeans have become more negative towards China. The hope of the Chinese government that the Olympic Games in Beijing would impact positively on China's image was not answered, neither by the German population nor by the French, Italian or British. China has a perception problem in the EU.

Historically European perceptions of China evolved in a pendulum pattern. The perception of China in the West has always fluctuated between an idealization and a demonization of China. At the same time, Europe has always viewed China as a counter world. In the form of old and new stereotypes the historic legacy of the perception pendulum still impacts on and structures Europe's perception of contemporary China.

While the binary thinking of China in the categories of good or bad has been with Europe over the course of the last centuries the perception of China as a singularity with an exotic character has become a liability for China's modernization and development. It can lead to suspicion and can create mistrust in view of China's political and economic rise.

What makes the perception problem critical and politically relevant is that in the German case a long-term trend to perceive China negatively cannot be causally linked to specific single events – like the political unrest in Tibet in March 2008. It appears that the decreasing positive perceptions of the German population are linked to serious concerns generated by the systemic impact of the "rise of China" and its unknown implications for Europe's future.

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Perceptions of Asia as an Economic Actor Asia in Europe

The 5th EU enlargement incorporated Central and Eastern Europe Countries (CEECs-10) into the incumbent states (EU-15). The EU-15 is the third largest export market for the ASEAN (the Association of South East Asian Nations). Consequently, the trade impact of the EU enlargement on ASEAN countries is inevitable. Most of the previous studies focus on the impact of the enlargement on both the EU-15 and CEECs-10. Studies on the impact of the enlargement on third countries are rare. The only quantitative works studying the impact of the enlargement on Asian countries are Lee and van der Mensbrugge (2004) and Andreosso- O' Callaghan and Uprasen (AU, 2008) by using the Computable General Equilibrium (CGE) framework. The studies investigated the impact on the changes in production structures, welfare changes, and changes in patterns of trade. ASEAN may face trade creation effects from the larger EU market; nevertheless, ASEAN also may encounter a fierce competition from the CEECs-10 in the EU15 market due to similar exports structure. The welfare analysis also indicates that ASEAN is the loser from the enlargement. When the changes on patterns of trade of the ASEAN countries are scrutinized, according to AU (2008), six industries (electronic equipment, machinery and equipment, motor vehicles and parts, chemical products, primary products and wood products) out of thirty-five industries show the ambiguous changes in the patterns of exports from the ASEAN countries, while the rest shows that the exports from ASEAN to the European Union are significantly reduced. Nonetheless, ASEAN exports increase significantly to the third trade partner, for instance, the USA, Japan, and China. This could imply that ASEAN is dominated by trade diversion rather than by trade creation effects.

Even though the CGE model is superior to the partial equilibrium framework with regards to the analysis on the impact from economic integration by taking the interaction effects of the economic agents in the economy into account, however, the simulation results from the CGE model do not take into account some other important factors such as the effects from comparative advantage and trade complementary structure between the trade partners, and the degree of export competition in the third market. Therefore, this study aims to complement the quantitative analysis by focusing on a qualitative perspective on the impact of the 5th EU enlargement on ASEAN countries at the sectoral level. The study starts by scrutinizing the patterns of trade among ASEAN countries and their main trade partners (EU15, CEECs-10, USA, Japan, and China) from a historical point of view. Then, a number of the trade indices will be calculated, such as the Revealed Comparative Advantage Index (RCA index, Balassa (1965, 1989)), the static Glubel and Lloyd index (GL-index, Glubel and Lloyd (1975)), the dynamic GL index (Menon, 1996), Trade Complementarity Index (TCI index, Vaillant and Ons

(2002)), the Finger-Kreinin export similarity index (KF index, Finger and Kreinin (1979)).

Nevertheless, the above trade indices can only give a general guideline on the changes of patterns of trade due to economic integration. When the case of the 5th EU enlargement is investigated, the gravity equation estimations present that the levels of non-tariff barriers (NTBs) are much higher than the tariff barriers between the EU15 and the CEECs-10. Hence, the effects from the elimination of NTBs due to the enlargement are crucial with respect to changes on the patterns of trade, especially the changes on exports structure of ASEAN countries. Thus, we construct the "Export Threat Index (ETI)" and the "Rivalry Threat Index (RTI)" for the third country so as to investigate the impact of the EU enlargement on ASEAN. The RTI is designed to measure the degree of export competitive threat at the level of each single industry of any exporting country across both its competitors (in one particular market) and its destinations (in one particular product) simultaneously. The ETI index combines the effects from degree of rivalry threat, the degree of trade complementary, the proportion of export from CEECs-10 to the European Union, and the role of NTBs, simultaneously. The ETI index can provide a clearer picture in the sense that it will identify which industry will face serious impact from the enlargement and which industry is less likely to encounter the impact from NTBs elimination. The data for this study are collected from the EUROSTAT COMEXT, OECD, UN Comtrade, and the GTAP database Version 6. All analyses are based on the 3 digit level of the SITC Rev.3. The data cover the years 1997, 2000, 2003, and 2006. The study conducted in both agricultural and manufacturing industries.

This study is expected to provide a clearer picture on the context describing how the patterns of trade of ASEAN will be changed due to the 5th EU enlargement at the industry level. This aims to complement the predictions of the CGE framework which do not take some important factors, such as the comparative advantage factor and etc., into account.

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Media reporting of Asia in the European Union

How is Asia seen in media reporting throughout the EU? The presentation explores the substance and methodology of the subject, but it is necessarily constrained by the lack of systematic empirical research on it so far. This is despite the quite widespread assumption, reflected in European media, that this will be an Asian century consequent on the shift of global and economic power from the US as the dominant centre to China, leaving Europe/the EU marginalised.

There is much to be said for replicating the Asian study's methodological approach¹. Similar problems of how to sample representative countries and key media actors arise: broadcasting, serious and popular newspapers, new media, political, economic and environmental news. How is Asia to be distinguished as an actor from individual Asian states? Should India or Australia be included in the analysis? How has coverage of Asian news changed over the last decade, including of Japan, China, India and ASEAN and are there regional variations within the EU on this?

Empirical research should try to establish the sources of information about Asia used by different categories of media, whether news agency, own correspondent or syndicated. How has that been affected by financial retrenchment? To what extent is reportage of Asia framed by geopolitical concerns about the relative power of the EU and the US and how that might be tackled by a more effective EU external policy reflecting the EU's soft power? Is there a tendency by media to extrapolate EU-style regional integration to Asia, interpreting what is in fact a very different region in contemporary European terms – as tends to happen both in EU official discourse and Eurocentric comparative regionalist studies?².

¹ Martin Holland, Peter Ryan, Aljzy Z. Nowak and Natalia Chaban (eds.) 2008, *The EU through the Eyes of Asia - Media, Public and Elite Perceptions in China, Japan, Singapore and Thailand*, Singapore-Warsaw.

² Alberta Sbragia 2007, "Review Article: Comparative Regionalism: What Might it Be?", in Ulrich Sedelmeier & Alasdair R. Young (eds.) 2008, *The JCMS Annual Review of the European Union in 2007*, Oxford and Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, pp 29-50.

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Insights on research methodology I

G20, G8, ASEM, WTO, UN Millennium Development Goals, Kyoto and Copenhagen, Six-party talk, CHOGM... International affairs have long been conducted with little reference to the views and concerns of ordinary people, whose well-beings are most affected by the actions of nations and their leaders. The diplomatic circus cannot care less about what men and women in the streets of Hong Kong or Gdansk think. Leaders' mission or vision is all that matters, and it is assumed that public opinion is largely shaped by the elites, not the other way round. Meanwhile, the media's traditional function as "the fourth power" has been compromised by their growing appetite for crispy sound bites and personal stories on the side.

However, in a world that increasingly requires its inhabitants to "think globally, act locally", it is not only desirable but also imperative to boost people's interest to get involved in a wide range of international affairs such as climate change, global trade issues and energy security. All this depends on the effective articulation of public discourse for the purpose of critical reflections and sustainable dialogues with the leaders and people across nations. This paper sheds light on the strengths and limitations of the research methodology employed by a ground-breaking project entitled "The EU through the Eyes of Asia: Media, Public and Elite Perceptions". Whilst there have been repeated calls for a reverse project in the EU, we believe it is possible to delimit the contours of European attitudes with respect to the geopolitical features of Asia and to articulate EU citizens' preference for EU and national policy towards Asia in a more systematic way.

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Insights on research methodology II

In the Middle Ages, one of the favourite motives of European painters was to represent 'Asia' and 'Africa' next to 'Europe' through their art. Some would make Asia an abstract circle, others a person, a trait, or a symbol. Chances are that what Europeans conceive as 'Asia' today is almost as diverse and sometimes unclear as what medieval painters thought. This is why 'Asia in the Eyes of Europe' is such an exciting project.

Like many such projects, however, it comes with series of acute analytical, conceptual, and methodological challenges that will need to be born in mind if one is to avoid some major problems answering the question that this project raises. This presentation aims to underline some of these main potential problems and sketch solutions derived from comparable international research projects, such as the 'Europe in the Eyes of Asia' and 'EU perceptions in the Asia Pacific' projects, the European Elections Study, and the European Identity Project.

Some of the main problems that will be discussed include:

- (1) the definition of the type of object 'Asia' is and how it will have to be distinguished from some neighbouring concepts (Asian, ASEAN, etc);
- (2) the question of the 'ideal' level of analysis for this project and the question of which perspectives may be relevant (public opinion, young people, parties, politicians, economic elites, media, etc);
- (3) The choices that will have to be made between inductive and deductive categories of analysis;
- (4) the methodological challenges of making multiple approaches and methods such as surveys, interviews, focus group, text analysis, image analysis etc. 'compatible' for the purpose of analysing the project, including questions of data squaring and cubing.

All these elements will be discussed bearing in mind important elements of comparison with international collaborative projects that are comparable in ambition and scope.