FIGURING OUT RESPONSIBILITY: MAKING SENSE OF CLIMATE CHANGE IN CHINA

Chris Eberhardt

The New School for Social Research

keywords: China, climate change, citizenship, responsibility, rights

Abstract: Today China faces many environmental problems including climate change. What has not been fully explored is the question of individual responsibility, and what if anything citizens should do in their daily lives to address these issues. Recognizing the fact that China is the largest emitter of greenhouse gases this paper does two things; one, explores the relationship between China and global discourse and action regarding climate change; two, demonstrates that in the process of looking at climate change a better understanding of contemporary Chinese citizenship can be obtained. The arguments in this paper are based on research that sought to better understand how Chinese youth make sense of Climate Change in their daily lives, including how Chinese youth understand responsibility for trying to mitigate the effects of climate change.

This paper begins by reviewing questions of individual responsibility and how this relates to definitions of citizenship that derive from European political theory. In this paper citizenship is understood not just as a series of rights but also includes certain responsibilities. These questions are used to understand the nature of Chinese citizenship. The discussion then moves towards trying to reconcile responsibility for environmental problems amid the other responsibilities that Chinese face in their daily lives. The paper continues by focusing more generally on how Chinese citizens think responsibility for environmental problems should be divided. Finally, the paper focuses on the specific issue of climate change.

Chinese citizens learn about environmental problems in general and the issue of climate change specifically from a multitude of sources, both in public spaces of dialogue, like mandatory environmental education in schools, outdoor public service messages (PSAs), and television programming, and smaller spaces of dialogue, like environmental club activities, where individuals must make a conscious effort to join the discussion. Through media and other educational efforts Chinese citizens are encouraged to take action, to save water and to live a "low-carbon life" (低碳生活 *ditan shenghuo*). Citizens are told by domestic and international

actors to change their lives, although they are not often told why. In some ways perhaps, the process of figuring out responsibility is skipped right over, and one just needs to follow directions. As citizens are encouraged to live the "low-carbon life" this paper seeks to better understand how much individuals consciously think about the issue of climate change and determine what, if any, responsible action one has to take.

The literature in English regarding social responsibility in China is limited. It can also be difficult to actually talk about social responsibility, particularly when the topic is climate change or even environmental problems in general. This paper begins by exploring existing concepts of social responsibility to get some sense of its theoretical and normative foundation, and importantly how it can tie into the case of China. In looking at China, one can see that questions about social responsibility come at a time when there is a focus on rights: as civil rights are contested, political rights remain limited and social rights are reduced.

Citizens are being asked to adjust their lives to reduce their environmental footprint at a time when responsibilities for daily life are increasingly being passed on from the state to the citizen. Citizens, although often willingly, are increasingly being asked to shoulder the burden of things like education, employment and housing. The sections that follow move from environmental problems more generally to the issue of climate change more specifically. This paper tries to weave together available insights and findings both from the interviews and surveys that I conducted as well as surveys conducted by academics, government agencies, media and a marketing firm both inside and outside of China.[1]

[1] This paper draws in part on an online Chinese language survey that I created with assistance from multiple individuals. In total 175 individuals answered the survey, with the majority being between the ages of 18-28.

INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY

This paper draws on social responsibility discourse more generally, and positions itself as separate from environmental justice work. As Stoddart and Tindall (2010) note, within Sociology there is the body of environmental justice work that speaks to questions of responsibility for climate change. Their work highlights that there is an explicit dialogue about who is responsible, and what should be done to address climate change. Environmental justice advocates argue that those countries that have historically produced the most carbon dioxide emissions should do more to reduce their current emissions while allowing the economically less developed countries to reach a similar standard of living.

In this paper the focus is not so much on trying to establish what state is most responsible for addressing climate change, but rather seek to understand how responsibility is viewed and how it connects to daily life. This paper draws on the work of those including Thunder (2009) and Offe (2010) that try to articulate the role of social responsibility as part of a vibrant society. Questions of a vibrant society are raised at a time when in places likes Western Europe there is less of an ability or at least willingness on the part of the state to shoulder responsibilities (Offe 2010). Yan (2010) argues that due to forces of globalization both in Western Europe and in China there are increasing processes of individualization in society and that the state is requiring that individuals take care of more tasks themselves. That does not mean that the Chinese state has relinquished all responsibility for climate change: China's climate change policies considered some of the most ambitious in the world (Mark Levine interview, 16 March 2009). But as this paper will suggest, there is still a role for citizens.

The role of citizens raises theoretical questions about citizenship and the state, and particularly the question of rights. Yan (ibid) argues that amid individualization in China, there is

not the same sort of political rights that one can observe in Western Europe. Using the framework of Marshall (1992) one can argue that in contemporary China there are civil rights, limited political rights and a retreat of social rights. Within contemporary China there are protests that advocate for the recognition and/or the return of civil rights labeled as "rightful resistance" (O'Brien and Li 2006) and social rights social services as one's sense of a moral contract of the iron rice bowl dating back to the pre Reform and Opening era is violated (Lee 2007).

Lee's work tells of two urban Chinas: in northern China protests challenge the state to uphold a moral contract to provide the "iron rice bowl," of a planned economy that no longer exists; in the south protests challenge the state to follow the rule of law and the legal contract of a market economy (ibid). This tension between communist or social ideals and a market economy is internalized at the level of the Chinese youth (see Liu 2008). Offe (2010) argues that Western Europe is questioning the role of the individual for issues like climate change as states reduce their responsibility,. Both Offe and Thunder (see 2009) draw on the concept of democracy, that citizenship is not just a matter of rights, but also includes duties or obligations (Walzer 1989). Yan (2010) argues that there are limits to trying to use European conceptions of citizenship, because in contrast to Europe, in China the citizen first and foremost is to serve the state.

This paper explores the question of individual social responsibility, drawing on work on democracies, and then explores the possibility of a public sphere in China (Gu 1993; Lean 2007; Wakeman 1993; Yang and Calhoun 2007). In the work of Habermas (1991) and particularly in Fraser (2009), within the effort to formulate a post-Westphalian world order there is the explicit question about debate and action as part of democratic activity. Yet questions of debate and

action are still used to understand China, and following Yan's (2010) argument that those in China and Western Europe are experiencing similar challenges at the individual level due to globalization, there is the opportunity to explore social or individual responsibility for climate change in China.[2]

ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS AMID DAILY RESPONSIBILITIES

As Thunder (2009) notes, individuals have to sort through issues both near and far from them while trying to figure out what if any responsibility they have, and if they should do anything. The final question of the survey I administered asked respondents if they thought environmental problems were the most serious social issue facing China, or if there were other more pressing social issues. While some respondents did reply that the most serious problems were environmental issues, quite often responses were similar to this one: "environmental problems are very important, but not the most serious" (环境问题很重要但不是最严重的问题). Respondents also stated that social problems in general, income imbalances between the rich and poor, developing the economy, medical care and education were the most serious. The Chinese characters for development (发展) were also included in the answers more than forty times. The issues raised are similar to those raised in a survey of 3,000 people across China by the China Environmental Awareness Program (2008a), where respondents also cited medical care, education, jobs, and income inequality as social concerns.

[2] Following this argument that one can use the common processes experienced due to globalization, this paper makes reference to research looking at views on responsibility in Canada and the UK, as they are some of the few studies available regarding this question.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

If one looks at the nature of environmental protection in China one can see that the position of the government towards environmental protection during the time of the PRC has evolved. In earlier decades Mao urged the people to win a war with nature; today local governments are depicted as obstacles to Beijing's green policies and President Hu Jintao participates in tree planting activities. The environmental challenges the government faces, like controlling floods and feeding the population, have existed for centuries (Elvin 2004). Similarly, in looking at the relationship between the people and the environment, there are many potential traditions and customs at play.

More generally not focusing on the question of responsibility, Elvin (ibid) argues that over the past three thousand years it is difficult to identify any overarching uniquely Chinese explanation for why the environment has been treated the way it has, taking into consideration Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism (Elvin 2004). Yet at the same time as Weller (2006) documents, there are times when local practices and traditions of viewing the environment can come into conflict with international norms and values.

In their report for Ogilvy earth about living a sustainable life, Sinha and Griffiths (2011) argue that due both to Confucian traditions and Marxist ideology there has been limited encouragement to be individuals and to take individual responsibility in China. Yet as Elvin (2004) notes, specifically regarding environmental protection, it is difficult to attribute one's behavior patterns to Confucian traditions. As Whyte (2010) notes, there was not one interpretation of Marxism in China as the minority of the population experienced some form of "iron rice bowl" while the majority lived in a form of serfdom. Moreover Yan (2010) argues there is an increasing sense of identification as an individual in contemporary Chinese society.

In China today, the question of environmental protection and what one should do about it is not limited only to Chinese actors, but rather the subject is debated and discussed in multiple spaces both inside and outside China. As this paper reveals, responsibility, or rather what one should do, comes both in the simple suggestion from a classmate or a roommate and also from state and non-state actors responding to international pressure. In some ways then, speaking to the work of Fraser (see 2009; 2007), this paper seeks not only to respond to questions about social responsibility in a non-democratic state like China, but also how is China engaging in debates of responsibility as a global issue.

THE CHINESE STATE, THE CITIZEN AND THE FACTORY

The story of responsibility for climate change and for environmental issues more generally is the story of the Chinese state, its corporations, factories, and citizens. Even this account is not quite so simple, as the distinction could be made between local and central government, state-owned and private factories, and perhaps the affluence of the citizens. The narrative given by citizens both in interviews and other related research is as follows: corporations are the source of the pollution, citizens suffer from the pollution, and it is the role of the government to stop the corporations from polluting. In the survey of Ogilvy earth, 60% strongly agreed and 27% agreed with the statement that irresponsible behavior on the part of corporations was more to blame than individuals for existing environmental pollution. At the same time approximately 56% strongly agreed and 31% agreed that lack of government action and intervention is to blame for the state of the environment (Ogilvy earth internal data).

A 2007 survey of a representative sample of 3,000 Chinese from almost every province by the Chinese Environmental Awareness Program made a distinction between local government

and the central government. Like the respondents above, approximately 67% are not satisfied with corporations' environmental protection efforts. Also, 66% are not satisfied with environmental awareness and actions of the average person, and 61% are not satisfied with the local government's efforts to protect the environment (China Environmental Awareness Program 2008a). In contrast, the survey found that approximately 60% are satisfied with the work of the central government, 59% are satisfied with the national environmental protection policies and 53% are satisfied with the media's promotion of environmental protection. Looking more specifically at Chinese youth, in research done during 1998 and 1999 on college students in Beijing, slightly less than 6% said that responsibility for solving environmental problems in general should be on the individual (Wong 2003). Yet, as the figure below demonstrates, respondents to the online survey I conducted overwhelmingly agreed that environmental protection should start with oneself.

"Protect the environment, everyone has a responsibility" (Beijing. 2011)

In follow-up interviews with a sub-sample of those that participated in my own online survey, I asked respondents if they thought enough was being done both by the government and individuals to address the problem. In this instance I was asking about water pollution, climate change, and air pollution. Quite often on both counts the answer was no, mirroring the responses about environmental problems in general from the CEAP survey where more was expected of the government and individuals. The interviewees like other survey respondents felt that not enough was being done. One reason the government was seen as not doing enough was because it was

seen as being too close to industry. The nature of the environmental problems also played a role in individuals trying to understand responsibility and what should be done differently; more than once interviewees simply replied, “I don’t know.”

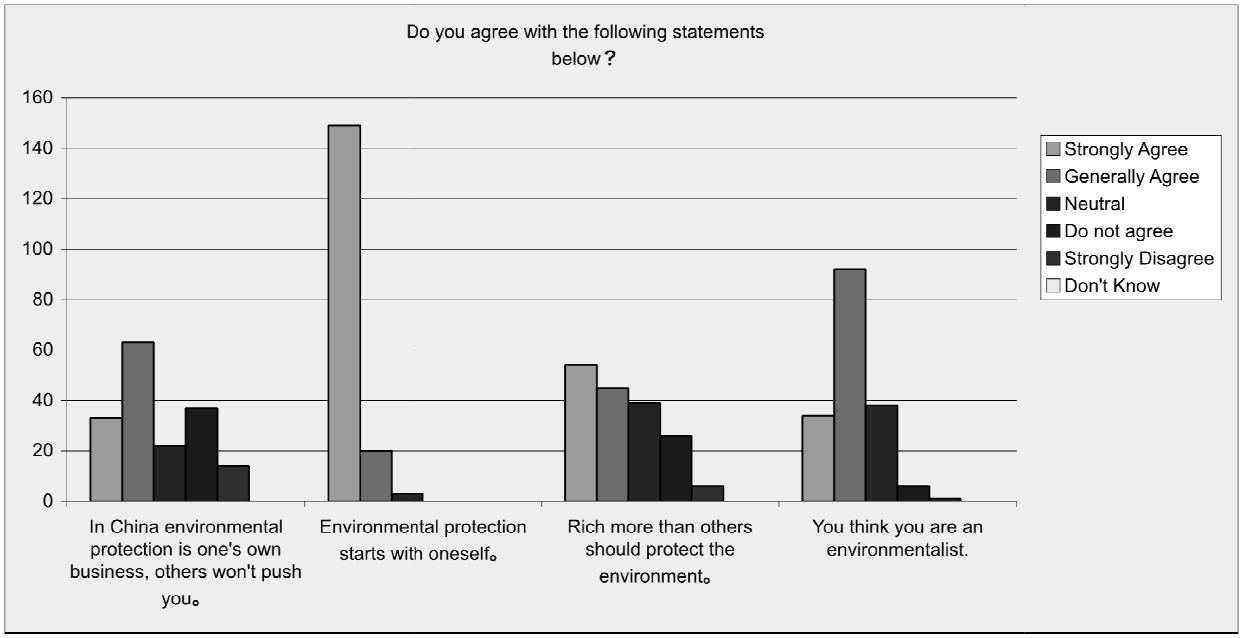
“Protecting the environment is one’s responsibility, cherishing the environment is moral richness.” (Chengde, Hebei Province. 2011)

In part due to limits in language ability, and also in an effort to not lead the interviewee, I also asked if there was anything that could be done to get the government to do more, or should someone just sit in their home and hope things would change. The most common response was that using media was an option. One person also brought up the Chinese system of dedicated offices. China has a system of what’s called “letters and visits” for lodging complaints. In the

mid-1990's over 230,000 letters were written and over 240,000 visits were made to complain about environmental issues in general (Tong 2005). Most complaints were about air pollution, water pollution, and noise pollution (Martens 2006; Tong 2005). Yet the respondents did not seem to express a great deal of confidence that using the traditional letters and visits system or media would do much to encourage the government to do more, to follow through on its responsibility.

Questions about boycotts or protests were intentionally left out of the online survey due to the political climate when this survey was conducted, and I did not bring up protests during the follow-up interviews. Interviewees broached the issue of protests, but it was implied that protests were not something that individuals could engage in as a means of getting the government to fulfill its responsibility. Yet that does not mean that protests over environmental issues do not take place. Protests do take place both in urban and rural settings regarding pollution, sometimes turning violent (Jing 2003; van Rooij 2010). Protests in the city of Xiamen and Dalian, both against PX chemical plants, have been highlighted as examples of protests organized via social media, using SMS and more recently blog sites (Yang 2009b; China Protest Closes Toxic Chemical Plant in Dalian 2011). In the 2011 Dalian case, the government also tried to keep the protest local, by blocking out the words "PX", "Dalian" and "Dalian Protests" from online searches (China Protest Closes Toxic Chemical Plant in Dalian 2011).

The protests against environmental pollution and factories that do take place reveal the tensions created by the incredible economic growth China has experienced. On the online survey



source: author

I asked respondents whether they agreed with the statement that those who are wealthier should do more than others. Strongly agreed received the most responses, and the answers tapered down from there. But as the chart shows, "neutral" and do "not agree" received significant numbers of responses. In general in the follow-up interviews there was a certain ambivalence. The comments from the online survey were similar to the follow-up interviews.

Generally the argument was made that the rich should not be expected to do more in terms of environmental issues, everyone should be treated the same. At times the argument was made that the wealthy have more ability (能力 *nengli*) and should do more, but the wealthy should not be specifically targeted. One interviewee pointed out the difficulty with expecting everyone to do the same. She gave the example of India where several million still do not have

electricity. Calls for reducing one's electricity consumption do not apply to populations like that (1370958516 interview, 5/01/2011). While all of China is now electrified one can find serious variance in usage among different regions of China, with energy consumption per capita in Shanghai outpacing New York or Tokyo (Watts 2010b). Similarly there was the argument that the rich consume more and contribute more to environmental problems, so they should do more. One person in a follow-up interview linked this question to Deng Xiaoping's maxim that some will get rich first, and will lead the rest of the population (1377408758 interview, 4/15/2011).

The contemporary environmental movement that began in the 1960's in the United States and Western Europe has been considered a New Social Movement (NSM). One characteristic often found among New Social Movements is a shift away from trying to change the political and economic situation and more towards trying to change the beliefs and/or behaviors of one's fellow citizens. NSMs are understood to uniquely dissolve the separation between the public and private spheres, reflecting contemporary society, maintaining solidarity as an objective and employing a process of direct participation (Melucci 1980, Cohen 1985; Offe 1985). In an effort towards understanding participation in environmental protection I asked a question about whether or not environmental protection (环保 *huanbao*) was something one could do in China of one's own will and not be bothered if one did nothing. The majority of respondents either strongly agreed or agreed, though there was a significant amount of respondents that were neutral or disagreed.

In follow-up interviews respondents were asked if they ever told others to do things or if anyone ever told them to do things to help protect the environment. Interviewees replied that they did sometimes encourage those in their daily lives to do something, like encouraging a parent or college roommate to save water or to use a reusable grocery bag at the grocery store.

Yet at the same time, judging by the respondents' tone there was some reluctance to do this, and it tended to be one's closest relations. One student posted stickers encouraging saving water in the bathroom as a non-confrontational way of trying to change the behavior of her college suitemate. Another student got her roommate to take the stairs five flights as a means of saving electricity (1373570288 interview, 4/21/11). One student had been reminded so many times by his girlfriend to take his own bag to the grocery store that it now had become a habit. I also asked if others ever encouraged the interviewee to do something different (1363839078 interview, 4/17/11). Similarly respondents often received encouragement from others, with the exceptions being those most versed in environmental protection, like the student climbing five flights of stairs who had attended the United Nations Framework on Climate Change Council of Parties (COP) 15 and 16.

Drawing on the survey of Stoddart and Tindall, I also asked the interviewees in follow-up interviews if they thought they did more or less than others to protect the environment. The majority of the respondents, seventeen of twenty, replied that they generally did more or much more than the general population, and often about the same as their peers. A follow-up question asked them if they thought this was fair, and of those that did slightly more than others, fourteen thought it was fair or very fair that they did more. Yet there was also some confusion about the question of being fair or unfair; respondents had to try and come up with an answer on the spot and looked to me to try and explain this question.

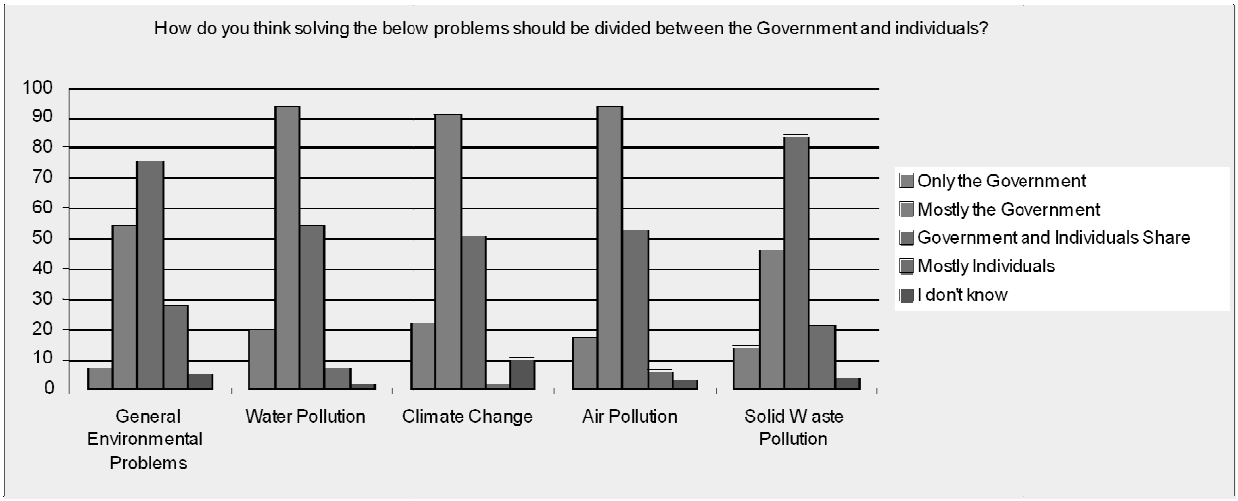
I asked one follow-up question via email about responsibility knowing that interviewees said sometimes they did various actions as a means of trying to protect the environment. I asked them if when they tried to do things as a means of protecting the environment, that they were doing these things out of a sense of responsibility. Of the sixteen that responded back, the

answers with one or two exceptions spoke in general terms that it is everyone's responsibility (每个人都有负责). One person said that it was more the government's responsibility and that it was a heavy task to think of responsibility. Another respondent replied that she hadn't thought that much about it.

CLIMATE CHANGE, CHINESE CITIZENS AND THE GOVERNMENT

In the online survey I administered, I asked respondents how they thought the task of solving various environmental problems should be divided (*fudan* 负担) between the government and individuals, borrowing from the Chinese wording used by Martin Whyte et al.'s survey. Like Whyte's survey I used the characters for government (政府 *zhengfu*) without specifying local or central government. I asked about general environmental questions, water pollution, climate change, air pollution, and solid waste pollution. Respondents could answer with solely the government, mostly the government, the government and individuals share, mostly individuals, or I don't know. The option of "just the individual" was left out due more to oversight than anything else.

In part due to conversations in daily life and other studies (see Wong 2003; China Environmental



Source: author

Awareness Program 2008b), questions about water pollution and air pollution were also added to the survey as a means of better understanding the contours of responsibility for environmental problems. As the chart below demonstrates, for general environmental problems and trash problems respondents believe the individual should play a large role. In follow-up interviews, there was a certain sense of redundancy asking about responsibility for water pollution, climate change, and air pollution. Even though water pollution and air pollution are perhaps more easily observed, that does not mean that the individual sees any greater role for him or her to play in solving these problems compared to climate change. All three of these problems were generally believed to be too big for the individual and problems that had to be dealt with by the government, in large part because the government is seen as the only agent capable of disciplining factories as needed. A similar emphasis on the government existed among members of Canadian environmental group members in one of the few studies to explore these questions (Stoddart and Tindall see 2010). In 2007 Taking It Global China surveyed 2,000 Chinese youth

in ten cities and slightly less than 3% chose youth in response to the question "who do you think should care more about climate change." At the same time approximately 42% said they were willing to do more, but didn't know what they could do (CYCAN (undated)).

One difference, although perhaps not very significant with this sample size, is that there was more "I don't know" replies for climate change than for any of the other issues. As mentioned before, this reflects one's understanding of the problem or lack thereof and, in turn, uncertainty about who should do what. One could hear in the follow-up interviews an effort to actually think through the problems of water pollution, climate change, and air pollution and not rely so much on set categories of responsibility for the Chinese people and the government. Water pollution was seen as something to be solved mostly or solely by the government because the government was seen as the only body with the power to regulate polluting factories. Water pollution was primarily seen as an issue, not because of what people do in their daily lives, but because of what factories do on a large scale.

Similar arguments were made for climate change and air pollution, but in the case of the latter two problems, more of a link was drawn between the individual and the problem. In the case of climate change, some respondents said responsibility should be equally balanced because things like driving a car contribute to climate change, not just uncontrollable things like factory emissions. Similar examples were also given for air pollution. At times respondents struggled to see climate change and air pollution as two distinct problems, seeing them as both related to polluting emissions. Respondents said that the government had more ability (能力 *nengli* the same word used for the rich) to tackle the issue and as needed to address companies that were seen as one of the main problems.

Climate change is also a global problem in nature. In the survey results of Ogilvy earth on global environmental issues below, when asked to choose the government, corporations or individuals there is a similar orientation towards expecting the government to solve problems. One can also see that these respondents felt that the government and the consumers were doing the most.

If you had to choose one of three, who do you believe has the most power to solve the global environmental issue?

Government	**848**	**65.84%**
Corporations	137	10.64%
Consumers	303	23.52%
Total	**1288**	

If you had to choose one of three, who do you believe is obligated or "on the hook" for solving the global environmental issue?

Government	**730**	**56.68%**
Corporations	333	25.85%
Consumers	225	17.47%
Total	**1288**	

If you had to choose one of three, who do you believe is doing the most to help solve the global environmental issue?

Government	**551**	**42.78%**
Corporations	204	15.84%

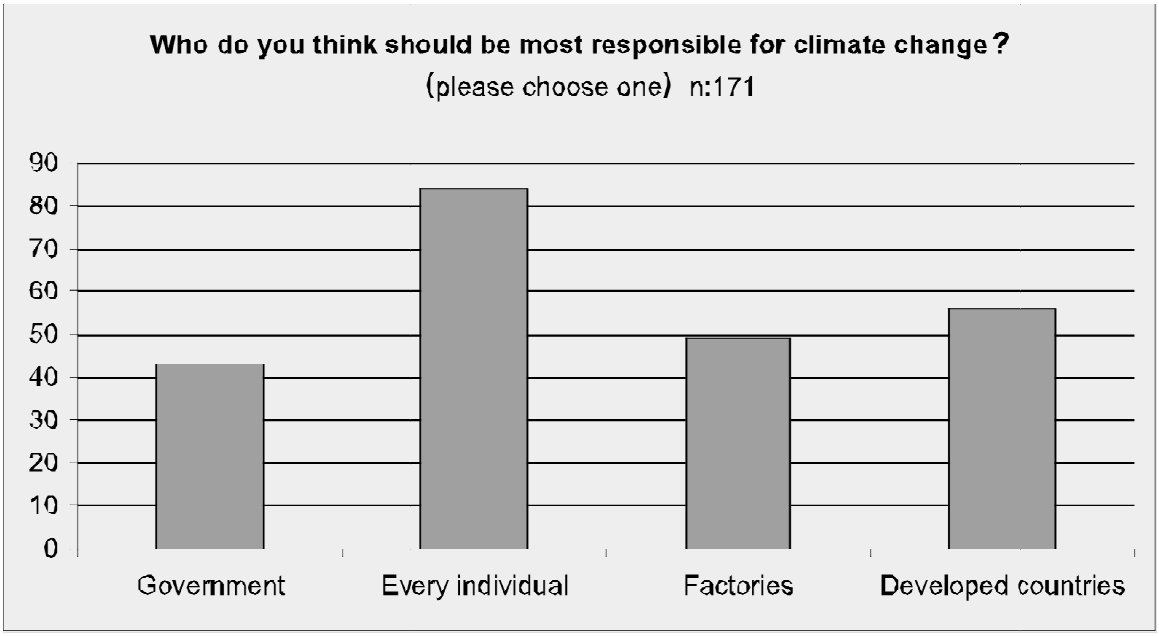
Consumers	533	41.38%
Total	**1288**	

Source: Ogilvy earth

As the environmental justice literature becomes more well known, the evidence of climate change raises questions about the differing degrees to which countries have developed economically and the degree to which they have contributed to climate change (see Stoddart and Tindall 2010 for a review). The clear majority of respondents replied to Ogilvy earth's survey that those countries that have polluted more, should do more; 58% strongly agreed and 29% agreed that those countries that polluted first should pay most of the price for clean up (Ogilvy earth internal data).

In the survey that I conducted, respondents were asked who should be most responsible for climate change (**您认为谁最应该对气候变化负责**). Respondents could choose government, every individual, factories, or developed countries. Respondents were asked to pick only one, but looking at the results, this is clearly not the case. One hundred seventy-one responded to the question, but there are over two hundred and forty answers. What is perhaps interesting, keeping in mind the question about balancing responsibility between government and individuals cited above, is that in this question, the answer "every individual" was clearly chosen as the group that should most be responsible[3].

[3] Other groups excluded from this survey that could have served as possible answers were the media and NGOs, included in the survey by the China Environmental Awareness Program.



source: author

Quite often in one's daily life, water pollution and air pollution are more tangible problems. Yet when thinking about solutions, climate change in many ways has a clearer relationship to one's daily life as it is easier to think of things one might do differently, compared to water pollution or air pollution where solutions at the personal level are less clear. I generally tried to ask interviewees if they thought that their own life had an impact on climate change, or rather contributed to climate change. Interviewees would try to think through the problem, and while at times they admitted that perhaps their life contributed to climate change, they also were quite quick to point out that their contribution was likely quite minimal. Due to the nature of who agreed to do a follow-up interview, the interviewees were often undergraduate or graduate students. These students did not have cars, shared a living space with multiple classmates, and used communitarian bathroom facilities. One interviewee pointed out that she did not fly or drive a car (1397052865 interview, 5/08/2011 interview).

More than once, interviewees pointed out that they tried to make their impact minimal, for example using water more than once for washing hair and clothing. When asked to explain their division of responsibility between the government and individuals, interviewees were also asked how well they thought individuals were doing and if they could do more. Examples of actions included saving electricity and taking public transportation. In contrast to water pollution there was almost nothing the individual could do; however for air pollution one could drive a car less. Listening to the replies from those interviewed, quite often there were attempts to do these things, or as noted above the interviewee would point out that due to his or her situation he or she already lived a life that did not have a serious carbon footprint.

SUMMARY

In summary, this paper looks at the question of responsibility for addressing climate change, but also in the process it looks at environmental problems more generally. This paper drew on existing surveys to piece together a picture of how Chinese generally view responsibility for solving climate change and other environmental problems. Beyond the survey that I administered it is somewhat difficult to focus just on how Chinese youth feel about responsibility. Consistently Chinese respondents see that the government should play the lead role in addressing environmental problems, primarily through the process of regulating factories.

The desire for citizens to see the government regulate factories is similar to sentiments expressed by Canadian environmentalists. Also, as the follow-up interviews revealed, it demonstrates an effort to actually think through the problems and not to rely on set categories of responsibility for

the government or individuals. The interviews also revealed that among individuals there is a certain ambiguity about what it is they should be doing. Yet at the same time, in various responses, there is a clear recognition that individuals have a role to play, not just for environmental problems, but also for climate change in particular. Yet this willingness to take on one's responsibility faces challenges from one's daily responsibilities and broader social issues.

REFERENCES

China Environmental Awareness Program. 2008a. 2007 China General Public Environmental Survey. Report Abstract. April 3.

China Environmental Awareness Program (中国环境意识项目). 2008b. 2007 年全国公众环境意识调查报告。(2007 China General Public Environmental Survey). April 3.

China protest closes toxic chemical plant in Dalian. 2011. BBC. 14 August. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-pacific-14520438 Accessed September 20, 2011.

Cohen, Jean L. 1985. "Strategy or Identity: New Theoretical Paradigms and Contemporary Social Movements." Social Research 52:663-716.

China Youth Climate Action Network (CYCAN). (Undated) "Start from Copenhagen: The 1st Youth-Led Delegation from China to a United Nations Climate Conference of the Parties."

Elvin, Mark. 2004. The Retreat of the Elephants: An Environmental History of China. Yale University Press: New Haven.

Fraser, Nancy. 2009. *Scales of Justice*. Columbia University Press: New York.

Fraser, Nancy. 2007. "Transnationalizing the Public Sphere: On the Legitimacy and Efficacy of Public Opinion in Post-Westphalian World." Theory, Culture and Society. Vol. 24(4): 7–3.

Gu Xin. 1993. "A Civil Society and Public Sphere in Post-Mao China?: An Overview of Western publications." China Information. 8: 38-52.

Jing, Jun. 2003. "Environmental Protests in Rural China, " Chinese Society: Change, Conflict and Resistance 2nd ed. Elizabeth Perry and Mark Selden, eds. Taylor & Francis: New York.

Lean, Eugenia. 2007. Public Passions: The Trial of Shi Jianqiao and the Rise of Popular Sympathy in Republican China. University of California Press: Berkeley.

Lee, Ching Kwan. 2007. Against the Law, Labor Protests in China's Rustbelt and Sunbelt. University of California Press: Berkeley.

Liu, Fengshu. 2008. “Constructing the autonomous middle-class self in today's China: the case of young-adult only-children university students.” Journal of Youth Studies, 11: 2, 193 — 212.

Marshall, T.H. and Tom Bottomore. 1992. Citizenship and Social Class. Pluto Press: Great Britain.

Martens, Susan. 2006. “Public Participation with Chinese Characteristics: Citizen Consumers in China’s Environmental Management.” Environmental Politics15, no. 21:211–30.

Melucci, Alberto. 1980. “The New Social Movements: A Theoretical Approach.” *Social Science Information* 19:199-226.

O’Brien, Kevin and Lianjiang Li. 2006. Rightful Resistance: Rural Protest in China. Cambridge University Press: New York.

Offe, Claus. 2010. Shared Social Responsibility: Reflections on the need for and supply of "responsible" patterns of social action. *Transit*. 40, Winter.

------. 1985. "New social movements: challenging the boundaries of institutional politics." Social Research 52:817-868.

Sinha, Kunal and Michael Griffiths. 2011. Get Going with Green: Closing the Sustainability Gap. Ogilvy earth.

Stoddart, Mark C.J. and David B. Tindall. 2010. “Governments have the Power”? Interpretations of Climate Change Responsibility and Solutions among Canadian Environmentalists.” Presented at the International Sociological Association World Congress of Sociology. Gothenburg, Sweden. July.

Thunder, David. 2009. “Am I my brother’s keeper? Grounding and motivating an ethos of social responsibility in a free society.” *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*. Vol 12, No. 4. December, 559-580.

Tong, Yanqi. 2007. "Bureaucracy Meets the Environment: Elite Perceptions in Six Chinese Cities." The China Quarterly. Volume 189: 100-121.

Van Rooij, Benjamin. 2010. “The People vs. Pollution: understanding citizen action against pollution in China.” *Journal of Contemporary China*. 19(63), January, 55–77.

Wakeman, Jr., Frederic. 1993. "The Civil Society and Public Sphere Debate: Western Reflections on Chinese Political Culture." Modern China. Vol. 19, No. 2.

Walzer, Michael. 1989. "Citizenship," Political Innovation and Conceptual Change. Terence Ball et al, editors. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, UK.

Watts, Jonathan. 2010b. When a Billion Chinese Jump: how China will save mankind--or destroy it. Scribner: New York.

Weller, Robert P. 1999. Alternate civilities: democracy and culture in China and Taiwan. Westview Press: Boulder, Colo.

Whyte, Martin K. 2010. "Do Chinese Citizens Want the Government to do More?" *Chinese Politics: State, Society and the Market.* (Peter Hays Gries, Stanley Rosen, Ed.)., Routledge: New York.

Wong, Koon-Kwai. 2003. The Environmental Awareness of University Students in Beijing, China. *Journal of Contemporary China.* 12, no. 36 (August): 519-536.

Yan, Yunxiang. 2010. "The Chinese Path to individualization." *The British Journal of Sociology*. Volume 61, Issue 3.

Yang, Guobin and Craig Calhoun. 2007. "Media, Civil Society, and the Rise of a Green Public Sphere in China." China Information. 21, 211.