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**FRAMING OF THE PROBLEM OF DRUG ADDICTION IN
THE MUNICIPALITY OF BANJA LUKA**

MSc Thesis

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CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

My thesis will deal with the issue of drug addiction; more precisely it will deal with the issue of drug addiction seen as a local social problem in the Municipality of Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina. I would like to start with a brief word on the choice of the subject of my research. It is understandable if someone is perplexed by my choice of the problem of drug addiction in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a research topic; one might say that this problem is often seen as a marginal one which does not attract much attention nor provoke many discussions in Bosnia and Herzegovina. I believe this is actually an advantage, since it allows me to start from scratch with the research of this little known and little investigated social problem in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the aim of understanding how the perception of this problem has developed, followed by the development of the specific ways in which this problem is approached and addressed. As said, the problem of drug addiction is not seen as important in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is not highly positioned on the agenda of local government – the proof is that there are no precise statistics at all about the number of drug addicts in Bosnia and Herzegovina¹. This fact makes my research more challenging, since there is limited data available about the social problem of drug addiction; at the same time it does not limit my research, which will focus on different perceptions of this social problem at the local level; these perceptions are not completely dependent on the existing data.

My research on the problem of drug addiction will focus on the different perceptions of this problem at the local level in the Municipality of Banja Luka. Since the local population in general has little awareness of the problem of drug addiction (the problem is overshadowed by many other problems, which are more present in the media or on the local political agenda), I will investigate the problem as seen by the local governance actors which are dealing with it – either full time or as a part of their jobs. In order to add further focus, I will deal with the provision of help - treatment for the drug addicts at the local level as well as the prevention of drug abuse; I will not deal with criminal matters connected with drug abuse. Further, this research will deal with the local governance actors in Banja Luka which work on the problem of drug addiction. I will investigate their respective roles and functions in dealing with the drug addiction problem, giving central place to perceptions of the problem of drug addiction,

¹ This is acknowledged in different documents produced by the governments on different levels (i.e. State strategy for monitoring of opiate drugs, prevention and repression of abuse of opiate drugs in Bosnia and Herzegovina for the period 2009-2013, 5 or Strategy for Monitoring of Opiate Drugs and Containment of Opiate Drugs Abuse in the Republic of Srpska for the period 2008-2012, 8)

which is seen as the basis for all subsequent dealings with this problem. In order to explain the background for this specific case (drug addiction in Banja Luka), I have to approach two issues in greater detail: first, the system of local governance actors which are involved with work on different aspects of the problem of drug addiction; secondly, a number of specific details about the social problem of drug addiction in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Banja Luka.

1.1.1. Local governance actors

The problem of drug addiction in Banja Luka is addressed through the network of different local actors working on this complex issue; the complexity of it, together with the scarce resources given to different organizations and institutions dealing with the drug addiction, dictates the approach to the problem of drug addiction through the local network of governance actors. These different local governance actors include the local government and its local agencies, but also a host of other local institutions and organizations from health sector and civil society. Since Bosnia and Herzegovina (and ex Yugoslavia earlier) did not have much experience in using different actors in approaching some of the social issues I believe this case gives also a nice example about the developments in that direction.

This way of approaching the problem of drug addiction (through the network of different actors) is conditioned by the government, which states that complicated social problems require a joint approach by the different governance actors and that the approach in dealing with such issues should be tailored specifically for the locality (making use of local public institutions and civil society organizations). This is emphasized in the strategies developed to deal with the issue of drug addiction in Bosnia and Herzegovina:

- The State Strategy for the Monitoring of Opiate Drugs, Prevention and Repression of Abuse of Opiate Drugs in Bosnia and Herzegovina for the Period 2009-2013 states that it is a very complex problem for society and that cooperation between the governmental and non-governmental sectors should be promoted²;
- Strategy for the Monitoring of Opiate Drugs and Containment of Opiate Drugs Abuse in the Republic of Srpska for the Period 2008-2012 mentions a positive example of cooperation between different actors in dealing with the issue of drug addiction on specific project³ (the cited example is actually from Banja Luka).

² In further text I will use short title "Strategy for Bosnia and Herzegovina", page 4, Background of Initiative

³ In further text I will use short title "Strategy for Republic of Srpska", page 15

Both governmental strategies (the one on the level of the *entity* of Republic of Srpska, the other on the level of the *state* of Bosnia and Herzegovina) promote cooperation, which makes it all the more interesting to research how this principle of cooperation is executed in practice. Since the Strategy of Republic of Srpska explicitly mentions the example from Banja Luka, I can conclude that we can regard the case of Banja Luka as a benchmark case which can be used as a way to point out to the best practices to be followed by the other municipalities in the country. Also, from the point of view of governance actors, it is interesting to see which local actors are involved and how their involvement in drug addiction issues is organized and coordinated.

Another thing that can be noticed in both strategies is the relatively general notion of cooperation in dealing with the problem of drug addiction. For example, the Strategy for Bosnia and Herzegovina, mentions in the part called “Civil society” (page 20) that “it is necessary to secure participation of organizations from civil society, the private sector and volunteers in all the phases of production, adoption of legal solutions and strategic documents on all levels, as well as execution of planned program’s activities”. This sort of phrase aims to include as much as possible (different groups not connected with the government) in many different phases of policy making and execution; more concrete notions concerning the mode in which those things should be done are however missing. Similarly, the Strategy for Republic of Srpska states that it represents “an expression of willingness of society to undertake effective social activities aimed at curbing drug abuse, decreasing the demand for opiate drugs, decreasing the supply of opiate drugs, and provision of adequate psycho-social and health protection to drug abuse victims” (page 6). It is noticeable that here also the strategy tries to include as much as possible: it calls for cooperation between different stakeholders, and tries to cover the whole range of activities connected with fighting the drug abuse. Taking into account the general vagueness of the principle of cooperation from one side, and the mentioning of the Municipality of Banja Luka as a good example for cooperation on a concrete project on the other,⁴ I believe that a case study from Banja Luka is a good choice for current research.

This research will examine the local governance actors from Banja Luka dealing with the problem of drug addiction, and describe their framing of the problem of drug addiction and the connections with the others actors. It will aim to show that the “principle of cooperation” (promoted by the government) is indispensable, since different actors are specialized and they do not possess enough resources (in form of money, but also expertise and experience) which would allow them to deal with all the aspects of the problem of drug addiction; rather they focus on some specific parts of this

⁴ The project mentioned in the Strategy for Republic of Srpska (page 15) concerns the cooperation between NGO Viktorija and the Psychiatric Clinic in Banja Luka, which was launched by the Centre for Social Work Banja Luka, so it is a good example of cooperation between different sectors in dealing with the drug addiction.

complex issue. This specialization affects how they actually frame the drug addiction problem: they are aware of the “big picture”, but the lack of resources dictates the specialization in dealing with only some aspects of drug addiction problem. In the end, the network of different local actors dealing with the problem of drug addiction is developed, which can now be treated as an objective condition for dealing with this problem (in the Municipality of Banja Luka).

Since my research will be centred on different local governance actors, their perceptions and approaches in dealing with drug addiction, it is necessary briefly to present them at the beginning of my thesis; that way it will be clearer to everyone which organizations and institutions I will deal with later in the analysis. Here I will only provide a short overview of all of them, while later on I will analyze them in detail. I have managed to identify several governance actors dealing with the problem of drug addiction, either as their unique field of interest or as one of the issues covered by the broader agenda of the actor (institution, organization).

They are the following:

- Centre for Social Work, Banja Luka: local public institution which deals with issues from the area of social security and social protection, including drug addiction;
- City of Banja Luka: Department for Social Activities: deals with, among others, social protection and health issues on the municipal level;
- Security Forum of the City of Banja Luka: a forum of local actors from the Municipality of Banja Luka. Inside the forum there are several work groups; for my concerns the interesting WGs are: the WG for the fight against criminality and drug addiction and the WG for prevention of drug addiction, vagrancy and pick-pocketing;
- Citizens association Viktorija: works exclusively on the issues of drug addiction; organizes counselling for drug addicts and their family members, runs the therapeutic centre for drug addicts, also works on the prevention of drug abuse;
- Humanitarian organization Poenta: works on several projects concerning the drug addiction, the most peculiar being the “harm reduction programme” (providing clean needles for drug addicts in order to prevent the spread of hepatitis B, C and HIV);
- Methadone Centre Banja Luka: a part of Psychiatric Clinic of Banja Luka, works with the drug addicts in the first phase of detoxification (includes also Detox centre).

I believe that putting together the puzzle of all these actors will show which of the local actors is doing what and how their relations are intertwined; it will also show how the local governance system (understood as the jigsaw of different governmental actors from the local government, public sector and the civil society) functions. I will examine in which way specialization in the approach to the

problem of drug addiction affects the perception or framing of the problem. All this will be done while keeping in mind that the general approach (promoted by the official Strategies and adopted at the local level) is one of cooperation between different actors in dealing with this problem.

1.1.2. Social problem of drug addiction

So far I have introduced the problem of drug addiction from the point of view of governance actors and the general governmental approach or framework of the problem (given in the forms of the strategies). Still, it is important also to take a closer look at the problem of drug addiction in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a social problem, in order to establish its importance and relevance.

First of all, talking about the drug addiction as an important social problem in Bosnia and Herzegovina is quite problematic in itself. Data from both strategies used in the description of background and importance of this problem are fragmentised and not systematic: for example, the Strategy for Bosnia and Herzegovina states that the most often used drug is marijuana which is used by 7-25% of adolescents (page 5). The other research done in Republic of Srpska and cited in the Strategy for Republic of Srpska states that 8,4% of young aged between 13-18 have had some experience with marijuana and other drugs (page 8). These data, though fragmented, show that drug addiction is a growing social problem for the people in Bosnia and Herzegovina (according to the available evidence and general perception). The lack of systematic data can be understood as an indicator of low importance given to this problem, as well as the fact that the adopted strategies are the first documents which deal with the drug addiction in its complexity (previous legal regulations concentrated on repressive measures and criminal prosecution in case of the production or sale of drugs).

The other aspect which is quite important for my research concerns the lack of any drug typology and the broad notions of “drug addiction” and “drug abuse” used in the official documents. In this research I cannot be more precise in defining my topic since the approach adopted by the governments (on both the level of entity and state) lacks any precision in this regard. Two strategic documents dealing with this issue (Strategy for Republic of Srpska and Strategy for Bosnia and Herzegovina) both use the term “opojne droge” which can be translated into English as “opiate drugs” – but is understood as a generic term which covers all sorts of drugs. With this in mind, I have decided not to be more precise in the definition of my area of research. Even though the strategic documents refer to all drugs, in practice the preventive activities and especially treatments are focused mostly on heroin addicts. Heroin addiction is the most common type of addiction to hard drugs. Also, several local governance actors in direct contact have mentioned the need not to distinguish between different drugs, because different drug

addictions are connected and, in their opinion, an addiction to some lighter drugs like marijuana eventually leads to heroin addiction.

1.2. Problem and research questions

After introducing the problem of drug addiction and the ways of dealing with it by different local governance actors as the general objects for my research, it is necessary to further explain the particular focus of my research (the research questions and their relevance).

1.2.1. Main research question

How is the problem of drug addiction in the Municipality of Banja Luka framed by different local governance actors?

I believe this is the central point for research aiming to show how different governance actors approach and deal with the issue of drug addiction. I will aim to show that the framing of the problem of drug addiction provides the basis for everything else: all concrete activities of different institutions and organizations are conditioned by the framing of this issue. The relevance of framing can be understood if one takes into account that the concrete actions and general approach to the drug addiction problem depends on the perception of the problem itself; the problem of drug addiction is a complex one and the way it is perceived determines how it is approached, whether some aspects of it are accentuated or disregarded.

The network for dealing with drug addiction in Banja Luka was established with the assumption that different actors are specialized in their dealings with drug addiction. This means that different actors recognize that drug addiction is a complex problem and consciously decide to approach only those parts of it for which they have the appropriate expertise. Existence of the local network (which can be understood as an objective condition, since the network exists and the problem of drug addiction is approached through that network) determines the way in which actors look at the problem: there is a connection between the task specialization and the narrower perception of the problem (emphasis given to certain aspects an actor deals with); the framing process takes these aspects into account. Also, some actors work exclusively on the problem of drug addiction while for others drug addiction is only part of the broader “global” agenda of the organization; that also influences the framing of the problem.

I am aware that in a crucial sense the results of my research are limited: the work presented here is mostly of a descriptive nature. It was necessary to adopt this approach, since there no previous research has been done in the area of governance actors dealing with this problem (and especially framing) and the data which I would use for some further research are lacking. Therefore, I have decided to concentrate on the analysis of the network of local governance actors dealing with drug addiction in the Municipality of Banja Luka, particularly on how individual actors perceive and approach or frame the problem of drug addiction. Also, a concrete case study of Banja Luka might additionally point out some good examples (done through cooperation) which might be replicated in other municipalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina; they will cover the framing, since the framing of the problem is the basis for all further actions.

1.2.2. Specific questions

The general question of the framing of drug addiction, which is understood as the basis for approaching the problem, is a complex issue. Actors rarely explicitly state in which way they frame issues – rather it is revealed through the practical actions, approach and focus in the everyday work of an actor. In the case study which I will analyze, the problem of drug addiction is approached through the network of local governance actors, which has effects on the framing. Therefore, in order to answer the general research question, it is necessary to use the following specific questions:

1. How does the local governance network deal with the problem of drug addiction?

This question is focused on the role of the local governance network in dealing with the problem of drug addiction. With this question the analysis starts, which takes into consideration the need to first understand the local governance network, its formal organization and functioning, in order to approach the central issue of the research: the framing and the ways in which the network influences the framing process and the resulting frames. Therefore, this question deals with the description of the existing network, from two different points of view: formalization of the network relations, as formulated in the strategic documents, and the actual arrangements for the establishment and organization of the network – the practical functioning of the local governance network in Banja Luka. The main premise for this question is that it is not possible to talk about the role of the network in the framing process, unless the network in itself is understood; after that the influence of the network and network arrangements on the framing will be clearer.

The existing local governance network in Banja Luka represents, for this research, the objective condition, since its existence has effects on the framing process. The importance of the network in answering the main research question can be understood taking into account the specialization of the actors in dealing with the problem of drug addiction, relations and cooperation which exist between them. Cooperation between the actors (which is realized using the local governance network) allows the actors to concentrate their efforts only on some aspects of drug addiction problem; further this concentration of efforts influence the way how they perceive this complex problem. Therefore, network governance should have effects on the framing process and this aspect should be investigated, taking as a starting point the descriptive analysis of the network itself.

2. How do governance actors present their frames?

Frames are mental constructs which are revealed in an indirect way: in the way in which governance actors act and present their work: the emphasis of this sub-question is on a way in which actors present themselves to a broader public. Those presentations are mediated using the symbols in order to connect abstract values and beliefs (which actors consider as important) with the concrete actors. Therefore, the role of symbols is very important for the presentation of the frames; frames are communicated using symbols in order that the public can understand which aspects in dealing with the problem of drug addiction the actor finds important, which aspects of its work are emphasized as crucial. Presentation shows the way in which local governance actors want to be seen, they are supported by the actions of the actors but also the presented values and way in which concrete actions are organized and executed (for example, how actors communicate with some key groups and with which groups they want to be seen as partners). The analysis here will concentrate on interpretive analysis which should identify the symbols (in policy documents, in policy actions and general artifacts – for example how approachable is the actor) and interpret their meanings in a way which will lead to the higher level of congruency in the mental picture of the problem. These sorts of things which are not visible immediately (or are visible but not perceived as something which carries specific meaning in itself) will serve to underline and support the idea of general framing of the drug addiction problem by the different local actors. In the end, analyzing how governance actors present themselves will lead to the understanding how they frame the problem of drug addiction.

3. Which concrete actions in dealing with the problem of drug addiction follow from framing by local governance actors?

In general, actions of different actors are the consequence of the framing of the problem. Therefore, the examination of actions of governance actors (what exactly is done and how) indicate how the problem of drug addiction is perceived and framed by that actor. In this case study, different governance actors deal with different aspects of the drug addiction problem; they recognize the complexity of the problem and tackle only some parts of it (the reasons for this are the lack of resources, in form of funding, expertise, personnel, etc). This specialization necessarily influences the way in which they look at the drug addiction; even in situations in which actors are very well informed about different aspects of drug addiction, their everyday work (concrete activities organized and executed on regular basis) means that they emphasize some aspects of the problem of drug addiction – those aspects they regularly encounter and deal with. The concrete actions of the actors should indicate which points of the complex problem of drug addiction are stressed – therefore how the problem is seen and framed.

4. How can presentations and actions of local governance actors be interpreted in the light of frame analysis?

Earlier sub-questions (questions 2 and 3) dealt with the presentations and the concrete actions which actors undertake in order to deal with the problem of drug addiction. This sub-question aims at summarizing the findings concerning the connections between the presentations/actions and framing. This questions will compare the presentations (how actors present themselves to the general public) and actions (what they concretely do in order to tackle the problem of drug addiction) of each actor, interpreting them using the frame analysis. There should exist the congruency in the general “picture” of each actor, and it should reveal how the problem of drug addiction is framed by the actor; the way in which the actor presents itself and its concrete work will show which aspects of the problem of drug addiction are approached, in which way and why (the explanation concerning the “priorities” or emphasized points and activities should be clearly understandable after the analysis); this analysis will take into account the existence of the local governance network, as well as specialization and cooperation between the actors.

1.3. Approach

The main research question, which deals with the framing of the problem of drug addiction, determines the whole approach for this research: it will be oriented towards discovering the frames and framing processes for the different local governance actors dealing with drug addiction, in the Municipality of

Banja Luka. In order to do this, different aspects of their functioning will be analyzed: how they present themselves to the other actors and the local public, what they concretely do, how they are interconnected and conditioned in dealing with the problem of drug addiction in its totality. Different governance actors here are perceived as “framers” (creators of frames through which they look at the problem of drug addiction), their work and interactions will be observed as the consequences of the framing process.

1.3.1. Strategy to approach the governance actors

Since the governance actors dealing with the problem of drug addiction are the primary focus of my work, I will primarily analyze how they approach the drug addiction, focusing on the local level of the Municipality of Banja Luka and the local governance actors in the network. Still, it is necessary to keep in mind that the general framework (which sets the “field of action” for the local actors) is delineated by the strategic documents: local governance actors work inside the framework which is set by the government. Therefore, I will also have to approach the problem of drug addiction from the point of view of the general framework set by the governments (at the different levels, but following the same principles), and then establish how the problem of drug addiction is perceived and approached by the concrete actors at the local level. In this case, framing is revealed through the acts regarding and approaches to the problem of drug addiction in real life: in order to discover the frames one has to look at the concrete actions performed by the actors, the ways in which those actions are organized and executed, the ways in which actors perceive themselves in relations to the other actors and general public; this determines also the data needed for the frame analysis.

1.3.2. Sample

The limited area covered by my research makes the approach to the local governance actors easier: since the problem of drug addiction is studied in one municipality (Municipality of Banja Luka),⁵ the number of governance actors dealing with this problem is limited. Therefore, the sample will cover all important local actors dealing with drug addiction (especially those specialized for dealing exclusively with drug addiction); apart from them, the important local public agencies dealing with social issues (which are part of or affiliated with the local government) are included in the sample, since that way it is possible to compare the adopted approaches by the local government – public sector and organizations

⁵ According to the data from the official internet presentation of Banja Luka, the Municipality has a population of around 250.000 inhabitants (more precise data are not available, since the last census was done in 1991); source: www.banjaluka.rs.ba, retrieved on 19.05.2010.

from local civil society and the non-governmental sector. It is important to note that for some actors drug addiction is only one issue on the agenda covering a broader field of social policies.

1.3.3. Documents

As explained above, I will for my research use two types of documents: those providing the basis for the work of all the governance actors and establishment of their mutual (network) relations and those specific for different ones. First type of documents are documents which are setting general framework to approach to the problem of drug addiction, giving the guidelines which are to be followed by all the actors employed in this field in the country. The other type of documents are those produced by different local governance actors which reveal how they present themselves and what they do concretely in order to tackle the drug addiction problem; these documents can be of different kinds and describe the concrete activities or general approach to the problem of drug addiction.

Documents that provide the basis for my research on drug addiction are the strategic documents on the level of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republic of Srpska: the official State's and entity's strategies dealing with drug addiction and the State's Action Plan in the same area. These documents, as strategic documents of the governments, set the global framework for the understanding and regulation of the issue of drug addiction on the local level – including the Municipality of Banja Luka. The analysis of these documents will show the general perception - framing of the drug addiction problem in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republic of Srpska.

Crucial documents for my research and those whose analysis will help me to answer research questions; these are the documents of each of the governance actors I am analyzing, which reveal which concrete activities were performed by those actors, and how those actors presented themselves (for example reports prepared for some stakeholders, or presentations of actors done for the general public). Especially interesting here are documents with strategic orientation, through which the general approach to the problem of drug addiction can be seen. Taking into account that some of the actors are small local organizations from civil society, I had to approach the issue of the documents with flexibility; the documents are not always standardized or directly comparable. Still, from the point of view of framing which is the central issue for my research, the available documents and their appearance will also point out the general approach to the issue and concrete work done by the actor and, as stated earlier, those issues are directly connected with framing.

1.3.4. Data collection

I have gathered the majority of the documents through direct contact with the relevant governance actors during a research visit to Banja Luka at the end of February 2010. I used the same opportunity to meet people directly working on the drug addiction problem – that way I was able to conduct interviews with them: preliminary explorative conversations (or unstructured interviews). The aim of the first direct contact was to get the general idea about the actors and as much information as possible. The conversations, conducted in the offices of different actors with the people directly involved in the issue of drug addiction, also showed me the attitude (of the persons and organizations/institutions) towards this problem. Also, this first personal contact allowed me to easily approach the actors for additional information later during my research. The collected data include documents and notes from the conversations (unstructured interviews). Additionally, internet presentations of the actors were used, where possible, and contact via email was used for the actors where I needed more information or I wanted to clarify some points in their work.

1.3.5. Data analysis

Since my research deals with qualitative data, it will cover the analysis of the strategic documents produced by the governments, documents produced by the local governance actors, additional data in the form of notes from the conversations (and successive correspondence) with the contact persons from the governance actors and information provided on the internet presentations of the actors which have them. The data analysis will be divided in two parts dealing with the analysis of network governance (development of the approach to the drug addiction which focuses on the formalization of the task division between the actors and common approach to the problem) and the frame analysis where individual actor's perceptions of the problem of drug addiction will be identified.

First part of the analysis which concentrates on the level of formalization of network relations will follow the scheme moving from more general to more particular:

- Analysis of strategic documents

It will include the adopted Strategies and Action plan referring to the problem of drug addiction and especially on the cooperation and partnerships between different actors in tackling it;

- Analysis of concrete network arrangements in Banja Luka

It will deal with the concrete mechanisms which formalize the network relations between the actors which are object of my research; then I will focus on some aspects in network governance (i.e. core resources, power relations, social mechanisms) which will point out how

the network gets organized from the inside, how relations between the actors are organized and function.

The second part of the data analysis will deal with the individual local governance actors and their framing of the problem of drug addiction. Here I will keep in mind that there is no simple recipe for the analysis of qualitative data which can be used in all circumstances, and that quantity and quality of data will vary between the actors; still the general approach to the data should be along these lines:

- Reading the documents (also notes from the interviews)

Identify the activities performed

Identify the key phrases revealing the approach to the problem

Identify how the actor wants to be seen (which words are used to describe itself)

Mentioning the other actors, which and in which context

- Internet presentation of an actor

How much space is assigned to the problem of drug addiction?

How is the problem of drug addiction formulated (if there is a formulation)?

Which information is stressed in presenting the work of an actor and actor in general?

Which sort of symbols is used to support the text (logos, pictures, etc)?

Is there a presentation of strategic goals or future vision?

- Direct contact with an actor

Appearance of the building

Appearance of the office where the interview was held

What is the approach of the actor (was it easy to establish the contact, did I need an appointment, etc)?

Was the actor willing to answer to many different questions?

This approach will be repeated for each actor in order to get a map of all of the actors: the roles which they play or the activities which they perform, which way they are seen and want to be perceived; this all will indicate how the problem of drug addiction is framed. It is expected to also get the information about the division of tasks in the network (as already stated, actors tend to address just some aspects of the problem of drug addiction, due to lack of resources: funding, expertise, personnel, etc).

1.3.6. Expected results

As the final result of the analysis, I should be able to answer the sub-questions, which will lead to the answer for the main research question: it will be possible to perceive the framing as the process

influenced by the existing network and the place each actor holds in it (how the complete and complex work on the problem of drug addiction is divided into specialized tasks – activities and among the actors), further the way in which actors see and present themselves will be clear, as well as their concrete activities. All this will lead to an answer to the main research question: how the problem of drug addiction is framed by the different local governance actors. Since the framing of the problem is seen as the basis for all subsequent work, functions, activities, and approaches of the actors, the framing process and resulting frames can be grasped by looking into the consequences of the framing process (presentations of the actors, their activities and their specializations).

The results of my research will also include a picture of the network; it will be possible to make a map covering different tasks in dealing with drug addiction, and the role of collaboration between the actors. The general framework provided by the governments (in form of the strategies and action plan) confirms the existing situation: the network to deal with this problem already exists. One of the results will be also clarification of the general principle of cooperation between the actors, since it will be possible to understand which of the positive points in the concrete organization of the cooperation (network) are, and where things can be improved. Indirectly, it will be also possible to clearly perceive the role which the non-governmental sector plays in dealing with this problem, including possibilities to strengthen its role and make it more efficient (from the point of view of its work and the collaboration between the actors). This example will therefore point out trends in the development of “network society” – a society in which many important policy issues and social problems are addressed through the networks of the governance actors, without a monopoly of the state to deal with those issues alone.

CHAPTER II – THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

The focus of my work, as defined by the research questions, will be the framing of the problem of drug addiction by different governance actors in the Municipality of Banja Luka. The global framework to approach the problem of drug addiction will be given using the contextual constructivism. Contextual constructivism, used as a sociological perspective to examine social problems, starts with the premise that a social problem consists of objective conditions and a subjective definition (as defined in Rubington & Weinberg 2003: 304). Therefore, I will divide my work here in one part dealing with the objective conditions and another one concerning the subjective perceptions of the problem. Since this research focuses on the framing of the social problem of drug addiction in the context of the local network of governance actors, I will leave out discussion about the objectivity of drug addiction as a problem⁶ and regard as objective condition the local governance network. This is done under the assumption that the organization of approach to deal with the problem through the network puts the existing network in the position of an independent variable: a variable which is given and which in turn influences the framing process (the framing process is therefore a dependent variable). As subjective definitions, I will regard the concrete framing process, done by the different local governance actors, which depends on their positions, values, beliefs, interests, knowledge, etc.

I will first briefly introduce the theoretical approach of contextual constructivism, after which I will focus on objective conditions in network governance which influence the framing; this part of my research will deal with the role of networks in the process of the framing of policy issues. Here, special attention will be given to the connections between the networks and framing (thus, objective aspects of network governance which in turn influence the perception of the problem, ways to approach it and deal with it), especially taking into account the mainstream literature which puts the practical aspects (managerial, administrative aspects of networks) in focus, often disregarding the role of the networks in the organization of experience and the creation of meaning. In the analysis of subjective perceptions of the problem I will concentrate on the framing process, how frames are constructed and strategically used; since framing and frames are central concepts for this research, their usefulness and utilization will be explained. Closely connected to the framing and frame analysis are some additional concepts which will be used to support this main approach and help answer the research questions; here I will

⁶ I will make the assumption that drug addiction as the social problem at the local level in Banja Luka really exists, but I will not go into details concerning the number of drug addicts, in part because the available data are not complete and completely reliable (as mentioned in the Chapter I: Background, the official data are mostly also based on assumptions).

concentrate my attention on symbols, their role and use in public policy and, connected with it, mention the importance of the interpretation of the policy (“what does a policy mean” – Yanow 1993: 41). All these concepts are useful in answering the research questions and will be closely examined.

2.2. Contextual constructivism

Social constructivism is an approach to the social problems which starts with the main premise that social problems are social constructions (Best 1989: xix). Therefore, the focus is put on the construction of the problems in the process of claims-making (situations with which people are engaged in order to address some issue from the domain of public policy). One branch of social constructivism is contextual constructivism, which is characterised by the stress given to the distinction between the objective conditions and the subjective definitions of social problems (Best in Rubington & Weinberg 2003). This approach to the social problems is adequate for practical analysis, since it distinguishes between the objective and subjective parts of the social problems; taking into account that my research deals with the social problem of drug addiction I believe that this type of distinction is useful for the general framework through which I can analyze the problem and its framing.

The objective conditions include various assumptions about the social context, which are important in the process of construction of the social problem; these assumptions support the main claim about the problem. This approach is conscious of given assumptions which affect the way in which problem is perceived or constructed. As Kitsuse & Schneider say, in their introduction to the concept of contextual constructivism: “...social problems should make evaluative judgements about members’ claims and definitions as they go about the activities that constitute social problems” (cited from preface to Best 1989: xi). These evaluative judgements are connected with the nature of social conditions under which social problems get attention, and the obligation to monitor the validity of presented claims. Basically, this would mean that in order to present something as a social problem, it is not enough to claim that there is a problem; there must exist some support in the form of facts related to the problem; the social context (which is seen as given) and which is related to the problem should be taken into account.

The subjective part of the problem (or subjective definition of the problem) consists of the claims-making, presenting some condition as the problematic one; here the important aspects are the ways in which the problem is addressed, audiences to which it is addressed, groups which “promote” something as a problem (making the claims). It should be clear that the claims-making is done in a

specific given context, connected with the specific historical moment and social conditions; claims-makers make certain assumptions during the presentations of a problem, and they have to be “prepared to acknowledge and defend the assumptions they do make” (Best in Rubington & Weinberg 2003: 345). Even though claims-making is regarded as a subjective perception or definition of a problem, it cannot be completely separated from the context and objective conditions under which the problem is approached and presented; the claims-makers should be ready to defend their assumptions under the evaluation of others.

In the case study of drug addiction in Banja Luka, as objective condition will be treated the existing network through which the problem is approached: it is a part of the social context which exists and influences the subjective perceptions of the problem by the different actors. The concrete framing process and resulting frames are regarded as the subjective part (constructed part) of the social problem since different actors approach different parts of this complex problem and their perceptions are different; they are influenced by the objective condition – the roles they play in the local governance network.

2.3. Network governance as objective condition

Networks and network governance are important concepts for my research; I will regard them as objective conditions, since the problem of drug addiction in my research is approached through the local governance network. Therefore, the network is an existing objective condition which influences the way in which the problem of drug addiction is perceived (the way one looks at drug addiction is determined by the role of an actor dealing with it and the way in which the problem is approached): the network influences the framing. Since the research questions direct the way in which the subjects of networks and network governance are approached, important points here will be those examining the role which networks have in the framing process, how their existence determines or influences this process. The analysis starts by presenting the general ideas about governance and networks, which will give the basis for detailed insight into the connections between the framing and network governance. I will present the general theoretical approach to the networks and network governance and point out some aspects of network governance which are useful for the analysis of the framing process. Throughout this analysis, network governance will be regarded as an objective condition to approach the problem of drug addiction, which acts as an independent variable that has the effects on the framing process.

2.3.1. Definition

In order to define network governance it is necessary to give first a definition of governance, stressing its difference from the government. The general ideas about the governance can be found at Stoker (1998) who developed the set of propositions about the governance:

- Governance refers to a set of institutions which include government and also other actors,
- Governance identifies blurring of the boundaries and responsibilities in dealing with social and economic issues,
- Governance involves power dependence in the relationships between the actors – institutions,
- Governance is about autonomous self-governing networks of actors,
- Governance does not rest on the power of government to get things done – to command through its authority.

It is noticeable that Stoker understands governance as network governance (he is referring to different actors and their interrelationships). Also, the focus is on the process of governance rather than the structure, since the stress is put on the different actors and their roles in the policy making. One of the core notions about governance (and especially network governance) is the understanding that it is not possible for one actor, no matter how big, important and powerful, to do everything alone (policy making, execution and evaluation), there is necessarily interdependence among the actors which are aware of the need to approach the policy issues together, through collaboration.

The way of looking at governance as network governance is only one perspective among many: “governance in and by networks” (Kersbergen & Waarden 2004). Typical for network governance is that it includes interdependent actors in interaction with each other, typically through the exchange of resources. It is a pluricentric form of governance, opposed to unicentric (state, bureaucracy or hierarchy) or multicentric – as the market form of governance (Heffen & Klok 2000, Considine & Lewis 2003). Networks differ in that they focus on clients, have flexibility and give a central role to cooperation.

From the existing definitions of network governance it is immediately noticeable that stress is put on the rational managerial aspect of the networks and network governance. Jones, Hesterly & Borgatti (1997: 915) present the overview of different definitions of network governance by the different authors where the key words used and repeated are: clusters of organizations, strategic relationships, formal/informal, collaboration, exchanges and mutual interests. Also, they present their own definition: “Network governance involves a select, persistent, and structured set of autonomous firms (as well as non-profit agencies) engaged in creating products or services based on implicit and open-ended

contracts to adapt to environmental contingencies and to coordinate and safeguard exchanges. These contracts are socially – not legally – binding.” (Jones, Hesterly & Borgatti 1997: 914) This approach to the networks is appropriate as long as the study of networks and network governance stays in the strictly rational domain: costs and benefits, efficiency, resource dependency, etc. The moment when the approach changes to the framing and the role of networks in this process, the existing definitions miss the point. Since my research deals with the “other side of network governance”: interpretations, values, beliefs, symbols, I will examine those aspects of network governance which are more suitable for understanding the role which the networks play in the framing process, while keeping in mind that the local network in Banja Luka is an objective existing condition which, in my case study, determines the approach to the social problem of drug addiction and its framing.

The approach which I will adopt for the purpose of my research is to look at the networks through their role in the framing of the policy issues. Even though the role of the network which I will examine concerns the framing (therefore it relates to the subjective perception of the problem, as seen, perceived or framed by the different actors), the influence that the network has on the process is an objective one; the network exists as an independent variable and its diverse aspects influence the framing process. Thus, I will concentrate my attention on those aspects of network governance which affect the framing process and the resulting frames:

- Power relations in network governance and the role of politics,
- Exchange of resources in the network environment,
- Social mechanisms in network governance,
- Context for the development of networks and network governance.

These aspects of network governance should point out at the creation of the meaning in the networks (how the issue is defined, and what affects the definitions and their possible changes). They should show that there are some objective mechanisms in the networks which influence the way in which the issue (problem) gets defined. These mechanisms will be regarded as objective conditions for the framing process, since they influence the policy issues (existence of the network bears effects on the members of the network and the way in which they approach the problem they deal with). The approach to the networks as objective conditions for the framing, asks for some aspects in network governance to be stressed: agreements and contracts between the networks’ members (which, following the definition from Jones, Hesterly & Borgatti 1997 should be regarded as socially binding), resources which are exchanged between the members and which influence the way in which cooperation is organized. These aspects are connected with the formalization of the relations between the members of networks and determine their positions and influence on the definition of the issue and approach to deal with it.

In the end I will try to summarize possible typical characteristics of the networks in the public sector (so called “governmental networks”) in order to understand whether this type of networks is better suited for frame analysis and framing. Approaching networks and network governance through these aspects should uncover the role of networks in the framing of policy issues and the creation of meaning and therefore should help to answer the research questions. Therefore, the exchange between the members of a network can be seen not exclusively as exchange of resources, but also exchange of symbols and creation of a specific community of meaning in a network.

2.3.2. Power relations

It is true that networks are a way to institutionalize behaviour, but they also institutionalize the power relations (Marsh & Smith 2000: 6). More powerful actors in the network can influence the way in which the policy is framed, they can influence the agenda-setting; therefore power relations are important in network governance, even though that is not always perceived and understood at first glance. It is important to look at the sources of power for the members of a network: power comes from the resources which a member possesses (for example, money, expertise, authority); a member which has more power will have more influence on the way in which the problem will be addressed or framed. Another aspect, closely connected with the power relations, concerns the political aspects of the networks; it is especially relevant in the public sector and its networks (O'Toole & Meier 2004). Power relations and politics in the networks can significantly influence framing of the policy issues; still this is often disregarded in depoliticized network analysis, while it should be regarded as an objective condition which exists in network governance and which should be taken in the account during the analysis.

Networks can be perceived as a response to some challenges typical in contemporary society: new policy fields for which a hierarchical approach is not appropriate; policy making done in conditions of greater uncertainty; the raising of the importance of “difference” (cultural and other heterogeneity in local communities and society in general); awareness of interdependence (government cannot do everything alone); and a need to work on development of trust and identity in the community since we cannot assume it always exists (Hajer & Wagennar 2003). In these circumstances new actors enter the policy arena (power balance between the actors is shifting), but more importantly the interpretations and symbols become more significant in the policy field; in a situation of larger uncertainty and new areas where policy is needed, without being sure who is responsible and accountable for the specific area, there is the possibility to interpret certain (political) moves in different ways. In this regard,

networks can be perceived as a convenient way to show that something is done without actually doing anything. Important for the work of public policy networks is how the benefits to society from the network are perceived (for example benefits on local, municipal level) where the community should experience positive effects of the network activities: there should be enhanced perception that the local problems are really dealt with, that the well-being of citizens is growing; the network relations should help to build (or strengthen) the social capital at the local level (Provan & Milward 2001)⁷. Of course, these results are the consequences of work of all different actors in the network, while the presentation of the results can point out the roles of just one or several of them (therefore, interpretations are increasingly important in the public policy networks).

To return to the critique to the managerial approach to network governance given by O'Toole & Meier (2004) it is possible to point out several political issues which shed different light on network governance:

- Network governance can be perceived as the distancing of the State from the difficult (wicked) policy problems (government will let someone else from the network deal with them). Here becomes evident that some values which are officially promoted might not be used in practice or implemented; more important would be how certain things are presented and interpreted,
- The appearance of additional perspectives or constraints in the implementation phase might shift the policy emphasis (it is important to keep in mind that sometimes different actors in the policy network might have very different ideas about the policy problem and try to use their power to influence their framing of the problem – new network members are shifting the balance of power, introducing new views, values and frames),
- It is important to understand that networks are also political actors, and that the political pressure and political trade-offs in the network environment are the reality, that “support comes at price” (O'Toole & Meier 2004: 685). This means that in the case of public organizations with multiple goals there is a risk that some goals will be emphasized and others disregarded; there are different priorities which might be a result of power relations or values which are more emphasized for an actor.

For my approach to network governance (regarded as objective condition related to the framing), it is important to understand the significance of the political dimension in the networks and power relations related to it. This is relevant since different actors can influence the view of the problem (its framing) and use the network communicate it to the other actors; this can lead to the creation of a policy

⁷ These benefits present part of network evaluation framework developed by Provan & Milward (2001); my focus is however on the level of perception of benefits, rather than the actual proofs of benefits.

community (or, community of meaning) which interprets the policy issue in a certain way, using its shared values and beliefs. In that sense, the network interactions between the members of the network would influence the perception of the policy issue that the network deals with; therefore this independent variable (power relations) is an objective condition which would have effects on the framing of the issue or problem.

2.3.3. Exchange of resources in the network

Here I would like to present network relations in their most obvious form; it is true that network relations are not one-dimensional, but on the most visible level network relations are about the exchange of resources. Therefore, it is useful to introduce here the concept of resource dependency, which presumes that different actors in the network possess different resources (resources are to be taken in a very broad sense, they include money, goods, personnel, expertise, authority, etc), they need different resources in order to achieve the common goal (they are dependent on the resources possessed by the other actors), and that pushes them towards mutual cooperation. The resources which different actors have are changeable in time, but they are objectively set and therefore can be regarded as an objective condition for the network cooperation and network governance. The exchange of resources in the network is regulated using formal means: contracts, agreements, or similar ways to formalize and govern these exchanges. The existence of different resources and relations established around them (how the relations between the actors are formalized) influence the ways in which our main problem or issue, around which the cooperation is established, is perceived. Therefore, the resources and their exchange is an objective condition which has effects on the framing process.

The other side of exchange between the members of the network includes the exchange of symbols and meanings, where, through the cooperation, actors are getting closer to each other, also on the level of perception of the problem, sharing of the values and beliefs, etc. These exchanges which are less visible are equally important for the framing process; different actors in the network are with time creating the community where certain values, beliefs and way of looking at the things are shared. Again, this process is changeable and it is time dependent (longer period of cooperation is making the mutual relations closer).

In the case of Banja Luka, resource dependency and consequent exchange of resources formed an initial incentive for the cooperation between the actors. The situation concerning the possession of resources (who has what) is an important objective condition which influences the development of mutual cooperation and also the framing process of the problem of drug addiction. Therefore, the

investigation of the resource dependency and exchanges will point out the drive to cooperate and specialization inside the network (how roles are divided between the members of the network); further specialization in the dealings with the problem affects the way in which the actors look at the problem: their roles will be in focus (central for an actor) and the roles of other actors out of it. Exchange and cooperation also give the chance to the actors to exchange the symbols and values in the sense that the cooperation is not done only on the rational “business” level of formal exchanges, but also through the communication of values and beliefs, and creation of the community of meaning⁸.

2.3.4. Social mechanisms in network governance

In network analysis, the basis for social mechanisms and their functioning is given through the concept of structural embeddedness. Structural embeddedness (Jones, Hesterly & Borgatti 1997: 924) relates to relations among the members of network: how many participants interact among themselves, is it likely that the interactions will continue in the future and are those interactions and their results known (do members talk about those interactions). In a situation of structural embeddedness different members of the network know each other and follow the behaviour of the others, which acts as a constraint for the behaviour of each participant in the future; also it enables the use of social mechanisms (restricted access, macroculture, collective sanctions and reputation). Even though the analysis presented by Jones, Hesterly & Borgatti (1997) refers more to the exchanges and rational behaviour, I believe the social mechanisms can be regarded as objective conditions applied to the framing of the policy issues. To the analysis of these already mentioned mechanisms, I will add also the learning process, understood as a social process which is focused on the learning of behaviour in the network and the establishing of the network norms, related to cooperation and conflict settlement; the learning process defined in this way is connected with the values, beliefs, interpretations and perceptions. These existing social mechanisms in the network, related to the framing, function in the following way:

- Restricted access keeps the existing frame unchanged: restricting the access to the new members (which possibly have different values and perceptions of a policy issue) guards against reframing,
- “Macroculture is a system of widely shared assumptions and values” (Jones, Hesterly & Borgatti 1997: 929); it sets the approaches and solutions to the problems, therefore it sets framework for the behaviour of all the members of the network. It is created from direct and indirect relationships, institutional sources and national culture – it is directly connected with structural embeddedness. If macroculture exists and is developed, then the actors know what to expect

⁸ The term “community of meaning” is used by Yanow (2000) to point out at the group of actors which are interpreting the policy documents, actions, artifacts, etc, in the same way – they share the same meaning.

from the relations, but also they understand and use same symbols, local tacit knowledge and culture.

- Collective sanctions are used to strengthen certain frames: opposition to the accepted and shared values and beliefs, symbols and frames is faced with the collective sanctions by the other members of network,
- Reputation works in a similar way as collective sanctions do: once a reputation is on the line, the actor might rather reconsider its own opposition to the frames accepted from the other members of the network.
- The learning process influences the change in the perception of the issue, approach to tackle it and acknowledges the importance of the different agents working in the network. Learning here is not understood as connected to the development of some practical expertise, but rather on the influence that the network relations have on the changes in the perception of the values, beliefs and problem as well (therefore, possible shifts in the framing of the policy issues, since the closer cooperation relates to the sharing of the values and the views on the policy issues).

These social mechanisms have a role in influencing behaviour of the members of the network (generally not in a direct, but indirect way, not by direct coercion, but using the social aspects of interaction – mechanisms); they are setting the framework for the behaviour of the network members and that framework is based on the shared values and beliefs which influence the whole approach to the policy issue (or, reality in general) by members of the network. Since in any network there should exist shared values and beliefs at some level (other way there would not be a reason to form a network in the first place), these mechanisms are always present (they are objective condition which exists and affects the behaviour of the members of the network) and also influence the framing of the policy issues.

2.3.5. Context for development of network governance

Finally, I believe it is necessary to make a few remarks regarding the context in which network governance and the network society are developing, especially since network governance in my research is treated as the objective condition for the framing of the problem of drug addiction. I have already mentioned some characteristics of the general - global context which influence the development of the networks as the way to organize human social activity: modern society is a society of associations, nowadays human social and public activities are approached through different associations and not exclusively through one hierarchical government. Taking apart rational benefits from the networks (like the possibility of access to new resources, knowledge or expertise), network approach is also putting

forward a distinctive set of values which underlining it (act like meta-frame for the society, setting the context in which networks can thrive). Therefore, network context is already carrier of certain values (like collaboration and cooperation) and allows us to perceive the social reality in a certain way. This context, as carrier of meaning, conditions the way in which policy issues and problems are perceived and approached: the existence of a host of actors dealing with one complex issue is taken as a foundation for the further addressing of the issue; seen as the basis, the network context is influencing the further framing of the policy problems.

My last remark should stress the specificities of networks in the public sector: I believe it is not possible to present a completely distinctive way to look at the networks in the public sector, especially in a situation (like in the case study I am dealing with) which involves local governmental and local non-governmental actors. Still, some specificities, especially connected to the frame analysis, do exist. In the first place, the politics has its role and importance (more in the cases which are higher on the current political agenda). Further, interpretations and presentations – use of language to convey messages to the general public, has its importance as well (we can compare it with private networks which do not have many incentives to present its work and functioning to the general public, they do not feel accountable for it at the same level). Also, the use of symbols in public networks (connected to the way to present some policy issue) is relevant and important to be perceived and understood. My research questions have tried to capture these specificities of dealing with the social problem through the network: the government has the political power to set the general frame for the approach to the problem (principle of cooperation), it is important to show to the general public that the problem is addressed and dealt with (successfully as well) and the interpretations of the results are important.

2.4. Frames as subjective perception

Frames and framing represent the central part of my research; since the main research question deals with framing it is necessary to introduce the theoretical background for the frames, framing and frame analysis. In the framework of contextual constructivism frames will be regarded as “subjective perceptions”, that is, the analysis will show how we arrive to the perceptions of public issues or problems (in this case, drug addiction), how perceptions are subjectively organized or created in the mind of a person, group or organization. The framing have intrinsic subjective dimension, which I will present and explain; the created frames organize subjective perceptions of a problem, which influence all consequent actions of an actor (actor will act according to its own perception and understanding of the problem and a way to deal with it).

“Framing is a way of selecting, organizing, interpreting, and making sense of a complex reality to provide guideposts for knowing, analyzing, persuading, and acting” (Rein & Schön 1993: 146). Framing explained through the definition above aims to show how human experience and human perception of the world is organized, how the world is confronted and understood in its complexity; the definition emphasizes the basis for understanding and confronting the world - reality which is set through the framing and which influences all further dealings with reality.

Out of this definition we drive the concept of frame, which Rein defines as “a way to understand the things we say and act on in the world. It consists of a structure of thought, of evidence, of action, and hence of interests and of values. In brief, a frame integrates theory, facts, interests, and action” (Rein 1983: 96). Therefore, the frame is seen as a mental map, which helps us to understand the world around us, by creating the structure around it. The frame integrates subjective and objective dimensions of an issue, which is reflected in the mentioning of the facts from the one side, and the values from the other, both of these dimensions must be taken into account in order to fully understand the concept of the frame.

The framing challenges a rational view of the world; framing is a way to organize a complex reality in the way to make it more manageable and possible to grasp and understand. In the process of “organizing” our perceptions we are influenced by the values: values and facts cannot be simply divided, they are intertwined and influence each other (Stone 2002), we tend to accentuate some aspects of the reality, while some other aspects are getting disregarded. Framing and simplifications are unavoidable, since the reality is too complex and cannot be grasped in its totality. To support this reasoning, it is possible to look at the concept of bounded rationality, developed by Herbert Simon, which he used to delineate the cognitive limitations (connected both to the knowledge and computational capacity) of the decision makers, which are considering only some of the possible alternatives and use only part of available information (Simon 1997: 291)⁹.

More general view on frames and framing in organization of human experience takes into account the following (Goffman 1974: 8-9):

- The focus from which the matter is approached, which can be wide or narrow, close-up or distant,

⁹ Concept of bounded rationality was developed earlier in his *Administrative Behaviour* (1947), New York: Free Press

- The perspective, which is determined by the actors position in connection to the matter (for example, actors can be insiders or outsiders, policy makers, beneficiaries, citizens not directly interested in the issue, etc); each specific “role” influences and changes the view on the issue,
- Many different things are happening simultaneously – therefore there is a bias toward a simplification (bounded rationality),
- Time frame also influence perception, depending whether we are talking about something happening right now or something that happened in the past,
- Retrospective characterization is also important since it gives the possibility to evaluate the previous events or issues (again, this can be done from different perspectives).

Goffman uses these aspects as important for the frame analysis, which he defines as examination of organization of human experience (Goffman 1974: 10-11).

Our perceptions can be influenced by all of these factors. For example, we can try to concentrate our attention on the part of a complex issue where we then look in all the details, or take a global approach to the same issue which necessarily disregards some details. Also, the existence of vested interests will determine whether to consider all the details and additional information available about the problem (for example, we all have general knowledge about some serious medical conditions, but in case a person would get a specific illness, then certainly he/she would look at the additional information about it). Discussing the current issues usually includes more interest (possible vested interests) of the people, but also less certainty, because people are not sure what the results might be (if talking about the policy, how successful it will be, or which action should be appropriate to address some problem). This can connect us to the retrospective characterization which Goffman understands as an evaluation of an issue – therefore making the position towards the issue clearer for an individual. Of course, in order to undergo to the evaluation of an issue, an actor has to have additional information about it (have closer focus on the issue) and must be interested in the issue enough to evaluate it (might have vested interests there). Therefore, it is noticeable that the factors mentioned by Goffman are supporting and affecting each other.

It is possible to conclude that everyone perceives the reality through a certain frame which is determined by the personal position, previous experiences, knowledge; the way we all look at the world is inseparable from the values and interpretations; every person automatically organizes perceived reality by making the categories, accentuating some points and disregarding some other parts, etc. Completely value-neutral, rational view on the world is impossible; facts get the meaning through values and interpretations (Rein 1983: 88, Stone 2002: 309). Policy makers have different view about same social problems than people affected by it or people who will actually implement the policies in a certain area.

Concerning the perception of social reality, interesting account can be found at Stone (2002) who is considering that facts cannot exist without interpretation, which is organized through words and numbers (and words and numbers are also objects of interpretation). Other important consideration that she presents is that most of the facts we all receive about the world come to us in the form of social knowledge, based on previous (and not direct) observations and beliefs.

This problem of the complexity of social reality (and connected to it: bounded rationality and facts – values relations) only becomes more urgent if we take into account the field of public policy, where the effects of policies influence the entire society. In order to deal with this issue, public policy for years started with the assumption that the public policy field requires a neutral approach from the policy makers, who are not supposed to be influenced by their own values, but should act as rational actors. This basic assumption of neutrality of policy makers was the ideal opposed to nepotism and corruption, ideal of rationality and use of reason in the policy making. Still, in reality, absolute rationality in the policy making is not possible: policy makers cannot consider all the available information and alternatives; they have some guiding principles and values which influence the way in which they perceive the world. For example, the choice of words to describe the problem influences the way to look at it and the rational model of policy making completely disregards this aspect; in the policy field language is a strategic tool, because it determines how something is presented to the audience, or general public, citizens (Stone 2002: 249).

It is becoming obvious that we cannot escape frames, they are used everywhere and by everyone, just by the fact that the way to grasp the issue and communicate it to someone else already determines the way in which that issue is approached. For example, the issue of drug addiction can be approached pointing out the need to have more police control in order to prevent drug abuse or as the need to have more people working with drug addicts; it can be understood that drug addicts should be approached by doctors, psychologists or social workers. This approach is in the line with the research questions: on the one side, it is important the way in which the actor is presented and how the problem is presented as well (here it is important to take into consideration the roles of different interest groups and their power relations); on the other side, there are concrete actions to tackle the problem, which are following the frame – perception of an actor. Frame in this sense is seen as mental construct which is strategically chosen in order to present the issue (problem) in a certain way; it is a mental construct since it is created organizing the complex reality of the problem, it is strategically chosen since it must “fit” the actor, its expertise, values, etc. Therefore, the frames are also subjective, they are constructed inside the mind through the process of organization of subjective perception, choosing and relating the facts and values. Once a frame is established, all further relations to any perceived issue will directly

results from it. Also, a frame must be maintained by the constant monitoring and adjustment of the behaviour (Batista 2003, in Diehl & McFarland 2010: 1717). The capacity of an actor to move across frames, shift interpretations and manipulate the meaning is acknowledged – which further supports the primacy of subjective, values and interpretations in the framing.

Since we unavoidably approach reality through the frames, Rein (1983) proposes to develop the value-critical policy inquiry which should analyze the frames: this solution starts with the premise that we cannot avoid the frames, but we should be conscious of their existence and focus our attention to the assumptions which are generally taken for granted, but which are actually constructed from facts, values and their interpretations. This view on policy analysis is different from the conventional one which focuses on the rational decisions and choices; Rein & Schön (1993) call this new approach frame-critical policy analysis which is necessary to adopt in order to understand the framework and background of a policy field – it uncovers the basic premises which are used in the approach to some public policy issue. Since these “unmentioned” premises set the basis for all the activities and actions to deal with the issue, they must be fully perceived and understood – the change in frames (reframing) influences the change in the whole concrete approach to the public policy issue or problem.

2.4.1. Symbols: their role and use

Frame analysis, seen the process of discovering of the frames, does not concentrate only on the words and language in the policy documents; an important part of the analysis deals with the use of non-verbal vehicles in the framing and the interpretation of a policy issues. Here it is necessary to introduce the concept of symbols and their role in the public policy domain. Symbols, symbolic language and symbolic acts are used as tools to convey the meaning (or to reinforce the meaning) of a policy. Yanow (2000: 14) defines symbol as something (usually) concrete which represents (usually) an abstraction. Symbols are used as a tool to unite a community and to set it apart from the others (those who are not sharing the same symbols). All different policy objects have symbolic meanings, starting with the language used in a policy documents and official statements (including the use of stories, synecdoche and metaphors¹⁰), symbolic dimensions of artifacts, physical symbolic objects (like buildings), myths and rituals (typical for organization or institution). Symbolic meaning means that there is a concrete reference to some abstract value or belief which is communicated in an implicit way. Symbols represent different dimensions in creation of the meaning: emotive/aesthetic, cognitive and moral, which correspond to feelings, values and beliefs (Gagliardi 1990, cited in Yanow 2000: 15).

¹⁰ These symbolic devices were listed at Stone D. (2002), Policy Paradox, The Art of Political Decision Making, in chapter 6 Symbols

Symbols do not have intrinsic meanings, rather they are collectively created by people who are using them (Stone 2002: 137); this puts symbols in the local cultural context, but it also strongly connects the symbols with subjective perceptions. Another feature of the symbols, important in the policy and politics, is their ambiguity; they are also objects of interpretation (Stone 2002: 157). Ambiguity of symbols makes them a good vehicle for the mobilization of groups with different interest, who can interpret the same policy in different ways (for example: a call for cooperation can be interpreted as shaking off the responsibility or as empowerment of the new actors in a policy field). All these characteristics of symbols and their usefulness in the process of creation and reinforcement of the meaning imply that symbols which are used in a policy field can point out to the way in which framing of a policy issue is done and in which certain perception of some policy is enhanced, they influence the subjective perception of the problem since they are ambiguous and it is possible for them to be interpreted in the different ways.

After understanding the importance of the symbols in the domain of public policy, it is also important to understand their strategic use by the policy actors. Here I will use the reasoning presented by Swidler (1986: 273) who looks at the symbols as the part of culture, which is used as a “tool kit” together with other cultural elements (stories, rituals, beliefs, ceremonies, etc) in order to solve different kinds of problems. The focus of her analysis is on “strategies of action” as persistent modes to order actions through time. Symbols here have their strategic use in constructing such strategies to approach different issues; people use symbols together with other cultural elements in order to shape action. “Strategies of action are cultural products; the symbolic experiences, mythic lore, and ritual practices of a group or society create moods and motivations, ways of organizing experience and evaluating reality, modes of regulating conduct, and ways of forming social bonds, which provide resources for constructing strategies of action” (Swidler 1986: 284). Therefore, symbols are part of culture which is strategically used in order to channel the perceptions and actions of different actors. For my research I will look into the symbols as tools which reinforce a certain perception (which should help to understand better how actors present themselves, not just using the language, but also the other vehicles, which point out to the certain general approach to the problem of drug addiction) and how symbols point out to a certain way of action. As explained before, this use of symbol is making them a vehicle to enhance subjective perception of a problem or approach to the problem – they are used indirectly since the meaning of a symbol in interpretive and ambiguous they are (for my research) support for the certain subjective perception of an actor.

2.4.2. Values and beliefs, their importance for framing and network governance

I have pointed out several times the importance of the values and beliefs in the framing process, the connections between facts and values which affect how policy issues are interpreted and framed; taking into account the importance of values and beliefs in the framing process, I believe it is useful to present them here in the more coherent way. Values and beliefs are important in influencing the “view on the world”, they are important aspects of the subjective perception of any policy issue or a problem. It is stated that the frame-reflective researcher (researcher who is aware of the existence of frames and does not take them for granted) must acknowledge the existence of the values and beliefs and roles which they play in the framing process (values are in the background of every frame). This approach does not mean the biased research, since the completeness of the research must not disregard the dimension of values and beliefs which are shaping the view on the world by the different actors and their approach and concrete actions performed while dealing with the policy issues.

Frames and framing are always connected with values: in the process of framing, reality (here understood as the specific policy issue or, in this research, problem of drug addiction) is organized and simplified in the way which allows dealing with it more easily and this process is necessarily influenced by the values, since they are determining which aspects of an issue will be emphasized and which disregarded – therefore the role of values is to subjectively direct perception by the selection between the different values and focusing on the core values and beliefs for an actor. As Rein states (1983: 88), there is a need to determine which facts are relevant in dealing with a complex issue, and that choice depends on purposes, interests and values; the meaning of the facts comes from the values and purposes that inspire them. Therefore, the values and the framing – understanding of the reality, are always closely connected since values intimately relate to the way we approach each issue: “values give us the questions to ask” (Rein 1983: 89). Looking for value-neutral frame is therefore not possible; even that sort of “quest” would indicate that the person in question is giving high value to the principle of rationality, or to the scientific treatment of problems, and these principles carry also some values in themselves. The conscious researcher will use the frame-reflective approach, which means that the frames and their underlying values are used as objects for the analysis; that is the aim of my research as well, through the understanding of the important values and beliefs for a local actor it is possible to arrive at the frame of the issue for that actor; values and beliefs are part of the subjective perception of an issue or problem since they differ among different actors, and further influence the framing – perception.

Values and beliefs also play an important role in network governance: “Networks involve the institutionalization of beliefs, values, cultures and particular forms of behaviour.” (Marsh & Smith

2000: 6) This approach starts with the premise that the repeated behaviour of agents (members of network) is getting routinized in the network environment, and that as part of the process the values and beliefs are also getting routinized – institutionalized. The specific culture of network, which is created in the process, act as a link between the members (gives opportunities and constraints for the members in their behaviour). Especially interesting here is a cultural dimension of the networks which is established though longer period of existence of a network. An important type of policy network for this approach is the so-called policy community, which is specifically for being closed for the entrance the new members, and where existing members share values and beliefs, have distinctive world view and high level of mutual trust. Members of these networks create their own world: frame the reality in a specific way which determines how they approach the policy issues and “outside world” in general, they form their own subjective perception of the world (reality) with the shared values and beliefs. By limiting the access to the new members this type of network is resistant to reframing and tends to keep unchanged its values and beliefs in the long period. Importance of shared values and beliefs lies also in the fact that they give the original drive for collaboration, since the “actors who share beliefs are more likely to engage in at least minimal level of collective action” (Schlager 1995, cited in Fenger & Klok 2001: 159). Higher level of belief congruence carries more coordination in the action between the actors, while divergent beliefs are leading to a conflict; in general this would mean that in situation when the beliefs are shared there will be more cooperation and there is a possibility to form and sustain network (shared beliefs can form a core for the network).

In general, two distinctive sets of factors play the role in the functioning of the network and also in the creation of values and beliefs in the network:

- The structure of the network (how the network is institutionalized) and
- The role of agents (members of the network) who are creating the network through their repeated and routinized behaviour - networking.

These two sets of factors affect the values and beliefs in the network, which further affect the way in which the policy issues are framed and approached in general. Other important point here is the dynamics of the networks, which changes due to exogenous and endogenous factors (for example, if the network structure tends to limit the entrance for the new members it can easier protect its own core values and beliefs – nobody will directly challenge them, even in changed outside circumstances).

The implications relevant to my research here number two. The first important thing is the role which value and belief congruency plays in the network and its influence on the framing of the problem. This can be regarded in the broader perspective (how shared values in the networks sustain it and direct its functions – the level of the whole network). The other part concerns the role of values and beliefs in

the individual framing of the problem of drug addiction. I am aware that presence of the values and beliefs in the analysis of network governance (objective condition) and framing process (subjective perceptions) gives them a double role; still it is necessary to state their importance in the formation and functioning of the network and in the framing process as well. Therefore, the analysis will approach the values and beliefs which are part of the framework establishing the network as the concrete answer to the problem of drug addiction, but the further analysis will also deal with their role in the framing. Roles which values and beliefs play in the framing process influence the way actors present themselves, how they act and how they interact. This connects values and beliefs with my research questions.

2.4.3. Meta-frames and their role

The other important concept for my research is that of the meta-frame, understood as the frame put on the higher, more abstract level – for example the frame of social welfare or the market frame. Meta-frames are especially important in situations where different, conflicting frames exist (different ways of looking at and understanding a certain issue); meta-frames raise the level of looking at an issue to a higher level of abstraction, where there is more possibility to reach an agreement. Also, meta-frames set the framework for dealing with some policy issues; all different actors (which might have different and competing approaches to the same policy issue) function inside the same meta-frame. The concept of meta-frame, therefore, puts the focus on the consensus between the actors (especially those which are in conflict), pointing out their mutual points of agreement or shared values and beliefs.

Other interesting account about the frames, which in my case applies to the meta-frame, can be found in Diehl & McFarland (2010). They start the analysis from the Goffman's *Frame analysis* (1974) trying to uncover historical view on social situations, related to the predominant (meta)-frames. For my research, it is useful to notice the established differences between general framing in the epoch of modernity and that of post-modernity. While modernity focuses on the rational ideal in decision making and social organization, rational institutions and institutional order, post-modernity moves the focus to unique and reflexive persons, fluid institutions and mobilizing interaction. For my purpose, I would define this shift as the one between the hierarchical approach in dealing with the social problems and the more flexible network approach; the meta-frame which develops today is the one with centrality given to the networks and cooperation, which is post-modern, while some more traditional actors might still retain old modern meta-frame which I see as more institutional conscious, formal and rational – therefore also hierarchical.

For the understanding of the problem of drug addiction it will be necessary first to look at the meta-frame which sets the framework for all concrete actions and programs to approach the issue. The importance of meta-frames for my research therefore lies in the identification of a general approach to the problem of drug addiction and the core values and beliefs connected with the issue, as the first step which sets the base for all the actions to follow¹¹. Meta-frame here will be understood as those principles and values shared by all the members of the local governance network (therefore, it is an objective condition for approaching the problem of drug addiction), and those principles and values influence all the actors, their perceptions, understanding of their roles in the network, concrete actions, etc. (connecting them with the subjective perceptions of individual actors, which function inside the same meta-frame).

2.5. Conclusion

The theoretical concepts that I have presented above are divided using the general framework of contextual constructivism to approach social problems, therefore relating them to the objective conditions (concerned with network governance) or the subjective perceptions (related to the frames and framing). I would like here to connect this approach to my research questions, to explain in greater detail how all concepts relate among themselves and how they are connected to the main object of my research: the framing of the problem of drug addiction.

Since the main focus in my work is framing, the general approach I am applying is connected to the perception and understanding of a complex social reality (in the field of social policy); since the concrete case study from Banja Luka deals with the problem of drug addiction approached through the local network of governance actors, I regard the existing network and its governance as an independent variable (or objective condition) which influences the framing process and the resulting frames. Framing is understood as giving the subjective definition to the complex problem of drug addiction, due to its close connection with the interpretations, value-facts relations, etc. Framing, as a main concept of the research investigates how facts, values, evidences, interests, acts, all connect together in the process of “organization of experience” (Goffman 1974). Here, we are in the realm of interpretations, therefore the theoretical concepts should include social context and culture (understood through shared values, beliefs, symbols, etc.) which provide the basis for interpretations (as Stone 2002

¹¹ The application of (cultural) meta-frames follows the arguments used in the case study Homelessness in Massachusetts (chapter 6) in Schön D.A & Rein M. (1994), *Frame Reflection, Toward the Resolution of Intractable Policy Controversies*, New York: Basic Books

would point out, symbols are ambiguous and shared interpretation provides the base for the community).

Since the issue of framing is quite complex, I have approached it through specific research questions – sub-questions, which tackle different aspects of framing. The first research sub-question deals with the local governance network: this question tries to investigate the relations between the local network and its influence on the framing of the problem of drug addiction. It looks into the functioning of the network (its power relations, resources that actors possess, social mechanisms in the network): in order to later investigate the ways in which the network conditions the framing process it is necessary first to understand the network and its functioning. This sub-question thus deals with the roles occupied by different actors, their specialization and cooperation in the network environment, in the light of influence on the framing. The second sub-question is about the presentation of the actors: how they present themselves, their frames and approaches to the problem of drug addiction. Here, interpretations and use of verbal and non-verbal vehicles to communicate the framing are important: what is communicated and how should point to how the problem is framed. Therefore, a close look at the way actors present their work, functions and benefits for society, how they see themselves in the local community should point to their understanding and specific subjective view on the problem of drug addiction. The third sub-question presents concrete actions; they should be the product of the frames and framing. Concrete actions should follow the specialization of the actors, what actor is doing and how it is connected with what the actor thinks important and relevant in dealing with the problem of drug addiction (I assume that the actor won't perform actions if it believes they will not bring some positive results). This line of reasoning starts with the premise that actions are the results of the perception and understanding of the problem. Thus, this sub-question connects to the main research question. The last sub-question makes a resume of presentations and actions in the light of frame analysis; it tries to connect the practical findings concerning the presentations (of the frames) and actions (following from the frames) in order to discover frames using frame analysis. Here the focus will be on the systematisation of findings and final uncovering of the frames, which are the basis from which emerge the presentations and actions of the actors.

CHAPTER III - METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with methodology and its role in my research. I will explain which data I will use in my research and who will provide me with the relevant data. I will determine the link between the data and the research questions. Also, I will explain how I plan to connect the practical part of my research with the theoretical framework which I have already developed. As a general approach to methodology, I will use the approach already developed in the previous chapter, that is, I will continue with the use of a basic framework dividing the theoretical approach and the approach to the data in two parts:

- Data concerned with the objective condition of the problem of drug addiction (network governance),
- Data concerned with the subjective perception of the problem (framing of the problem of drug addiction by different governance actors).

This division makes the data collection and analysis more systematic; still important to keep in mind is that all these data in the end have to be connected with the issue of framing, which is the main concept used in my research.

The methodological framework therefore divides the concrete analysis in two parts:

- A first part dealing with the level of the network and network governance, which for this research is an objective condition (independent variable): it influences the way in which the problem of drug addiction is seen and understood. First I will look at the establishment and the organization of the concrete network in Banja Luka, using the formal regulations and concrete arrangements between actors. Also, I will analyze the key concepts for network governance which I have already mentioned in the theoretical framework (core resources, power relations, social mechanisms and context which network create for the approach to the problem of drug addiction).
- A second part dealing with the framing is focused on the level of individual local governance actors, their subjective perceptions, values, beliefs, interpretations and actions, all of which should lead to the uncovering of their frames of the problem of drug addiction: how they perceive, understand and approach it. This analysis will have an important subjective dimension, since here the object of study are frames – mental constructions, which are used in order to coherently approach the problem of drug addiction by different actors and which subjectively integrate diverse facts and values related to the problem.

The details explaining concrete methodological choices, such as types of data which are used, way in which they will be approached and treated, and concrete logical steps in the analysis, will be explained later in this chapter.

3.2. Data about objective condition (network governance)

The problem of drug addiction in Banja Luka is addressed through the local network of governance actors. This network is already established and its existence and functioning influences the perceptions and concrete dealings with the drug addiction in Banja Luka: therefore the network represents the objective condition as regards to the problem of drug addiction in this municipality; it creates the social context which is relevant in dealing with the problem of drug addiction. My analysis of network governance will start on the generic level (regulations on the state's and entity's level in this field), continuing with the regulations of the relationships between the actors in the existing local governance network in Banja Luka and finishing with the analysis of certain aspects of this network which are important since they objectively influence (through its existence and functioning), directly or indirectly, on the subjective perceptions – framing of the problem of drug addiction by different actors.

The deeper exploration of this objective condition for framing must start with the legal framework for dealing with drug addiction in order to see what this framework says about the network approach and how it encourages or prescribes its establishment, with all available details from the relevant documents. Therefore, the starting point for the exploration of the concrete network, its establishment and functioning starts on the level of state and entity, how the policy area concerning the problem of drug addiction is regulated (in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republic of Srpska¹²). The starting premise here is that in order to understand the specific case study from Banja Luka in dealing with the drug addiction, it is first necessary to know how the problem is regulated and approached on the higher levels of state and entity. For this task I don't need all the data about the regulation of this policy field; I will concentrate on the data which explain the approach, actors involved and formalizations of their relations (establishment and development of the network approach).

¹² The municipality of Banja Luka is situated in the north-west of the country, in the political-administrative entity of Republic of Srpska. It is necessary to understand that Bosnia and Herzegovina has a decentralized, federal structure, with two main political units, Republic of Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina; together they make up Bosnia and Herzegovina as whole. Banja Luka is the capital of Republic of Srpska and the second largest town in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As for legal matters, the legal documents valid for the Municipality of Banja Luka include those of the level of Republic of Srpska and also those of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Further, it is necessary for our understanding of the local network (which adds to the previous approach through the documents adopted at the higher level) to look into how the network is really established and how it functions. Here, I will first look at the regulations which organize the concrete network in Banja Luka; then, since the network is regarded as an objective condition which has effects on the framing of the problem of drug addiction, I will approach certain aspects of the network, those which can be related to the creation of frames. These aspects include resource dependency among the actors and the established power relations, the social mechanisms which regulate the behaviour of the members of the network (the local governance actors) and the development of a specific context in which the problem of drug addiction is approached through the network (including the macroculture inside the network and the meta-frame, that is, the basic frame on the network level).

Together these two broad approaches should explain the establishment of the local governance network (first using the legal framework and then details about concrete network organization), in order to understand how it is objectively organized and functions, and how it influences the approach to the problem of drug addiction problem and its framing.

3.2.1. Data collection

As starting point in the understanding of network governance and its establishment as objective condition to deal with drug addiction, it is necessary to use as available data the valid official documents which regulate policy area dealing with the problem of drug addiction; these documents are important since they set the legal, regulatory basis for the local application (application in the concrete cases, in this situation application in the Municipality of Banja Luka). These documents therefore determine the approach to the problem of drug addiction; in Bosnia and Herzegovina this policy field is regulated by the following documents:

- State strategy for monitoring the opiate drugs, prevention and repression of abuse of opiate drugs in Bosnia and Herzegovina for period 2009-2013 (short: Strategy for Bosnia and Herzegovina) – a document aiming to cover all different parts of the problem of drug addiction. As a consequence, it is quite vague and general in its approach, leaving out many technical and practical aspects, and limiting itself to recommendations;
- Strategy for Monitoring of Opiate Drugs and Containment of Opiate Drugs Abuse in the Republic of Srpska for the period 2008-2012 (short: Strategy for Republic of Srpska) – it is chronologically the first document in Bosnia and Herzegovina regulating this policy field, it is specific for it is summary of existing data about drug addiction in Republic of Srpska and focus

given to the roles of the Government, different Ministries and public institutions on the entity's level.

- State Action Plan for Combating Drug Abuse in Bosnia and Herzegovina 2009 – 2013¹³ (short: Action plan) which represents the second step in the regulation of this policy field, includes more concrete details and follows from the Strategy for Bosnia and Herzegovina (so far¹⁴ this is the only Action plan adopted in Bosnia and Herzegovina).

These documents should be analyzed in order to understand how the governments (on different levels) see the problem, which channels and actors in the establishment of concrete network arrangements to deal with the problem are mentioned and in which context.

Other sources of data which give necessary information about the concrete application of these strategic documents in the case of Banja Luka are those documents which regulate the relations between different actors from the local governance network and actually organize the network in its practical details. An important aspect here is the level of formalization of the relations between the members of the network; the typical document which formalizes those relations is the so-called memorandum about cooperation between actors. I use such documents as indicators of the existence of formalized relations, presumably directed towards the development of long-term relationships. In cases where those memos do not exist (or were not available to me¹⁵), I assume the less formal relationships, more based on informal contact and cooperation. From the interviews with the different actors in the network, I can conclude that all the actors are at least aware of the existence of other actors and their general field of work (this is based on the fact that the number of actors is relatively low and that the field of work – drug addiction – is relatively specialized, meaning that not many organizations and institutions are dealing with this problem, especially on the level of one municipality). The closeness of the actors suggests the need to investigate the informal relations in the network, because they also help to understand the concrete network arrangements.

The data from the members of the network should also indicate several aspects of network governance which are relevant for understanding the connections between the objective condition of network governance and the subjective perception of the frames: I will look into the specific resources that different actors possess, which can be connected with the power relations (as explained in the theoretical framework, different resources can be perceived as the sources of power). In the documents

¹³ Original title: Državni akcioni plan za borbu protiv zloupotrebe opojnih droga BiH 2009 – 2013. It should be mentioned that the exact wording in title is opiate drugs, but (as explained in chapter 1) this should be understood as generic title covering all different types of drugs.

¹⁴ in March 2010

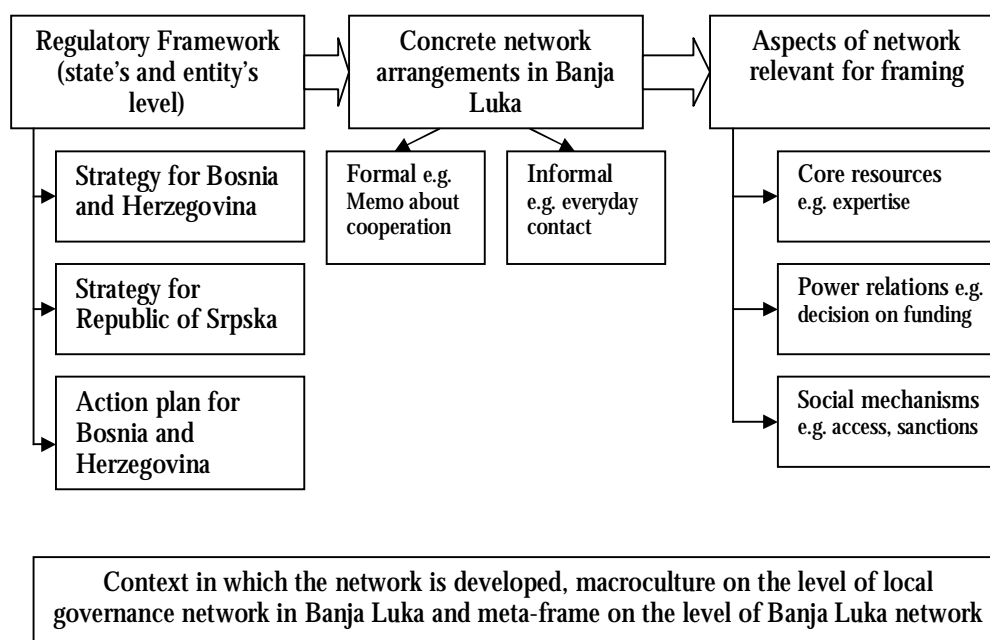
¹⁵ Here I must assume the possibility that someone among the actors did not present me these documents, possibly because it didn't think about them as the most important documents for their work (after all, the absence of the formalization of relations in this way does not mean the absence of cooperation between the actors).

regulating the relationships between the actors I will look at the data which explain the formalization of the relationships between the actors (data which can be used to explain the social mechanisms, taking into account that the relationships are set in the context of network governance). These data which set the objective relations between the members will be found in the different strategically oriented documents explaining the concrete work and plans for the actor (therefore, necessary data are reports about performed activities, data about the future plans for the actors, their mutual concrete formal relations, etc).

3.2.2. Analysis of objective condition – network governance

The analysis of network governance in the field of drug addiction concentrates on two types of data: strategic documents by the governments which regulate the area dealing with the drug addiction and the documents which are related to the concrete local governance network in Banja Luka. Added to the formalization of network relations through the documents, the informal level of network relations should also be investigated (here I will track the mentioning of the other actors in the documents collected by each actor and also in direct conversation with them, noting the context in which other actors are mentioned – how it explains the connections between the actors). It is important to keep in mind that the establishment and functioning of the network will be connected with the main problem of this research: the framing of drug addiction. Especially important is the analysis of all the data which will point out how the objective condition (existence of the network and the approach to the problem through the network) influences the perception of the problem of drug addiction. The analysis of the resources which different members possess and the power relations between them is important since it points out at the possibilities of different actors to influence the general perception of the problem of drug addiction on the level of the whole local network. Relations between the actors and their formalization (in written way or as tacit norms of behaviour) will show which social mechanisms in network governance are developed and how they constrain the actors. The network analysis should also tackle the issue of context in which network relations develop, connecting it with the network's macroculture and meta-frame (the general perception and approach to the drug addiction on the level of whole network).

The logic behind this approach moves from the more general to the more specific level, and can be graphically represented in the following way:



Graph 3.1: Phases in the execution of the analysis of network governance

Since the strategic documents dealing with drug addiction have quite a broad and general approach, covering many different aspects of the problem, their analysis should concentrate on the parts which deal with the foundations for cooperation between the actors and the general approach to the problem of drug addiction. Therefore, the parts of these documents which should be analyzed in detail concern the approach to the problem (including the definitions of the problem), actors who should deal with it, and their respective roles (thus also covering the questions of relations between the actors and collaborations); in this part the analysis will deal with network governance, its definition and organization related with the principle of cooperation (which is stated in the official documents), relations and the roles played by different actors, with special attention given to their influences to the perception and understanding of the problem (framing) and task division between the actors. All different information will be noted and connected in order to get the clear picture how the “network approach” (collaboration between actors) should be formalized and organized. The resulting network arrangements (as defined in the strategic documents) then are seen as the objective condition which influences all the subsequent dealings with this problem, on all localities in the country. The strategies should be analysed in order to see also whether there are some concrete practical aspects which are not mentioned (for example, sharing of documents, writing reports, monitoring activities, evaluation, funding, etc); these eventual non-defined aspects are important because they free up the field for the actors to establish their concrete relations.

The analysis should continue with the analysis of concrete arrangements between the actors in the local governance network from Banja Luka: how the real objective network is established and organized. The focus of the analysis should be on the concrete relations between the actors in the network, starting with the level of formalization of the relations between the actors (the indicator here will be the number of signed “memoranda about cooperation” between different actors) where the content of these memos will show what exactly is formalized in the relations between the actors, and how many concrete aspects are not formalized. After the analysis of formalized relations, the focus should move on informal contact and relations. It is safe to assume that the actors are aware of the existence of the other actors dealing with the same problem¹⁶; non-formalization of mutual relations will indicate that the actors do not have regular formal contact with each other, and will not be regarded as an indicator of absence of any contact. Lack of formalization in the mutual relations between the actors in the network should show the possibility to organize relations as actors think is appropriate and in the way which more easily brings results for them; also it can indicate that some of the local organizations are not really concerned with the formal relations (for example, writing different reports, in cases where that is not prescribed), but more oriented to “getting things done” without many formal steps which are more typical for the public or governmental sector. Therefore, this part of the analysis should explain the outlook of the existing network in Banja Luka. Later this will be approached as an objective condition which influences the framing of the problem by different members of the network.

In the last part, the network analysis will concentrate on several aspects of the network and its governance which will be regarded as concrete objective conditions of the network which influence subsequent framing of the problem. These aspects include core resources of different actors, power relations between them and social mechanisms which regulate the behaviour of network members. Finally, the analysis will concentrate on the concepts of context, macroculture and meta-frame (all these concepts related to the network level). The context of network governance will aim to explain the setting for the development of the approach to drug addiction through the network (why and how actors came to this kind of arrangement). Macroculture continues with explanation of shared values, beliefs, norms of behaviour and expectations related to the members of the established network. Meta-frame analysis further analyzes the general perception and understanding of the problem of drug addiction: the focus is on the whole network, shared values, interpretations and symbols (agreed on the level of the network). I believe this part of the analysis is suitable to form a bridge between the analysis of network governance as objective condition which influences framing of individual actors and frame

¹⁶ As already stated, due to relatively small number of actors dealing with this problem and the information I got during the interviews with different local actors.

analysis focused on subjective perceptions of the individual actors. The analyzed group of concepts refers to the whole network (which is the objective condition for an individual actor's behaviour), but at the same time they have intrinsic an subjective dimension in the form of values, beliefs, norms of behaviour, symbols, etc, which are shared by all the members of the local network and which will later on condition the individual behaviour of the members.

In this part of analysis, I will use the approach developed by Yanow, who focuses “on meaning that is situated in a particular context” (Yanow 2003: 228), therefore insisting on the specificity of any particular, local context in which policy issue is placed and framed, and use of culture in a sense that different symbols, artifacts and language are used in the process of creation of the meaning. Therefore, the context (for Yanow) becomes the local cultural context through the prism of which all policy issues are perceived and framed, which puts the boundary on the community which shares values, beliefs, feelings and symbols. Introducing the culture in the context of public policy emphasizes the relational and social learning, and adds importance to the context in which the interaction between the actors is done. Also, the important points are tacit local knowledge and the use of artifacts and symbols in the policy. The case of the local governance network in Banja Luka can therefore be regarded as a community of meaning, which objectively exists but also have subjective aspects connected with shared values, for example. Local governance actors are part of the local cultural context and their relations are influenced by values and beliefs, which can be interpreted in different ways; all of these aspects are relevant for the analysis of context, macroculture and meta-frame on the network level.

As a resume of the analysis of the network and network governance as objective condition for framing, the following table gives detailed information about the concrete steps to be followed in the analysis (as explained above) and tackling all the theoretical concepts which are mentioned in the chapter II. These steps in the analysis should lead to the answer to the first research sub-question.

Analysis of formal strategic documents – framework for development of a network as objective condition for approaching the problem of drug addiction (level of state and entity)	
1	How is the problem of drug addiction defined and approached?
2	Which relevant actors are mentioned, in which roles?
3	Is there a defined task division between the actors?
4	Description of formal organization of relationships between the actors
5	Note about missing data – what is not defined in these documents?
Concrete network arrangements – organization of the network in Banja Luka which objectively affects the approach to the problem of drug addiction (municipal level)	

1	How are relations between actors formalized (for example, memos of cooperation)?
2	How do informal relations manifest themselves (frequency of contact, knowledge about the work of other actors, informal communication, etc)?
3	Which roles are taken by different actors?
Identification of core resources possessed by different actors (what makes different actors important, how they are specialized)?	
1	Make a list of actors and respective resources (those which define the specificity of an actor)
Power relations	
1	Use list of resources / actors as the sources of power
2	Identify power relations
Social mechanisms¹⁷	
1	Are there formal restrictions to access for potential new members of the network?
3	Are there collective sanctions for the members of network not following the norms of behaviour and how they function? What is the importance of reputation for the members of network?
4	How do members learn norms of behaviour and adopt the values which are part of macroculture? Is there some defined procedure in that regard?
Context, macroculture and meta-frame related to the concrete network in Banja Luka	
1	Identify the context mentioned in strategic documents which makes the network approach appropriate to tackle the problem of drug addiction. Which are advantages of network in the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina which make it suitable for dealing with the drug addiction?
2	Which aspects of a developed macroculture can be found in the existing network (which values are shared among the members of the network, what is expected from the individual actors in their behaviour, what sort of tacit local knowledge exists in the network?
3	Which are the characteristics of the meta-frame: perception of the problem of drug addiction at the level of whole network in Banja Luka? Focus is on the agreement between the actors regarding the values, beliefs, symbols, and approach to the problem ¹⁸ .

Table 3.1: Steps in the analysis of network governance

3.3. Data about subjective perception (framing)

¹⁷ Analysis of macroculture (defined in the theoretical framework as one of social mechanisms) will be done later, since the concrete analysis will connect the concepts of context for network governance, macroculture and meta-frame, as explained above.

¹⁸ This indicates strong connection between the concepts of macroculture and meta-frame, applied to the local network of governance actors in Banja Luka.

The data concerning the framing (subjective perception of the problem of drug addiction) are the data provided by the different governance actors at the local level (Municipality of Banja Luka) whose analysis will help to answer the research sub-questions: how the actors present their frames, what activities they are concentrated on, which, in the end, will indicate how they frame the problem of drug addiction. Here different sources of data will be used and the analysis will not include just documents about performed activities, but also the description of the manner in which things are done (how the actor approaches to the problem of drug addiction), its scope of activities (not just nominating the activities, but also giving some explanations whether the actor would prefer to deal with more different aspects of the drug addiction problem, or sees its role as a specialist in one specific part of the issue), how the actor sees itself and its role in dealing with the problem of drug addiction in Banja Luka (also related to the other actors dealing with the same problem). Of course, all these questions tackle different aspects of a subjective perception of the problem of drug addiction, making them part of the specific framing done by different actors: the focus here is on the individual local governance actors.

The framing of the problem of drug addiction and resulting frames should be revealed through the specialized approach of different actors: in Banja Luka different actors work on different aspects of the complex problem of drug addiction. I am aware that actors know about complexity of the problem of drug addiction¹⁹ and that they consciously decide to specialize in their concrete dealings with the problem only on certain aspects of it (i.e. counselling, medication, prevention, etc). Reasons for the differences and specialization in their approach are diverse (experience, expertise, funding limitations, etc, which all limit the scope of activities) and they influence the way in which they approach – frame the problem of drug addiction. Here objective condition of network and network governance play an important role; the network allows the actors to specialize because they know that someone else in the network deals with the other aspects of the problem; also the specialization is determined by the resources that different actors possess and their interdependencies (the analysis of the resources which are crucial for different actors was done as the part of network analysis where different resources were regarded as the sources of power, here the focus is on the relations between the resources, specialization and framing). Therefore, the frame analysis in this concrete context signifies development of the focus in dealing with drug addiction, and the concrete framing process includes focusing the approach of an actor to only a limited number of activities. The way in which different actors see themselves should indicate their framing, their subjective perceptions: “the big picture” of the problem is in the background, but the actors decide to focus on some parts of it, which will be specially presented by those actors (in writing, conducting and executing concrete activities).

¹⁹ Network relations between the actors are making this point clear, which will be proven during the analysis of individual local governance actors.

First of all, it was necessary to identify the actors which are dealing with the problem of drug addiction on the level of Municipality of Banja Luka; here I was using “saturation sampling” (also known as snowball model²⁰), starting with the actors which are well known for dealing with this problem, where in the direct contact I asked them to nominate the other actors working in the same field, then repeating the same process. The process was relatively fast and uncovered the existence of a well connected small network of local actors dealing with drug addiction (as expected, taking into account that I am talking about the level of one municipality and that the policy field is quite specific). Therefore, the list of the local governance actors is relatively short, which allows me to approach all of them and analyze their perception and framing of problem of drug addiction²¹. There is a large diversity between the actors (from public sector dealing with social protection or providing medical services, but also local humanitarian and non-profit organizations), this should also lead to the diversity in their subjective perceptions of the problem of drug addiction. This diversity among local governance actors implies that the available data will not be all at the same level of standardization or importance; they will be more or less official and will include the diverse documents produced by those actors which are giving the grasp of the approach to the drug addiction and the concrete actions organized and executed by the actors. Taking into account the theoretical framework, which gave special attention to the role of symbols, values and beliefs, which underline the subjective dimension of the framing process, I will keep them in mind during the entire analysis.

Here I have to mention the concept of meta-frame, which was introduced in the theoretical framework in the part dealing with the frames as subjective perception of the problem of drug addiction; this concept is used in the last part of analysis of network governance, since it is oriented towards the whole network and not its individual members. Therefore, this theoretical concept will not be used in the frame analysis (which, in this case, is oriented towards individual members of the network – local governance actors from Banja Luka).

3.3.1. Data about the frames

I have already explained that framing is a quite complex concept which reveals how the world is subjectively perceived and human experience organized; since people are faced with a huge quantity of

²⁰ The use of technique of saturation sampling is explained in Dunn, William N. (2008), *Public Policy Analysis, An Introduction*. Upper Saddle River: Pearson, Prentice Hall, 97

²¹ I have chosen to disregard some actors which are dealing with the problem of drug addiction, but from different starting point: police forces, courts, prosecutor's office and customs authority are dealing with the criminal aspect of drug addiction – or, more accurately, illegal production, import and sale of different narcotics. Generally, these actors use centralized approach in their work, which signifies less discretionary rights in organizing and performing the activities on the local level.

information, it is necessary to be selective, to simplify, disregard and accentuate. In the concrete case of one local actor and its framing of the problem of drug addiction, through many different information gathered, will reveal what its “world view” is, or more precisely: how the problem of drug addiction is seen, understood and approached in the concrete work of that actor. Therefore, the diversity and quantity of gathered data will have the role to point out to the unique view of an actor on the problem of drug addiction and its roles in dealing with it (of course, these “views” differ among the actors).

I have already stressed the diversity of data which are collected and analyzed; they will include the following (all data here are referring to the individual local actors from the network):

- Documents produced by the actors (different types, but the orientation in gathering the documents was on those which point out at the strategic long-term direction of the actors, like different reports and plans),
- Data from the websites of the actors (this data source is not available for all the actors, but in cases where the actors have the internet presentation it is valuable source of information pointing out how actor sees itself, what is put in the focus and presented as important; also visual details such as logo and photographs can give additional insight in the values appreciated by an actor and focus in its work),
- Observations from direct contact with actors (during the field trip to Banja Luka in February 2010 I was in a position to arrange the meetings with several actors, where I met the people working for those governance actors, presented myself and talked with them about the problem of drug addiction, their work and future plans and orientations. The conversations were in the form of unstructured interviews, during which I took notes and observed the actors, what their buildings and offices look like, what is the atmosphere there and how approachable these actors were. These data will fill the gaps which are inevitable in cases when the only source of data for analysis is the written documents, because the observations show many things which point out to the general orientation and the approach developed by the actors, their values and beliefs, etc),
- Contact via email with the actors (it is planned to act as additional source of data which will fill in the gaps left after the analysis of all previous data, it should be focused on specific questions and aspects of the work which are left unclear).

There is one additional note important to mention regarding data collection from the local governance actors; in cases where an actor (understood as a local institution, agency or organization) is not specialized to deal exclusively with the problem of drug addiction I was aiming to establish the contact with the people directly working on the tasks in the area of drug addiction, even though sometimes those persons were not highly positioned in the overall hierarchy of an organization – these contacts were useful because they included the persons with detailed insight and knowledge about drug

addiction (among the personnel of those actors). In the cases where the actors were specialized, I tried to meet people who are responsible for the organization as a whole (for example, at the level of managing director), since that way I was able to get the data about the position of the organization as a whole concerning drug addiction, approaches to deal with it, plans for the future, etc.

3.3.2. Analysis of subjective perceptions: frame analysis

As explained above, the gathered data are qualitative and quite diversified; the diverse data are useful for the frame analysis, since they should all together help to uncover the subjective perceptions of the problem of drug addiction by the different governance actors. The available data should be approached and analyzed for each actor individually; later on the results of the analyses can be compared in order to get more insight in the specialization and task division between the actors (this comparison is connected to the analysis of the local governance network as an objective condition and influence it has on the framing of the problem).

In the frame analysis, public policy, policy documents and policy actions are related to the values and the interpretations. Interpretations are done through the framing process: some parts of a complex issue (or, reality in general) are emphasized, some not, and the process is underlined by the values and value-facts relations. Also, narration and language play an important part in the process, as means which are not neutral, but can be used strategically in order to present a policy issue in a certain way. Therefore, the frame analysis should be connected to the interpretive analysis; since the frames can be understood as the mental constructions through which the human experience is organized, different frames are actually different interpretations of the complex reality: policy issues or problems, or in this case the drug addiction. "Interpretive approaches to policy analysis focus on the meaning that policies have for a broad range of policy-relevant publics including but not limited to clients and potential clients, legislators, cognate agencies (supportive and contesting), implementors (such as implementing-agency executives, administrators, and staff), and potential voters" (Yanow 2000: 8). This definition strongly connects the interpretive policy analysis with the frame analysis, because it puts as the main point of interpretive analysis the meaning of the policy, which is not unique and undivided, but subjective and dependent on the type of actor. Different meanings given to some policy include different values - the interpretive policy analysis aims to uncover those meanings; while doing that, policy actors are perceived as active creators of the meaning, creating it in the process of the interpretation of the policy.

An important point of interpretive analysis for my research is the emphasis on the multiple ways to look at the same issue (here: drug addiction), where interpretive analysis should lead to identification of differences (“multiple meanings conveyed in policy language and in agency acts”, Yanow 1993: 56) by understanding how those meanings are constructed and used (therefore, it is frame-reflective). The interpretive analysis in this research will be used as a tool to better approach the different interpretations and meanings given to the policy by different actors. I will use the interpretive analysis as a tool which should help me to understand how the policy issues or problems are framed; the interpretive analysis will be integrated in the frame analysis. This approach can relate directly to the presentations of the actors: in order to present themselves and their views of the problem of drug addiction, actors use artifacts and create “discourses” in order to communicate those presentations to the public²². Therefore, focus on the artifacts and discourses – communications and presentations (placed in the context of the local network of governance actors in Banja Luka), will point out the framing of the problem of drug addiction.

For the frame analysis, it is important to keep in mind that there are no strict procedures to follow when conducting it: the qualitative data analysis is “as much art as science” (Babbie 2010: 400). I have developed two schemes for the analysis of the gathered available data from the local governance actors, which I believe will be useful in answering the research questions and uncovering the individual subjective frames. First of all, I will use a scheme to explain how I plan to tackle different data, divided by their source: I will explain what should be done, read, noted, identified, from each of different sources of data, keeping in mind the practical aspects of the analysis and the roles and strategic uses of earlier mentioned theoretical concepts: symbols, values and beliefs, in all different available data from the local governance actors. After that, I will concentrate on the chronological steps in the frame analysis which should present the findings in the coherent way (the second scheme) and which should lead to the answers to the research sub-questions 2, 3 and 4 for each of the local governance actors.

The analysis of the different sources of data (documents, websites, observations, e-mail contacts) should roughly follow the scheme presented below.

Analysis of written documents	
1	Identify activities performed by an actor
2	Underline key phrases – those describing the approach to the problem of drug addiction
3	Identify how actor describes itself

²² Steps in interpretive analysis, as presented by Yanow 2000: 22.

4	Find the sentences where other actors are mentioned, write them down connecting them with the context in which they are mentioned ²³
Internet data – websites of the actors	
1	Space on the website about drug addiction ²⁴
2	Transcribe parts where actor is presenting its work (necessary to transcribe accurately the key words or phrases, because of the possible symbolic use of language, which is important for the framing)
3	Keep track about mentioning the future orientation (goals, plans, visions for the future)
Observations and notes from the direct contact – from the field trip to Banja Luka²⁵	
1	What does the building where an actor is located look like?
2	What does the office of an actor look like?
3	What is the general approach of an actor (easy to reach, communicate, make an appointment, etc)?
4	Remarks about the conversations with the contact persons from the actors
Contact via email	
1	Provide additional information, or clarify information already available; therefore it will be focused on the data I am missing on this point

Table 3.2: Steps in the execution of frame analysis, ordered by the sources of data

It is important to note that the sources of data here are diverse and not standardized which creates difficulties in establishing a clear relation between different sources of data and finding answers to different research sub-questions. I would like to point out that the different sources of data should supplement each other in order to get a clear picture of the “subjective world” of organized perceptions and understanding of the problem of drug addiction by different local actors. Generally, written reports are more oriented towards concrete activities (but not entirely nor exclusively), while websites are more general in their approach, since they aim to present the actor to the general public. My notes and observations from the actors I have personally visited fill the gaps with subjective comments given by the actors on, among others, their approach and vision of their work (they are more subjective, since they are not as official as written documents). Throughout the analysis, I will try to identify the symbolic language which is used and the interpretations (of policies, activities, aims): they will point out at values which actors find important. In the analysis of documents it is important to keep in mind the

²³ Context in which other actors were mention should be described shortly making the connection between the actors clear; for example: “worked together”, “planned activities together”, “dealing with other things outside of expertise of this actor”, etc.

²⁴ In case actor is not specialized in dealing exclusively with the problem of drug addiction.

²⁵ During the field trip to Banja Luka in February 2010 it was not possible to get in the contact with all the actors; this will be noted in the analysis of individual actors and their framing.

possible gap between the intent of the policy document and the concrete practice during the implementation (Yanow 2000: 9); it is important to keep a critical view on the actors and the way in which they present their activities and success in work.

After explaining how to tackle different sources of data in the frame analysis, I should also present the scheme for the concrete analysis of each local governance actor, which should lead to the answers to the research sub-questions. I have developed a scheme which uses so-called “cards of subjective perception of drug addiction” which aims to focus on the relevant aspects of frame analysis underlined in the research sub-questions dealing with the presentations of the actors and their concrete activities in dealing with drug addiction (the frames are revealed through presentations and activities of the actors). Here all the different sources of the data are used and integrated.

Steps in the frame analysis	Execution
<u>Collected and used data</u>	List all the different data used in the frame analysis of an actors
<u>Card of subjective perception of drug addiction</u>	- consists of the following parts:
Complex reality and focus on perception of the problem of drug addiction	<p>Explain the focus of an actor, especially taking into account the position of the problem of drug addiction on the global agenda of an actor and the way in which this conditions any further dealings with the problem.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <u>How</u>: looking at the activities that actor deals with allows to understand its focus (actor's complete agenda compared with the part devoted to drug addiction) - <u>Why</u>: it is important to know the general focus of the actor because it influences its view on drug addiction (global vs. detailed look)
Concrete activities following from the framing of the problem	<p>List the activities performed by an actor, with the special attention given to the specific core activities and specificities in their execution.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <u>How</u>: official documents presents all the activities; the comments from the actors point out at the most important – core activities - <u>Why</u>: concrete work/activities are based on the perception of the problem and importance given to the specific aspects of it is reflected in the executed activities
Presentation of the frame: official	Present the official position of an actor related to the problem of

and actual situation	<p>drug addiction and confront it with the actual dealing with the problem (identify the possible gaps). Special attention is given to the symbols, artifacts and interpretations used.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <u>How</u>: symbols point out to certain values which are important for an actor; ways in which actor presents itself and communicates with the public show how it wants to be seen and how it is really seen (in case there is a gap between the two) - <u>Why</u>: in the way an actor presents itself to the wider public it communicates its perception of the problem; in case of a complex problem presentations will point out at the aspects of the problem which are emphasized
<u>Integration of presentations and activities using frame analysis</u>	<p>Confront the presentation of an actor with its concrete activities in order to form a comprehensive picture of an actor, identifying any possible problems in the coherence of this global mental picture.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <u>How</u>: looking at the coherence between the executed activities and the ways in which an actor tends to present itself (focus on the gaps) - <u>Why</u>: complete mental picture of the problem of drug addiction must integrate presentations and activities of an actor, by looking at the congruency and interpreting the diverse pieces of information (also important is to notice the “holes” in the frame, pieces which do not fit in the picture)

Table 3.3: The steps in the execution of the frame analysis, chronological order

The frame analysis should adopt the critical view which would look at the official presentation of the actors and compare them with the real execution of the activities. Subjectivity of the actors, reflected in the way how they see their work, its results and success, will point out how the actors interpret their work, perceive and present themselves. I will look for the coherency in the general picture which the actor presents through its work (choice in activities performed and the way they are executed).

I would like once more to stress the importance of symbols, values and beliefs in frame analysis. My intention to use symbols in the frame analysis is connected with the premise that symbols are used as vehicle for communicating certain values and beliefs, therefore the symbols are revealed (through the practice, artifacts, use of language, etc), they are subjective and they support and enhance the framing done by the actors. For example, an actor might say officially that the possibility to collaborate with

other actors is important for him, still if he keeps distance in concrete contacts or is not easily reachable there would be a gap between the official policy and practical execution of it. Therefore, values and beliefs which are important for an actor probably will not be explicitly stated, but rather revealed through their work and general subjective approach to the problem. Here is important to see the possible discrepancy between the official approach to tackle drug addiction and what is actually done, where the interpretations of the policies are important; interpretation here regards the analysis of concrete activities and the ways in which they are performed, which are compared with the official plans and established procedures. In the end of the frame analysis I should arrive at the congruent perceptions of the problem of drug addiction, which use different information, interpret them in a specific way and support that picture with the strategic use of symbols (therefore communicating the key values for the actors), values and beliefs. All the different data in the end should point out at a certain specific and congruent perception – frame of the problem of drug addiction.

3.4. Conclusion

The execution of the analysis follows the framework which divides the whole analysis in two large parts: analysis of network governance (analysis of objective condition for framing) and frame analysis (analysis of subjective perceptions of the problem of drug addiction). The logic behind this, with the relations between the steps in the analysis, the theoretical concepts employed and the answers to the research questions provided can all be represented in brief in the following way:

	Steps in analysis	Theoretical concepts		Answers to research questions
I	Analysis of objective condition: network analysis	Network governance		How is the problem of drug addiction approached within the local governance network?
1	Analysis of strategic documents			
2	Analysis of concrete network arrangements (Banja Luka)			
3	Relevant aspects of concrete network			
a	Core resources		Resource dependency	
b	Power relations and sources of power		Power relations	
c	Social mechanisms		- network access	

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - collective sanctions - reputation - learning process 	
d	Context, macroculture and meta-frame on the network level		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - context - macroculture - meta-frame 	
II	Analysis of subjective perceptions: frame analysis			
1	Analysis of the focus of an actor and the place of the drug addiction on the agenda of the actor			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How do governance actors present their frames? - Which concrete actions in dealing with the problem of drug addiction follow from the framing by local governance actors?
2	Analysis of the concrete activities which follow from the framing of the problem	Frames and framing process	Symbols, values, beliefs	
3	Analysis of the presentation of the frame; comparison of official and actual situation			
4	Integration of presentations and activities using the frame analysis			How can presentations and actions of local governance actors be interpreted in the light of frame analysis?
6	The map of network: roles, tasks, specialization, relations			
7	Integrative analysis of individual actors in the network	Integration of all concepts		How is the problem of drug addiction in the Municipality of Banja Luka framed by different local governance actors?

Table 3.4: Integration of methodological steps in the analysis, theoretical concepts and the answers to the research questions

This rough scheme wants to show the basic connections between the research questions, the theoretical framework and the methodology of research. As I have mentioned several times, it is important always to keep in mind the basic approach, division between the analysis of the local governance network

(which is objective condition which influences the framing) and the frame analysis (which deals with the subjective perception of the problem by different individual governance actors).

The first part of the analysis deals with network governance, which is analyzed following the steps presented above. This part of analysis deals first with the more general level (regulations in the policy field dealing with drug addiction on the state's and entity's level), then approaches the concrete network of local governance actors in Banja Luka (analysis of organization of the network, using formal and informal means) and finally some aspects of this concrete network are approached (key resources and power relations; social mechanisms regulating the network; context, macroculture and meta-frame which shape the network using the values and beliefs – therefore introducing the subjective aspects in the network and its functioning). Specific aspects of concrete network can be related to theoretical concepts already introduced: resource dependency, power relations, social mechanisms, network context, macroculture and meta-frame; I will approach these theoretical concepts from the point of their application in the objective existing network in Banja Luka. In total, whole analysis of the local governance network should lead to an answer to the first research sub-question, regarding the development of the network approach to the problem of drug addiction in Banja Luka.

The second part of the analysis is the frame analysis; the main relevant theoretical concepts in this part are frames and the framing process. Here, I approach each local governance actor separately, gathering all the available data (documents, internet presentations, notes from interviews and observations, emails) and creating the cards of subjective perceptions as the mean to approach their frames of drug addiction. I look into the focus of work of each actor, concrete activities they perform and the ways in which they present themselves and their work. Special attention is given to the symbols: I look for them in the gathered data (language and artifacts), connect them with the values they want to communicate (how they are strategically used) and look at the congruency in the approach to drug addiction which should be achieved through their use. There should be a similar situation concerning the identified values and beliefs of the actors: key values and beliefs of actors should reveal the specific approach to the problem of drug addiction. Frame analysis should integrate all these aspects of the frame which are specific for each actor, interpret them in relation to each other in order to get a single mental picture of the problem. The analysis should be aware of the inevitability of interpretation of diverse pieces of information about the actors with the aim to get one specific congruent frame of drug addiction for each actor (a subjective perception of the problem specific for each actor which strategically uses different symbols, values, etc, in formulation of the frame); connected to this is the necessity to acknowledge all the possible gaps or paradoxes in that picture.

The final part of the analysis deals with the integration of the subjective perceptions of the individual actors (their frames of the problem of drug addiction) with the network they are part of (the network which is objective condition for perception of the problem of drug addiction). The integration of these different parts of the analysis is necessary: it is already acknowledged that the specific frames of drug addiction are influenced by the actors themselves and their participation in the local governance network. Integration of these objective and subjective aspects of the problem of drug addiction will lead to the answer to the main research question about the framing of the problem of drug addiction by different local governance actors in the Municipality of Banja Luka.

A last remark on the data used in the analysis is warranted: qualitative and diverse data require a specific and creative methodological approach; often the firm prescribed framework to analyze the qualitative data is lacking. I think this can be regarded as one of the advantages of frame analysis, because the diversity, the different sources of data, and even the availability or absence of certain data all point out the way in which an actor subjectively acts, sees and perceives itself and its work. The absence of certain data or sources of information (for example the internet presentation of an actor) point out other aspects: what is important for an actor and how it uses its funds. The difficulties in getting the data and stories behind getting the data also indicate the approach of the actor (towards the general public, for example). I believe that one of the methodological strong points of frame analysis is the possibility to use all different sorts of data (official, informal, observations, etc), since they all add to the final understanding of that specific subjective look which different actors have when they do their everyday job and address the issue of drug addiction.

CHAPTER IV – ANALYSIS OF OBJECTIVE CONDITION: NETWORK GOVERNANCE

4.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with the first part of the analysis: analysis of network governance as the objective condition which affects the framing of the problem of drug addiction in the Municipality of Banja Luka. I will start here by inquiring into how the network is developed and used to approach the problem of drug addiction; the local network for me is the “context” within which the claims-making occurs (Rubington & Weinberg 2003: 344). Therefore, here I take a deeper look into that objective local social context in order to understand its role in the framing of the problem of drug addiction. I will aim to reconstruct this objective condition (development of network to deal with this specific problem) looking historically into appearance of regulation in this policy area, its development and its application in practice (on the local level in the Municipality of Banja Luka).

The concrete analysis of network governance will start with the analysis of general regulations in the policy area dealing with drug addiction (analysis of strategic documents dealing with the drug addiction at the state’s and entity’s level) and continue with the analysis of concrete network arrangements on the local level in the Municipality of Banja Luka. Since, in the end, I am interested in the connection between the objective condition (network governance) and subjective perception (framing) of the problem of drug addiction, I will look into several relevant aspects of the actual network in Banja Luka: resource dependency and exchange, power relations and social mechanisms in the network. The analysis of these aspects can indicate the how the problem gets perceived – they show how the relations and dependencies between the members of the network influence (or can influence) the perception of the problem. Also, I will look into the context for development of the network connected with meta-frame and macroculture on the network level: here the focus will be on the specific values, beliefs, symbols and interpretations created and exchanged between the members of the network, which also influence the view on the drug addiction on the level of whole network.

The logic I will follow goes from the more general approach to regulations in this policy area developed by the government through their strategic documents, towards the organization of the concrete network which is the object of this study (case of Banja Luka), where again I start with the general establishment and organization of the network (using the formal and informal means) and then move to the analysis of a number of network aspects which will explain its functioning in more details and which later on can be connected with the frame analysis (move from objective relations to their

influence on the perception of the problem. Schematically, the analysis will be executed in the following way:

	Steps in the analysis of network governance as the objective condition for framing
1	Analysis of strategic documents (related to the establishment of network approach to the problem of drug addiction)
1a	Strategy for Bosnia and Herzegovina
1b	Strategy for Republic of Srpska
1c	Action plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina
2	Analysis of concrete network arrangements in the local governance network in Banja Luka
2a	Formalized relations (memoranda about cooperation and concrete projects)
2b	Informal relation (contacts)
3	Analysis of relevant aspects of network governance in the Banja Luka network
3a	Core resources and roles of actors in the network
3b	Sources of power and power relations
3c	Social mechanisms (restriction to access, collective sanctions and reputation, learning process)
3d	Context for the network development, macroculture and meta-frame – network level

Table 4.1: Steps in the analysis of network governance

Upon finished analysis of the network and its governance I will be able to provide an answer to the first research sub-question concerning the dealings with drug addiction in the local governance network.

4.2. Formalization of network relations (analysis of strategic documents)

The analysis of the strategic documents dealing with drug addiction aims at presenting the developments in this policy field, specially focusing on the promotion of the network approach in dealing with the problem and the formalization of network relations in the official documents – the formal establishment of the network as the objective condition to deal with the problem of drug addiction and the development of an official approach to the problem through the network. The analysis in this part will focus on the formal role of the government in the establishment and the support for the network relations, where I will try to make a division between the mere rhetorical promotion of the principle of collaboration (without specifying the obligations from the side of the government) and the real application of this principle through the establishment of concrete procedures

for the collaboration between different actors specifying their mutual rights and obligations. My aim here is to understand how the government sees the network and its governance in the area dealing with the drug addiction, and how the concrete theoretical concepts from that domain are applied in the practice.

Approaching the problem of drug addiction historically, it is important to keep in mind that the policies dealing with the drug addiction in Bosnia and Herzegovina are relatively new and still in development. Traditionally, the policy issues relating to drug addiction were equated with the criminal matters of drug production and sale, while the other aspects of the problem (i.e. treatment of drug addicts) were not specially observed or regulated, but accommodated within the medical centres, humanitarian organizations or religious communities. This approach was in line with the low importance given to the problem itself, which is still present today: as mentioned several times, the problem itself is not comprehensively observed, precise statistics are lacking and are not equally developed in different areas (there are more criminal statistics about illegal sale of drugs than data about registered drug addicts).

For the first time, the need to develop a special policy around the problem of drug addiction was recognized in the document prepared by the European Union called European partnership with Bosnia and Herzegovina from January 2006. This document aims to update the priorities for further work for the country, referring to “Progress Report on Bosnia and Herzegovina’s preparations for further integration with the European Union” (page 1). The document sets the list of priorities for the country to address, mentioning among them “Develop a State-level drug policy in conformity with EU standards” and “Adopt the law on the prevention of narcotics abuse and their precursors” (in the area of Justice, Freedom and Security for the short-term priorities) and also the development of law enforcement bodies in this policy area and the establishment of state-level office for narcotics (in the area of Justice, Freedom and Security for the medium-term priorities). Even though this document focuses more on the need to address criminal aspects connected with drug addiction (on the list of priorities, “drugs” was put between “money laundering” and “fighting organized crime and terrorism”), it made Bosnia and Herzegovina realize that this policy area is not regulated. Therefore, it can be concluded that the push for regulation in this policy field has come from the outside the country, from the European Union which has insisted on regulating the area dealing with drug addiction following the example of EU countries.

In order to address the problem of drug addiction in full, the following documents were adopted (in chronological order):

- Strategy for the Monitoring of Opiate Drugs and Containment of Opiate Drugs Abuse in the Republic of Srpska for the period of 2008-2012 – Strategy for Republic of Srpska (May 2008),
- State strategy for the monitoring of opiate drugs, prevention and repression of abuse of opiate drugs in Bosnia and Herzegovina for the period of 2009-2013 – Strategy for Bosnia and Herzegovina (March 2009),
- State action plan for fighting the abuse of opiate drugs in Bosnia and Herzegovina 2009 – 2013 – Action plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina or only Action plan²⁶ (beginning 2010 – no precise date on the document itself).

My analysis will start with the Strategy for Bosnia and Herzegovina, then move to the Strategy for Republic of Srpska; I will deal with the approach to the problem of drug addiction, the role of the cooperation, actors, their tasks and formalization of cooperation – focusing on formalization of network-like relations as a suitable means to address the problem of drug addiction. The last strategic document to analyse will be the Action plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina, where I will look for more practical details about cooperation and network relations, comparing it with the strategies²⁷. In the end of the analysis of the official strategic documents I will be able to see in which way they constitute the basis for the development of network governance as the objective condition to deal with drug addiction: how the concept of network governance is applied in this policy field.

4.2.1. Strategy for Bosnia and Herzegovina

The Strategy of Bosnia and Herzegovina is the first comprehensive document addressing the problem of drug addiction in its complexity in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is presented as “proof of the state’s purpose to, in the organized and systematic way, provide help to those who are most vulnerable in society and who, without the engagement of the state, would not have adequate protection” (page 4).

The Strategy starts with a very broad approach, recognizing the complexity of the problem of drug addiction and mentioning different aspects of it (from medical to criminal); also it comments on the causes of drug addiction: the mutual influence between social changes, the consequences of civil war, post-communist transition, changes in social values, economic problems, etc (page 4). On the same page it is also stated that the solution to the problem of drug addiction is to be found in the mobilization of professionals from different levels of government and the promotion of good examples in cooperation between government and non-governmental sector. The strategy further states that the funding for dealing with the problem of drug addiction in Bosnia and Herzegovina is scarce, while

²⁶ Since there is only one Action plan adopted (on the level of whole Bosnia and Herzegovina), there is no need to make a distinction between different action plans (as it is done for the Strategies).

²⁷ I must add that the Action plan for Republic of Srpska is in the process of adoption, but still does not exist

activities are insufficient, sporadic and lacking coordination, presenting the solution in the systematic approach to the problem which should integrate preventive, repressive and other measures (so far the focus was on the criminal legislation and regulations connected to the importation of drugs or drug precursors). The Strategy aims to be seen as the basis for the functioning of the governmental bodies, agencies, institutions, associations, other physical and legal bodies working in the field of drug addiction (page 8).

The Strategy sets a broad list of goals (in total 9 broadly defined goals), among them also “strengthening institutional capacities and more responsible inclusion of society”, which is never elaborated on the more practical level. Rather, the approach developed in the Strategy is to divide the activities in the wide groups, explaining the roles of different social sub-systems, and often mentioning the need for collaboration, but without the explanations on the level of practical organization and execution of that collaboration. I here present this approach, as it is developed in the Strategy:

Activities / measures	Systems (actors) included	Recommended cooperation with
Prevention	Health system (especially Centres for mental health, Centres for advising and testing for HIV, teams for family general practitioners, Centres for medical treatment of drug addicts)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - families with children - system of social protection - security system - non-governmental organizations (NGOs)
	System of social protection (Municipal Centres for social work)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - families - schools - local community
	Educational system (at all levels)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - parents - local institutions - health system – especially public health system - social protection system - NGOs - local associations of citizens
	Security system	- other systems (education, health)
	Inside penitentiary facilities	- not explicitly mentioned
Education	Health system (institutions of public health)	
	Educational system	- not explicitly stated

		- suggested inclusion of cured drug addicts or their parents
	All other actors (especially media, religious actors, sport workers, teachers and educators, people working in health sector, army, judiciary system, police, social workers, etc)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - cooperation with educational institutions - public health system - local community - employers
Treatment of drug addicts: cure, rehabilitation and reintegration	Institutes for fighting addictive diseases, Centres for mental health, Centres for prevention of addictive diseases	- whole health system
	Psychiatric clinics	- not mentioned
	System of social protection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - diverse actors at the local level - civil society - families of drug addicts
	Non-governmental sector	- not precise
	Detention facilities	- not precise
	Diverse associations (of drug addicts, their parents)	- not precise
	Therapeutic communities and Centres for rehabilitation of drug addicts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - not precise - Ministry²⁸ should oversee their work
	Civil society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - private sector - volunteers
It is mentioned that the complexity of the issue demands the establishment of a network of institutions working on re-socialization of drug addicts (including Centres for social work, health and educational institutions, employment offices, different associations, etc)		
Measures for reduction of supply of opiate drugs	Main actors here are police, judiciary system (prosecutors, judges), customs, legislators, different Ministries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - INTERPOL - Police forces in the region - health and educational system - international institutions working on issues of drug addiction

Table 4.2: Strategy for Bosnia and Herzegovina, focus on actors and cooperation

²⁸ not stating explicitly which one

From the developed approach it is possible to conclude that the governance here refers to network governance (it includes many different actors, not exclusively from the government) and that the Strategy wants to promote the need for cooperation between these actors. Also, governance in this sense blurs the boundaries of responsibilities between the actors: change of balance between the state and civil society (Stoker 1998: 21), since it wants to actively include the actors not directly connected with the state. Still, it never prescribes how the actual execution of the cooperation should be organized, but only divides the complex problem of drug addiction into tasks which are then approached commenting on possible modes for execution of cooperation, without going into details. An indicator of this vague approach is also the part of the Strategy dealing with the funding, where it is only stated that the proposed activities should have financial support from the budget, with additional sources from international funds or institutions, domestic donors and “alternative ways for gathering financial means” (page 23). This makes clearer the picture that the government through this Strategy seeks to promote certain activities without obliging itself to provide financial support in their execution and distancing itself from the problem through inclusion of other actors (O’Toole & Meier 2004).

It is important to notice, and relevant for my research, that some of the activities are approached from the local level (prevention, education, cure, rehabilitation, reintegration) while the activities focused on diminishing the supply of drugs are more centralized in their approach, dealing with the legislation, regulations, international cooperation (mostly on police and criminal matters) where local actors are (generally) not mentioned. For centralized activities government applies hierarchical approach (all mentioned actors are from the government, cooperation is seen mostly as the international exchange of data and experience, for example with INTERPOL), while for other activities (prevention, education, treatment) the network approach is promoted, without explanations about the concrete organization of network governance in execution of these activities.

The Strategy for Bosnia and Herzegovina mentions the need for cooperation between many different actors in order to tackle the problem of drug addiction: it promotes network governance without stating how this network governance should be organized. It is clear that the actors will exchange the resources (in the first place, their expertise), but the power relations are not clear: nobody is obliged nor forced to take more active role and lead this policy field, everything remains on the level of vague recommendations for closer cooperation and fuller understanding of the problem through the insights from different actors. Therefore, this Strategy remains the first step in the new way of dealing with the social problems through many different actors and creation of the network, which is seen as something that develops gradually by itself.

4.2.2. Strategy for Republic of Srpska

Strategy for Republic of Srpska aims to regulate the policy field dealing with drug addiction in the comprehensive way: “curbing drug abuse, decreasing the demand for drugs, decreasing the supply of drugs, and provision of adequate psycho-social and health protection to drug abuse victims” (page 6). It is the first strategic document dealing with drug addiction on the level of Republic of Srpska and chronologically the first adopted comprehensive document dealing with drug addiction in Bosnia and Herzegovina, at any level of the government.

In a similar way to the other Strategy for Bosnia and Herzegovina, it also emphasizes the complexity of the problem of drug addiction, stating that it is directly or indirectly connected with diverse social systems and sub-systems (page 5). The causes and consequences of the problem are broadly defined, focusing on the participation of many different actors in approaching drug addiction in its complexity and the activities to tackle drug addiction are again divided into different groups. Specific for this Strategy is its approach, which is presented mostly from the level of the Government of Republic of Srpska as the leader for the planning, execution and evaluation of different programmes and activities. Therefore, the activities and roles of different Ministries are described with more practical details; it is planned for each of the Ministries mentioned below to develop their own programmes for fighting drug abuse in their domains while the analysis also indicates the roles for the non-governmental sector:

Actor	Activities	Partners
Ministry of Education and Culture	Diminishing demand for drugs: prevention and education	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- schools- NGOs- social and health services- families- religious communities- judiciary institutions- police- customs
Ministry of Health and Social Welfare	Diminishing demand for drugs: prevention, treatment, rehabilitation and resocialization	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Mental health protection centres- Centres for social work- NGOs- educational institutions

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - families - religious communities - judiciary institutions - police - customs
Ministry of Internal Affairs	Diminishing supply of drugs: fighting organized crime related to the drugs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - prosecutor's office - customs - courts - social and health services - educational institutions - families - religious communities - NGOs
Ministry of Family, Youth and Sport	Diminishing demand for drugs: prevention	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - social and health services - educational institutions - judiciary institutions - police - NGOs
Prosecutor's Office	Diminishing supply of drugs: repressive and preventive measures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - police forces - customs - courts
Non-governmental sector	Prevention, advising, help for the families of drug addicts, work of therapeutic communities, prevention of risky behaviour and contagious diseases	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - schools - public institutions in general

Table 4.3: Strategy for Republic of Srpska, focus on actors and cooperation

The Strategy insistently calls for more cooperation between the sectors, especially between the governmental and non-governmental sectors, under the leadership of the Government of Republic of Srpska²⁹. In order to overcome problems with the lack of coordination the Strategy proposes the creation of different bodies:

²⁹ For example, one of the problems (from the point of view of the Government) mentioned several times is connected with the cooperation with the non-governmental sector: the lack of feedback about the activities executed by NGOs and their effects, where there does not exist the obligation for NGOs to present the feedback report to the Government after the finished project; of course the problem refers to the projects funded by the Government without prescribed procedures for reporting about the final results from the projects. The leadership position of the Government can be sustained through

- A coordination body on the level of whole government which should integrate all different activities and approaches from different institutions,
- A permanent governmental body for planning and implementation of the Strategy, which should support the municipalities in the development of local programmes for fighting drug abuse, their implementation and evaluation of the activities,
- A commission for the containment of opiate drug abuse, which should consist of representatives of all Ministries, some other governmental agencies and non-governmental organizations; this Commission should also deal with the issues of coordination of activities and support for cooperation; the role of coordinator is given to the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs also has another function: Strategy plans forming the Department for implementation of Strategy inside this Ministry, which should provide the technical, operational and professional help to the Commission and work on many specific tasks, among others, connected with the data collection about the drug addiction, and cooperation with the NGO sector. The general impression is that the Government wants to emphasize importance of the problem and the cooperation by recommending the establishment of many different bodies to deal with it; it remains an open question whether the creation of many different governmental bodies in the same policy field at the same time would lead to more or less coordination in the activities executed on different levels by different actors.

The Strategy states that in order to accomplish its goals it should include in the work on drug addiction: NGOs, private enterprises, religious communities, professional associations, international organizations, other associations and organizations (page 38). Still the financial means necessary to accomplish the established goals are not presented in detail; rather it is stated that “it is necessary to provide adequate financial support from the budget” of different ministries, municipalities, international funds, donations, and alternative sources.

This Strategy addresses the issue of network governance through the involvement of different actors, but the impression of network governance in this case is that it should be more under supervision from the government or relevant ministries while other actors should be included in the execution of concrete activities. Government sees itself as the actor with enough power to lead this field, in its regulation and concrete activities (the further analysis of the network will show how much of that potential is actually used, from the local governmental actors). Also the truthfulness of the determination to lead this policy field can be questioned: the rhetorical determination is not followed by

monitoring of the activities executed by the other actors from the civil society and that is (as stated in the Strategy) currently not the case.

the financial means to support concrete actions, the core source of power for the government is only its position of authority (maker of the regulations and creator of different governmental bodies to deal with the problem) and not channelling the financial means in the activities to tackle drug addiction problem on the spot.

It is clear that the Strategy wants to promote cooperation, especially between the institutions from the public sector and the civil society, but this Strategy tends to introduce many different actors, without specifying their roles or the ways in which they can be included in the network relations through some concrete activities. The other remaining problem is that the Strategy remains mostly on the level of recommendations, without fixing the measurable goals or presenting the real financial support for the activities in the domain of fighting drug abuse. Even though the example from Banja Luka is presented as the case to be followed³⁰ (page 15), the Strategy does not give clear guidelines how to replicate it elsewhere. Network governance on the level of Republic of Srpska is understood as inclusion of many different actors (without prescribing their roles or level of inclusion) with the leadership of the government which is based on its position of authority.

4.2.3. Action plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina

The third relevant document in the policy field is the Action plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina (for the moment it remains the only adopted Action plan). The official aim of the Action plan was to be used as the next step in the realization of set goals for fighting drug abuse (Strategy for Bosnia and Herzegovina: 23), therefore it was assumed that it will be more concrete and practical in its orientation.

Contrary to expectations, the Action plan gives quite a vague picture of the realization of the goals, since many concrete aspects of the regulation are not tackled. Instead, the Action plan deals in good part with the process of its adoption, adding technical and methodological details of the process (who gave the technical support, what sort of interviews were conducted, with whom, etc); it also elaborates in detail the aspects from the European partnership with Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Strategy for Bosnia and Herzegovina, in order to prove the need to have an Action plan in the policy field dealing with drug addiction. On the concrete level, the Action plan discusses different options to organize the State's Office for narcotics and its scope of activities (repressive measures, prevention, education, data gathering, research, international cooperation).

³⁰ The example relates to the concrete project between: Centre for Social Work Banja Luka, Psychiatric Clinic Banja Luka and local NGO Viktorija.

At the beginning, the Action plan states that it is a result-oriented document which will deal with the different strategic areas connected with drug addiction, for each of which it will define goals³¹, priority measures, activities, deadlines, actors involved and indicators of enforcement of the measures and activities. It states that the responsibility for the achievement of the goals should be shared between different public institutions and the organizations from civil society, without explaining what does the responsibility mean and which measures will follow from it (the shared responsibility is related with more cooperation and coordination between the actors). Even though all these ideas are outlined, they are never fully explained in the Action plan: we only get the relatively clear picture of areas of goals and some activities, but actual deadlines, actors, their roles and indicators of success are not mentioned in the document.

In the end, the Action plan does not bring anything new to the policy field dealing with drug addiction (especially nothing new regarding the formalization of network relations in tackling the problem) except the words of commitment for the cooperation between the actors and the need for more collaboration, without other signs of that commitment. It can be concluded that this Action plan is a lost opportunity to proceed with the establishment of network governance in greater detail, working from the basis set in the Strategy for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

4.2.4. Conclusions of the analysis of strategic documents

Here I will make a short resume of the findings from the analysis of the strategic documents referring to the application of the theoretical concepts related to network governance, in practice.

Strategic documents see governance of the problem of drug addiction as network governance, since the need to have different actors dealing with different aspects of drug addiction is recognized – including the actors not directly related to the government and the public sector. Interdependence of the actors, interactions and exchange of resources are mentioned as necessary in order to successfully address the problem of drug addiction in its complexity. On the level of institutionalization of mutual relations, documents recognize the importance of the governmental sector, but that is not further elaborated (it is taken for granted that the government will take a leading role in the formed network, but how exactly it will act and what that role implies is not explained).

³¹ Goals are defined in the Strategy for Bosnia and Herzegovina (page 10) and the Action plan uses them with (occasional) changes in wording – but not in the meaning of different goals.

Also, documents mention several aspects of network governance which are important for the understanding of the role of network in the framing process: power relations, exchange of resources and context of network governance. The adopted regulations (Strategies and Action plan) do not institutionalize power relations; they rather assume that the government has the most power to shape the whole policy field and that it is willing to share that power with the other actors. On the more practical level it remains unclear how power relations might affect the perception of the problem – it basically depends on the individual case of how active a governmental actor wants to be (there is also a possibility for a governmental actor to use network governance as an alibi for not dealing with the problem, since it is dealt through the network). Exchange of resources is mentioned related to different expertises, which are necessary to be used in order to successfully address a complex problem of drug addiction (resource dependency relates to the necessity to develop network relations). The recognition of the necessity to exchange resources (mostly expertises), connects to the perception of the problem as the complex one (meaning that the exchange will affect the individual subjective perceptions of the problem of drug addiction of different actors). Further, the context for the development of network governance is mentioned; a complex problem with many diverse aspects cannot be addressed successfully without the coordinated efforts of many different actors and it can be concluded that this leads to the acceptance of some common values (like value of cooperation).

Missing data in strategic documents: It is clear that the documents do not provide precise data for the regulations of the relations between the actors (establishment of a network dealing with drug addiction); the data remain mostly in the generic domain of the principles, without the details about their actual application in practice. The most important missing information is about the actual functioning of the cooperation: funding, data gathering and exchange (including the details about the nature of data, purpose of gathering and confidentiality³²). Also the role of leader in this field remains still vague: the government wants to put itself in the place of leader, without being sure how the leadership should be done or giving the commitment on the level of funding for this policy area (possible logic behind is more concerned with the accountability of the government, which wants to show that something is done in order to address the problem of drug addiction); the leadership is especially unclear when we look at the problem from the local level (only leadership is mentioned in the context of the level of the government (of the entity or the state), while on the local level it is not clear who should lead the activities in this policy field).

³² In conversation with local NGO Viktorija, the fear for misuse of exchanged / gathered data was expressed: therapy includes private counselling with a psychologist, where the drug addict might reveal some data which can actually be used against him (for example mentioning some theft he has committed). Access to these data by police (for example) would create evidence to prosecute the person in question, while destroy the trust in the counselling.

The main conclusion from the analysis of the formal strategic documents is their ambivalence and vagueness in explaining the relations between actors and the application of the principle of cooperation. It is necessary here to mention the discussion by O'Toole & Meier (2004) about the network relations seen as distancing the state from complex problems, showing the official determination to deal with them, while not prescribing concrete governmental roles in this area. Here, the state (at different levels) does exactly that, stating the willingness to deal with the drug addiction problem, but carefully do not oblige itself to any activities which would involve large funding. The engagement from the civil society can be interpreted in this light as the possibility for the government to count their good results as its own. To support this reasoning, while reading the documents it is possible to note many paradoxes, for example:

- It is stated that the problem of drug addiction has high priority for the country, but this policy field was completely unregulated before 2008; also there is a gap between first mentioning the need to regulate the drug-related issues (in EU partnership with Bosnia and Herzegovina from January 2006 when the need for regulation was recognized outside of the country), while the first adopted Strategy (for Republic of Srpska) dates from May 2008.
- Missing practical information about the funding and concrete coordination at the local level create doubt concerning the sincerity of the determination to address this problem immediately (adding vague statements about the need to combine funding from the budget, international sources, etc); it can be concluded that the government would claim success as its own even in such cases where activities are funded and organized independently of it.
- The idea the reader gets is that sometimes the cooperation is all about mentioning all possible groups to cooperate with, while (for some of them) it is never mentioned which role they should play or how to reach and mobilize them: families, or religious communities are good examples of mentioned possible interest groups in a general context.
- It is odd in cooperation with NGO sector to comment on lack of coordination and problems with data exchange – feedback reports, without later presenting the rules to regulate this issue (which could be done relatively easy).
- Generally, in cooperation with the other actors (outside the public sector) it is always taken for granted that they are willing to cooperate and that there is no need to motivate them. While that might be true for some organizations from civil society (where there are shared values, symbiotic resources, orientation towards the same goal – all important for the development of network relations), some other actors, like professional associations, private sector or employment offices (which should be relevant in the resocialization of ex-drug addicts) might not be willing to cooperate (they do not share the same values, have a different orientation and

do not clearly benefit from the cooperation); it is never mentioned how to include these actors in cooperation on activities related to drug addiction.

4.3. Actual network arrangements in Banja Luka

Network governance can be observed through its formulation in the strategic documents which refer to the establishment of the network relations in practice: formation of the local network and its governance. After looking into the regulations presented in the strategic documents, it is clear that there does not exist one prescribed way in which the relations between the actors should be organized on the formal level when dealing with drug addiction; this allows local actors to decide about the level and way in which formalization of mutual relations should be organized. This part of the analysis will look into modes in which network arrangements in Banja Luka are organized (formally and informally), keeping in mind the flexibility which is implied by the fact that none of the strategic documents prescribes for the actors precise modes in which they should organize their relations, leaving the discretionary right for them to decide how to do it: to formalize them or leave them on the informal level. The lack of formal rules or recommendations about the involved actors³³ also implies the possibility for some actors to abstain from active participation in the field of drug addiction.

4.3.1. Level of formalization of network relations

Looking into the gathered data from the different local governance actors which are part of the network dealing with drug addiction in Banja Luka, two different means of formalization of the relations between actors can be identified. They indicate how the network is organized in the formal sense (i.e. which resources are exchanged and how, how power relations are established, which social mechanisms function inside the network, etc). These means are:

- Memorandum of understanding and cooperation and
- Cooperation on specific projects.

The Memorandum of understanding and cooperation is a way of formalizing mutual relations between two or more actors, oriented towards the development of long-term cooperation and relationships. Therefore, this document is necessarily more general in its approach, and it defines the mutual obligations of the signing parties, in a general way. It indicates the activities which are to be performed in the future (on a permanent basis) and from which all actors should gain some advantages. It does

³³ So far, it is evident that strategic documents mention many diverse actors, without obliging them to participate in the concrete activities dealing with drug addiction.

not refer to some specific activity or project, but it aims to define activities on the more abstract basis (for example: the exchange of information about new registered drug addicts, preparation of the addict to enter the therapeutic community, work on preventive programmes, etc). Cooperation on specific projects refers to the specific activity (project) where different activities, obligations, invested resources, etc, are precisely defined, including the timing of the activities and the period to which they refer (therefore, it is presumed here that the activities will end and the defined cooperation will end in a formal sense).

From the available data it is possible to conclude that the Centre for social work Banja Luka widely uses the memoranda (in the conversation with the person working for the Centre on the issues of addiction it was stressed that this is an important mode for them to organize their work³⁴); other actors also use this mode to formalize their relations, to some degree. One important aspect of the memoranda is the fact that it does not specify the financial aspects of cooperation (important aspect of cooperation, especially for organizations from civil society which do not have stable sources of revenue for their activities). Rather, the memoranda can be regarded as a symbol of willingness to cooperate in the field dealing with the drug addiction. In cases where the needed level of formalization is higher (for the concrete projects which include also the details about funding, timing for the activities, expected results, and are limited in their duration), the level of formalization in the memoranda is not sufficient. In such cases, the formalization of relations is done through project documentation which contains all such additional information (but at the same time is not long-term oriented).

I present the summary of the characteristics of the Memoranda about understanding and cooperation, as the typical means for the formalization of long-term relationships between the local governance actors (their long-term character make them important for the development – institutionalization of the network relations):

Characteristic of cooperation	Formalization in the Memoranda
Duration	Permanent: it is valid until someone expresses the wish to terminate the cooperation
Organization	<u>First part (purpose)</u> : refers to provision of services, help for drug addicts, and risk groups, develop the network of activities and better

³⁴ The Centre for social work Banja Luka has a lack of personnel dealing with the problems of addiction: only one employee.

	cooperation between the governmental and non-governmental sectors, mentioning multidisciplinary and cross-sector approach ³⁵
	Second part (obligations of different actors): refers to role / task division between the actors, where mutual obligations are described, without the details.
Sanctions for non-compliance	Not defined.

Table 4.4: Summary of the aspects of cooperation formalized in the Memoranda about understanding and cooperation

Establishment of network relations focuses on the exchange of resources and building social mechanisms in the gradual informal way, through the development of trust, common values and goals, while formal mechanisms (like sanctions for non-compliance with signed obligations) are not used. No reference to power relations is made; memoranda are rather focused on the increase of trust and understanding between actors.

As for informal network arrangements, it is visible that the actors are quite close to each other (especially those specialized in working only on problem of drug addiction), communicating often on an informal basis about the concrete activities, plans for work, exchanging the information, etc. These contacts establish the network, since they make actors more aware of the need for cooperation and common approaches to such a complex problem (contacts help to develop the shared values, social mechanisms which influence the individual behaviour of the actors, they develop local tacit knowledge, and all of this is necessary in the development of the network).

There is one problematic issue regarding the lack of formal network regulation (as explained above, there are some means to formalize the long-term network relations, but they are not always present); in some cases it is difficult to draw a line around the network, it is difficult to identify all the peripheral members of the network. For example, some external actors are sometimes involved in some of the network activities, like police officers or guards in detention facilities who were given lectures about drug addiction, preventive measures, etc. I have decided not to regard these actors as the members of the network, since their main work deals with the other area: “diminishing the supply of drugs” and this area adopts generally centralized approach. Centralization in the approach for these actors means less discretionary rights to decide to initiate or participate at some local projects or initiatives, and this project deals with the case study of one municipality and the actors which primarily function on the local level.

³⁵ These key words were repeated in all the Memoranda as the part of standard language defining the purpose of the document (at the beginning of the documents).

4.3.2. Roles and core resources of the members of the network

The analysis of the documents provided by the different governance actors allows us to note the resources they use and the specialization in their work: looking into the types of activities which are constantly performed by these actors, it is possible to notice repetitions in mentioned activities, roles and tasks performed by those actors. My aim here was not to identify all the resources which actors possess, but to focus on the differences and possible advantages which actors might have because they are different in some regard from the others (the resources which one actor has and might create resource dependency for the others which don't have that critical resource). Here is the short list of the actors and their core resources understood as the resources which create resource dependency for the other actors:

Local actors in the network	Core resources
Centre for social work Banja Luka	<u>Experience³⁶</u> : in the first place as a link between the local public administrators (it is local public institution) and other actors (local actors from civil society or individuals). <u>Official position of local public agency</u> : this actor sees itself and acts as someone who is a focal point for the communication and integration between the local actors in the social service area.
Methadone centre (part of Clinical centre Banja Luka)	<u>Medical expertise</u> : medication in the first phase of quitting the heroin – provider of the methadone therapy.
C.A. Viktorija	<u>Expertise in dealing with drug addiction, oriented towards two types of activities</u> : - Therapeutic community: it is the only actor which provides these services (preparation for the persons before going to the therapeutic community, treatment in the community, rehabilitation and resocialization after finished programme). - Programmes of prevention and education: for example projects in local primary schools, police forces, etc.
H.O. Poenta	<u>Expertise in work with specific groups at risk</u> : through harm reduction programme this actor approaches drug addicts who

³⁶ The Centre for social work was founded by the Municipality of Banja Luka, in 1974: data from official website of the Centre www.csr.org retrieved on 21.06.2010.

	are still using drugs, providing them clean equipment in order to diminish the risk of getting HIV/AIDS or Hepatitis.
Municipality of Banja Luka: Department for social activities	<u>Funding</u> : municipal budget allows funding of certain projects and activities, also related with drug addiction.
Security Forum of city of Banja Luka	<u>Information</u> : it is oriented towards formal sharing of the information, exchange of data and communication about the concrete activities executed by different local actors.

Table 4.5: Core resources for local governance actors in Banja Luka

The identification of these specific, core resources, which are seen as specific expertise, resources, available budget, information, etc, allows us to form an idea about the resource dependency and the specialization of different actors. Further, core resources can be used in the analysis of power relations: sources of power are seen as objective conditions in establishing the relations between the actors in the network.

4.3.3. Power relations between members

The specific positions of different actors, their specific expertise and specialized services they provide can be seen as sources of power. Power is of interest in this analysis, since it is a source of influence, meaning that more powerful actor(s) can more successfully push forward their perception and understanding of the problem of drug addiction. This way, actors which are in more favourable position (have relatively more power) have more influence on the network, how it gets organized and towards which activities it orients. Here I present the short list of the local governance actors and their respective sources of power:

Local actors in the network	Sources of power
Centre for social work Banja Luka	Local public institution with long experience and reputation in social protection of the citizens.
Methadone centre	Medical expertise (only this actor is allowed to administer methadone therapy in Banja Luka)
C.A. Viktorija	Its exclusive focus on drug addiction with large scope of activities covering prevention, education, treatment, advising for families, etc, makes it an important actor with the wide expertise in different aspects of drug addiction.

H.O. Poenta	Harm reduction programme might be seen as “doing the dirty work” which nobody else is willing to do, but in order to approach all the aspects of the problem of drug addiction, this type of activities also have to be done.
Municipality of Banja Luka: Department for social activities	The Municipality is accountable to the citizens for the general situation in Banja Luka, including the social services and social problems at the local level (like drug addiction). Also, its budget allows it to select the projects for funding on the annual basis, which basically means that it can channel the activities related to drug addiction in different directions (through decisions which projects - activities to finance).
Security Forum of city of Banja Luka	The inclusion of many different local actors creates the body which integrates many local stakeholders and allows them to easier communicate and share relevant information. Since this body is established by the City Council, it is a sign of commitment to deal with the problems which represent the security risks for citizens of Banja Luka (authority of City Council is a source of power as well).

Table 4.6: Sources of power for local governance actors in Banja Luka

Summing up, it is possible to identify several sources of power:

- Power based on expertise, professionalism and experience in dealing with the problem of drug addiction (here knowledge about the problem of drug addiction, its complexity and the ways to approach and deal with different aspects of it are seen as the source of power, power of expertise, or knowledge as power),
- Power based on the possibility of funding activities therefore influencing the choice of activities to be executed (funding is often the limiting factor for dealing with the problem of drug addiction, which is not positioned high on the local agenda; therefore the possibility to provide stable funding for certain types of activities would automatically influence the perception of the problem and shift the importance of its different aspects),

- Power based on the position of an actor which must be accountable for its actions to the citizens (it is typical for the local public institutions or local government, which are ultimately funded by the citizens and should work in their interest, or appear to do so; in this case the formal work in the area of drug addiction communicates to the citizens an image of responsible local institution, no matter what sort of work is done).

Here I would point out two opposed trends: on the one hand specialization and expertise in dealing with drug addiction is very important (there aren't many actors with specific expertise in the field of drug addiction), while especially for the actors from civil society the funding remains the limiting factor in their activities. In my interviews with actors from civil society, a lack of stable funding was mentioned as the main limitation for the development of long-term plans of activities for these actors and this limitation cannot be overcome without support from other actors with a stable budget.

4.3.4. Social mechanisms: development and roles

Social mechanisms shape the behaviour of the members of the network, shaping therefore the objective condition for the framing of the problem of drug addiction. The existence of social mechanisms in the network puts social constraints on the members of network in their behaviour, because they want to preserve their image and reputation among the members of the network. In the local governance network in Banja Luka the functioning of social mechanisms is not immediately visible due to the low level of formalization of relations (which makes it more difficult to establish when the behaviour of an individual actor is not up to standard). Also, relatively high levels of complementarity between the actors (seen as their specializations in different, complementary tasks) diminishes the importance of obstructive behaviour among the members of the network, while the small number of actors in the network does not give the actors a wide range of choices for partners in cooperation. In general, the social mechanisms in the local network in Banja Luka function in the following way:

- Restriction to access: there are no formal barriers for the new actors to enter in the field dealing with drug addiction at the local level of Municipality of Banja Luka; still the number of actors remains stable due to the lack of funding (for the organizations from the civil society) and relatively low importance given to the problem of drug addiction³⁷ by society at large – it is not attractive to enter this policy field since it does not provide a stable position for actors from

³⁷ This conclusion follows from the fact that the strategic documents only promise commitment, without precise obligations in dealing with drug addiction (especially in area of prevention, education and treatment, where the decentralized approach is used); the conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the Centre for social work Banja Luka employs only one person to work on the problems of addiction (drug addiction and alcoholism).

civil society, while actors from the public sector are already engaged if they find this field relevant for them. The only formal barriers of some sort are noticeable in the certification procedures for the establishment of therapeutic communities.

- Collective sanctions and reputation: the work of these mechanisms is not directly noticeable from the documents or interviews with the relevant local actors. The importance of reputation can be noticed as a mechanism which works in an informal way: the actors know each other (due to the small number of persons employed in the field) and have personal contact with each other, which makes it possible to recognize who is committed and performs well (the reputation does not apply just to the level of organization – actor, but also the persons employed by it). Still, effective or formal sanctions do not exist (as mentioned in the analysis of the memoranda about cooperation).
- Learning process: small dimension of the network and consequently close contact between the actors create a positive setting for learning (understood in the sense as explained in the Chapter II: learning the norms of behaviour in the network and change of perception of the problem, due to the network). Actors (their new personnel) are relatively quickly introduced to the other actors, they learn about their expertise and specialization, and because of the contact adopt the “network view” where the normal approach to the work is through the division on the different tasks between different actors. This way, actors learn their place in the network and learn to cooperate in their everyday activities.

It is visible that the social mechanisms develop gradually and informally: close contact between the actors allow them to know each other well and to develop personal reputation. Still, social mechanism such as reputation cannot play important role, since the number of actors is too small to allow them to switch in the cooperation to someone else, while some other mechanisms, like collective sanctions are not functioning at all. Therefore, I can conclude here that, even though the theoretical framework regards social mechanism important for the inner organization of the network (its development as objective condition), in this case study their importance is not so visible.

4.3.5. Between objective and subjective: context for network governance, network’s macroculture and meta-frame of the local governance network

The last part of an analysis of network governance as the objective condition for framing deals with the analysis of several connected concepts (context, macroculture and meta-frame), which are specific for their intertwined objective and subjective dimensions (as explained before: objective part relates to the network which is objective condition for framing, subjective part relates to the role of values, beliefs,

interpretations, in the network). The specificity which puts these concepts in this place in the analysis (between the part dealing with objective condition of network governance and subjective perception or framing) lies in the subjective dimension which is here applied at the level of the whole network, forming the part of the framework in which local governance actors are set and function. Therefore, the analysis presented here will deal with the role of specific values and beliefs on the level of the whole network and their effects: on cohesion between the actors, expectations and restraints on their behaviour. I will connect the specific macroculture of this network with the general perception of the problem of drug addiction, without going into details, but presenting the shared values and beliefs and their influence on the functioning of the network. In the end I will comment briefly on the context in which the actual network has developed in Banja Luka.

Externally set limitations have great influence on the global outlook of the network and its governance; those limitations are important in understanding the context from which the concrete network has emerged which, as an objective condition, further influences dealing with the problem of drug addiction. The lack of formal regulations and scarce resources (in terms of funding, but also personnel and expertise) have influenced the development of the network on the basis of specialization in the activities among the different local actors, which do not look at the other actors primarily as a threat, but partners. In the situation like this the importance of the values shared between the members of the network is great; those shared values form the core of the network. In this case, shared values include cooperation, partnership and recognition of the complexity of the problem of drug addiction. With these shared values the actors are more open to share their information, discuss the current issues (formally and informally) and communicate in general (the macroculture where different actors can easily informally communicate, discuss the problems or plan the activities is an important product of these basic values). These values are also promoted in the strategic documents creating the first impression of very harmonious relations between the actors. The main problems which various actors in the network encounter are the restrictions for their activities and insecurity (no secure long-term funding for different activities and as the consequence lack of long-term planning).

The perception of the problem of drug addiction on the level of whole network (meta-frame on the level of local governance network) is similar to the one presented in the strategic documents: in conversations with different actors I realized they are aware of the complexity of this problem: while they keep their activities focused more on only one part of the problem, they are well informed about the activities performed by the other actors, so the framing on the level of the network could be defined as: global understanding, local actions. This would emphasize the understanding of the complexity of the problem, while at the same time the concrete activities of the actors are focused on

only some parts of this large picture. With this comes the perception of the necessity of cooperation between the actors: they share the values of cooperation and are relatively well informed about the activities performed by the different actors in the network. This sort of framing and macroculture is especially developed between the actors which deal exclusively with drug addiction; for the actors which look at drug addiction as one of many problems to deal with, the importance given to this specific problem is smaller, therefore the core values are different as well (it's not only one problem in the centre of focus for those actors).

4.4. Conclusions about network governance in Banja Luka

The performed analysis of the local governance network in Banja Luka was oriented towards the reconstruction of objective condition for the framing of problem of drug addiction; therefore the understanding how existing local network in Banja Luka is established, organized and functions and especially, how it relates the subjective perceptions of the problem of drug addiction by individual members of the network. The focus here is on the developed local network as the specific social context through which the problem of drug addiction is approached in the Municipality of Banja Luka; network governance objectively exists and influences all the further dealings with the problem of drug addiction in Banja Luka. The analysis of the network and network governance should provide the answer to the first research sub-question: how does the local governance network deal with the problem of drug addiction?

4.4.1. General remarks about network governance in Banja Luka

The problem of drug addiction is approached through the network of local governance actors which originates from the public sector, local government and civil society. They all deal with diverse aspects of the problem of drug addiction and there does not exist any clear demarcation in the roles assigned to different actors (mutual responsibilities are partly formalized using the Memoranda about cooperation, but those Memoranda are not very strict in assigning specific roles to the actors). Since different actors possess different resources, they are specialized in their work and dependent on each other in dealing with the problem; resource dependency and shared values create close relationships between the actors – these relations are in large part informal: since there are no clear guidelines about the formalization of the network relations³⁸, the network develops gradually and informally. Actors which are more

³⁸ As shown in the analysis of the strategic documents, they do not deal with the formalization of the network relations on the practical level.

concentrated on the problem of drug addiction are more closely connected and due to the closer symbiotic relations they have potential to form policy community (type of network with strong core values, symbiotic resources and very close cooperation).

The local network recognizes the complexity of the problem of drug addiction, but it does not deal with all the aspects of it; the local governance network in Banja Luka focuses on the activities from domain of prevention, education, treatment of drug addicts (cure, rehabilitation and reintegration), while the activities directed towards diminishing the supply of drugs (criminal and juridical measures) are approached in a centralized way, from the level of the state or entity.

4.4.2. Developed aspects of local network

In theoretical terms, network governance in Banja Luka is based on resource dependency and pooling of resources in order to address the problem of drug addiction, which is necessary since no actor can deal with the problem independently of the others due to its own limitations. Power relations develop gradually in the network – their relatively low formal use is due to the relatively low importance given to the problem by some actors (those whose official position makes them accountable to the local population), while actors which use their expertise as the source of power are limited in their activities by the lack of financial resources (therefore, expertise is not always a strong source of power and political dimension related to the public funding is more important in this case). Since the internal relations between the actors in the network are mostly informal or formalized on the relatively low level, social mechanisms develop gradually and their importance is still not significant: the low position of the problem on the local agenda and the small number of actors dealing with it accentuate this situation. Core values and the way to look at the problem from the point of view of the network (and not only individual actors) are relatively developed and affect the perception of the problem on the level of the network: the complexity of the problem is recognized as well as the necessity of a common approach to tackle it successfully. The network is still not consistently used in a strategic way: some actors use it as a proof that the problem is dealt with by someone specialized, others use the network to approach some practical aspects in their work through cooperation with other actors, and lack of precision in the formal organization of the network makes it possible for actors to ignore its existence or to use network relations only from time to time. Therefore, it is desirable that all the actors in the network should recognize its usefulness and their respective network roles and to act according to them, which would bring more cohesion to the network.

Currently the problem of drug addiction is approached through specialized actors, where a large scope of activities is executed by organizations from civil society. There is a lack of formal regulation and security for these actors in order to guaranty continuity in their work, where the public sector (especially the local Municipality and the City Council) should show stronger involvement in this area, including strategic use of funding for some relevant activities. Also, network governance develops informally through shared local (tacit) knowledge, values, beliefs, expectations and norms of behaviour (this process is still ongoing, so the final results are still not certain); these developments are more advanced for the actors which deal exclusively with drug addiction. In any case, the development of stronger relations between the actors with possible formation of policy community, can improve the functioning of the network; for this there is need to have more direct involvement from the local public institutions, (i.e. the Municipality) which might take over the role of leading actor in the network, which currently does not exist: for the moment the network is participant-governed through shared governance of all the actors (Provan & Kenis 2007). The shared governance functions well among the members who are clearly active in the field of drug addiction, while other actors less interested in the problem of drug addiction can remain inactive or act only sporadically in the local governance network.

CHAPTER V – ANALYSIS OF SUBJECTIVE PERCEPTIONS: FRAME ANALYSIS

5.1. Introduction

The second part of my analysis deals with the frame analysis, the analysis of the frames: the subjective perceptions of the problem of drug addiction by different local governance actors. The aim of the analysis is to show how the subjective perceptions of the problem, which are subjectively created by different actors, are revealed through their behaviour (the types of activities and the way in which they are executed). I follow the definition by Rein & Schön (1993: 146) which defines framing as “making sense of complex reality”, in the process of which necessarily an issue (drug addiction) is interpreted, its aspects organized, selected and emphasized. The frame analysis here deals with the individual local governance actors from the analyzed network in Banja Luka, and recognizes that they all have different positions and a different focus in their work, which makes them unique in their perceptions of the problem of drug addiction. The actors in the frame analysis are not observed just as rational actors; the frame-critical approach which I will adopt recognizes that they have specific guiding values in their work and that the frames get formed through the integration of facts, values and their interpretations. I will focus on the actors in the execution of the concrete activities which are related to underlying values and beliefs for the actors, and look at the symbols used to communicate those values to the general public so as to coherently interpret and accentuate the multiple aspects of the complex problem of drug addiction.

On the practical level, the frame analysis focuses on identified individual local governance actors from Banja Luka and analyses their data from different sources (official documents, websites, notes from interviews, observations from direct contact, communication via email) in order to get a full picture of how those actors subjectively perceive and approach the problem of drug addiction in the Municipality of Banja Luka: the final objective is to grasp their individual subjective framings of this complex social problem. In order to do this, I will look into the concrete activities related to this problem which are performed by the actors and the manner in which those activities are executed, work and results presented in the local community and actors generally presented to the public. These activities and presentations will subsequently be interpreted in the light of frame analysis. All these steps will lead to understanding of the way in which actors see the problem of drug addiction, which is inherently subjective since frame analysis (which is here understood as uncovering of different frames of the problem of drug addiction) looks for the individual, subjective, specific and coherent patterns in the

behaviour of actors in order to understand the way in which the problem of drug addiction is perceived and understood by them.

In the frame analysis I will approach one local actor after the other, identify all the sources of data I possess and, through their thorough reading, create the cards of subjective perceptions (basically identification cards of these actors, prepared with the focus on framing the problem); they will consist of all the analyzed relevant information about the activities, approaches and interpretations related to the problem of drug addiction. This analysis will first pay special attention to the research sub-questions related to the presentations and activities (research sub-questions 2 and 3), while the final part of the analysis should integrate all the information about the actors, with special attention given to the frames (interpretation of the connections between all different aspects of work and view at the reality, leading to a coherent mental picture of the problem as seen by an actor). Schematically, the frame analysis can be presented in the following way:

	Steps in frame analysis – analysis of subjective perceptions of the problem of drug addiction
1	Identify the local governance actor
2	Note all the data which are provided by the actor, including the internet sources and personal notes
3	Thoroughly read all the data
4	Create a card of subjective perceptions for each actor (following the scheme developed in the part dealing with methodology)
4.a	Focus of the actor (drug addiction or wider agenda)
4.b	Focus: activities followed from the framing (concrete activities of the actor)
4.c	Focus: presentation of the frame (key in the perception and approach to the problem of drug addiction: specificities, peculiarities)
5	Integrate presentations and activities, aiming to understand how they relate to the frame of the problem of drug addiction – which should be specific, unique, subjective and coherent for an actor

Table 5.1: Steps in the execution of frame analysis for the drug addiction problem in the Municipality of Banja Luka

The part of analysis about the focus of the actor in dealing with the complex social reality follows Goffman's ideas (1974) which emphasize the differences in focus of the actor and their effects on the perception of the problem (close-detailed focus vs. global-wide focus). Analysis of performed activities looks at the activities as rooted in the specific frame of drug addiction: the choice of different activities

reflects the importance given to different aspects of the problem. Analysis of the presentations of the actors inquires how the actors strategically use symbols and values in order to communicate their perceptions of drug addiction: the actors want to underline their frame and increase the congruency of the frame in the way in which they present themselves, in a direct way, but also through the use of symbols, values, etc. The whole analysis takes a critical position and looks for gaps and paradoxes in the presented framing of the problem.

The information about the way in which frames are presented will answer the second research sub-question, while the information about performed activities connected with the frames will aim to answer the third research sub-question. These results interpreted in the light of frame analysis should lead to an answer to the last research sub-question and finish the analysis of subjective perceptions of the problem of drug addiction of different local governance actors in Banja Luka.

5.2. Centre for social work Banja Luka

5.2.1. Collected data

- Memorandum about understanding and cooperation with C.A. Viktorija
- Memorandum about understanding and cooperation with H.O. Poenta
- Memorandum about understanding and cooperation with Centre for public safety Banja Luka (local police forces), Clinical centre Banja Luka: Psychiatric clinic Banja Luka, Health centre Banja Luka: Centre for mental health and Institute for education and pedagogy Banja Luka
- Internal report about the work with the addicts, prepared in March 2009
- Official website of the Centre for social work Banja Luka: www.csrbl.org
- Notes from the interview with Nikola Dorontić (working in department dealing with the addiction) and observations from the visit, conducted on 22nd February 2010 in Banja Luka

5.2.2. Card of subjective perception of drug addiction

5.2.2.1. Complex reality and focus on perception of the problem of drug addiction

The Centre for social work Banja Luka deals with diverse tasks in the field of social protection on the local level (Municipality of Banja Luka); its organizational scheme shows a main division in departments dealing with families, children, grown-ups and old people. One of the tasks of the department working

with grown-ups and old people is work with addicts (the work here includes alcoholism and drug addiction). In total only one person in the whole organization works on the social problem of addiction – both alcoholism and drug addiction. Based on the data about the number of employees dealing with this problem (one person) and the comments during the interview that “for years it was planned to have two employees in the department: one dealing with alcoholism, the other with drug addiction, which never happened”, it can be interpreted that drug addiction is not perceived as highly important problem on the global agenda of the Centre. The social reality seen by this actor focuses on social protection; it has wider focus than one problem (drug addiction). Therefore, the problem of drug addiction is seen in the system of overall social protection of the local population.

5.2.2.2. Concrete activities following from the framing of the problem

Analyzed internal report shows a division of tasks connected with addiction in:

- Educational-preventive programmes,
- Programmes of treatment and rehabilitation and
- Programmes of work with abstinent on the resocialization.

Due to the limiting resources (first of all in personnel), in the execution of these activities, the Centre for social work is heavily dependent on the other organizations and institutions. For educational-preventive activities, the role of the Centre is emphasized in initiating the activities and connecting different governmental and non-governmental actors, where the Centre has the role of one of the partners. The task of treatment and rehabilitation are connected with development of the database about addicts, making individual plans for work on individual cases, providing social and economic help for addicts and their families and cooperating with the health sector and NGOs in further treatment of addicts (the Centre connects different actors and does the administrative part of work). Work on resocialization is realized through the promotion of healthy life styles and support for the opening of clubs of ex-addicts (alcoholics and drug addicts). Relations with other actors tend to be formalized using the memoranda about cooperation as a symbol of commitment for the development of long-term relations.

It is immediately noticeable, even though not directly stated, that cooperation with other actors is indispensable for the execution of most of the activities on the agenda. Concrete activities where the Centre has an important direct role are in the domain of administrative help (getting health insurance, financial help when possible, etc) where its position as a local public institution is an advantage (this was noted also in the interviews with other actors). The official position of the Centre as the main local public institution dealing with social protection leads to the establishment of a wide scope of activities,

even when objectively Centre cannot deal with all of them (it presents the commitment to deal with the problem in its complexity, which is seen as an obligation for a public institution). It is recognized that for the successful work on the problem of drug addiction, it is necessary to involve different local governance actors, and the Centre sees its role in the management and integration of those actors.

5.2.2.3. Presentation of the frame: official and actual situation

The key word (or key value) to describe the approach of the Centre for social work in dealing with drug addiction is cooperation: it was mentioned in documents, or the documents are about cooperation (i.e. memoranda about understanding and cooperation), during the interview it was one of the key words as well. The Centre sees its role as “case manager” which coordinates the work of different institutions and organizations (different specialists) in the execution of the activities in the domain of drug addiction (noted in the interview). My respondent was aware of the problems with the lack of resources for more direct engagement in dealing with drug addiction (primarily limitation of personnel), but that was interpreted as positive for cooperation which is seen as necessary and unavoidable. Also, this actor considers its work relevant, recognized and indispensable in the domain of social work and social protection on the local level, including drug addiction – it wants to be accountable for positive results in dealings with drug addiction, also through development of partnerships in the cases when direct involvement is not possible.

Since the Centre is a local public institution, its general approach to the public is relatively formal, and the Centre wants to present its work and dealings with problems in a formal institutionalized way: examples of this approach can be found in symbols such as the porter at the entrance to the building where everyone has to explain the reason for visiting the Centre, video surveillance system and coat of arms on the walls in the offices; all of this might intimidate drug addicts (which often have been prosecuted, typically because of theft or similar small crime) and it creates a more official atmosphere.

An interesting observation one might make based on the notes and official documents is the potential which the Centre has as an old³⁹ and familiar public institution which is specialized in social protection, and which is not recognized in the area dealing with drug addiction (only one person employed on this job). This can be the case exactly because it is a public institution, which generally needs more time to respond to external changes (increase in drug addiction in Banja Luka). Still, the Centre sees itself as a potential focal point for the connection between different actors, which shows that it recognizes the

³⁹ Centre for social work Banja Luka was founded in 1974 by the Municipality of Banja Luka, data from official website www.csrbl.org, retrieved on 23rd June 2010. This is old compared with the actors from non-governmental sector, which were all established after 2002 (data from their official documents).

complexity of the problem of drug addiction and a need for specialized approach in different parts of the work (which the Centre cannot provide); therefore its role is to form a connection between the public sector and civil society.

5.2.3. Integration of presentations and activities using frame analysis

This actor perceives the “big picture” – complexity of the problem of drug addiction and is aware of its own shortcomings in dealing with it. A long list of activities connected with drug addiction is part of the image this actor presents: it perceives itself as a focal point for cooperation among the specialized local actors, therefore it is included in dealing with different aspects of drug addiction, even though mostly in an indirect way. This frame is used by memoranda for cooperation, where this actor seems most aware of the existence of the local network, its usefulness and use; this consciousness is an advantage since it supports the framing of drug addiction and, connected with it, the role of this actor in dealing with the problem (complex problem - asks for the common approach of different actors - they need the coordination - which is done through the Centre). The problematic aspect in the framing the problem in this way is the low importance given to the drug addiction which is perceived just as one of local social problems among many and its role as one actor among many. The management of the Centre let work on this problem develop gradually in cooperation with other actors, without taking full initiative for dealing with the problem of drug addiction, which is how the frame is officially presented.

5.3. Methadone centre

5.3.1. Collected data

- Notes from the interview with Tatjana Maglov (psychiatrist) and observations during the visit, conducted on 24th February 2010 in Banja Luka
- Official website of the Clinical centre Banja Luka: www.kc-bl.com

5.3.2. Card of subjective perception of drug addiction

5.3.2.1. Complex reality and focus on perception of the problem of drug addiction

The Methadone centre is a part of Clinical centre Banja Luka, more precisely the Psychiatric clinic; the Psychiatric clinic has several departments, one of them dealing with diseases of addiction (it is divided in a ward for alcoholism and a ward for drug addiction), where the part dealing with drug addiction includes the Methadone centre and the Detox centre: the Methadone centre is the main part, since it establishes first contact with the drug addicts. Drug addiction is the only issue in the ward dealing with drug addiction and the Methadone centre but on a broader level of the Psychiatric clinic or Clinical centre it is relatively small and not very important (official website mentions it only as one of the activities in the Psychiatric clinic, without providing any further details⁴⁰); the perception of the problem of drug addiction is quite different on the level of the Methadone centre and the whole Clinical centre Banja Luka. Since this actor is the medical one, the perception of the problem is affected with its medical expertise so the focus of this actor is on the treatment of drug addicts, not on the prevention or education related to drug addiction; we can regard this as the consequence of bounded rationality where, in approaching the problem, this actor focuses on its medical expertise and position inside the Clinical centre Banja Luka.

5.3.2.2. Concrete activities following from the framing of the problem

Concrete activities which the Centre performs include the administration of methadone therapy for the drug addicts in the first phase of detoxification, while Detox centre allows the drug addicts to voluntary stay in its premises during the detoxification phase (therefore, the problem of drug addiction is officially seen as medical). In addition to its main activity, the Centre organizes the counselling and advising for the people who are receiving the therapy about the possibilities to continue with the next phase of the treatment. The very narrow focus of the Methadone centre together with the perception of drug addiction as a medical condition which should be treated in phases (medicalization followed with psycho-social therapy in the therapeutic communities) naturally connects it with other actors: during the interview, I got the answer that the focus is on cooperation with the Centre for social work Banja Luka (it provides help for health insurance for the drug addicts) and NGO sector, especially C.A. Viktorija (they provide the next phase of treatment in the local therapeutic community).

5.3.2.3. Presentation of the frame: official and actual situation

The Centre is officially presented as the point for administering methadone therapy with a strong medical focus since it is part of Clinical centre Banja Luka, but this actor's perception of the problem of drug addiction is wider: since its staff is in contact with drug addicts on an everyday basis, they have full

⁴⁰ www.kc-bl.com, retrieved on 23rd June 2010

insight in the complexity of treatment of drug addiction and its multiple phases (during the interview it was mentioned that detoxification using methadone is not enough for quitting drug use). Since this Centre is the first point of contact with drug addicts (its focus is on the first phase of detoxification in treatment of drug addiction), it understands the need for cooperation with the other actors, with the focus on treatment of drug addicts. Also, the actor regards as an important issue its own approachability: how accessible its work (services offered: the therapy) is for drug addicts in need of treatment. Important to notice here is that the Methadone centre is a part of the Clinical centre - it is not in the system of primary healthcare, which complicates the availability of its services for drug addicts: they have to have a written recommendation from their general practitioner for methadone therapy and drug addicts in the phase immediately before detoxification generally don't have a GP or medical insurance.

The main paradox in work of this actor I have seen as its official position vs. its everyday work. Since the methadone therapy is the first phase in treatment of drug addiction (detoxification), the Methadone centre is an important point of first contact with the drug users who come there to get the information about the possibility to use this service. Even though the personnel is very helpful (doctor Maglov has a reputation for her approachability and good work with drug addicts⁴¹) they are not always permitted to directly help since official procedure asks for health insurance and a written recommendation from the GP – the procedure is very strict for work with methadone⁴². Also, officially it is stated that the main task is administering the methadone (there are signs at the Centre which warn about the timing to get the therapy and discourage the arrival at other hours), but staff receive the addicts for counselling and conversation at different hours (during my visit there were people talking with the doctor even after 21.00), which gives a diverse picture of approachability of this actor (approachability is highly valued).

The Methadone centre is located in the area of Psychiatric clinic Banja Luka, which means that entering in the area of the clinic is controlled (there is a porter and a gate); these symbols aim to communicate seriousness and give an official view to the work executed by this actor. The building itself has two parts, one for the Detox centre (which is closed for access) and the Methadone centre (which is relatively open and a lot of people circulate there).⁴³ Therefore, the frame this actor wants to present includes values of comprehensive treatment of drug addiction (which includes cooperation between different actors and a medical focus) and approachability of its work for the drug addicts.

⁴¹ This was mentioned in several interviews with other actors, but I have also observed the situation, during the day when I had an interview in the Methadone centre. Many drug users come there for therapy, but also hoping to get the chance to talk with doctor Maglov (there was a huge line in front of her office and I had to wait for hours to get my interview).

⁴² Remark from an interview

⁴³ My observation from the visit

5.3.3. Integration of presentations and activities using frame analysis

The Methadone centre focuses on the treatment of drug addiction – its perception of drug addiction emphasizes dealing with people with problems of drug addiction, perceiving all the complexity of treatment and its own exclusive direct role in the first phase of detoxification. Drug addiction is therefore seen as a complex medical condition which deserves an approach by different actors in order to be successfully dealt with. This framing is not fully used in everyday work, where for the maximization of approachability this actor should change its status (transfer the Methadone centre in the primary healthcare system, mentioned as the long-term goal for this actor during the interview), which would allow the Centre to keep its medical expertise but, at the same time, to maximize the usefulness of its position in treatment of drug addicts (allowing it to be approached by more drug addicts).

5.4. Citizens Association Viktorija

5.4.1. Collected data

- Annual work report for 2008
- Official website: www.izaberi-zivot.rs.ba
- Notes from the interview with Sanja Stanić, visepresident of the Association and observations, conducted on 23rd February 2010 in Banja Luka
- Further contacts via email

5.4.2. Card of subjective perception of drug addiction

5.4.2.1. Complex reality and focus on perception of the problem of drug addiction

Citizens association Viktorija is focused in its work exclusively on the problem of drug addiction; that focus on only one problem is connected with the detailed look at the diverse aspects of it. According to Goffman (1974: 8), a narrower focus (here: on the problem of drug addiction) connects with detailed insight in the problem; therefore this actor perceives the need for prevention, education and treatment which are all needed in order to address drug addiction problem in its complexity; this is fully recognized by this actor.

5.4.2.2. Concrete activities following from the framing of the problem

The concrete activities of this actor reflect its general focus and framing of the problem of drug addiction: the comprehensive approach to the problem through many diverse activities, covering different aspects of the problem. Generally, the activities of this actor are divided in two broad groups: dealing with the prevention of drug addiction and the therapeutic programme, concrete activities are presented in the following table:

Preventive activities	Therapeutic activities
Preparation of lectures and workshops dealing with the drug addiction (for young people and their parents)	SOS telephone (information about drug addiction HIV/AIDS, hepatitis, and first contact with potential drug users and local population which has any questions about drug abuse)
Lectures for professionals (i.e. doctors of medicine, teachers, police officers, etc)	Individual conversations with drug users (psycho-therapeutic work and maintaining the abstinence; beginning of the process of treatment)
Promotional programmes (taking part in different manifestations and actions to fight drug abuse)	Individual therapeutic work with parents and other siblings of drug addicts (getting more information about the addict and support for the treatment)
Publishing (brochures, leaflets, books – about drug addiction)	Advising about anonymous testing for HIV/AIDS and other blood-transferable diseases
Marking the World day fight against drug abuse (26 th June)	Group work (work with the groups of parents, youth groups, self-help groups, led by therapists in order to understand communication inside the family, exchange of experiences and emotions)
Distribution of condoms	Preparation for the Therapeutic community (motivation of an individual for entering the Community: i.e. detoxification, getting the medical documentation in order ⁴⁴ , etc)
Contacts with media	Daily staying in the premises in order to get used to the Therapeutic community's approach
	Therapeutic community (there are two TCs)

⁴⁴ Activities of detoxification and medical documentation are done in cooperation with the other actors (the Methadone centre and other medical centres).

	outside of Banja Luka where drug addicts spend around 2 years in order to complete the programme. The programme is based on social isolation, occupational and psychosocial therapy which should change the personality, life philosophy and norms of behaviour of an individual).
	Programme of resocialization (lasts 6 months after the time in TC, allows the gradual entering to society with the help of therapist.
	Testing for drugs (testing for the presence of drugs in urine)

Table 5.2: Concrete activities performed by the C.A. Viktorija (source: Annual work report for 2008)

As shown in the table, this actor has developed the full scope of diverse activities dealing with drug addiction which are regarded as equally important, just with a different focus: on prevention or treatment⁴⁵. This division, together with the extensive scope of concrete activities in both domains point out the expertise of this actor and its deep understanding of the drug addiction problem. In order to fully follow its orientation - drug addiction seen as the complex problem, with different aspects which have to be addressed - this actor has to have a stable sources of income, which is currently not the case (i.e. the costs of functioning of existing Therapeutic communities are covered privately by the families of drug addicts, or the preventive activities are financed ad hoc for different projects). Lack of stable funding endangers the long-term orientation of this actor; in order to address the problem in the future, this actor sees itself in the system of organizations of public interest for the City of Banja Luka, which would allow stable funding for several projects from the domain of prevention (i.e. lectures in local schools), while the costs of staying in the Therapeutic communities should be covered by health insurance. The lack of stability (in funding) is seen as the main limiting factor for further development of the existing activities and it clearly indicates resource dependency of this actor on funding from external sources – its subjective frame related to the comprehensive approach to the problem is conditioned with the funding problems, in order to maintain the comprehensive perception – frame of the problem, more stability for execution of different activities is needed.

5.4.2.3. Presentation of the frame: official and actual situation

⁴⁵ As stated in the interview with this actor.

This actor was established with the aim to provide the comprehensive approach to the problem of drug addiction in its complexity which is also shown through its activities and the way they are presented (website of this actor gives many details about the concrete organized activities and general information about the drugs, drug use and treatments). Presented work of this actor aims to enlarge the understanding of the problem by different groups: there are special parts of the website prepared for parents, young people at risk and drug addicts where different aspects of problem are explained, using different language. For example, the part about treatment focuses on individual persons (“a man with all his dimensions”⁴⁶) where drug addiction is regarded as a symptom of some deeper individual problems.

The available documents, interview and observations have shown this actor as a very serious expert specialized in many aspects of drug addiction. This actor is aware of complexity of the problem and the need to integrate different activities in order to achieve sustainable results (integrate preventive activities for wider population and treatment of the problem for drug addicts). The main issues for this actor is the lack of a systematic approach to drug addiction (by the state and local community in general), where the activities organized by this actor cannot have long-term orientation because of lack of funding; problematic is also education of the people which are in contact with drug addicts, where even professionals often have a negative attitude towards the persons with this problems: stigmatization and discrimination are often present in dealing with drug addicts (this affects the wider perception of the problem of drug addiction and cooperation with other actors, which do not share the same values but have prejudices towards the drug addicts).

On the level of presentation of its frame using the symbols, approachability and openness of the actor is communicated through the look of its offices, which are easy to enter, get the information and advice. The staff working there is informal, it consists mostly of young people which makes communication easy (there is no feeling of authority barrier). Also the offices (I have seen different offices: where group work is organized, the area for individual contact, the director’s office, etc) look cosy and inviting (there are posters on the walls, pictures, plants, different colours are used) which all makes the atmosphere more pleasant and not intimidating. Symbols are used also to communicate to the general public some key values for this actor: the logo of this actor pictures two holding hands which should imply support and help in the direct way and through the physical contact and the website address www.izaberi-zivot.rs.ba can be translated as choose-life, which points out the centrality of individual decision to deal with the problem of drug addiction and it is in line with the

⁴⁶ www.izaberi-zivot.rs.ba (part describing the approach in dealing with the problem of drug addiction using the approach called Man), retrieved on 24th June 2010

approach to drug addiction as the symptom of deeper problems. These examples make clear which values are important for the perception of the problem of drug addiction for this actor: approachability, help, direct engagement, centrality given to the individual, cooperation.

5.4.3. Integration of presentations and activities using the frame analysis

This actor approaches the problem of drug addiction in its complexity and with the special attention given to the holistic approach to an individual (drug addiction is not seen just as medical condition, but the symptom of other wider problems). Experience and expertise of this actor, together with its strategic orientation to deal exclusively with drug addiction frame the problem of drug addiction as a complex one (with medical, social, psychological dimensions), which should be addressed in all its different dimensions. This actor wants to use this frame and its roles in dealing with drug addiction strategically, seeing itself in the future as a strategic partner of public interest for fighting drug abuse at the local level.

5.5. Humanitarian Organization Poenta

5.5.1. Collected data

- Report about the organization and its activities in the first five years of its existence: Five years of fight against drug addiction, HIV/AIDS and hepatitis (February 2008)
- Educational-informational brochure Why? Produced by Poenta in August 2005
- Website: www.poenta.org – under construction
- Notes from the interview with Željko Marjanac, Executive Manager and observations, conducted on 22nd February 2010 in Banja Luka

5.5.2. Card of subjective perception of drug addiction

5.5.2.1. Complex reality and focus on perception of the problem of drug addiction

The problem of drug addiction is the main focus for the humanitarian organization Poenta, which is formed with the aim to address the problem of drug addiction, with special focus on the aspects of this problem and groups which are left out of the focus through mainstream channels like the public health system (i.e. persons without health insurance or persons infected with hepatitis C). One of the main

specificities of the approach offered by this actor is its “friendly approach to the drug addicts”;⁴⁷ it insists on the harm reduction approach even for those drug addicts who are not interested in quitting drug use (providing clean syringes and needles for them), believing that this influences prevention within broader community (for example, less used syringes around school yards). Therefore, the perception of the problem of drug addiction takes into account its complexity and especially focuses on the reduction of harmful side-effects connected with the drug addiction and the groups at risk (this specificity influences the framing of drug addiction for this actor).

5.5.2.2. Concrete activities following from the framing of the problem

This actor divides its activities in dealing with drug addiction in three large groups:

1. Poenta Counselling Office: dealing with educative and informative activities with the aim to improve the general knowledge of the population about drug addiction and providing counselling and psycho-therapeutic support for drug addicts and their families;
2. Poenta Service for HIV/AIDS and hepatitis prevention (Drop-In centre): collecting used and distributing sterile injection kits, distributing condoms and informational brochures, giving technical support for administrative and medical issues related with drug addiction, HIV/AIDS and hepatitis;
3. Clean House for maintaining the abstinence from narcotics (Detox Centre): provides help in maintaining abstinence, accommodation and friendly supervision and preparing users for entering the institutions for treatment of drug addiction or rehabilitation.

From the task division can be concluded that this actor deals with different activities: informational and preventive, therapeutic work - counselling and harm reduction activities. Central place in the work of this actor is taken by the harm reduction programme, informational campaigns and counselling, while in practice some activities are not currently being run (Detox centre is currently not active).⁴⁸

The actor relies heavily on collaboration in execution of its activities: it has only four employees and is dependent on donors and volunteers in its everyday work; therefore cooperation is at the core of Poenta's functioning.

5.5.2.3. Presentation of the frame: official and actual situation

⁴⁷ Report about the organization and its activities in the first five years of its existence: Five years of fight against drug addiction, HIV/AIDS and Hepatitis: 12

⁴⁸ Noted in conversation with this actor

Poenta claims that it started to work in order to fill the gap created after the war with the growing drug addiction problem and the healthcare system which was not in a position to provide immediate and adequate help to everyone (the focus of its perception of the problem was on the aspects left out of focus by the other actors). The developed approach was humanitarian, since the organization started with the involvement of several people who were willing to help to address the problem of drug addiction; later the organization widened its approach through experience. Also, encountering new problems in its work was an incentive for the development of new activities, specially tailored for the population at risk (i.e. harm reduction programme as an answer to the fact that over 70% of users of Poenta's counselling services were infected with hepatitis C or a project aimed at informing parents about drug addiction, since drug use takes place at a younger and younger age). The flexibility in its approach through the development of new projects is a positive one, but the lack of stable funding is also acknowledged as problematic in the Report of this actor.

The office which I visited and where most of the services are provided is located in an old building in the centre of town; since in the same building some sport facilities and clubs are located, it is quite approachable, also for people who are visiting the premises just to change the injection kits and do not want to be noticed (in that sense, the location has also symbolic value, since it is approachable for those special groups which use its services). The old and small office is appropriate for informal work with a small number of people, but it does not allow conducting group counselling and it does not allow privacy for longer conversations (there is only one office, so anyone who enters immediately sees everyone inside). Communication with the personnel was informal and friendly, it was evident that the organization has developed an informal approach (no need to make an appointment, possible to talk informally about the current situation and work of organization).

In general this actor presents itself as a humanitarian actor, focused on drug addiction and especially the so-called "hidden population"⁴⁹, it has a more open and tolerant view of the problem of drug addiction, with the wider focus on drug addiction itself and connected risk of infection with HIV/AIDS and hepatitis (this part of the frame fills the gap in traditional dealing with drug addiction, which is focused on treatment, not harm reduction for the addicts which do not want to be treated). The presentation of the frame of this actor as non-traditional/modern is supported with the symbolic "strategies of action" where, for example, this actor produces documents both in Serbian and English, or this actor uses a lot of media campaigning as a part of informational activities about drug addiction. Symbols such as media campaigning or production of the materials in English want to communicate

⁴⁹ Report (page 12) talks about the "hidden populations" of injecting drug users or sex workers, and several times mentions people without medical insurance or facing criminal prosecution as groups which need special help

the value of modern, international approach to drug addiction, which should be appreciated by international donors or users of its services (they should appreciate the positive attitude towards them).

5.5.3. Integration of presentations and activities using the frame analysis

This actor perceives drug addiction as the main issue in its work and puts the focus of the conducted activities and presentations of its work on tolerance and help for the people which are left out by the other actors. This actor uses its framing of the problem in a strategic way, presenting itself as an actor which is focused on the forgotten aspects related with drug addiction and which presents its approach as humanitarian, non-conventional and modern. The use of perception of drug addiction in this way is supported by the development of new activities to address new challenges related to the drug addiction: this actor shows great flexibility in adapting its approach to these new aspects (i.e. development of harm reduction programme). At the same time this actor faces limitations (in personnel and funding) which do not allow the consistent use of its main frame; it can address new “forgotten” aspects of drug addiction only if it can overcome its limitations, which is not always automatically the case.

5.6. Municipality of Banja Luka: Department for social activities

5.6.1. Collected data

- Information about the state of drug addiction at the territory of Municipality of Banja Luka and measures to fight against it (for period June 2008 – June 2009)
- Official website of the Municipality of Banja Luka: www.banjaluka.rs.ba
- Contact via email

5.6.2. Card of subjective perception of drug addiction

5.6.2.1. Complex reality and focus on perception of the problem of drug addiction

This Department in the Municipality of Banja Luka deals with the issues from the domain of education, science, healthcare, social protection, social care for children and youth, culture, sport, publishing, informing, cultural goods, monuments, national minorities, refugees, religious communities, citizens

associations and non-governmental organization⁵⁰. Since this Department has a very diverse scope of activities, it is organizationally divided into three parts:

- Section for education, health issues and social protection,
- Section for sport, culture, youth and non-governmental organizations and
- Section for refugees, people returned after the war, religious issues and national minorities.

The problem of drug addiction is dealt with by the Section for education, health issues and social protection (my contact for data gathering from this actor was the Senior associate for health Mrs. Mira Kecman). It is immediately visible that this actor covers the wide scope of activities, which necessarily leads to less attention given to each of the individual problems: since it deals simultaneously with many different issues, it faces the bounded rationality problem and it addresses the most urgent or visible problems; drug addiction is not one of them. When it approaches the problem of drug addiction, this actor mostly relies on the other local public actors (established by the Municipality, like the Centre for social work Banja Luka or local medical centre) which are seen as local experts for different aspects of drug addiction.

5.6.2.2. Concrete activities following from the framing of the problem

The most important activity performed by this Department related to drug addiction is gathering the information from local institutions and organizations dealing with drug addiction and their integration in the single report Information about the state of drug addiction at the local level and measures to fight against it (on the level of Municipality of Banja Luka), which is prepared every three months for the Security forum of City of Banja Luka⁵¹. The Information report gathers data from different local governance actors from public sector and civil society⁵², integrates them and gives the recommendations for the measures to fight drug addiction at the local level. Important to notice is that gathered data are quite diverse, some actors provide just statistics about their work, other present their activities in more details, and recommendations remain quite generic, without concrete proposals: for example, it is mentioned: “the educational system should have the greatest responsibility for organization and execution of programmes of prevention, in cooperation with social and health services, families, religious communities, judicial institutions, police forces, customs and NGOs”. Also, some relevant problems are presented (i.e. less funding for preventive activities is available from the

⁵⁰ From the official website www.banjaluka.rs.ba, retrieved on 24th June 2010

⁵¹ Security forum is the last local governance actor to be analyzed, and during the analysis of its work I will concentrate on the use of the Information prepared by the Department for social activities.

⁵² Those local actors are: Local medical centre for primary health care (including Centre for mental health, ER and local system of family medicine), Clinical centre Banja Luka, Centre for social work Banja Luka, police, local Prosecutor's office, C.A. Viktorija and H.O. Poenta

Fund for health insurance, not enough multi-sector cooperation between the actors) but concrete proposals for overcoming these problems are not given.

This approach leads to the conclusion that the activities of this actor are actually activities of other actors (since the Information is in the end prepared by all the actors which are providing the data) but through their integration the Municipality shows its commitment in addressing the problem, without deeper analysis of the usefulness of this sort of work: prepared Information is too generic to give new ideas or precise guidelines for the actions to anyone; the Information report is more seen as a formal symbol that the drug addiction problem is constantly on the local agenda, while the results in dealing with drug addiction are not presented nor seen as important.

The potential to engage stronger in the area dealing with drug addiction would be through the funding of relevant projects from the municipal budget; still this is done by the independent Commission which excludes this actor (Department for social activities) from the decision. Therefore, funding is not channelled to certain activities which would be prioritized by the Municipality and this Department, but are determined *ad hoc* for different projects.

5.6.2.3. Presentation of the frame: official and actual situation

In the correspondence with this actor it wanted to leave the impression of active and important role in the fighting drug addiction at the local level: this is how this actor wants to be seen, even though deeper analysis of its engagement cannot support this presentation. The reasons behind insisting on the (self)importance of this actor lie in its official position: as part of local government it does not want to be perceived as indifferent towards local problems, even when these problems are placed low on the local agenda. This presentation creates the gap: this actor wants to be seen as a core actor for fighting drug addiction at the local level⁵³, while at the same time the potential it has for the coordination of activities of individual actors (through the possibility of funding, support and mediation between the other actors) is not strategically used. Doubt remains about whether this actor completely understands the potential for further improvements in its work (the correspondence with this actor systematically presented only successful stories in dealing with the problem of drug addiction).

⁵³ In my contact with this actor I asked whether their main role is in the funding of the approved local projects, but I was reassured that the Department, and whole Municipality is really concerned with the problem of drug addiction and directly deals with it. I can conclude that the Municipality wants to be presented responsible for actions and successes in the area of social services, including drug addiction.

From the gathered data I got the picture that this department prefers to deal with the other local governance actors, rather than with individuals (it was relatively difficult to get the information, not always complete and data were always related to other local governance actors). In communication, there was visible that many examples of successful actions which were not directly executed by the Municipality of Banja Luka are still interpreted as its success.

5.6.3. Integration of presentations and activities using the frame analysis

This actor perceives itself as important and indispensable in dealing with the problem of drug addiction due to its official position (it is part of local government); this perception is not followed by any genuine interest in the problem of drug addiction (it is more the way in which it wants to be seen by the others). There are real unused possibilities for this actor to have more influence on the global approach to the problem on the level of the whole local network through the funding, but so far that opportunity has not been used strategically. Activities of this actor (like preparation of Information every three months) are presented as a symbol of the commitment to address the drug addiction problem (on the formal level), while the concrete results produced by the Information report were not mentioned or perceived as something one should think about. For the moment, I would say that this actor uses strategic cooperation with the other actors and the possibility to integrate different data, in order to present its work as the focal point for all the actors: it wants to present itself as above other actors, as the local leader. Still, the genuine interest in the problem of drug addiction is missing; the engagement in cooperation with other actors is used only as an alibi for low direct involvement in the drug addiction problem. The official frame communicated by this actor is of interest for all the local problems, but this is not consistent, since the analysis shows low interest in actual dealing with drug addiction.

5.7. Security Forum of city of Banja Luka

5.7.1. Collected data

- Document: List of actors participating in the work of Forum
- Document: Overview of work groups in the Forum and domain of their activities
- Annual programme for the work of Forum in 2010 (May 2010)
- Document comprising general information about the establishment of Forum, its organization and activities

- Contact via email

5.7.2. Card of subjective perception of drug addiction

5.7.2.1. Complex reality and focus on perception of the problem of drug addiction

The Forum is an actor recently established⁵⁴ by the City Council of Banja Luka which gathers diverse local actors (mainly from the local public sector) which, through cooperation, plan measures and activities for better local security, quality of life, prevention of criminal activities and other types of antisocial behaviour. The work of Forum is divided in six different work groups, among them relevant for the problem of drug addiction are:

- Work group for the fight against criminality and drug addiction (consists of representatives of police, prosecutor's office, organization of primary and secondary schools and Municipality),
- Work group for prevention of drug addiction, vagrancy and pick-pocketing (includes representatives of youth organizations, Centre for social work Banja Luka, police and Municipality).

This actor perceives the drug addiction problem in relation to the security of the citizens, which therefore includes some new actors, like the local police force and courts. Also, official framing connects drug addiction with criminality, vagrancy and pick-pocketing (through official naming of the work groups) which gives the impression that drug addiction is immediately and naturally connected with crime and that it endangers local security and the quality of life. For these work groups drug addiction is an issue they focus on; since many different actors are included the focus on drug addiction is relatively wide (mentioned aspects include prevention, education, treatment and criminal offences related to drug sale). The work groups of the Security forum do not work on an everyday basis, but meet periodically, which influences the framing of the problem (this actor has no strong direct vested interests since it meets for the discussions about the relevant security issues once in several months, the vested interest are those of the members of the Forum, which deal with very diverse aspects of drug addiction and perceive the problem in very different ways). This actor gathers different perspectives of different local actors which perceive the problem differently (Goffman 1974) but those different perceptions are not integrated in one specific vision and perception of the problem.

5.7.2.2. Concrete activities following from the framing of the problem

⁵⁴ Decision about the establishment of the Forum dates from 11th July 2007

Concrete activities to address the problem of drug addiction include the discussion and adoption (every three months) of the Information about the state of drug addiction in the territory of the Municipality of Banja Luka and measures to fight against it. This Information report is prepared by the Department for social activities of Municipality of Banja Luka, which integrates the data gathered from different local actors⁵⁵. The Information should convey the “objective facts as well as clear and concrete proposals of measures and conclusion about their realization”⁵⁶ (earlier mentioned in the analysis of the Department for social activities are the problems related to the quality of proposals in the Information). The concrete activities in the end lead to a debate between the members of the Forum, which should confirm the recommendations in the Information; these recommendations are then sent to the local actors working in the field dealing with drug addiction. The recommendations are not obligatory to adopt, but oriented towards the increase of trust, partnership and communication between the actors.

This actor is founded in order to improve the cooperation and communication between different actors, which implies its openness to different actors. Still, it is not clear which were the criteria for the inclusion of different actors in the work of the Forum and what possibilities Forum offers for the new actors. Also, since the results of the activities (recommendations) are not obligatory to use, they are quite generic and haven't brought to significant improvements in dealing with drug addiction at the local level.

5.7.2.3. Presentation of the frame: official and actual situation

The main orientation of this actor is towards the development of cooperation between the different local actors from public, governmental and non-governmental sectors, which should together address the main problems on the local level, identify new problems and look for solutions; therefore key values for this actor are cooperation, openness and communication. Aside from the improvements in the mutual communication this actor is not ambitious; it is mostly oriented towards building cohesion through coordination in actions undertaken by different local governance actors dealing with different local problems (from criminality to nature protection). This actor presents its frame as a comprehensive one, where the completeness of its understanding of drug addiction is secured by the inclusion of all the diverse actors active in its work, but one might question this in light of the naming of the work groups which frame drug addiction as a security problem and a risk for the wider local community.

⁵⁵ The actors were already mentioned before in the analysis of the previous actor: Department for social activities in the Municipality of Banja Luka.

⁵⁶ Annual programme for the work of Forum in 2010 (May 2010): 4

Taking into account the orientation of the Forum in its work (discussion, presentations of different points of view, etc), its work can be perceived more as an experiment with the cooperation, which does not have a specific goal (apart from improvement of cooperation and communication between different actors in general). The produced recommendations dealing with drug addiction were generic in its approach and not presented as important and relevant; also they are not obligatory for implementation by the actors, which leaves the work of this actor unfinished. Among all the local problems, drug addiction is seen as the problem dealt by different actors which are active in different aspects of the problem, but without big integration of their different approaches – the difference is acknowledged, but nothing is done about it – official documents from the Forum confirm the lack of more ambitious objective in its work.

5.7.3. Integration of presentations and activities using the frame analysis

This actor wants to foster cooperation between local actors dealing with the problem of drug addiction; it perceives the problem of drug addiction as a complex one which needs an integrated approach through the engagement of different local governance actors, which are specialized in different aspects of this complex problem. Full strategic use of this frame (complex problem which needs collaboration) would ask for more actual coordination in the work done by the actors, but this function is not performed by the Forum: different positions are presented, but no activities are performed in order to integrate them in one common comprehensive approach. In order to frame the problem in a coherent way, without mere presentations of different perceptions of the problem by different members in the Forum, this actor should take more active role in the integration of the different perceptions into unique mental picture of the problem.

5.8. Conclusion

In conclusion to this chapter I will systematically present the answers to the research sub-questions 2, 3 and 4, which should finally lead to the answer to the main research question in the following chapter. I will use the analysis of different local governance actors and integrate conclusions about them in the way which will take into consideration their specificities and the differences in their perceptions and understanding of the problem of drug addiction. I will pay special attention to the differences in focus and approach, interpretations given to the problem and the roles of the actors, symbols used in communication and underlining values and beliefs which are identified as specific for different local governance actors.

5.8.1. Answer to sub-question two: How do governance actors present their frames?

Here I will integrate the points already made concerning the ways in which different governance actors present their work on the problem of drug addiction and develop their frames (organize the perceptions of the complex reality of drug addiction, from their subjective points of view or make mental pictures of the problem of drug addiction). In the available data I looked for the symbols used and values which are communicated as important for the actors; that way I managed to clarify how different actors want to be seen, how they present themselves, related to the problem of drug addiction. Symbols and values are interpreted by the actors in a specific way which underlines certain aspects of the work on drug addiction; they are strategically used to foster the frame of the problem. The frame analytical approach looks for the congruency between different data because each actor wants to achieve a coherent view of the problem. My focus in the presentations is on specificities in individual approaches to the problem; some shared points (i.e. recognition of the complexity of problem or need for cooperation) will not be discussed here.

Actor	Presentation of its frame	Key words
Centre for social work Banja Luka	Drug addiction is a complex problem and its role as a public institution in charge for the social protection is to coordinate different specialists dealing with separate specific aspects of the problem. It approaches the drug addiction as the coordinator of different activities performed by other local governance actors, taking into account the individual cases (individual drug addicts which need its help). This frame aims to present the central role of this actor, based on its position of local public institution working in this policy field.	Coordinator of the specialists
Methadone centre	The problem of drug addiction is a complex medical problem where different phases in treatment have to be integrated (medicalization, psychological therapy); the role of this actor is presented in the provision of the services for the first phase and setting the foundation (through the conversation and administrative help) for the next phase in treatment, which is out of its domain of activities.	Treats complex medical problem
C.A. Viktorija	It approaches the problem of drug addiction in its complexity,	Expert for fight

	emphasizing its expertise in dealing with it: “personnel professionally trained for work with drug addicts” (Annual report for 2008: 3). It presents the wide scope of activities and covers many different aspects of the problem, where it emphasizes its experience and expertise. Specificity in its approach, in the therapeutic part, includes the approach to each individual with the development of holistic long-term relations; its approach to prevention communicates the comprehensiveness (oriented towards different groups: potential users, persons at risk, professionals, etc) and creativity ⁵⁷ . Expertise and specialization in the approach (dealing exclusively with drug addiction) are the key words for the presentation of this actor. This frame wants to establish this actor as indispensable in the work on drug addiction in Banja Luka.	against drug addiction
H.O. Poenta	It presents itself as the actor which is more tolerant and interested in less approachable and visible groups; it is concerned also with the side effects of drug abuse (risks of infection with HIV/AIDS and hepatitis) ⁵⁸ . The humanitarian presentation of its work is also visible in the focus on groups like drug addicts who are not in the process of quitting or sex workers, which run high risk of infections. Another part of presentation on which this actor insists is its modern approach symbolized through extensive work with media and presentation of materials in English language. In general, this presentation aims to appear positive for the potential donors.	Tolerant, humanitarian and modern actor
Municipality of Banja Luka: Department for social activities	This actor sees itself in the first place as part of the Municipality, therefore it is part of local government and its dealing with the local problems follows from its official position. Main approach to the problem is through integration of data from different actors as the symbol of its dedication to address the drug addiction problem, while on the level of	Local government deals responsibly with the problem of drug addiction

⁵⁷ One mentioned activity included the preparation of school play with the theme of drug addiction

⁵⁸ During the interview with this actor it was immediately mentioned that “the most interesting and specific part of the work is the harm reduction programme” – giving clean injection kits to the drug addicts.

	concrete results its (potential) strategic role of integrator is almost not used at all. Here the official presentation of the actor is not confirmed in the concrete dealings with the problem of drug addiction, where the actor is much less active than it wants to appear to be; its wish to appear in that way is based on its official position of local authority.	
Security forum of City of Banja Luka	Presents dealing with drug addiction by connecting other local actors, fostering their communication and coordination of their activities. It wants to be seen as the point of exchange of opinions which will eventually lead to the greater coordination in addressing the problem on the local level, but this actor itself remains unsure about the ways in which that can be done (produced recommendations are quite generic and haven't brought significant results in dealing with drug addiction, so far). On the level of perception of the problem and the frame formation his actor is still in the phase of establishment: change from several actors which exchange the data to the single actor relevant for the approach to the local social problems.	Forum for discussion only

Table 5.3: Summary of presentations of the frames by local governance actors in Banja Luka

As the table shows, different actors present their key values (also using the symbols), focus in their work and understanding of their roles in dealing with drug addiction, trying to achieve a high level of coherence between different aspects in their presentations. For the different actors, the way in which they want to present their framing of drug addiction differs more or less from their practical roles, where they show more or less willingness to bring the presentation of itself and its real approach to the problem together. Lack of consistency in the presentation of the actor, where what is done and what is said differ significantly (Yanow 2000: 9) is possible to persist as long as the broader local population does not show much interest in the problem of drug addiction, but it can be relatively easily perceived, in case when there exist an interest to look at the problem more thoroughly.

5.8.2. Answer to sub-question three: Which concrete actions in dealing with the problem of drug addiction follow from framing by local governance actors?

The connection between the actions of different local governance actors and the framing of the drug addiction problem is relatively straightforward: the actors focus in their work on some actions dealing with specific aspects of the problem, because they perceive these aspects as important and relevant to be specially addressed (the activities are rooted in the subjective perceptions of the problem). Concrete activities of the actors are therefore based on their framing of drug addiction: they will focus on those activities which their perceptions of the problem (framings of drug addiction) dictate them to emphasize and address as important.

Actor	Activities – official lines of action	Activities – concrete focus
Centre for social work Banja Luka	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Educative-preventive - Treatment - Rehabilitation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cooperation with the actors (especially initiation of formal cooperation) - Initiation of activities - Administrative help (social security, health insurance, etc) - Individual advising
Methadone centre	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Administering the methadone therapy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - First contact with drug addicts - Medical (methadone) therapy - Individual counselling (focus: motivation for the continuation of treatment)
C.A. Viktorija	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Prevention - Treatment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - SOS telephone - Therapeutic work (therapeutic community) - Daily staying in Viktorija's premises - Resocialization programme - Support groups for the families - Lectures (for pupils, parents, teachers, different experts)
H.O. Poenta	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Counselling office - Service for HIV/AIDS and hepatitis prevention - Clean house 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Counselling and psycho-therapeutic support - Harm reduction programme - Preparation and distribution of informative materials - Media campaigns - Public lectures

Municipality of Banja Luka: Department for social activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - integration of the information about the state of drug addiction at the local level - recommendation of the measures to address the drug addiction - funding relevant local projects⁵⁹ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Quarterly preparation of Information about the state of drug addiction and measures to fight against it
Security forum of city of Banja Luka	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Common actions of local actors to prevent and fight criminality and antisocial behaviour - Identification of local problems and common search for solutions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Discussion about the prepared Information - Adoption of the Information and following recommendations - Distribution of the recommendation to the relevant local governance actors

Table 5.4: Summary of activities performed by the local governance actors in Banja Luka

I have made a distinction between the officially presented actions (activities mentioned in different official documents) and those which are really in the focus of the actors in their everyday work (those mentioned as the core activities in direct contact with the actors). This distinction is relevant to make, since some of the actors had a tendency (in their official reports or presentations) to mention many diverse activities where they are/were involved at some point, while in practical execution of activities they focus only on some of them, which uncovers where their real specialization and focus in work is placed, which is relevant for the framing of the problem of drug addiction. Real specialization of the actors is based on their framing of the problem of drug addiction and should be concentrated on those aspects of the problem which are understood as the most important.

5.8.3. Sub-question four: How can presentations and actions of local governance actors be interpreted in the light of frame analysis?

This sub-question summarizes the conclusions about the presentations of the actors and their activities. I will look here both how actors present themselves and what actions they concretely perform in order to address the problem of drug addiction and integrate these aspects in the comprehensive pictures of the actors, their work and view of the drug addiction problem. Therefore, I will look for general congruency in the approach to the problem of drug addiction, which should help me to closer understand the specificities in the framing of the problem of drug addiction: how systematically an

⁵⁹ It refers to the whole Municipality, not specific the Department; in correspondence with this actor this was mentioned as a relevant activity of the Municipality of Banja Luka in dealing with drug addiction.

actor presents itself through its actions, language and non-verbal means, so I can get the insight in the specific perception of the drug addiction for that actor.

Actors	Key in presentation	Key actions	Interpretation
Centre for social work Banja Luka	Coordination of different actors: focal point of contact between different actors dealing with different aspects of the problem	Organization of the formal cooperation; (indirect) involvement in many activities	Perception of complexity of the problem and importance of different actors which have to cooperate (network awareness) <u>Problematic</u> : low importance given to the problem of drug addiction on the level of entire Centre
Methadone centre	Treatment of drug addiction is a long-term and multi-phase process; important to be available to all the people who need help to quit using drugs	Medical treatment (detoxification) and counselling of drug addicts	Drug addiction has to be treated medically (by different experts) in several phases; it asks for long-term determination and motivation of the people who are ready to start the process of quitting the drugs <u>Problematic</u> : approachability of this actor
C.A. Viktorija	Comprehensive expert approach, focus on different groups in execution of different activities, which are all necessary in order to successfully address the problem	Preventive activities and therapeutic programme (equally important)	It is necessary for general public to fully understand the complexity of the problem of drug addiction; only through overall support and cooperation is possible to successfully deal with the problem. This actor has a strategic importance on the local level in dealing with drug addiction (it offers comprehensive approach) <u>Problematic</u> : stable funding for all activities
H.O. Poenta	It is specially focused on	Information for	Drug addiction is a complex

	unrecognized aspects of the problem and groups which are more endangered or at risk; it is tolerant towards the active drug users; it is modern and humanitarian	general public, treatment for drug addicts in process of quitting drug use, harm reduction for active drug users	issue and all its aspects have to be addressed, especially those which nobody else perceives and approaches, including risks connected with active drug addiction <u>Problematic</u> : funding and long-term orientation / specialization
Municipality of Banja Luka: Department for social activities	Local government finds important to address the local problem of drug addiction which is so complex that it deserves approach by all local (especially public) actors, with the Municipality at the lead	Integrate all the local data about drug addiction	Drug addiction has to be formally addressed, since it is a local problem; commitment is shown through written reports about the problem <u>Problematic</u> : lack of real interest in the problem of drug addiction
Security Forum of city of Banja Luka	Greater communication and coordination of the activities between the actors dealing with drug addiction will lead to better results in dealing with the problem	Periodically discusses drug addiction and recommends the measures to fight against it	Complexity of drug addiction asks for engagement and common approach of many different actors; for better results they should regularly communicate and work together <u>Problematic</u> : produced recommendations are too vague, unconvincing and not obligatory to apply

Table 5.5: Integration of presentations and actions of local governance actors

Presented interpretations take into consideration the way in which actors were presenting themselves and concrete activities they were executing; I focused on the comprehensive specific look at drug addiction developed by these actors and, at the same time, problematic points in the integration of what is said and what is done. Problematic aspects which frame analysis can pinpoint are paradoxes, which undermine the real determination to present the problem in a systematic and congruent way and to address it through its functions; they point out where the actor is not convinced by its role or where

there is an external danger which might undermine a certain frame of the problem. Here, the systematic and specific views on the problem of drug addiction are presented, together with the aspects, relevant for the actors, which endanger the consistency of such mental pictures.

CHAPTER VI – CONCLUSION

6.1. Introduction

This research dealt with the complex social problem of drug addiction, approached at the local level in one municipality in Bosnia and Herzegovina (the Municipality of Banja Luka). In dealing with drug addiction the general framework of contextual constructivism was used; this framework independently approached the objective conditions which form the context for dealing with the problem of drug addiction (in this case study, that was the local network of governance actors) and subjective perceptions of the problem (how problem of drug addiction is seen and understood by different actors which are parts of the existing network). My research moved from objective settings of context of network governance, approached as the way in which dealings with the problem of drug addiction are organized, towards subjective perceptions of the problem, where primacy was given to the values, interpretations of the facts, focuses on diverse aspects of the problem and symbols used to communicate the values and general approach to the problem.

The final aim of my research was to understand how one single problem in one municipality (drug addiction in the Municipality of Banja Luka) is framed by different actors engaged in this policy field. The basic idea and the drive for me were to discover how one social problem can be perceived in different ways, depending on the eye of beholder (actors dealing with it). Final frames (mental pictures of perceived problem) are influenced by different factors, many of which are subjective: i.e. values and beliefs specific for different actors; while others are objectively set, like funding opportunities, official position of an actor on the local level, or its relations with the other actors. I will first present six of these different frames of the same problem of drug addiction, after which I will look into the similarities between the perceptions of the problem by different actors, which should reduce the number of the frames (of course, introducing some necessary abstractions in the process). The final result should show how different local actors which work together on the same problem at the same locality can still have rather different pictures of that same problem.

I will also compare the framing done by the local governance actors in Banja Luka with the theoretical framework and concepts related to the framing developed by Goffman and Rein & Schön. This should compare the practical formation of the distinctive frames of the problem of drug addiction in Banja Luka with the theoretical assumptions about it. At the end, I will point out possible developments in dealing with the problem of drug addiction at the local level, which should strategically use network

governance and the frames of the problem, in order to address the drug addiction problem in more systematic way.

6.2. Individual framing of the problem of drug addiction

Here I will present six frames: definitions, perceptions of the problem of drug addiction by different actors, which are engaged on the problem in the local governance network in Banja Luka. These specific frames were the basis from which all concrete dealing with drug addiction developed: frames provided the framework for the perception of the social reality putting the focus on “what exists, what happens and what matters” (Gitlin 1980, in Diehl & McFarland 2010: 1716).

6.2.1. Frame of drug addiction by the Centre for social work Banja Luka

Centre for social work Banja Luka is officially positioned as the local public expert for social protection and provision of social services on the local level in Banja Luka. Traditionally, this actor deals with several local social problems and its inclusion of drug addiction on the local agenda was done partially: the problem is officially recognized but without investing much in order to address it directly (on the level of whole Centre it is perceived as only one additional local problem). The low position of this problem on the global agenda of this actor is combined with official recognition of the “partnership approach” which is delineated in the Memoranda about cooperation and widely used as a strategy of action - a persistent mode to order actions through time. It appears that this actor is the most aware of the importance of network governance in approaching this problem, since its own limitations are clearly stated and understood. The framing of the problem of drug addiction by this actor gives to these aspects the central place.

The Centre for social work frames the problem of drug addiction as a complex multidimensional problem which requires a common approach by many different local actors in order to be tackled successfully. Relevant dimensions of the problem include medical, psycho-social, preventive, educational, informational, financial aspects; this actor does not give strong preferences to any of the aspects in particular, since it sees its particular role in their integration through cooperation with different local actors. In order to achieve the integration, this actor emphasizes the importance of the definitions of the roles assigned to the different local actors and it looks positively on the larger formalization of the network. In order to enhance the consistence of its frame of drug addiction, this actor should appear less ambitious in its direct involvement (currently it states its involvements in many

activities, while it cannot efficiently participate in most of them, due to the lack of resources) with more specialization on only some specific aspects of the problem of drug addiction (i.e. those related to the administrative help or integration of work by different actors). The specialization should influence the framing of drug addiction problem for this actor, adding the focus on the integrative tasks.

6.2.2. Frame of drug addiction by Methadone centre

The Methadone centre is a medical expert: it is part of Clinical centre Banja Luka, it employs medical personnel and naturally it is focused on medical aspects of the problem of drug addiction. Therefore, it perceives the problem of drug addiction as a medical condition and, as shown in the analysis of this actor, it focuses on treatment of this problem in a medical sense. The medical focus does not mean that this actor is naïve in the belief that the drug addiction can be easily cured using the medicines – methadone therapy; its position of medical expert allows it to understand the full complexity of treatment and to recognize its role as only part of a solution. Since this actor is aware of the existence of other actors dealing with drug addiction and the need for cooperation to fully address the problem, it strategically uses its relations with the other actors which might help to address drug addiction in an appropriate way (continue with psycho-social therapy in the therapeutic community after the medical treatment of the drug addiction in the first phase of curing it). Therefore, network relations influence its perception of drug addiction in such way that this actor specializes in the medical pharmaceutical treatment of drug addiction and let other actors to take over the treatment in the following phases.

It is possible to sum up that, for this actor, drug addiction is a complex medical condition which should be treated in several phases and which needs a long-term determination and work by different actors in order to be addressed successfully.

6.2.3. Frame of drug addiction by Citizens Association Viktorija

Viktorija is a local governance actor which is specialized exclusively in drug addiction, it possess the expertise and experience in dealing with its many dimensions: its focus only on one issue leads to deep insights into it (Goffman 1974: 8). Even though this actor is presented and recognized as a local expert, it is aware of the need for the cooperation and importance of development of the network relations; unlike the Centre for social work, this actor perceives network related to the concrete work and the necessity to achieve stability in dealing with drug addiction through the cooperation between different local actors. For this actor network should allow increased concentration on the activities and their

results, not merely on performing disconnected projects: stability and continuity in the work are seen as crucial for the success in dealing with drug addiction.

The focus on one problem in all its dimensions leads to the development of the frame of drug addiction which will include the complexity of the problem and all the key values for this actor. Viktorija frames drug addiction as a symptom of deeper individual problems, which can be more or less serious (recognized causes for drug use ranges from serious personal or family problems to the curiosity of the youth). This actor does not make judgements about the validity of reasons for drug use, but focuses on the needs which have to be addressed: through preventive measures, such as education about drug addiction (which would deal with several less serious causes), and through a therapeutic community dealing with individual problems (which were causes and consequences of individual drug addiction). Drug addiction is framed as a complex and multidimensional social problem, the importance of which should be recognized and addressed by the whole local community.

6.2.4. Frame of drug addiction by Humanitarian Organization Poenta

Humanitarian organization Poenta has several similarities with Viktorija: its main focus is on drug addiction, which leads to wider perception of it (many aspects of drug addiction are acknowledged), the actor is established to directly address the problem of drug addiction in its work. Important to notice for this actor is that its work brings the difference and novelty in its attention given to the several aspects which are left outside of the framing of other actors concentrated on fighting drug addiction: this actor relates the drug addiction to the other risks which are consequences of the drug use, like infection with HIV or hepatitis. In this regard the frame of drug addiction of this actor is the widest in the network, since it does not only include the fighting drug addiction through prevention or treatment, but also provision of so-called harm reduction measures for the drug users which are not in the process of quitting the drug use; this delineates the key values for this actor, such as tolerance or humanitarianism.

Drug addiction for this actor is framed as a complex medical problem, which is related and inseparable from several side effects; the completeness in dealing with the drug addiction asks for the inclusion in the frame also the help for the persons who are active drug users. The frame of this actor includes dealing with them which is outside of the framing of drug addiction by other actors; the frame emphasizes the need to address together the drug addiction and its side effects and connected risks.

6.2.5. Frame of drug addiction by the Municipality of Banja Luka: Department for social activities

Department of social activities in the Municipality of Banja Luka is an actor which has provided many contradictory information which makes it more difficult to establish how actually it frames the problem of drug addiction. It officially ascertains that the drug addiction is an important complex local problem, but it does not clearly and consistently present how this importance and complexity is understood on the practical level (the real frame which states the importance of the problem would lead to more active involvement in dealing with drug addiction; here this is a rhetorical figure). Rather, as a local government, this actor naturally comes to the conclusion that it should officially be leader in dealings with drug addiction on the local level, using the other local governance actors (especially those from public sector, with whom it has closer relations) to address the problem; it is clear that the concrete frame is not fully developed or strategically used by this actor.

From the different data provided by this actor, the frame of drug addiction can be identified as a complex local problem which should be formally addressed by different actors with the leadership from the Municipality. The contradictories between official and actual approach make it difficult to arrive to the more precise framing of the problem of drug addiction, so I can conclude that the low interest given to the problem of drug addiction is followed with undeveloped framing of the problem: more focus and concreteness in dealing with drug addiction would lead to the development of the clearer frame of drug addiction (it is difficult to frame a problem which is not fully perceived or understood).

6.2.6. Frame of drug addiction by the Security Forum of city of Banja Luka

Officially, the Security forum presents drug addiction as one of the problems which endangers local security and quality of life; at first sight it looks like drug addiction is perceived as connected with criminality, but a closer look into the work of this actor does not support this frame. Actually, the specificity of this actor (it consists of several very diverse local actors which are active in the Forum only periodically) has as a consequence the lack of one firm frame (view, perception) of drug addiction. Different members of the Forum keep their diverse frames of drug addiction which range from criminal activity of sale and use of illegal substances to a symptom which indicate some other deeper individual problems. The work of this actor should lead to the creation of one larger meta-frame which will include all the members of the Forum dealing with drug addiction⁶⁰, but the produced recommendations do not show that: they deal more with adding all the different information and summing up very general recommendations to which everyone would agree.

⁶⁰ This meta-frame would include additional members not included in the analyzed network.

This actor is specific because it does not have one congruent frame of drug addiction; for it, the complex reality is not organized and simplified in order to give a single mental picture of the problem, it is rather a compilation of different perceptions, which so far are not altered by the work of this actor. If this actor wants to have more prominent role in dealing with drug addiction (which is claimed officially), it will have to work on the development of a frame for drug addiction, which should then point out to the more concrete engagement: current lack of a common frame leads to a lack of common approach and actions to deal with the drug addiction at the local level.

6.3. Common patterns in the framing by different local governance actors

After presenting all the different frames of the local governance actors, I will concentrate here on the frame similarities, on the similar views on the problem of drug addiction, which should lead to the identification of less, more abstract frames of the problem of drug addiction in Banja Luka. Since in the process I use some abstractions, the resulting frames are not ideally fitting to all the actors, but point which aspects in the frame the actors should develop in order to consistently frame the problem of drug addiction in a certain way.

6.3.1. Integrative frame

This frame of drug addiction gives the central place to the development of network relations and synchronization of approaches by different local actors, in order to address all the different aspects of the problem in the optimal way. This frame is network aware and fully supports the development of the network in the formal sense, including the clearer task division, data sharing and the development of the social mechanisms. The problem of drug addiction is not elaborated through some specific definition, rather it is recognized that drug addiction is multi-dimensional problem which asks for different experts focused on the different aspects of it; those aspects are then more precisely defined. Actors with the integrative frame of drug addiction tend to see their role as the mediators and organizers of different actors dealing with different aspects of drug addiction.

The integrative frame is developed as strategically used (up to a certain extent) by the Centre for social work Banja Luka. Also, the Department for social activities in the Municipality tries to present its framing of drug addiction in this integrative way. Specific for the Municipality is that its general orientation often contradicts the support of the development of network relations: this actor is more rationally and hierarchically oriented and it prefers formally addressing the problem rather than

concrete involvement with concrete results (this actor insists more on the procedures which are followed than on the results). Following the main ideas presented by Diehl & McFerland (2010), it is possible to conclude that the Municipality follows meta-frame “modernity” (focus on rational and institutional order), rather than meta-frame “post-modernity”, which fully recognizes the roles played by different actors in the network and focuses on their mobilization. Therefore, the shift from the hierarchical approach to the local problems to the network approach is needed, especially in the understanding of the necessity for the network and the power shift which follows from the adoption of the network approach. The integrative frame fully recognizes the importance of the network, its functions inside the meta-frame “post-modernity”.

6.3.2. Expert frame

The expert frame of drug addiction looks at the concrete aspects of drug addiction which have to be addressed and focuses immediately on the execution of the concrete activities which will tackle those different aspects of the problem. Specific for these actors is the wide understanding of the problem in all its dimensions and recognition of the need to address them all in order to gain the success in fighting the drug addiction. This frame of drug addiction also presupposes direct action: the concrete activities are not just executed by different actors, but (in large part) directly by the expert.

This frame is strategically used by the actors from the civil society (C.A. Viktorija and H.O. Poenta) which are focused on direct execution of different activities which should tackle the drug addiction, and which present themselves as experienced, educated and trained for dealing with drug addiction. At some degree, the Methadone centre is also part of this frame, but because of somewhat narrower approach to the problem of drug addiction I have used the specific frame for this actor.

6.3.3. Medical frame

Medical frame can be defined as a sub-frame of the expert frame, which due to its specificities, has a narrower focus. Medical expert perceived drug addiction primarily as a medical condition, which leads to its focus of treatment of the addiction, while some other aspects (those not directly related to the treatment, like prevention) are left out of focus of this expert. The Methadone centre as only medical actor in the local governance network is the one which perceives drug addiction in medical terms.

6.3.4. No-frame

No-frame appears in a situation where an actor consists of very diverse and loosely connected members; in that case there is not enough cohesion inside the actor to form one frame of the problem of drug addiction, instead the actor presents a list of different frames (by its different members). Lack of a single coherent frame as a mode to perceive the mess of complex social reality leads to uncertainty about the concrete actions, preferences given to different aspects of the complex problem and final goals for the actor. In the long-term, a “no-frame” situation is not sustainable, since it does not allow to form a basis for the further common approach to the problem (if the frame which forms the basis is missing, it is difficult to move on).

The Security forum is a very specific actor which has no single frame of drug addiction and as a consequence has quite limiting functions; it only deals with communication between the members (inside the Forum) and dissemination of information (to the interested local public), but for the execution of concrete actions this actor needs more inner cohesion, which would include the formation of a single frame of drug addiction. Currently, the Forum presents itself as a separate specific local actor, but without the development of a specific frame of drug addiction it cannot be expected to function as an actor; it might cease to exist altogether or just continue to function as a discussion platform for different actors (which is the current situation in practice).

6.4. Conclusion

Using the frame analysis, it was possible to identify different frames of the problem of drug addiction by different local governance actors in Banja Luka; those actors were in their work conditioned by the objective context to approach the problem through the local governance network. All actors were aware of network relations and use them at some level, with the problematic aspects related to the lack of formalization of the network relations and existing loose shared governance on the level of local network, which in practice meant that the actors mostly let the network develops by itself, through repeated behaviour in their everyday work. The concrete network and its governance show some duplication in dealing with drug addiction (due to the lack of specialization: adoption of wide agenda to deal with this problem by many actors). The main gaps in network governance remain in the area of stable governance through the official recognition of the different tasks for different actors and formalization of the network relations and roles for the actors, integration of all the aspects in one global agenda to comprehensively address the drug addiction in Banja Luka and the provision of stable funding for dealing with concrete activities. The analysis has shown that the framing process was

affected by the subjective perceptions of the actors as well as by the existing context of the local governance network.

6.4.1. Application of theoretical concepts related to framing

The conclusions regarding the application of the theoretical insights about framing should start from the level of meta-frame which sets the basis for the approach to drug addiction and the development of individual frames by different local governance actors. The meta-frame is based on the recognition of the complexity of drug addiction and the high value given to cooperation between the actors. Even though all the actors officially state that they support the development of the network in this policy field, some actors (primarily local government) find it difficult to change the basic approach in their work from hierarchical to the network (shift from the meta-frame “modernity” to “post-modernity”); there is still a need to fully recognize the potential in the local governance network which addresses this complex problem.

Further, I looked into the aspects cited by Goffman (1974) as relevant for the framing process. The case study from Banja Luka shows an especially important role is played by the vested interests of the actors, especially in the situation where the issue framed is not highly positioned on the local agenda. In Banja Luka the actors with the strongest vested interests were those dealing exclusively with drug addiction (dealing with drug addiction being their *raison d'être*), they developed the most congruent frames; the actors which deal less with drug addiction have less developed frames of the problem, where often different paradoxes and low congruency can be noticed (generally, there is discrepancy between what is said and what is done). The crucial importance of framing for “organizing, interpreting and making sense of a complex reality” (Rein & Schön 1993: 146) is confirmed since the lack of consistent frame causes problems in approaching drug addiction: local actor Security forum does not know which aspects to prioritize nor how to deal with the problem in its totality, which all can be traced to the lack of specific framing of the problem of drug addiction.

A last remark about the application of theoretical concepts, more specifically, about the roles of symbols as strategic tools for the communication of relevant abstract values which enhance the congruency of the relevant frame. In the case study of Banja Luka, symbols are used sporadically and often without deeper strategic intentions; I relate this to the fact that drug addiction has low position on the local agenda, therefore the problem itself is less visible and strategic use of symbols makes less sense.

6.4.2. Recommendations

Regarding possible developments in combined strategic use of network governance and frames in order to better address the problem of drug addiction, they should go in the following directions:

- The roles of different actors in the network should be defined in a more formal and precise way (local governance network should be more formalized); this way the duplications of activities would be avoided.
- Municipality of Banja Luka: Department for social activities should take over the tasks in domain of global supervision and funding of activities, where a list of priorities in concrete dealing with drug addiction (prevention, treatment, etc) should be determined; these tasks should remain on the global level, without engagement with more practical details. The Municipality should dedicate a part of the local budget for dealing with drug addiction, and guaranty the stability of funding for the list of activities identified as local priorities.
- The Centre for social work Banja Luka should take over the task of integration of the concrete work to address the drug addiction on the local level; its position of the local public institution would allow it to deal with this aspect (in the end, it is accountable to the local population for the success in its work), while on the concrete level it should limit itself to the administrative help where its position can be used as an advantage (i.e. in relations with other actors from the public sector, like health insurance). The Centre should follow the execution of all activities covering different aspects of drug addiction and create a database which should be used by all the members of the network, containing information about different activities, on-going projects, previous benchmark cases, etc.
- Concrete activities related to drug addiction should be dealt with by the expert actors: civil society actors Viktorija and Poenta and the medical expert, the Methadone centre. They would deal with the execution of concrete activities, for which they will have stable funding from the municipal budget, with the obligation to share data and cooperate on a formal level (using the Centre for social work as the key actor for communication and administrative support).
- The Security forum of the city of Banja Luka would act as a forum for discussion of the problem, where a more common approach to the drug addiction should be developed: therefore, the actors which are part of this forum should become more active, discussion should be enhanced and produced recommendations should be more precise and mandatory; if the situation remains the same, the Forum has no reason to function at all. An active forum, on the other hand, will enhance cooperation between different actors; the Forum will have to make priorities in its work, set some goals and start to behave like an active member of the network.

Concentration on the tasks division and specialization of the actors will also lead to shifts in individual frames of the problem of drug addiction. These frame shifts or frame developments will lead to less paradoxes and gaps between the official positions of the actors and their concrete work: the gap between what is said and what is done in the policy field (Yanow 2000). The actors should become more frame conscious, in a sense that their behaviour should reflect the framing of the problem of drug addiction. I believe that the focus on more abstract frames I have identified (integrative, expert and medical frames) will lead to a more consistent approach to the problem of drug addiction. In the end, no actor can function successfully without being aware of the frame of the problem it deals with; absence of the frame leads an actor to feel utter insecurity about which direction its work (activities, presentation and communication) should take. This proves once more that frames, even though often taken for granted, are central for understanding the complexities of social reality, as well as for orienting concrete actions of the governance actors inside them.

ANNEXES

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DOCUMENTS - LOCAL GOVERNANCE ACTORS

Centre for social work Banja Luka

- Memorandum about understanding and cooperation with C.A. Viktorija
- Memorandum about understanding and cooperation with H.O. Poenta
- Memorandum about understanding and cooperation with Centre for public safety Banja Luka (local police forces), Clinical centre Banja Luka: Psychiatric clinic Banja Luka, Health centre Banja Luka: Centre for mental health and Institute for education and pedagogy Banja Luka
- Internal report about the work with the addicts, prepared in March 2009

Citizens Association Viktorija

- Annual work report for 2008

Humanitarian Organization Poenta

- Report about the organization and its activities in the first five years of its existence: Five years of fight against drug addiction, HIV/AIDS and hepatitis (February 2008)
- Educational-informational brochure Why? Produced by Poenta in August 2005

Municipality of Banja Luka: Department for social activities

- Information about the state of drug addiction at the territory of Municipality of Banja Luka and measures to fight against it (for period June 2008 – June 2009)

Security Forum of city of Banja Luka

- List of actors participating in the work of Forum
- Overview of the work groups in the Forum and domain of their activities
- Annual programme for the work of Forum in 2010 (May 2010)
- Document comprising general information about the establishment of Forum, its organization and activities

INTERNET SOURCES

- Official website of the Municipality of Banja Luka: www.banjaluka.rs.ba

- Official website of C.A. Viktorija: www.izaberi-zivot.rs.ba
- Official website of the Clinical centre Banja Luka: www.kc-bl.com
- Official website of the Centre for social work Banja Luka: www.csrbl.org

INTERVIEWS

- Nikola Dorontić (working in department which deals with the addiction in Centre for social work Banja Luka), conducted on 22nd February 2010 in Banja Luka
- Željko Marjanac (Executive Manager of H.O. Poenta), conducted on 22nd February 2010 in Banja Luka
- Sanja Stanić (visepresident of C.A. Viktorija), conducted on 23rd February 2010 in Banja Luka
- Tatjana Maglov (psychiatrist, Methadone centre), conducted on 24th February 2010 in Banja Luka