

ADVOCACY COALLITIONS AS AGENTS OF CHANGE IN CLIMATE CHANGE POLICY MAKING – A CASE STUDY OF BOSNIA- HERZEGOVINA

Koalicione mreže zagovornika kao podsticajni agenti u izradi politike klimatskih promjena u Bosni i Hercegovini

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Izvod

Bosna i Hercegovina je ratifikovala Konvenciju Ujedinjenih Nacija o Klimatskim Promjenama (UNFCCC) 2000. godine, te protokol iz Kyota 2008. godine. Iako spada u grupu “Non-annex” I zemalja (zemlja u razvoju) prema UNFCCC kategorizaciji, ali sa ciljevima pristupa Evropskoj Uniji, određeni pomaci u BiH su postignuti u smislu donošenja odgovarajućih smjernica, institucionalnih te zakonodavnih okvira, kako bi se postigli zahtjevi Konvencije. Bilo kako bilo, politička arena Bosne i Hercegovine u kontekstu klimatskih promjena, je još uvijek pod utjecajima složenosti administrativne strukture, nedostatka zakonskih okvira na državnom nivou, manjka koordinacije i međusektorske saradnje kao i neadekvatnih mehanizama primjene odgovarajućih smjernica. Na osnovu teorije društvenih kretanja i koncepta koalicione mreže zagovornika, rezultati istraživanja prikupljeni kroz detaljnu analizu medijskih izvještaja i primjenu odgovarajućih upitnika (u okviru COMPON projekta) ukazuju na poteškoće i pojašnjavaju mogućnosti društvene mobilizacije i formiranja koalicija u vezi klimatskih promjena kao i njihovih uticaja u kontekstu šire nacionalne političke diskusije. Nedostatak informiranosti te ograničena svijest interesnih grupa je uzrokovala nedovoljnu društvenu mobilizaciju u vezi ovog problema, što utiče na odlaganje napretka po pitanju kreiranja jasne politike klimatskih promjena, programa prilagodavanja i ublažavanja njihovog uticaja, te izrade strategija za jačanje kapaciteta u ovoj oblasti. Takvo stanje omogućava domaćim političkim institucijama da zadrže „*status quo*”, dok je trenutni stepen društvenih aktivnosti u smislu suprostavljanja ovom problemu i uticaj na nacionalne političke procese slab.

Ključne riječi: Politika klimatskih promjena, Bosna i Hercegovina, koalicione mreže zagovornika

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Abstract

Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) ratified the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in 2000 and Kyoto protocol in 2008. Although a Non-Annex I Party (developing country) to UNFCCC, but with its goals to EU accession, efforts have been made to set up appropriate guidelines, institutional and legal framework to meet the Convention commitments. Nevertheless, the political arena of BiH within the climate change context is still affected by the complexity of its administrative setup, lack of state level legislation, absence of coordination and inter-sectoral cooperation as well as inadequate enforcement mechanisms. Based on the social movement theory and the concept of advocacy coalition framework, the research results collected through a detailed analysis of media reports and questionnaire-based survey findings (based on the guidance of the COMPON project) explain the setbacks and describe the possibilities of social mobilization, formation of coalitions in the framing of climate change aspects as well as their influence within the wider milieu of the national policy discourse. The lack of information sharing and limited awareness among stakeholders has resulted in low social mobilization exercised around the issue, hence creating a perfect setting for a delay on progress in terms of clear climate change policies, adaptation and mitigation programs along with strategies for capacity building in the domain. Evermore, it keeps the domestic political institutions clinging to status quo, while current extent of activation of the society and networks to tackle the problem and have an effect on national policy processes remains fragile.

Keywords: Climate change policy, Bosnia-Herzegovina, advocacy coalitions

INTRODUCTION – Uvod

The rising risks of rapid climate change are increasing; even though the opportunities to solve the climate crisis are ample it remains a challenge to policy-makers as it is characterized by many uncertainties within the science, economy and politics. The extensive research shows that climate change presents a global environmental challenge and it leads to changes in weather patterns, rising sea levels and increased frequency and intensity of weather extremes.

Consequences of climate change may have diverse impacts on biodiversity, it may alter oceanic currents, and it may displace whole populations and significantly reduce the economic prospects of future generations (HELM, 2005). The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC, 2001) predicts that global temperatures may increase between 1.4 and 5.8 degrees Celsius and that averaged sea-level rise of 0.09 to 0.88 m is expected by the end of the century, in the absence of policy measures.

It is the view of many authors that climate change is one of most significant issues facing the policy-making domain in the next century. Despite many uncertainties there is a global consensus that climate change represents a severe potential threat to ecosystems. In terms of witnessing the consequences of climate change, as all other regions of the world, Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereinafter BiH) is no different. Substantial shift in weather

patterns including intense and frequent occurrence of floods, droughts and fires, has its influence on the ecosystems, biodiversity, water and other natural resources, as well as the human health. These aspects have shown consequences in wide diapason of sectors, ranging from agriculture and forestry to tourism.

Due to human activities which release carbon dioxide, the GHG (Green House Gases) emissions have increased in the past century and their further increase can have major effects on the climate, therefore the approach to climate change solution needs to be fully supported by collaboration and cooperation of the whole international community.

PROBLEM DIAGNOSIS AND GUIDING QUESTIONS – *Utrđivanje problema i ključna pitanja*

Climate change should be dealt with on a global scale and with an interdisciplinary approach. According to Helm (2005) without the science, there can be no serious understanding of what the problem is; without the politics, there can be no strategy for reaching a global consensus to reduce emissions and, hence, defining international property rights; and without the economics, scarce resources are likely to be wasted on badly designed policy instruments. The author further on identifies three core components of climate change: the targets, the instruments and the institutional structures.

Having in mind these three foundation elements, it is interesting to consider the extent of activities in the climate change policy domain within BiH institutional structures and country's status in terms of setting targets and employing instruments to conform with the international agreements and policy processes.

Although a Non-Annex I Party (developing country) to UNFCCC, BiH has recognized a need of addressing issues of climate change and incorporating it into its policy formulation; and with its goals to EU accession, initial efforts seem to have been made in an attempt to set up an appropriate policy, institutional and legal framework to meet the Convention commitments.

BiH has a quite complex governmental structure, with two entities (Federation of BiH and Republic of Srpska) as well as an additional administrative unit District Brčko. The Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Relations is responsible for Environmental Activities at the State Level in regards to international affairs and state level policies, while each entity has its own Ministry in regards to environmental issues (FBiH- Ministry of Environment and Tourism, RS-Ministry of Spatial planning, civil engineering and ecology, the latter being appointed as a Focal Point for climate change issues), which might further complicate cooperation and consensus on activities that should be undertaken. Currently, a common framework law on environmental protection is under discussion which might incorporate climate change aspects which have not been treated in the current laws on the entity's levels.

Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) ratified the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in 2000 and Kyoto protocol in 2008³.

³ Official gazette B-H No. 03/08

In 2000, BiH National Focal Point to UNFCCC was appointed and in 2001, the State Steering Climate Change Committee of BiH was established as a governmental body facilitating national climate change activities, therefore taking a leading role in decision-making on possible policies and measures in the matter. Nevertheless, the policy and politics arena of BiH, within the climate change context, has been affected by its past war consequences, complexity of its administrative setup, lack of state level legislation, absence of coordination and inter-sectoral cooperation and inadequate enforcement mechanisms. Additionally, noted were weak government capacities and low awareness of the convention requirements on the subject. National scientific community has contributed moderately to this aspect and almost no clear policy instruments have been designed, which will be embarked upon throughout the research. Due to inactivity of the local institutions the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in BiH has recently initiated compilation of the Initial National Communication on climate changes to the UN, and the European Commission in BiH has made attempts to establish the Designated National Authority (DNA) in order to enable access to CDM projects. These institutions have also set off projects related to capacity building and the development of CDM institutional and legal framework in BiH.

Concerning the above stated and the low level of activities within climate change policy-making domain, the main objective of the research is to examine the national social framework of organizations and their current responses to climate change issues, through identification of relevant networks and national advocacy coalitions, interactions between institutions, their stance and interests; producing an analysis of their activities in addition to uncovering the dominant actor groups which facilitate or delay appropriate policy outputs and action. In a nutshell, the main questions the research will embark upon answering are:

- ◆ Who advocates change and initiates processes in the climate change policy making domain of Bosnia and Herzegovina?
- ◆ Has there been significant national progress noted in terms of mutual cooperation and establishment of advocacy coalition networks among different groups in order to campaign for change, and what is the strength of these coalitions?
- ◆ Has there been an agreement on the path to be chosen in order to tackle these global issues and have institutional structures addressed facilitation of international agreements on a national level?
- ◆ Have policy instruments, if any, been employed to address credible global climate change policies and have they led to any substantial results to date?
- ◆ What is the role of different groups, are their opinions and activities divergent and to what extent have they been involved in the processes within the country?

The main goal of the matter being researched was to test hypothesis about mobilization and networking in the domain of climate change policy making throughout key institutions and organizations in BiH, in order to additionally address the three core components within climate change policy making (i.e. targets, instruments and institutional structures). This approach has at the outset identified the relevant actors through media reports and analyzed if there are existing network

linkages among organizations and institutions engaged in the national policy domain, hence examining if networks include parties within scientific and political segment. In order to assess the existence of the interdisciplinary approach of active institutions within climate change policy domain (as identified by HELM, 2005) the research has basis in the network concept and the advocacy coalition framework for the purpose of identifying advocacy coalition networks and exploring the existence of the scientific, political and economic elements overlay within the network establishment.

Hence, the research problem is based on several structural and dynamic hypotheses which seek to scrutinize the above stated within the national setting. It also examines to what extent are the domestic political institutions receptive or on the contrary opposing to changes in the segment of climate change policy-making. Having said this, attempt is made to distinguish relations among organizations and the methods by which advocacy coalitions recruit members, influence policy outcomes and pressure the local political structures.

In a wider scope of research, the research objectives have been based on an international study (Compon project) concerned with cross-national comparison of the institutions and interests that assess different policy responses to climate change on a global level. The project assesses the factors influencing the growth and effect of advocacy coalitions within national responses to climate change in nine main national cases⁴. Apart from its expected scientific theory achievements, it is expected to observe and compare experiences from other nations in their aims to tackle this global issue. The research, with its objectives, theories and hypothesis having foundation within the project itself, might contribute to the research by addressing the challenges within methodological issues, while findings might be embedded within the cross-national results analysis.

MATERIAL AND METHODS – *Materijal i metode rada*

For the purpose of the research, the representative samples of appropriate size were obtained from a population, in order to apply the questionnaire in a certain period of time (from September 2008 to January 2009) on a geographical area of BiH.

The defined target population included the group of institutions or organizations that are involved in climate change policy processes in the policy setting of BiH. For the purposes of sample selection, sampling frame was selected through analysis of published national media reports related to climate change policy issues in the last eight years (since ratification of the UNFCCC in 2000). This method relates to cluster sampling where respondents were chosen from a certain area (“cluster”) only. This research therefore consists of a “two-stage” cluster sampling where a sampling frame is chosen (organizations already included in climate change policy processes in BiH and those who might be very important actors but are not very active yet) and a sample within those areas is selected. Since these organizations were identified through media reports, a substantial bias might have been introduced by exclusion of organizations which participate in the

⁴ Including developed countries: the United States, Japan, Germany, Sweden and Austria; and the developing countries of Brazil, Russia, India and China (the BRIC)

processes but have not received media attention. In order to avoid this effect, a snowball sampling technique has been applied in order to use the existing study subjects which have assisted in identifying/recruiting more subjects into the sample.

Analysis of mainstream media statements was reviewed encompassing a period of eight years (since ratification of UNFCCC in 2000 to October 2008) identifying actors that were present in the media reports which relate to climate change issues. The media analysis included the research of most popular local published newspapers in both entities of BiH (namely “Dnevni Avaz”, “Oslobodenje”, “Nezavisne Novine”), with the help of a BiH media research engine (INFOBIRO⁵) which has archives of all published articles in BiH printed media.

The articles were researched based on the key words (i.e. climate change policy, climate change BiH, UNFCCC, Kyoto Protocol, global warming – translated into Bosnian language) related to the subject studied which produced over 2.000 articles. According to the analysis of these articles, it was noted that many did not have direct relevance to climate change policy processes, but those which were related to the matter, helped identify key institutions engaged in activities, which were repeatedly mentioned through several reports. The sample identified includes a relatively small number (i.e. 29) of involved institutions but dispersed within a wide range of groups: relevant government agencies, committees in political parties, scientific community and institutions, NGOs, social movements, mass media, and other relevant segments. An effort has been made to contact and try to interview the whole cluster sample of 29 institutions/organizations, which indicates that there was no further exclusion within the sample frame.

Concerning the fact that the questionnaire used in this research has been a part of an international research on comparing policy networks (Compon project), it has been designed based on policy network surveys, methods and procedures used in previous relating projects.⁶ The questionnaire consists of two general sections: open-ended responses and fixed-answer questions encompassing the basic questions about organizational resources, networks, influence, event participation, and organizational interests and frames concerning international issues in the domain of climate change. It has been substance-wise tailored to the domestic case, for the purpose of addressing the hypothesis appropriately based on the compiled data.

Quantitative data from the questionnaire (responses coded as numbers) have been incorporated into Excel spreadsheets where mean (arithmetic average), mode (most frequently occurring response) and the percentage of the responses were calculated for the ranked values (ordinal data); with an additional insight into findings where calculations could not be made due to non-responsiveness factor. For the

⁵ INFOBIRO is research digital archive accessible through online portal (<http://www.idoconline.info/digitalarchive/public/index.cfm>)

⁶ A comparison of the energy and health domains in the United States (Laumann and Knoke 1987); a comparison of the labor policy domain in the United States, Germany and Japan (Knoke et al. 1996), and a study of the US and German climate change policy domains in 1997 (Tsujinaka 1997).

leading open-ended question, where organizational representatives freely expressed their opinion on climate change issues in the national setting, codes were derived deductively, i.e. based on the conceptual framework of the hypothesis (according to main hypothesis, contextual and process factors, networks, groups and participation) and their answers presented throughout the Results section. The analysis of network connections aimed to distinguish the leading and secondary actors and lead to certain frame descriptions of these actors. Therefore, matrix correlation, depending on the responses within this section, shows the relational content among institutions in regards to information, expertise and money exchange as well as where these correlations overlap. The network relation between actors is represented through an algebraic representation in a form of a matrix. This method uses binary values, where binary matrices are also called adjacency matrices, as they reveal whether or not any two points in a corresponding sociogram are adjacent (KNOKE & KUKLINSKI, 1982). The rows represent actors and the columns represent the same set of actors in an identical sequence. Number „1“ represents that relation between actors was identified in the survey while „0“ represents absence of relations. For easier viewing, the matrix was further interpreted into an actor relation map, presented in the Results section.

RESULTS – *Rezultati istraživanja*

The following result sections include presentation, interpretation and analysis of quantitative data collected through interviews with an insight into the evaluation of the hypothesis within the theoretical framework. Most representative and interesting numerical data are presented in the form of descriptive and inferential statistics and are grouped according to thematic areas of the questionnaire (as described in the methods section).

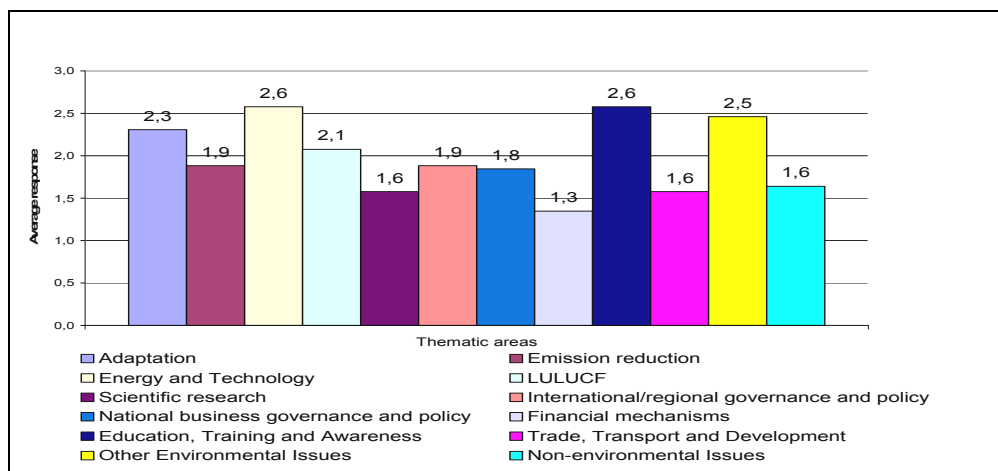
Organisational efforts – *Organizacioni naponi*

Organizations questioned in the BiH national climate change policy domain differ extensively in the amount of effort they devote to general climate change themes. According to the responses, the data shows that the amount of effort is mainly directed toward energy and technology issues (47%)⁷, followed by the awareness raising, education and training (38,5%) and other environmental issues (35%). On the other hand, more than 60% of the respondents indicated that they dedicate none or very little effort to Financial Mechanisms for global carbon reduction (creation of special funds and institutions for this purpose) and Trade, Transport and Development (policies and effect of international economic and foreign aid relations on climate change). The following graph (Graph 1.) shows the dedication of effort of organizations regarding different issue concerns in broad categories given in section 1 of the questionnaire.

⁷ Percentage calculations for responses are given by grouping selection of much and very much effort into one category, unless otherwise indicated

Effort indication (Indikacija napora)

0	None	1	Very little	2	Little
3	Moderate	4	Much	5	Very much



Graph 1: Distribution of organizational efforts within BiH organizations in climate change policy-making domain since the ratification of UNFCCC in 2000. /The x axis shows different thematic areas while y axis presents effort indication by organizations within each thematic area (the scores are calculated based on the responses given as indicated in the key)/

Grafikon 1: Raspodjela organizacionih napora u sklopu BiH organizacija u domenu kreiranja politika klimatskih promjena, od ratifikacije UNFCCC konvencije, 2000.godine. /x osa prikazuje različite tematke kategorije dok y osa predstavlja napore organizacija za svaku kategoriju (ocjene su izračunate prema odgovorima kategorisanim u legendi iznad).

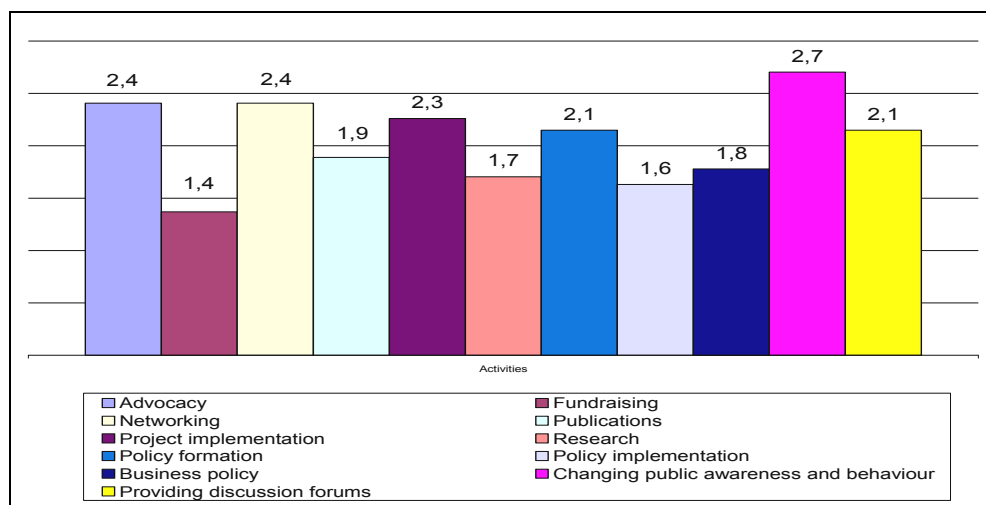
During the comparison of responses on all questions among all institutions it has been interesting to note that highest number (coded as 5 and indicating very much effort) and similar responses (on the scale from moderate to very much effort on different topics) were given by international organizations, non-governmental organizations and printed media (which are solely dealing with environmental issues), while the scientific community representatives (with exception of certain topics) have indicated small inputs in terms of efforts related to climate change, but much more to other environmental issues.

Organisational activities – *Organizacione aktivnosti*

Overall, organizational activities in regards to climate change seem to be very scarce. Average responses range between very little activity and moderate activity input. The following graph (Graph 2: Activities of BiH organizations in climate change policy-making domain) shows the amount of input the interviewed organizations devote to activities of different thematic areas. Graph 2 below presents results calculated based on the coded answers where results range from no activity to very much activity (0-no activity, 1-very little, 2-little, 3- moderate activity, 4-much activity, 5-very much

activity). From the results in Graph 2 it can be concluded that fund raising for the purpose of climate change activities in BiH is on the lowest level with the most answers given in the section 0 (not at all), while the average among organizations is 1,4, which falls into the group of very little fundraising as more than 57% of respondents indicated no or very little fundraising in regards to climate change aspects. The highest fundraising (in the moderate group) is conducted by the international organizations, a scientific institute and NGOs. It should be mentioned that these organizations are identified as information sharing relation in the relations matrix.

0	None	1	Very little	2	Little
3	Moderate	4	Much	5	Very much



Graph 2: Activities of BiH organizations in climate change policy-making domain since the ratification of UNFCCC in 2000. /The x axis shows different activities while y axis presents activity input by organizations within each activity (the scores are calculated based on the responses given in the key)

Grafikon 2: Aktivnosti organizacija u BiH u domenu kreiranja politika klimatskih promjena, od dana ratifikacije UNFCCC konvencije, 2000. godine. /x osa prikazuje različite aktivnosti dok y osa prikazuje učinak organizacije u sklopu naznačene aktivnosti (ocjene su izračunate prema odgovorima kategorisanim u legendi iznad)

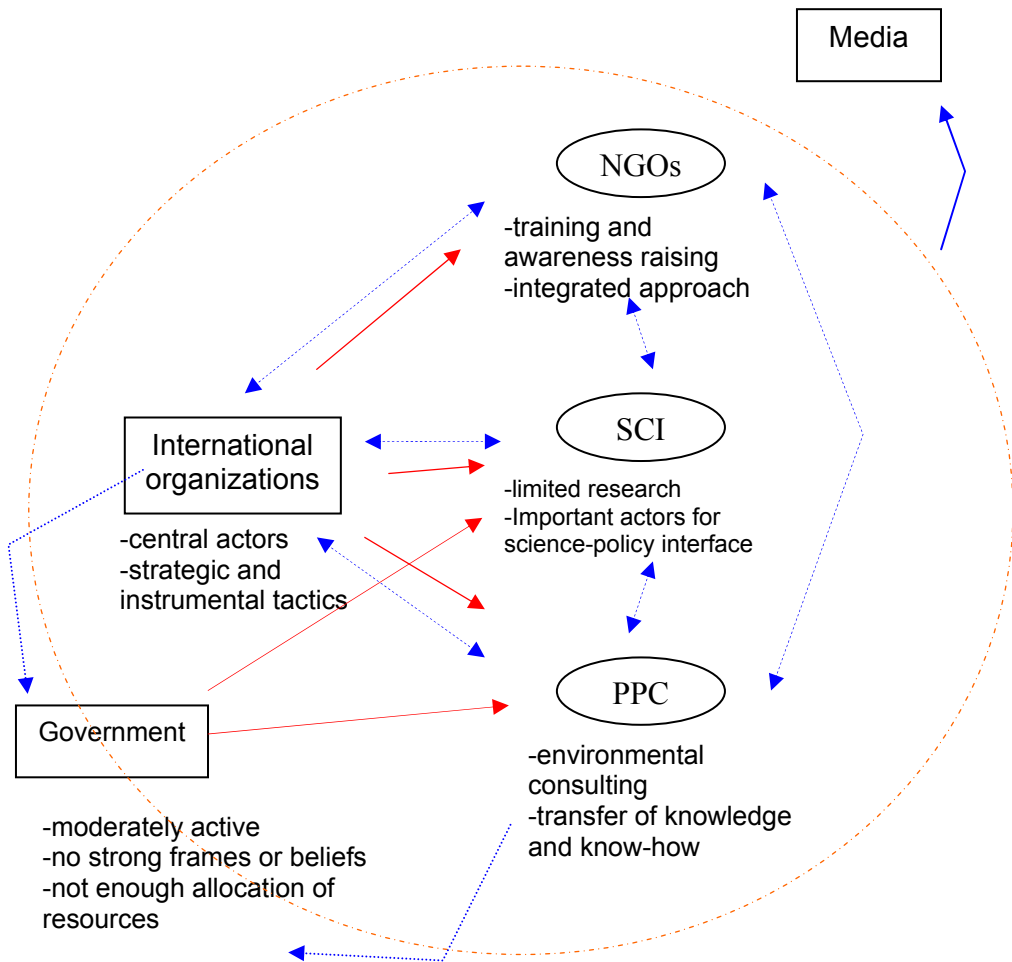
When activity levels are examined according to different groups it becomes apparent that very much effort to activities is given by international organizations and several NGOs, while certain governmental organizations seem to have least total amount of activities, due to the diversity of their responsibility dispersion across several segments.

Networks among organisations – *Umrežavanje organizacija*

It is very interesting that the response rate for questions relating to the section of Networks among organizations was very low. Majority of the organizations recognized that they do not have many long-term mutual support relationships with other organizations nor do they negotiate with many of them, at least not on the issues of climate change. Concerning just recent progress in climate change activities, since the ratification of the Convention (2000) and Kyoto Protocol (2008), the organizations mostly stated that the time will show to what extent they would cooperate with other institution/organizations and with whom they would enjoy mutual support on a long-term basis, as the climate change policy-making has not yet evolved to an extent where these instruments are fully applied. The very low (to none) responsiveness in the categories of reciprocity, normative and discourse networks still shows that the organizations in BiH are just commencing to deal with the issues of climate change and are still only at the stage of information exchange and exchange of expert advice. However, there is almost a consensus that international organizations and a small number of leading NGOs have taken leadership and have been recognized as most influential in setting in motion different activities in the climate change domain. It has been emphasized by the respondents that international organizations have taken bold leadership in their efforts to improve the stance on climate change within the nation and to mobilize the scientific community and to some extent even the political field.

The following simple representation (Scheme 1.) includes the summary of organizations and their types of relations within the network, given according to the generic categories.

Map of relations and roles of actors in climate-change policy process network in BiH at the current stage, and based on limited findings, indicates that the resources exchange, in the form of financial means, very often originate from international sources and are circulating between the non-governmental organizations, scientific community (mostly its individual actors) and the private and public enterprise field, which are through research and project implementation bound to be involved in knowledge brokering in this network. It can be noted that financial source also lies in governmental institutions, which through their compulsory and standard budgetary allocation devote typical amounts to scientific and public enterprise groups, which in return offer technical support and expert advice. Will the two origins of financial sources be grounds for difficulties in the future, and make individual actors part from the network in order to join the belief system of the governmental institutions or possibly another network to be established, still remains to be seen.



Key:



Information flow and exchange of expertise
 Common concern action network
 Provision of financial resources

PPC Public and private centres and companies
 SCI Scientific Community
 NGOs Non-governmental organizations

Scheme 1: Map of relations among actors in climate-change policy process network in BiH and summary of their main roles in the period from 2000 to 2008.

Shema 1: Mapa odnosa između aktera u okviru mreže procesa politike klimatskih promjena u BiH i sažetak njihovih glavnih uloga u periodu od 2000. do 2008. godine.

On the other hand, collaboration is much more bustling on the relational elements of information flow and exchange of expertise, where an influential international organization (possibly because of its wider resource allocation and position closer to information origin), has managed to cluster a diverse network around a common concern, as an agent of change. In its wider milieu of tactics, it is sharing information with the governmental institutions, as it recognizes it as a powerful actor in a potential partnership, which might in the long run be able to bring about implementation of important strategies. Media, as a prospective imperative actor in further development of the activities, exchanges information with the network, but still within limited margins and only when the network approaches it with information. From the relational analysis it is clear that there has been an establishment of the common concern action network, with mutual instrumental approach, which is to a certain extent still based on basic collaboration elements and advocating, which shows a certain influence on policy processes and outputs for that matter.

Implication of the results on the hypothesis – *Uticaj rezultata na postavljene hipoteze*

Based on the actor identification process through media research, it has been immediately obvious that in BiH not many organizations have been involved in the climate change policy making. Apart from this it has been also noted that there has been no strong and clear climate change policy strategy established yet and that climate change issues have been very vaguely embedded within the environmental legal framework, strategies and energy and agriculture studies (conducted mostly on individual basis within each entity of BiH). Apart from this, a quite low activity initiation from different sectors has been witnessed, low awareness on international agreements (with exceptions) and confirmed by the respondents. Based on the research, identified was one advocacy coalition network established in accordance to its actors' mutual cooperation, information sharing, common interests and frames and output objectives, but still relatively isolated in its attempts to pursue action in this global problem on a national level. This coalition, consisting of different actors mostly from the non-governmental, international and scientific groups recognized the effects of climate change throughout the region, hence based mostly on international incentives has joined forces around a common tactical frame in order to tackle the idleness of governmental institutions.

The mobilization progression of these actors has been significant, as indicated in the relation matrix where information exchange and expertise, even though still relatively low, has led the actors to increase their knowledge through mutual collaboration and to orient themselves in a more instrumental frame within a common concern. The coalition, formed mostly of the international organizations, NGOs, independent environmental centres, scientists from different milieus of education and research, has had a certain impact in the domain and has led to development of new initiatives and progress in the field of climate change policy making.

At the outset, these networks have recognized the importance of global climate change and have made efforts in order to mobilize resources, knowledge, and raise public awareness and support. They have accomplished this through inclusion of climate change projects and programs in their every-day program activities and have even established separate departments in order to deal with these aspects. Nevertheless, it ought to be pointed out that, according to the figures presented in the results section, the activities on climate change are not dealt with the same level of priority within every interviewed group; nonetheless the network is certainly making headway in recruiting members and advocating substantially for the cause. Recognition of the coded data from the interviews undertaken show that these organizations have identified each other as the ones exchanging information, resources and opinions and have mutually developed important documents for communication with international organizations (climate change conferences, discussion forums, development of the first initial communication on climate change to the UN).

Another cause which influenced the establishment of the advocacy coalition network has been the fact that the current situation in governmental agencies and the continuance of keeping the unchanged state of affairs within these institutions, have led the civil society to initiate changes and pursue the issue of climate change policy making within their own agendas. As described in the introductory chapter, the two Ministries of both BiH entities responsible for environmental issues have not yet produced a joint environmental protection strategy for the whole BiH; therefore it makes it even harder to perceive the complexity and effects of climate change without a joint institution on a national level or a single approach and its mutual goal setting.

One of the respondents (NGO sector) has announced his dissatisfaction with the activities of the BiH Climate Change Committee⁷ saying that “they have not produced any documents in a longer period of time, made reports from their participation at international events or made any solid progress in this sense”. Another representative of a public enterprise stated that the Climate Change Committee in BiH “has vanished”. Despite the fact that the climate change Committee members (the ones contacted) did not agree to participate in the research, their representative indicated that the committee members have been inactive for a longer period of time, due to “low governmental budget allocation for the meetings and venues” for this purpose. Another respondent has uncovered the fact that “the climate change committee in BiH has not held a meeting in the last four years, and their only successful activity was pursuing ratification of Kyoto Protocol”.

Nevertheless, the status quo of governmental institutions has been affected by these different activities undertaken by external organizations, which should have been reflected by the agenda of the government itself. Due to these reasons, the governmental agencies (which could be identified as scattered network actors not being pro or con climate change issues – just lingering on the sidelines) have had little cooperation in the past with the different levels of actors, but have lately started

⁷ CC Committee members have been elected both BiH entities and district Brčko, and are representatives of both Ministries of environment

conducting and planning new activities in the segment of climate change policy making. A new regional Framework Action Plan for adaptation to climate changes in the SE Europe has just recently been initiated by the ministries and the non-governmental sector, in a joint collaboration. Even though it might be a lengthy process with uncertain results it is still a step forward for the state administration, whose outputs and implementation calls for a necessity in monitoring. The first coalition has therefore evidently succeeded to form the active process within a policy domain and in some way pressured the governmental agencies to respond to the rising issue, hence supporting the central hypothesis where the *relative strength and influence of advocacy coalitions has affected national outcomes reflected in climate change policy content and practices.*

The mobilization progression at the level of network and discourse interaction within the domain has been proven to rise and has a certain effect on the policy outputs.

As the data analyzed in the results chapter demonstrate, the advocacy coalition with evidently high budget resources and generation of information due to network formation within different groups (and knowledgeable individuals) have proven to be more active in the climate change activity mobilization and have set in motion initiatives for necessary change recognized within the environmental sector. Even though their pressure tactics are on the low key, their budget generation and proposal submission could not leave the elite allies on the side lines. Even though the coalition network is aiming at establishing a policy, they have so far, at least, influenced the public and even elite allies to some extent; in their shaping of policy discourse. It can be therefore stated that *advocacy coalitions able to recruit elite allies do have greater effects upon policy outputs and outcomes.* So far this has proven right, even though it can not be firmly stated that the elite allies have been outright recruited - only moderately involved, as a powerful national link in the chain, but the extent of network effects will continuously be dependable on the strength and constant pressure tactics by the advocacy coalition.

When evaluating the hypothesis of the civil society and its role in the network - the civil society organizations will be more central actors in the networks comprising climate change advocacy coalitions in pluralist and hybrid corporatist institutions where parties alternate in power, this hypothesis could be dismissed to a certain point. Primarily, briefly drawing back on the political system of BiH itself, where each of three ethnical groups have their own political parties and therefore possibilities to establish a party consensus on issues of national development significance poses a threat to the stable development of BiH society. Further on, in similar studies it is emphasized that BiH is suffocating in its ethno nationalism (SEKULIĆ, 2008), where liberal-democratic pluralism is penetrating very slow. In accordance to this and from a theoretical perspective, BiH is currently in a pluralist political system, nonetheless the concept is not largely fulfilled and civil society still feels there is time needed in order for this model of power distribution to be fully effective. Due to this, there is even more reason for the civil sector to take a bolder stand on issues and difficulties facing the country in the present.

The analyzed results demonstrate that broadcast time devoted to climate change (within a broader view) of one very influential BiH television station is less than 1%, while scientific printed media allocate up to 20% of their publications to climate change, but only “if and when the scientists produce a relevant publication, which is quite rare”. Further on it has been noted that the media representatives interviewed have a low level of knowledge on the climate change issues– the survey shows the media being neutral on many positions, while a great number of them was not responsive due to “unattractive topic” or inactivity in the segment.

It might not be correct to conclude that this has been only the fault of the media, as the political issues related to peace and stability, democratic processes, security and economic issues are still top priority for BiH due to the past war consequences. One of the media representatives stated “we are more interested in the environmental issues that have an effect which can be seen today, not sometime in the future”, while the other representative stated “we are waiting for a greater input from scientists, otherwise we have nothing to announce/publish”. Nevertheless, the low media interest around the issue might also be partly caused by the coalition network which do not promote their stance on the issue or make public events widely known.

Due to the stated above, the professional news media in BiH, even though they might have a high centrality of information flow networks between all sectors on diverse issues, does not have high centrality information flow in the area of climate change or more particularly climate change policy making.

Hence, it can be easily stated that it is no surprise that the public awareness on the issue of climate change as well as the status-quo of the government in relation to this issue is such, as the public does not receive enough information from the media or issuance on how much importance to attach to this issue, therefore no mobilization is to be present for the time being.

BiH, in its alleged aims for development and prosperity, has in its adoption of democratic political system aspired to make development “participatory”. This has been emphasized across several sectors, but the survey shows that participatory approach has not yet reached the stage of true decision-making through participation, or participation influencing policy outputs to a great extent; the process itself is still vaguely and more technically implemented than it can be output valued. The participatory input, be it through focus groups, opinions in public hearings or valuations of any kind, should apart from the influence on the policy outcomes have a role of bridging the organizations together within networks in order to support information flow, reciprocity and cooperation across sectors. The collected data results show that different organizations have differing distinctiveness in terms of organizational characteristics, resources, reputation, however when brought together their power differential (if existing) is not emphasized as they are all centrally positioned around a solution of a common concern and have different resources which others might be in need of. It is also argued that the power differential among these organizations does not much differ as they consist of international organizations, NGOs and scientific institutions all aiming for the same goal and struggling to bring climate change on the political agenda, while on the other side the power of

governmental agencies does not seem to directly oppose to their opinions, but it hinders it by its plain inactivity and capability to potentially delay future developments. In this sense it may be confirmed that if the domain actors dismiss their *power differentials, the ability of multi-stakeholder participatory forums to produce advocacy coalitions for climate change with broader array of members, increases.*

Even though there is still a fair policy influence power inequality between the governmental and public sectors in BiH, the civic mobilizations seem confident on coming to solutions and producing networks and coalitions through participation and multi-stakeholder approach while empowering weaker actors in political debate and decision making and recognizing the elites as potential implementation partners of their ideas.

DISCUSSION – *Diskusija*

This research proved to be a challenge for the researcher and the institutional actors involved. Principal findings include lack of information flow, political will, and low awareness within the nation, all this causing lax social mobilization and unchanged state of affairs in terms of policy approach to climate change issues. The major findings depict international organizations as the main group of actors who advocate change and initiate processes in the climate change policy making arena of BiH. Further on, the establishment of an advocacy coalition with its mutual interdependency and cooperation among members, with an aim of campaigning for change, has been recognized. Drawing back on the theory, we can confirm that policy networks can be linked to policy change and as the findings show the network formed in the case of BiH helped shape policy outputs and construct responses in terms of progress in development of initial significant policy document. As in accordance to the advocacy coalition framework theory it has been clear that if there is an aim to bring about policy change, the focus should be on interaction of actors from different institutions with an inclusion of intergovernmental dimension. The results have clearly proven that this is the case. The advocacy coalition identified currently consists of actors from diverse group backgrounds which are lead by the thought of advocating for change on an important global concern. Nevertheless, the resources for the diverse group activities are on a very low level, especially within the scientific community. The science is still not recognized as a mean of persuasiveness for the governmental institutions and the BiH society as a whole, in order to concentrate more on the climate change aspects and its inclusion in policy-making within a larger scope.

Given the results, it has been unfortunate to note that the media in BiH has dedicated very low level of attention and low broadcast time or printed space to the issues of climate change in general. Needless to say, despite their ability and resources which they can utilize to reach very large audiences and convey information across many sectors, it has been unfortunate that these opportunities have been left unexploited. The governmental institutions, having the most power to influence the policy processes have been identified as inactive, and as the conveying the information from the IPCC has been their role, it has proven that their participation

and role of knowledge brokers and conveyers has been low, which causes knowledge gaps which were noted during the interviews.

Given the fact that the network of actors currently involves diverse groups and members, the Olson's theory that emphasizes that larger groups are less likely to achieve their goals could not be supported in the case of this research. As this network has arisen from a social movement as is in close relation to an environmental issue where permanent benefits could be provided for future generations, it is recommended (also by the representatives interviewed) to include as many diverse groups and members as possible in order to help tackle this global issue, which has been just recently recognized as important in BiH and has still positioned this network into isolation.

Practically, this implies that the larger the network, the more members it will have and the more the knowledge and awareness will be spread, as this is important at this stage of national recognition of the issue of climate change.

The findings of the research also include the recognition of climate change in the national arena as important; as the majority of interviewed actors have a common understanding of the issue. Nevertheless, efforts and activities are not sufficiently directed toward progressing in this aspect, and this implies that maybe more initiation should be sourced from the government, in order for other actors to recognize their roles in the bigger picture.

The weakness of the study seemed to be within the methods used as they proved to be a greater confrontation than expected. The climate change policy-making arena in BiH still seems to be inefficiently established, supported and promoted, therefore causing lack of data and its interpretation within the segment. The identification of actors upon which the inquiry was to be conducted proved to be a setback, as the media coverage of the issues of climate change has been insufficient, therefore making the exploratory interviews more effective in this preparatory phase of the research process. The questionnaire length, broadness of issues and the fact that the responses are connected to a stance of a whole organization caused hesitation in majority of respondents and demanded additional confirmation of anonymity of responses given. Was this fact related to low knowledge on the issue (on personal and institutional level), the possibility of bearing consequences of disclosing information of the organization (general stance and beliefs which should be transparent) or no firm position toward the issue, remains unanswered.

Implications on the network relation analysis were also severe, as most respondents identified the most influential institution and potential actors with whom exchange of information and expert advice is undertaken, however the reciprocity, support, discourse, normative and other network interaction questions failed to produce a response, this further proving the weakness and narrowness of the climate change policy-making in BiH and its coalition network.

A larger sample with more diversity would have benefited the results, but identification of actors did not produce a larger relevant sample, which might change in the future. Possibly, a greater insight into the depth of information may have been obtained by conducting focus group interviews comprised of participants

representative of the sample, as evaluation of their mutual attitudes, stances and recommendations would maybe elicit a broader and deeper understanding and could have yielded additional important qualitative data based on mutual interaction.

This shows that potential further research in the domain should take upon a different approach, concentrating on qualitative interviews and on the assessment of climate change enclosure within the legal framework and future strategic policy approaches which are anticipated.

The strengths of the research lie in the fact that it has been one of the first within the country which addressed climate-change policy making, which might prove useful for future researchers in similar domain. Considering the fact that some important climate change policies might emerge in the following years, similar studies could draw back on the results and findings and add on to the theoretical insights.

CONCLUSION – *Zaključak*

Climate change is an issue of global concern, but it still remains a challenge for many nations and their policy-makers. Even though there is a consensus on considerable detrimental effects climate change may bring upon ecosystems and human kind, the policy measures are feared as they might affect different spheres of nations' economic growth and development. Nevertheless, the possibilities are abundant, but the approaches need to be integrated internationally in order to bring about change.

Despite the fact that BiH has ratified the Kyoto Protocol and made initial efforts to establish appropriate institutional and legal framework to meet the Convention commitments, it still has a long way ahead in order to implement the initial approach, especially with its goals of EU accession.

The complexity of its administrative setup, absence of state level legislation, and actors, recently in a war conflict yet currently trying to reach a consensus on fundamental questions of country's development; seem to be the basic impeding elements in any rapid recognition of climate change significance within national policy-making action. Nevertheless, almost a national consensus exists when concerning basic opinions on international and national stance within climate change domain and brisk reactions it needs. The roles of different groups fairly differ, however their opinions and stance on the issue are quite similar. Multi-sectoral activities do diverge to a certain extent, as represented by the research, but are still generally on a rather low level.

The climate change policy-making arena in BiH is reasonably weak. The research has uncovered that the low interest of the governmental structures in this domain probably lies in the fact that low social mobilization exists around the issue and therefore the ruling parties do not have interest in the facilitation of further developments in order to attract voting populace. Another possible foundation which might have lead to a certain lingering position of the government institutions is the low level of the capacities in climate change sphere of action, where the

administration is complex, the priorities are multiple and areas for significant improvement are ample (institutionally and legally).

The research has shown that most recently the status idleness has been distinguished by the non-governmental sector; hence it has made certain progress in terms of initiation of preliminary action and networking. According to the fundamentals of a successful coalition establishment, the identified network does encompass several important aspects such as establishment of a shared agenda or more precisely recognition of a common concern which necessitates mutual efforts to advance the culture change; membership of diverse individuals and organizations; facilitation of networking; regular communication and information exchange. On the other hand, the strength of this coalition “in the making” still remains to be seen in its future developments and depends fairly on nation’s institutional mobilization.

BiH is a non-Annex I country and has no obligations to reduce its GHG emissions; nevertheless it already experienced the climate change consequences and reactions due to its vulnerability. The research framework within the climate change domain is very limited at the national level and there is almost no science-policy interface. Researchers have limited capacities or insufficient information flow which further down the line leads to low public awareness and status quo of many sectors. The media, as a dominant actor in it potentials to spread the information, knowledge and set in motion public reaction through its diverse tactics, must be recognized as such within coalition’s mutual agenda.

The current state of politics in BiH, where the public continues to be unvoiced and the scientific contributions on the issue are lacking, is additionally amounting to the inactivity. Thus, it doesn’t come as a surprise that climate-change policy issues are on the very low level of the policy-making agenda in BiH.

The research has embarked upon several hypotheses ranging from process and contextual factors, through network frames and opportunity structures, all the way to sector positions and power differentials, in order to comprehend the nation’s position in terms of this significant global issue.

Internationally, climate change policy-making usually encompasses variety of actors including emitters of greenhouse gases, institutions that make climate change policy and of course the actors which are directly or indirectly affected by climate change. Due to many reasons stated, this stage has not yet been fully developed by the national structures. The organizations interviewed have a consensus on importance of addressing the issue of climate change; nevertheless they still differ in their views on broader frames of aspects treated within the questionnaire.

It has been recognized that approach to climate change in BiH needs to be more integral and needs interaction of many more important actors from economic, scientific, social and environmental sectors. The analysis has shown that policymaking on climate change in BiH has not yet moved to the level of potential complex political process involving conflicting objectives and different influences, on the contrary, activity is relatively narrow making it very difficult to even approach and identify the main actors.

Recognition of the key actors, institutions and networks; along with their resources, interests and influences on national responses to climate change; resulted in clear identification of a small number of actors which are somewhat actively tackling the climate change aspects, but their further continuum of establishment, growth and efficiency of their dialogue and relations will demonstrate future policy impacts and changes within the country.

The initial interests and activities of the non-governmental sector seem to represent a moderate improvement, but are still to some extent hindered by the general ignorance on the issue and peripheral perception of climate change by BiH institutions due to pursuance of policies in other prioritized segments. The commitment of the government in terms of capacities and resources varies between the entities and is veiled by the current mainstream policies, which causes yet another difficulty in pursuing the issue on the national level of the policy field.

The results of the research, ranging from initial phases of actor identification to inquiry on numerous subjects within climate change aspects, illustrate findings on lack of information sharing, possibilities at deficiency of political will, limited awareness of stakeholders and population, setting a fundamental frame for low social mobilization exercised around the issue of climate change. It is apparent that all of these so-called irregularities are making way for the domestic political institutions to cling to status quo, while current extent of activation of the society to tackle the problem and have an effect on national policy appears fragile and fairly concealed.

Thus, this creates a perfect setting for a delay on progress in terms of clear climate change strategies, inventory reports, adaptation and mitigation programs along with approach to capacity building, hence still keeping the activation of interest groups toward the international regime on the low key and making way for certain actors to possibly hinder group's efforts in the long run.

The mentioned setbacks are further on highlighted by governmental structures which are short of appropriate policy outputs and action while international organizations and other non-governmental parties are forming a network, however, still having only an initial pressure effect on the national policy outputs.

Having said this, even though the step up and the progress on the activities are significant, the doubts on future effects and possible obstructions remain unknown and possible, unless institutional and structural issues (activity of the national climate change committee, funds for its regular meetings and clear targets on what they should achieve) related to climate change policy-making are in a satisfactory manner addressed within the country.

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Sažetak

Sa ciljem pristupa Evropskoj Uniji, BiH je ratifikovala Konvenciju Ujedinjenih Nacija o Klimatskim Promjenama (UNFCCC) te protokol iz Kyota. U institucijama BiH su kao posljedica toga pokrenute određene aktivnosti u smislu kreiranja odgovorajućih smjernica i definisanja institucionalnih i zakonskih okvira. Ove aktivnosti su još uvijek pod značajnim uticajem posljedica prethodnog rata, složenosti administrativne strukture, nedostatka zakonskih okvira na državnom nivou te manjka koordinacije i međusektorske saradnje. Takvo stanje nedvojbeno otežava napredak u smislu utvrđivanja jasnih političkih direktiva vezanih za klimatske promjene.

Ovo istraživanje je imalo za cilj da identificira ključne aktere, institucije i mreže, te njihove resurse, interese i uticaje, te na taj način doprinese boljem poznavanju postojećih koalicija i efekata njihovih međusobnih odnosa na buduće politike i promjene na državnom nivou, u cilju uključivanja BiH u globalne procese vezane za sprečavanje klimatskih promjena i ublažavanje njihovog negativnog uticaja.

Kroz identifikaciju relevantnih mreža i nacionalnih koalicija zagovornika, te sagledavanje međudjelovanja između različitih institucija i aktera, u ovom radu su detaljno analizirane njihove aktivnosti, interesi i sfere djelovanja. Nastojalo se potvrditi hipoteze vezane za načine mobilizacije, umrežavanje i uspostavu dijaloga u domenu odgovarajućih politika klimatskih promjena, i to u okviru institucija i organizacija u BiH. Kroz izvještaje javnih medija u posljednjih pet godina, identificirani su akteri, te karakter i jačina veza između različitih organizacija i institucija uključenih u proces kreiranja državnih politika. Pored toga, ovo istraživanje je pomoglo identifikaciji postojećih koalicionih mreža zagovornika, te utvrdilo njihovu snagu i uticaj na procese kreiranja politika i aktivnosti vezanih za klimatske promjene u BiH.

Istraživanje se zasnivalo na hipotezama koje se odnose na ulogu države u okviru globalne koordinacije, podsticanja ili obstruiranja promjena od strane domaćih političkih institucija i takozvanih dominantnih “elita”, istovremeno identificirajući postojeće okvire odnosa među različitim organizacijama. Nastojalo se razumjeti i taktike koje primjenjuju koalicioni zagovornici u cilju uticaja na treće strane, animiranje i sticanje više pobornika, te vršenja pritiska na organe vlasti po pitanju problematike klimatskih promjena.

Metode istraživanja se velikim dijelom oslanjaju na propozicije međunarodnog COMPOS projekta, koji je imao za cilj da uporedi funkcioniranje političkih mreža u vezi problematike klimatskih promjena. U tu svrhu dizajniran je i primjenjen odgovarajući upitnik, pomoću kojeg se nastojalo doći do podataka vezanih za postojeće resurse relevantnih organizacija, mreže koje stvaraju, uticaje koje imaju, učesće u događajima kao i institucionalne interese koje posjeduju, u smislu univerzalnih međunarodnih pitanja u domenu klimatskih promjena. Ispitanici su identificirani kroz analizu medijskih izvještaja u Bosni i Hercegovini u proteklih pet godina. Na taj način je identificiran širok spektar ispitanika u različitim sektorima kao što su: relevantne vladine institucije, političke partije, naučno-savjetodavni odbori, učesnički forumi različitih interesnih grupa, nevladine organizacije, društveni pokreti i inicijative, masovni mediji itd. Podaci su prikupljeni od domaćih i međunarodnih institucija uključenih u globalnu problematiku klimatskih promjena, sa ciljem razumijevanja međusobnih odnosa na međunarodnom, nacionalnom i regionalnom nivou.

Rezultati istraživanja ukazuju na ozbiljan manjak informisanja javnosti te ograničen nivo svijesti interesnih grupa i populacije, što u konačnici vodi ka slaboj društvenoj mobilizaciji vezanoj za pitanja klimatskih promjena. Svi ovi aspekti utiču na spor razvoj smjernica u kontekstu definiranja adekvatnih politika klimatskih promjena. Mobilizacija interesnih grupa po ovom pitanju je skromna što stvara mogućnosti da određeni akteri obstruiraju napore pojedinih grupa. Detaljnom analizom medijskih izvještaja utvrđeno je da su ključni akteri koji odgađaju kreiranje pomenutih politika, upravo oni koji se nalaze na odgovornim pozicijama i zaduženi su za njihovo donošenje. S druge strane, koalicije koje stvaraju nevladine organizacije i međunarodne institucije, još uvijek nemaju značajnog uticaja na kreiranje i ishode nacionalnih politika u BiH.