

ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES IN POST-CONFLICT STATES AND THE MULTIPLE STREAMS MODEL: THE CASE OF AIR POLLUTION IN BIH

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Abstract In post-conflict states, environmental problems are often neglected regardless of their severity. According to UN data, Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) is one of the countries with the worst air pollution in the world, which has serious consequences for people's health and the economy. Given the importance of this issue, the paper investigates why it is not on the agenda of policymakers, by applying Kingdon's multiple streams model. The analysis leads to the conclusion that of the three streams (problem, policy, and politics), the politics stream remains the most problematic one. However, the author argues that Kingdon's original model is deficient in explaining why this problem is off the agenda, since it only includes domestic actors, while in the case of post-conflict BiH, as well as some other post-conflict countries, international actors play a significant role. In order to overcome this shortcoming, the model itself is enhanced by an insight into the role that international actors played in relation to this problem. It is concluded that the problems of environmental protection were largely ignored by international actors as well, primarily due to the nature of the liberal model of peacebuilding, that predominantly focused on building democratic institutions.

Keywords agenda setting, post-conflict BiH, air pollution, Kingdon's model, international actors

Introduction

Over the last decade, the problem of increasing air pollution in post-conflict BiH has been headlined both in international organizations' statistics and global media. According to UN Environment (2018) assessments, Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) is the second deadliest country in the world in terms of air pollution: estimating the problem to cost 44,000 years of life each year. In December 2018, the capital of BiH, Sarajevo, had the highest levels of air pollution in the world for several consecutive days, as reported by the US Embassy, which measures the air pollution levels by using US Environmental Protection Agency standards. BiH has the highest mortality rates in Europe attributed to heavy air pollution and this issue consumes 21.5% of the country's GDP (USD 7.228 billion) through health care costs and lost workdays, as reported by the World Health Organization (2017). Considering the severity of

"hard facts" regarding this issue in BiH, the lack of appropriate public policies and regulations remains puzzling.

This paper will focus on the following question: why is the air pollution overlooked by policy makers in post-conflict BiH? In order to explore this question, I will use a public policy framework for agenda setting – the Kingdon's multiple streams model. Although this model was originally conceived to analyze public policies in the United States, it has been widely applied to global issues (Mhazo and Maponga, 2021). The paper will also critically examine the applicability of the proposed framework on this topic. To achieve a comprehensive exploration of this issue, the paper is divided into three parts.

In the first part, I present theoretical considerations of the model by outlining three independent streams the model consists of: problem, policy, and politics stream. These three streams help explain how some topics gain the attention of policy makers as opposed to other, competing topics. This part outlines the main contributions of the model, but also gives an overview of the main shortcomings, such as debatable independence of streams (Sabatier, 2007; Herweg et al., 2017; Mucciaroni, 1992) and the role of media on agenda setting (Baumgartner and Jones, 1993; Jones and Wolfe, 2010), as well as additional proposals by various scholars to strengthen the model, both theoretically and empirically (Knaggård, 2015; Herweg et al., 2015; Herweg et al., 2017; Ridde, 2009; Cairney and Zahariadis, 2016; Shepard et al., 2020; Widyatama, 2018).

In the second part, I use Kingdon's model to analyze agenda setting in the case of air pollution in post-conflict BiH, by looking into the importance of each of the streams and its conditions to understand why this issue has been neglected by policymakers. Thus, the paper adds to the existing body of empirical literature by testing the conditions, which most scholars do not do (Jones et al., 2016), despite of referencing multiple streams framework in their work.

In the discussion part, I assess how useful the model is and offer suggestions on how to potentially improve it with regards to the analyzed issue. Key contribution of this paper is twofold. Firstly, it identifies the politics stream as the most problematic one out of the three analyzed streams, which can be greatly contributed to the post-conflict nature of BiH. Secondly, it highlights the need to take into account international actors as the ones that can also influence the agenda setting in post-conflict BiH, and thus goes beyond the original premises of the model that solely looks at the role of local actors.

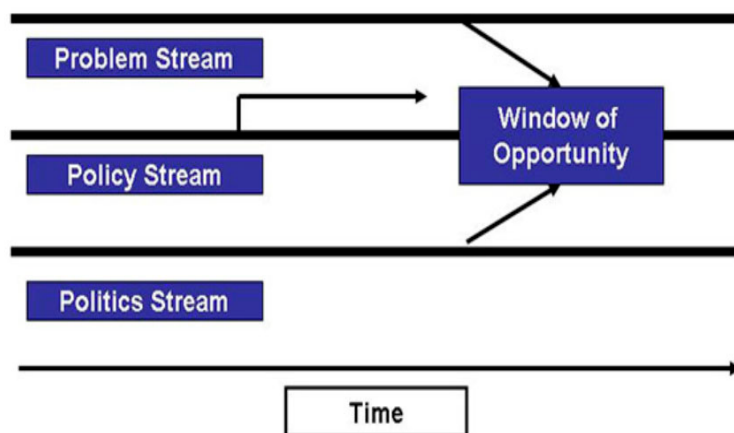
Theoretical considerations

Kingdon's multiple streams model aims to explain how certain problems gain the attention of policymakers and make it to the agenda, as opposed to other, competing problems. As outlined above, according to the model, there are three independent streams: problem stream, policy stream and politics stream.

The problem stream consists of perceptions of problems as issues that require public involvement. Problems can become visible through publications of statistical indicators (for example, increase of school shootings in a certain time interval), focusing events that occur (large school shooting with many casualties) (Birkland, 2004), or through feedback of previous programs that have been implemented.

The policy stream refers to the process of analysis of problems and their proposed solutions, especially among the experts on the topic. This includes expert debates, meetings, and consultations with relevant stakeholders.

Lastly, the politics stream consists of events such as changes of governments, national mood swings, and interest group campaigns. Kingdon (2014: 204) gives an important role to policy entrepreneurs, who connect ideas with actors, and are ready to invest their resources to advocate for certain policies that they favor. Once all three streams are aligned in time and content, a "window of opportunity" can be reached, which means that "a problem is recognized, solution is available, the political climate makes the time right for change, and the constraints do not prohibit action" (*ibid*: 88), as presented in *Figure 1*.



Source: Policy NL

Figure 1. Kingdon's streams

Contributions of the model

According to Cairney and Jones (2016), there are two separate contributions of Kingdon's multiple streams approach. Firstly, it has contributed to the development of evolutionary policy theories (which include punctuated equilibrium theory, complexity theory, and have links to new institutionalism). These theories aim to explain how and why certain environments work in order to help produce specific sorts of policy change and stability, and how policy entrepreneurs shape their environments (*ibid*: 41). Secondly, although initially the model was well known but little applied, with time it has brought about a large body of empirical literature on a wide range of topics in all inhabited continents (Rawat and Morris, 2016), from looking into agenda setting for essential medicines policy in Sub-Saharan Africa (Mhazo and Maponga, 2021) and innovation policy in Croatia (Mršić Radas and Petković, 2021) to developing a national curriculum in Hong Kong (Chow, 2014) and adopting open government policy in Madrid (Ruvalcaba-Gomez et al., 2020). Only between 2000 and 2014, 311 meaningful applications of the multiple streams framework were produced, with one-third involving subnational application of policymaking (Jones et al., 2016). Some researchers have argued that although the model has been devel-

oped and mostly applied in the context of a wealthy country (Ridde, 2009), it can also be applied in the context of a low-income country (Mhazo and Maponga, 2021).

One of the most extensive cross-case analyses in the multiple streams approach has looked at the dataset representing 20 countries from four continents (Shephard et al., 2020). Three main findings that have emerged from the analysis are the following ones: policy entrepreneurs involve both local and international civil society actors, effective entrepreneurship depends on strengthening civic voice, and entrepreneurs should contribute to expanding the civic space to discuss policy problems and feasibility of proposed solutions.

Shortcomings of the model

However, this model has also been exposed to various criticisms. Some of the most prominent ones include questioning its initial assumptions, such as the one that Kingdon sees the streams as independent (Sabatier, 2007; Herweg et al., 2017; Mucciaroni, 1992), which may not be the case in practice, as changes in one stream can trigger changes in another. For example, a focusing event, such as the public's response to a school shooting, might have an impact on the national mood. Additionally, operationalization of the model is challenging due to its figurative language, which results in lack of a joint terminology (Engler and Herweg, 2017), that can then disable conducting comparative research. Concepts such as stream and windows, national mood and focusing events are hard to measure, and can be difficult to use in a rigorous empirical analysis (*ibid.*: 57). In terms of its applications, the model has been mostly applied to democracies, whilst the scrutinization of its applicability in non-democratic countries, such as Iran or China, is lacking (Herweg et al., 2017). Some critics also argue that the model lacks certain elements, such as political institutions and path dependence (Mucciaroni, 2013), whilst other question the ability for hypotheses generated by the model to be tested in medium- to large-n studies (Herweg et al., 2017).

When it comes to the actors included in the model, critics argue that Kingdon assigns inconsistent assumptions to policymakers and policy entrepreneurs (Herweg et al., 2017: 58). In the case of policymakers, their preferences are described as unclear, as opposed to policy entrepreneurs, who have clear and targeted preferences. However, Herweg et al. claim this critique can be addressed elegantly by noting that all actors have unclear preferences about most policies, and that any policymaker can become a policy entrepreneur on a particular initiative, depending on their personal and/or professional incentives.

Furthermore, the model does not take into account the role of media in agenda setting (Wolfe et al., 2013). For example, Wolfe et al. (2013: 176) argue that there is a need for a more extensive dialogue between media and policy studies of agenda setting since we know a lot about how the media influences the public opinion, but we know very little about how the media directly impacts public policy. As the media filters reality (Lippman, 1922), it is important to look at attribute agenda setting or second level agenda setting, where the media can focus public attention on certain attributes of a topic or an issue (McCombs et al., 2000). By doing so, it may also change the policymaking agenda. In this sense, the greatest impact of the media could be on the problem and politics stream. In his study, Kingdon neglected the role of the media for two reasons. Firstly, his sources gave a limited role for the media to facilitate communication within policy communities. Another reason was the fact that political actors were unable to deal with the abundance of information

provided by mass media (Wolfe et al., 2013: 179). Contrary to Kingdon, some of the later studies on this topic gave a more prominent role to the media when it comes to agenda setting (Baumgartner and Jones, 1993; Jones and Wolfe, 2010), especially when it comes to information processing framework.

Additional theoretical suggestions to strengthen and refine the model have been made. For example, Knaggård (2015) argues that the problem stream should be further developed by suggesting the inclusion of the problem broker in that stream. Problem brokers should contribute to problem framing and therefore subsequently impact the work of policy entrepreneurs. Herweg et al. (2015) suggested theoretically refining the model to make it applicable to parliamentary systems and the decision-making stage of the policy process, by highlighting the role of political parties, both in the policy and political stream.

Two additional important theoretical contributions relate to identifying additional sources of defining the problem and accompanying solutions, and paying greater attention to supranational and subnational level (Cairney and Zahariadis, 2016). The former contribution outlines the role that international organizations and/or countries may have on the agenda, and the latter concerns multi-level governance setting which can significantly change the dynamics of agenda setting. A relevant contribution to extending the multiple streams framework by exploring the role of international actors was given by Ridde (2009), who did research on implementing health policies in Burkina Faso. He noted that an important role in agenda setting was played by the omnipresent funding agencies, which can be described as a "transnational managerial class" (Lee and Goodman, 2002) because they significantly influenced local and national health officials in the political stream.

Application of the model to the case of air pollution in BiH

Dismissing environmental issues might be tempting in the aftermath of a conflict due to other pressing concerns, but it is becoming increasingly clear how that the post-conflict landscape is shaped by the interplay of political, economic, and ecological processes (Eklöv and Krampe, 2018). In the next sections, I examine this issue, by looking into the status of each of the Kingdon's streams, and their influence on why this problem has still not been on the given a priority on the agenda in post-conflict BiH, especially if we take into account the great environmental damage that the war caused (Ioras et al., 2012). The following analysis uses the framework further developed by Zahariadis (2008) to unpack individual streams and the impact they may have. This is a relevant contribution because literature reviews shows that most scholars do not test the conditions in the multiple streams framework (Jones et al., 2016). Additionally, this application of the model in BiH contributes to the empirical body of literature, especially since multiple critiques have pointed out that the model has vastly been applied to wealthy, democratic countries (Herweg et al., 2017; Ridde, 2009), whereas BiH is one of the poorest countries in Europe, and although it is not a non-democratic state, it is a fragile state, with fragile democratic institutions (Bandžović, 2021).

In the analysis, each condition within a particular stream is given a rating from one to three pluses: one plus (+) meaning that this condition has not been addressed, two pluses (+ +) that it has been partially addressed, and three pluses (+ + +) that it has been met. This will help to determine which of the streams presents the greatest hinderance to the creation of the 'window of opportunity' for this issue (cf. *Tables 1-3*).

Problem stream

According to Kingdon (2014), problem stream consists of statistical indicators, focusing events that occur, and through feedback of previous programs that have been implemented. In this stream, the first two conditions have been partially addressed, while the third one has not been addressed.

Table 1. The case of air pollution in BiH: problem stream ratings

Condition	Addressed
Statistical indicators	++
Focusing events	++
Feedback of previous programs	+

Statistical indicators ++

The main available statistical information on air pollution in BiH is provided by international organizations, such as the UN and World Health Organization. However, one of the most concerning challenges is that the PM 2.5 particles are not being measured, apart from a small measuring station installed by the US Embassy, which has a limited reach. PM 2.5 are so small that billions of them can fit inside a red blood cell, causing lower respiratory tract infections, cancer of the trachea, bronchi and lungs, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease, and stroke. According to the WB estimates, PM 2.5 particles cause 3,300 deaths every year in BiH. Therefore, although some data is available, there is a need to improve data collection and dissemination to better address the magnitude and geographical distribution of the various polluting sources in BiH.

Focusing events ++

Many media and academic articles refer to air pollution as the silent killer (Fuller, 2019), which implies the lack of attention connected with this issue as there is no sense of urgency to look into it. What could be classified as focusing events are examples such as the one from 2018 when Sarajevo had the highest levels of air pollution in the world for several consecutive days or the fact that towns such as Foča, Prijedor, Laktaši, and Doboј were listed amongst 15 most air polluted cities in Europe in 2021 according to IQAir measurements. However, although these types of events make the issue more visible, due to the nature of the air pollution, which takes months and years to cause serious health problems, it does not cause the same attention of policymakers as for instance, earthquakes or floods, which provide an urgent example of the claimed policy failure (Birkland, 2006).

Feedback of previous programs +

Feedback of previous programs is important to understand what works and what does not work. However, at the time of the writing of this paper no feedback on

programs that have been implemented to tackle this issue has been found, so it is deemed that this condition has not been addressed.

Policy stream

The policy stream includes analysis of problems and their proposed solutions, especially by specialists on the topic. This stream consists of expert debates, meetings and consultations. According to Zahariadis (2007), two main things to be taken into account are: value acceptability and technical feasibility. In the case of air pollution in BiH, its value acceptability is less problematic than the technical feasibility.

Table 2. The case of air pollution in BiH: policy stream ratings

Condition	Addressed
Value acceptability	++
Technical feasibility	+

Value acceptability ++

This condition considers the degree of agreement among key stakeholders in the policy stream on a particular issue. In principle, the issue of air pollution is not contested in terms of its value by any of the key participants in this stream, and is, as expected, most advocated by the green parties (more about the ideology of political parties is outlined in the politics stream). However, one of the important challenges in this condition is not the value acceptability of the specialists *per se*, but the fact that there are very few specialists on the topic in the first place.

Technical feasibility +

Technical feasibility relates to ease of implementation of a particular idea. If an idea is implementable with minimal problems, then the likelihood of survival in the policy stream increases (Zahariadis, 2007). In the case of BiH, the Environmental Protection Law is outdated and does not address air pollution in a way which would disincentivize polluters from discharging hazardous pollutants. The Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina does not mandate the establishment of a ministry or agency for environmental protection at the national level, which would be instrumental for effective resolution of air pollution problems. The issue is not only about the lack of regulation, but also the lax implementation. Currently the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Relations and the Inter-Entity Coordinating Body for the Environment are in charge for improving the air quality results on the ground, but a greater involvement of local governments is needed, especially on the implementing end (Ioras et al., 2012).

According to the World Bank report (2019), it will be challenging to deal with this issue, especially in the short to medium term, both in terms of the finances and technical feasibility. For instance, the main source of air pollution in BiH is residential sector as the usage of solid fuels in households remains high. Since moving to a

different source would be costly for the households, it will be difficult to incentivise the households to do so. The situation is similar with other major sources of air pollution, thermal power plants, such as Tuzla Thermal Power Station which burns four tons of carbon annually, as the alternative energy sources are both expensive, and take time to be developed.

Furthermore, another important source of air pollution are old cars, but these mobile sources of air pollution face similar challenges as stationary ones in terms of lack of incentives for its users. Since poor people are more likely to drive older cars, and also use solid fuels in their households, the policies would need to consider the social aspects of the future regulations that would aim to provide greater incentives to move away from the greatest sources of air pollution.

However, all of this seems very unlikely in the context of the war in Ukraine, and the energy crisis, when even the most advanced economies with a strong green agenda are forced to turn back to coal. For example, Germany decided to restart the operations of the coal-fired power stations in August 2022, due to import ban on Russian coal. Therefore, the implementation of the abovementioned solutions in the current context is becoming increasingly implausible.

Politics stream

The politics stream is composed of changes of governments, national mood swings, and interest group campaigns. According to Zahariadis (2008), the national mood and turnover in government exert the most powerful impact on choice, so the following two are explored in the following sections. This is the stream which is arguably most impacted by the post-conflict nature of BiH.

Table 3. The case of air pollution in BiH: politics stream ratings

Condition	Addressed
National mood	+
Changes of governments and ideology of political parties	+

National mood +

National mood is an important condition as it can move the government away from certain policies, and towards others in order to coincide with the national mood and gain or maintain its popularity. Zahariadis (2008) claims that European public opinion plays a lesser role in EU policy making, meaning that the mood is less important than on a national level. A similar logic could be applied to BiH given its complicated and fragmented system, and its divisions. Namely, the Dayton Peace Agreement which ended the war in 1995 prescribed a complex mix of power-sharing. It divided BiH into two entities: the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, predominantly inhabited by Bosniaks and Croats inhabiting 51% of the territory, and the Serb-dominated Republika Srpska controlling 49% of the territory. The

current system institutionalized a public sector that consumes almost half of the country's GDP, and also makes it easier for the ethnic chauvinists to stoke ethnic antagonisms for political gains (McMahon and Western, 2009: 73). Since the national mood is mostly dominated by ethnic and political tensions, such as Republika Srpska's threats to secede, and unsuccessful efforts to enact reforms to the electoral system, this has not been a conducive factor towards policies which would be more focused on combating air pollution and environmental protection in general.

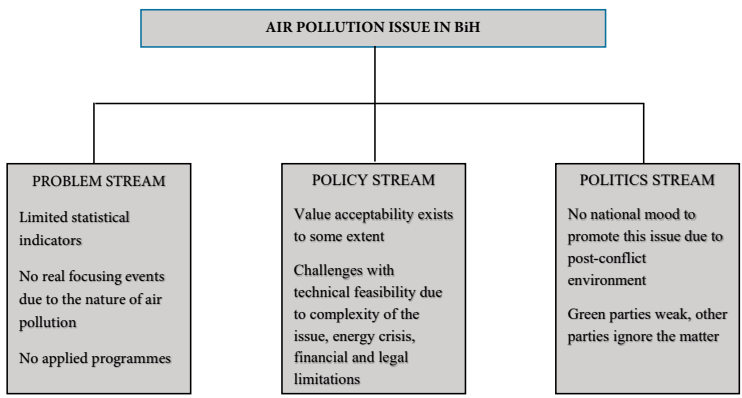
Changes of governments and ideology of political parties +

Changes of government have not significantly impacted this issue to get a more prominent role on the public policy agenda. In terms of the ideology of key political parties (Party of Democratic Action (SDA), Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ BiH), Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD)), this issue has not been highlighted in their programs. In terms of the parties that would focus more on green agenda and environmental protection in general, Greens BiH were founded in 2022 by Adis Arapović. They advocate for moving to renewable energy sources, especially solar energy, better insulation of residential buildings and shutting down coal power stations. However, this is not the first green party in BiH, and one of the key characteristics of the green parties has been their fragmentation. Four green parties have already been dismantled: the ecological movement of Greens of BiH, the Green Party of BiH from Banja Luka, the Ecological Party E5 Greens, and Greens of BiH led by Hasan Delić in Zenica. Despite of all green parties that have been present on the BiH political spectrum over the past years, no green party has been part of the ruling coalition so far.

Discussion

No streams to be coupled

Kingdon argued that a necessary precondition for the issues to appear on the agenda is coupling of the problem, policy and politics stream. In the case of the air pollution in post-conflict BiH, the disaggregation per streams has shown that various conditions in each of the streams have not been addressed, as summarized in *Figure 2*.



Source: Author, based on Kingdon (1994) and Zahariadis (2008).

Figure 2. Kindgon's streams applied to the case

For the problem stream, lack of feedback on previous program is the greatest issue, and for the policy stream, technical feasibility poses the biggest challenge. Nevertheless, application of the model has demonstrated that the greatest shortcomings lie in the politics stream, as neither of the two conditions: national mood, and changes of governments and ideology of political parties have been met. As a result, the overall necessary precondition has not been met, i.e. there was no possibility of coupling of the streams, so the window of opportunity has not been created.

As summarized in *Table 4*, Kingdon's model has proven useful to understand the issue in more granularity, as well as the key factors that have kept it basically invisible for the policymakers in the country. The framework allows for interpretation of deeper meanings in each stream as argued by Dudley et al. (2000), and it also helps to indicate what should be the necessary focus in order to change the current course, which is in this case the politics stream. This example also to a certain extent confirms the flexibility of Kingdon's theory beyond the countries where it is usually applied, which are wealthy, consolidated democracies (Herweg et al., 2017; Ridde, 2009), but its application on this case has faced an important shortcoming that I will turn to in the next section.

Going beyond the national mood: international actors and their role in agenda setting

Although indeed the politics stream seems to be the most problematic one, I argue that if we use the politics stream as suggested by Kingdon's model, we will not get the full picture of the agenda setting process in post-conflict BiH. In his model, Kingdon refers to national mood as one of the key aspects of the politics stream. However, within this aspect, Kingdon focused on domestic actors only, which makes sense for the research he conducted in the US context, but in many post-conflict countries it is necessary to take into account the role that international actors have on post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding, and consequently on agenda setting as well.

BiH is a prime example of this as the modern history of BiH is almost unimaginable without the international actors. The Dayton Peace Agreement which stopped the bloodshed in BiH was negotiated under US stewardship in 1995, rather than achieved in the domestic domain (Bose, 2005). The country has experienced strong international interventionism related with long term state-building efforts (Keil and Perry, 2015), and intensive financial assistance of USD \$ 5.1 billion (Coles, 2007). After the war finished, 17 different foreign governments, 18 UN agencies, 27 intergovernmental organizations and around 200 nongovernmental organizations were engaged in the reconstruction process (McMahon and Western, 2009). Kasapović (2015: 45) even referred to BiH as "the global center of inter-

Table 4. Application of the framework to the case – summary

Kingdon's multiple stream model – application to the issue of air pollution in post-conflict BiH	
Advantages	Disadvantages
Provides a more granular understanding of the problem	Does not include the international actors, which are one of the key actors in agenda setting
Flexible	

ventionism". International organizations focused on developing their field-specific practices and institutions: OSCE was responsible for organizing the elections, NATO for military aspects, and International Monetary Fund for the Central Bank (Chandler, 2000: 45).

Moreover, the Dayton Peace Agreement (DPA) gave power over the state to international community (Chandler 2000), which was institutionalized through the Office of High Representative (OHR). In 1997, the OHR was granted Bonn powers, with the aim of resolving political deadlocks, and this included the option of imposing a legislation or dismissing the officials that were obstructing the implementation of the DPA. As Chesterman (2004: 130-131) notes, between 1997 and 2002, High Representatives dismissed over 100 elected officials, including a President of Republika Srpska, and a Prime Minister of the Federation. Given the above, it is evident that the international actors have been playing an important role in the post-conflict landscape and also strongly influencing the selection of topics that should and should not make it to the agenda.

Although international organizations have been involved in many sectors, environmental protection and, more specifically, the issue of the air pollution remained unaddressed. To understand why this is the case it is necessary to take a deeper dive into the 'international mood', especially in the peacebuilding area. Namely, BiH was part of the liberal peace project (Newman et al., 2009), that focused on introducing democratic institutions and market-based economies (Duffield, 2002). As exemplified above, BiH was an extreme example, together with Kosovo and East Timor, where international actors engaged in the establishment of political institutions and exercising governmental functions (Zaum, 2012). This was part of the global shift in post-conflict peacebuilding, moving from interventions of the early 1990s (Somalia) to the late 1990s (Kosovo), which became more concerned with building institutions as this was considered a path to ensuring a long-term peace (Roeder and Rothchild, 2005).

Therefore, the fact that environmental issues were not high on the list of priorities for the international actors is not an exception. Eklöw and Krampe (2018) note that there are very few instances of specific environmental issues being tackled in the aftermath of war – such as addressing water supply issues in East Timor by the international administrations or land use in the Colombian peace agreement. Given that state building remained in the focus of the international actors at the time and the fact that environmental protection was not a policy priority for the majority of democracies at the time, it is no surprise that air pollution continued to be an ignored matter, especially when coupled with the ignorance of the domestic policymakers and high-level politicians. This was exacerbated by the framework in which the actors operated, i.e. the political system that was derived from the DPA, which had left the state-level institutions weak. In practice, it meant that the state government could focus only on a limited number of policy areas, whereas a lot of powers maintained at the level of entities, especially given that neither DPA nor the Constitution contain provisions for environmental policy (Ioras et al., 2012).

Extending the model to the international actors: a critical review

With such high presence and involvement of the international actors in the post-conflict BiH, it is necessary to include them in the application of the multiple streams framework. This reinforces the argument from Cairney and Zahariadis (2016: 95) who stated that in many countries, international organizations or countries like the US and Russia can have an important external influence on agendas. Thus, in the next sections I examine the role of the international actors in each of the streams, and particular conditions within a stream. The main impact of the international actors is detected in the politics stream, although they also exert influence in other streams.

With regards to the problem stream, international actors have a role in reporting on statistical indicators and focusing events. In terms of the statistical indicators, US embassy in Sarajevo has installed the equipment for monitoring air pollution, and is also monitoring PM 2.5 particles. As they have a one source monitoring equipment, it does not give a comprehensive idea about the overall pollution in different parts of Sarajevo, let alone other parts of the country, but it does provide an additional insight about air quality for the residents in the surrounding areas. In terms of the focusing events, comparative data presented by international institutions sheds some light on the severity of air pollution in BiH, which then leads to more attention for this issue, and is in a way a focusing event. In terms of the policy stream, international actors have proposed certain solutions with regards to technical feasibility, such as the World Bank report on air quality management (2019), but the overall contribution remains scarce, especially given the current context of the war in Ukraine and the energy crisis which further shifts away the focus from environmental protection. Additionally, Fagan and Sircar (2010) note that the impact of donor-driven capacity building on environmental NGOs and environmental impact assessment processes in BiH is exaggerated.

In terms of the politics stream, "the international mood" has already been analyzed in previous sections, but the relationship with the governments and political parties should be outlined further since the priorities determined by international actors are not shaped in vacuum, but are deeply influenced by the political realities on the ground. This is particularly important in a post-conflict society such as Bosnian since different local political actors may create different relationships with international actors. For example, Kasapović (2016) claims that political representatives of Bosniaks found political partners in the OHR, and US diplomacy. According to Tahirović and Kuka (2020), many of the local actors in BiH only nominally support the Europeanization of the public policies in BiH and the country joining EU, but in practice they work on disrupting it. Others are even directly undermining peace efforts and the rule of law. For example, Milorad Dodik, the leader in Republika Srpska, openly advocates his support for Russia, and calls for secession of that entity from the country.

The influence of the international actors in the politics stream is very significant nowadays, as the use of Bonn Powers was reactivated with the current High Representative Christian Schmidt, who recently suspended RS entity Law on Immovable Property and also imposed changes to the Election Law after polls closed on October 3, 2022, precisely by using the Bonn Powers. This greater involvement by the international actors to resolve certain political deadlocks in the country was advocated for by some local actors, such as the president of HDZ in BiH Dragan Čović.

These examples are undoubtedly diverse, but provide an insight into the complexity of the relationships of various local actors with the international actors, and their calls for more or less interventionism, depending on how different local actors portray their involvement. However, regardless of whether the role of international actors in BiH is viewed as positive or negative, their influence on the agenda setting remains unquestionable, which is something that was not captured by Kingdon's multiple streams framework.

Conclusion

This paper applied Kingdon's theory to analyze the lack of policies on air pollution in post-conflict BiH. Kingdon's model is useful as it provides a tool to unpack the problem by disaggregating it per streams and then per conditions (Zahariadis, 2008), on an even more granular level. In addition, the model is flexible enough to build on it.

In this paper, I analyzed whether the conditions in a particular stream have been addressed or not, by providing a rating for each condition from one plus (not addressed) to three pluses (addressed). The intention is not to give a definitive numbering, but to give an indication of the status of conditions within a particular stream. Using Kingdon's model as a lens for analysis, I found that the politics stream remains the most challenging one. Based on the disaggregation of streams, I have demonstrated that the window of opportunity has not been created.

However, in the discussion part I argue that looking solely at the role of the domestic actors as proposed by the framework will not suffice since the country has been strongly impacted by international actors. Therefore, an important contribution of this paper was to extend the framework and explore the role that international actors have had on the agenda setting in post-conflict BiH. I demonstrate that this role has been significant, but that this issue has not been high on the priority list of international actors either due to the nature of peacebuilding, which focused on building and supporting democratic institutions, and greatly ignored the issue of air pollution, despite of its magnitude.

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Pitanja okoliša u postkonfliktnim državama i model višestrukih tokova: slučaj zagađenja zraka u BiH

Sažetak U postkonfliktnim državama problemi zaštite okoliša često se zanemaruju unatoč njihovoj važnosti. Prema podacima UN-a, Bosna i Hercegovina (BiH) jedna je od zemalja s najgorim zagađenjem zraka na svijetu, što ima ozbiljne posljedice na zdravlje ljudi i ekonomiju. Primjenjujući Kingdonov model višestrukih struja, rad istražuje zašto ovo pitanje nije na dnevnom redu kreatora javnih politika. Analiza upućuje na zaključak kako je od tri toka u modelu (tok problema, javnih politika i politike) tok politike najproblematičniji. Ipak, autorica zaključuje kako je izvorni Kingdonov model manjkav u objašnjenju zašto je ovaj problem izvan dnevnog reda, budući da u obzir uzima isključivo domaće aktere, dok u slučaju postkonfliktne BiH, kao i nekih drugih postkonfliktnih država, međunarodni akteri igraju značajnu ulogu. Kako bi se prevladao ovaj nedostatak, sam model nadograđuje se uvidom u ulogu koju su međunarodni akteri imali u vezi s ovim problemom. Zaključuje se kako su, zbog prirode liberalnog modela izgradnje mira u kojemu se fokus stavljao na izgradnju demokratskih institucija, problemi zaštite okoliša uvelike ignorirani i od strane međunarodnih aktera.

Ključne riječi dnevni red, postkonfliktna BiH, zagađenje zraka, Kingdonov model, međunarodni akteri

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