Section thématique 61: Quelle(s) climatisation(s) des politiques publiques ?

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Disaster risk management or adaptation to climate change; How to deal with climate issue in Colombia? Analysis from agenda setting and traveling model perspectives of the elaboration of climate policies.

Abstract

The main purpose of this work is to understand, in an actor oriented perspective, the context in which climate policy are formulated in a country, Colombia. Using agenda setting and travelling model perspectives, we analyzed the role of actors at international and national level on the rise of climate issue and the shape of climate policies. Results showed that the rise of climate issue in Colombia is, from one side, the product of external and internal factors and on the other side, the product of translation chains from several actors on how to see the problem and how to address it. External factors initiated the reflection of CC (international commitments, international actors' translations) but this is an internal factor (Niña phenomenon) that allow a real appropriation of the topic by government members. Government members used traveling model translations as a power issue; the DNP representing at climate change adaptation versus the UNGRD representing at disaster risk management. At the end of the translation chains, government members re-appropriate international consultants' version (of the issue and solution) into an economical perspective; adaptation to climate change as an economical opportunity or as a way to avoid economical loss.

Introduction

Following the publication of the IPCC Fourth Assessment Report in 2007, national climate change (CC) legislation and the formalization of national climate policies have increased significantly (Muller, 2015). These efforts have not produced any significant change in the trajectory of global emissions (Muller, 2015). The same observation could be made on adaptation issues. It is recognized that the experience of adaptation is growing across regions, public and private sectors and communities (IPCC, 2014). But while adaptation options exist in all sectors and regions, with different potentials and approaches from vulnerability reduction, disaster risk management or proactive adaptation planning, their implementation remains limited in countries (IPCC, 2014). In this context, it is recognized that the effectiveness of adaptation (and mitigation) measures will depend on policies and measures at multiple scales: international, regional, national and subnational. And, according to IPCC (2014), policies at all scales that support technology development, diffusion and transfer, as well as the financing of responses to the CC, can play a role in complementing and improving the effectiveness of policies that directly promote adaptation and mitigation.

The Intended Nationally Determined Contributions (INDCs) have been then presented, as part of this effort to address the challenges related to the CC. Indeed, these documents submitted by

governments present their commitments in terms of reducing greenhouse gas emissions. These INDCs are expected to play a key role in achieving the main objective of COP 21 - to create a legally binding and universal climate agreement. Thus, the challenge is that climate is a global problem, which governments need to address through the formulation of national policies that tackle context specific climate issues.

Various approaches are available to analyze climate policy elaboration in a country. For instance, Pralle (2009), was first to use agenda setting perspective to understand the rise of CC in governmental agendas. Following this study, some authors have used this perspective to analyze the specificity of agenda setting in countries for instance as Keskitalo et al., (2012) in European states or for the agenda setting of other related topic such as Payments for Environmental Services (PES) in Costa Rica Le Coq et al., (2012). Some have made a focus on the role of media in the agenda setting process such as Lyytimäki (2011), Keskitalo et al., (2012) and Takahashi and Meisner (2013). Isaksen and Stokke (2014) have used discourse analysis on climate and their evolution to understand the shape and evolution of climate policies in India. Aamodt and Stensdal (2017) used Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) to understand the role of coalitions in climate agenda setting and climate-mitigation policies shape in Brazil, China and India while Fielding et al., (2012) assessed the level of consensus around the anthropogenic role in CC in Australia and how parties can influence CC beliefs.

Another approach is the travelling model perspective. As Bierschenk (2014) explains, the concept of traveling models is linked to the action of creating and translating models of experts who circulate around the world in a context of global social engineering. Travelling model has been used to analyze ideas on development such as "good governance", "decentralization", "democratization" or "accountability" (Behrends et al., 2014 ; Bierschenk 2014 ; Rottenburg, 2009) but not on the new idea of climate issue.

Still, there is few studies on ideational aspect of change related to CC policies according to Isaken and Stokke (2014). Besides, travelling model perspective has never been used as an approach to analyses climate issue in South national policies.

There is, also, a knowledge gap on the way CC adaptation policy have used specific concepts for their formulation and their potential barriers and opportunities for achieving their objectives considering their elaboration process. This implies, according to Bierschenk (2014) to focus on the entire policy chain of global policies, from the elaboration of development policy models and the influence of development agencies, to the different translation points by different actors (governmental and non-governmental) and at different levels (international, national, local). That is, for this author, the definition of the object of the anthropology of global social engineering.

In Colombia, Mariño (2011) worked on the cultural perspective in Colombian CC policies showing the cultural (and thus contextual and historical) dimensions of the climate which is based on perception, appropriation and interpretation. However, the author claim is that national policies are based on imposed discourse on CC that is globalized decontextualized and from "logocentric western knowledge". This situation, national climate policies and Colombian ones are aiming to no be the most appropriate for addressing current climate issues. The author's work stopped in 2011, were we consider, in this paper, which is a crucial year in the agenda setting process of climate issue in Colombia.

Thus the objective of this work is to analyze the specific context in which climate policies have been elaborated (from 1991 to 2018) in order to improve understanding on the specificity for climate policy in Colombia. To do that, it is necessary, first, to assess (historically) the agenda setting process regarding climate issue and the way it has been problematized by policy makers. Besides, the question is to understand what actors (governmental and non-governmental) have participated (and how) in the elaboration of CC policies, using the traveling model perspective (Behrends et al., 2014; Rottenburg, 2009).

Thus, we hypothesized that **(1)** a specific combinations of exogenous and endogenous factors (Barthe, 2003) allow climate issue to be set in governmental agenda; those (partly) explain the specific approach and of climate policies. An historical approach is helpful to identify those factors and better understand the current situation. **(2)** CC is a new "buzzword", trend or blueprint on how to approach development issues (similar a good governance, decentralization, democratization) (Behrends et al., 2014; Lewis, 2009) and works as a travelling model (Behrends et al., 2014; Rottenburg, 2009) which is translated in a specific way depending on the contexts through actors called policy brokers (Sabatier et Weible, 2007), development broker (Bierschenk, Chauveau et Sardan, 2000) or mediators (Behrends et al., 2014; Rottenburg, 2009).
Thus, assessing the practices and discourses (translations) of individuals (mediators and others) involved in the policy elaboration process as well as the policy documents produced are key to understand specificities of climate policies in a country and allow to link these specificities with ideas circulating at global level (Behrends et al., 2014)

To test these hypothesis, we focus on the case of Colombia which in its third national communication, reported climate change scenarios by 2040, 2070 and 2100 that predict an increase in the country's average temperature of 0.9°C, 1.6°C and 2.14°C respectively and a decrease in precipitation of between 10% and 40% in a third of the country (mainly in the Andean zone) (IDEAM et al., 2017). These changes could have an effect on the country's coastline, sea level rise, a decline in "páramos", a greater incidence of extreme events, a reduction in agricultural productivity, a decrease in agricultural soil productivity, etc. (IDEAM et al., 2017; IPCC, 2014). In response to these challenges, governments have put in place policy frameworks (policy instruments, laws, plans, etc.) related to mitigation and adaptation to CC and have made international commitments to this end.

Methods

The method used for this study is based on the anthropology of development and aims at analyzing, through historical approach the dynamics of the climate integration into the political agenda; the role of actors, at distinct levels, in the elaboration of climate policies, in terms of discourses and practices; and the construction of a climate policy framework, in the specific case of Colombia.

Agenda setting process

The agenda setting perspective is, according to Kingdon (1995) useful to identify factors that facilitated the rise of (and persistence) of some issue on the political agenda and thus provides a better understanding of current climate policies. For instance, Pralle (2009) used this approach to better understand current climate policies at global level.

Thus, the concept of agenda setting by the Multiple Stream Approach developed by Kingdom (1995) and used by Cairney and Jones (2016), Hassenteufel (2010), Pralle (2009), among others,

acknowledges the ambiguity of political processes (there are several ways to approach the same political problem), competition for attention (few problems are prioritized), the process of imperfect problem selection or prioritization (manipulation), lack of time for actors (rapid decision-making), decision-making processes that are neither totally rational nor linear. In this context, three distinct streams must meet at the same time in order for the policy to change significantly. The problem must attract the attention of decision-makers, there must be a solution available to solve it and decision-makers must have the motivation and opportunity to transform a solution into policy.

The multiple stream approach is based on the garbage can model developed by Cohen et al. (1972) which states that an organization can be considered as a set of choices in search of problems or a set of solutions in search of questions that could be answered and decision-makers in search of work. According to this author, organizations generally operated on a basis of preferences built on individual past experiences and changing decision makers who devote varying amounts of time and effort rather than on the basis of coherent and well-defined references. In this sense, and according to Lewis (2009), the analysis of professional trajectories is useful to understand the wider process of policy design and evolution, such as change in policy setting at governmental and development agency level.

These two models also refer to the study of the problematization of policies, conducted by Barthe (2003) (and inspired by the first step of translation conceptualized by Callon, 1986) which pointed out, from an historical perspective, that the way is seen a problem can evolve through exogenous and endogenous factors. Therefore, to study of how is problematized and re-problematized a topic in policies it is key to identify the actors involved in the discussion and the events that push towards a specific interpretation of the problem.

Thus the agenda setting perspective using the multiple stream approach is useful to understand the raise of the climate topic on the Colombian political agenda. Indeed, the historical consideration of factors playing a role in the rise of climate in the Colombian government is useful to understand to current policies. Besides, the garbage can model can be tested against the decision making process within development agencies that problematized and proposed solutions from their own expertise to government. The way(s) climate is problematized and the factors that foster the(se) version(s) is also key to understand the agenda setting process in Colombia.

Travelling models and translation chains in the elaboration of climate policies

Behrends et al. (2014) based on the work of Rottenburg (2009) conceptualized the "traveling models" that put the focus on how ideas travel between global ideas and local contexts in a dynamic approach as several interpretations of a model. This shaping of reality is done for certain purposes. In the context of a post-colonial state traversed by processes of globalization that Blundo (2012) underlines the growing influence of transnational institutions and organizations that promote norms and concepts such as "good governance", "decentralization", "democratization" to which it is attached government technologies, financial resources but also sanctions. As Bierschenk (2014) explains, development policy approaches have grew and with them, the use of new concepts such as "sectorial approaches", "budget support", "structural policy", "good governance", "new public management", the "Millennium Development Goals" (MDGs)…

Indeed, these models combined with technologies can thus be transferred as "blueprints" to new sites. For Behrends et al, (2014), traveling models are in some cases itinerant technologies and in

others itinerant meanings. These models are translated to be transferred by different actors called mediators. Thus, what travels or is transferred must be translated or depending on the point of view, improved, subverted, appropriate, annexed. The concept of translation has been developed by Callon (1986) which is made up of four operations; problematization, which corresponds to the activity of reformulating a problem to make it acceptable; incitement, which corresponds to negotiation activities to form alliances; commitment to the roles assigned to the different actors, and finally mobilization, which makes it possible to carry out the action successfully (Callon, 1986; De Maillard and Hassenteufel, 2013). The sociology of translation applied to public action in a transnational context therefore leads, for De Maillard and Hassenteufel (2013), to an analysis not only of the reformulation of reformed models of public action circulating internationally, but also of how they mobilize, negotiate and confront other actors to introduce changes in public action. Translation processes therefore have a strong political dimension due to the power relations and strategies pursued by translators, according to De Maillard and Hassenteufel, (2013).

For Behrends et al., (2014) and Bierchenk (2014), the concept of "traveling models", unlike theories of modernization or dependence, does not imply the superiority of one rationality over another, nor that a model travels because it is superior (to others who do not travel or to those available in a site), and avoids a binary vision (in opposition) between the global level and the local and linear (or direction) level from North to South/ from global to local. Thus, as Bierchenk (2014) explains, orientation is treated as an empirical question. These models are shaped and integrated into particular epistemic communities and networks. What is transferred from these models is an objective version of them, which represent a world view with its own rationality (Behrends et al., 2014).

Using the concepts of travelling models, blueprint and translation to analyze the ideas about climate change is useful, according to Behrends et al., (2014) to analyze the differences and relationships between theoretical concepts and empirical observations and to better understand the particular assemblage made up of disparate elements to conform them into distinct models, their origin, the practices and institutions that legitimize them.

Diffusionist theories, according to Behrends et al., (2014), criticized for being too unidirectional and "Westerncentric", also seek to answer the questions of why change in one place is linked to development in another place and why some issues that are important in one place are addressed in other places and others not. According to Behrends et al, (2014), the concept of travelling model differs from diffusionist models, modernization and rational choice in that the former considers that what is accepted (idea or technology) is not accepted for an inherent characteristic (e.g. rational, modern, superior) but depends on their translation or modification allowing them to travel and connect to new contexts.

This approach is actor oriented and take into account national and international levels. Thus, according to Bierschenk (2014), the aim is to analyze the practices and discourses not only of the beneficiaries of development projects but also of development agencies and experts. Thus, and for these travelling ideas about development such as "governance" (or in our case climate change) Blundo and Le Meur (2019) recommend distinguishing between its emic definition (discursive practice) and its etic definition (explanatory). Thus, an actor-centred approach is useful to understand these translation processes and thus distinguish the negotiations and interests at stake but implicit in the choice of a particular concept or translation of the same concept by different actors involved (Lewis and Mosse, 2006). Thus, historical and political analysis of knowledge

production in an international relations framework provides an understanding of how representations are shaped (Mosse, 2005). This approach also allows the study of intermediate actors who implement these translation processes (from political objectives to practical interests; from practical interests to political objectives) at different levels (Bierschenk et al., 2000; Mosse, 2005; (Lewis and Mosse, 2006). It also highlights the different rationalities that coexist and thus provides a better understanding of the complex process of policy development that integrates discourse factors and the use of concepts or ideas that create common unions and realities in heterogeneous networks (Mosse, 2005; Mosse and Lewis, 2006). Thus, this perspective makes it possible to go beyond a vision where social actors would execute norms according to their roles but as having room for manoeuvre in a specific context where standards are heterogeneous or even contradictory (Lewis and Mosse, 2006). Indeed, according to Mosse (2005), development policy ideas are less important for what they say than for those they bring together; what alliances, coalitions and consensus they allow, both within and between organizations.

Information gathering protocol

Our analysis is based on interviews with key actors who have been involved in the development and/or implementation of these policies and policy instruments. A total of 18 actors at national level were interviewed (see Annex 1: list of interviewees) that have been identified in policy process on CC and through snowball sampling. These interviews were conducted with people working in the National Planning Department (DNP), the Ministry of Environment and Sustainable Development (MADS), the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MADR), the National Disaster Risk Management Unit (UNGRD), at the Institute of Hydrology, Meteorology and Environmental Studies (IDEAM), the Agricultural Rural Planning Unit (UPRA), the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the International Center for Tropical Agriculture (CIAT).

This work is also based on policy documents (review of grey literature and public policy texts in Colombia) related to climate, between 1991 and 2018, the primary source of data to be analyzed.

Results

The results presented are divided into two sections. First, a chronology of the arrival of the climate issue in the Colombian government was reconstructed in order to identify key events, which have advanced or hindered the raise of this theme on the governmental agenda. In a second step, results on the translation chains that led to the formulation of climate policies are presented. Both results are complementary and help to better understand the elaboration of the Colombian policy framework around climate from an historical and actor point of view.

Agenda setting process of climate issue in Colombian government

Policy window for climate issue

Three periods have been identified in relation with the insertion of climate issues in the Colombian government. The chronology is represented in Figure 1. The first phase, starts in 1991 with the elaboration of the new Constitution which included the creation of the ministry of environment. Then, during the second period, the signing of international treaties (Kyoto, in 2000) advances and guides (mitigation) the climate agenda in Colombia. Two non-competitive approaches then coexist; disaster risk management and mitigation of climate change management. The MADS (through CC group) monopolizes the questions on the CC. Finally, during the third period, which corresponds to J. M. Santos' two terms of office, it is a climate event (the Niña phenomenon of

2010-2011) that reinforces the government's interest in climate issue. The response to this event is to strengthen the disaster risk management unit (UNGRD) (moved directly under the presidency and funded). Subsequently, the DNP through the sub-direction of disaster management and climate change members, makes the concept of adaptation to CC visible by breaking the monopoly on MADS CC. The argument put forward by different members of the DNP interviewed is that by leading or co-leading this topic, it will hold the sectors accountable for the effects of the CC (instead of keeping it a MADS issue, as it was perceived so far). The strategic role of the DNP moves the CC forward on the agenda. International discussions and commitments (OECD, COP21) play an accelerating role in the progress of the climate issue in the agenda.

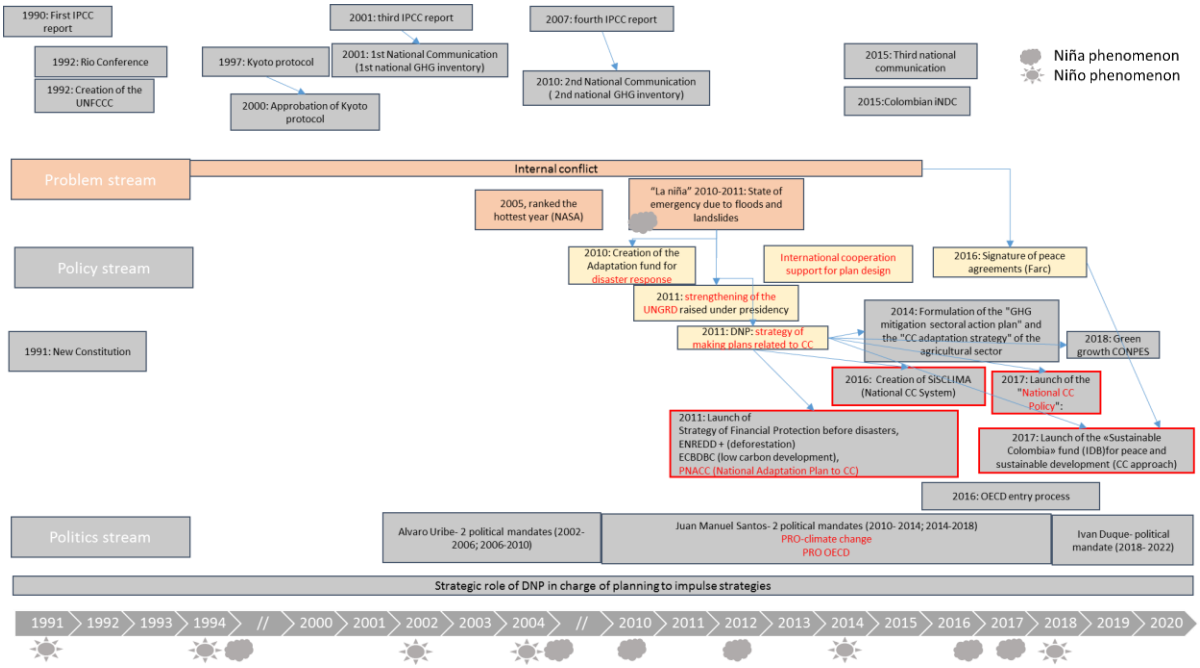

Figure 1: Events and political window of the arrival of the climate issue in the Colombian government
Source: authors
Legend: IPCC = Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change; UNFCCC = United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change; GHG = greenhouse gas, iNDC = Intended Nationally Determined Contributions; NASA = National Aeronautics and Space Administration; UNGRD = National Unit for Disaster Risk Management; DNP = National Planning Department, SISCLIMA = National Climate Change System; CC = Climate Change; CONPES = National Council for Economic and Social Policy (policy document); PNACC = National Climate Change Adaptation Plan; ECBDBC = Colombian Low Carbon Development Strategy; OECD = Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development; IDB = Inter-American Development Bank.

As mentioned by Barthe (2003) it is essential to consider the accumulated history to identify not only exogenous change that can explain the agenda setting process but also the endogenous evolution of the topic.

In the case of Colombia, the three streams described by the multiple-stream approach, necessary to put the climate problem on the agenda, have met (Cairney and Jones, 2016, Kingdon, 1995, Pralle, 2009). In other words, a window of opportunity has allowed for a significant policy change. First, the attention of policy makers was drawn to the 2010-2011 Niña event. Indeed, it has been

shown that decision-makers are sensitized to a problem through spectacular events that attract the attention of the public and decision-makers (problem stream) (Pralle, 2009).

Secondly, the available answers to this problem come from international specialists discussed at events where countries, including Colombia, have made commitments. The solutions prioritized by decision-makers were, first, the disaster risk management approach with the creation of the adaptation fund (created for reconstruction of the damages caused by the Niña), then the management mitigation approach then adaptation (separate and then integral) of the CC (policy stream).

The motivation and opportunity to transform these solutions into policies was made possible by the role played by the DNP in taking charge of the management of the case in collaboration with the MADS. The motivation of the actors (DNP, MADS) is mainly linked to what the coordination of the theme allows in terms of visibility, power and access and control of financial resources (national and international). The function and strategic location of the DNP (planning role) is sufficient to motivate this unique actor (with the support of the Presidency) to transform the problem into policy and law. The support of the population (strongly affected by Niña) and the media facilitates this agenda-setting process (Pralle, 2009). The DNP and MADS can then be described as political entrepreneurs (Pralle, 2009) who have seized the opportunity and pushed for government action. Besides, the openness of the president Santos to CC and his will to enter in the OECD were two other facilitating factors. The two mandates of this president, gave, also more time to build this institutional climate framework.

Alignment between the post-conflict and the climate issue

Several events allow climate and internal conflict to be linked. For instance, in the context of negotiations with the government for the demobilization of guerrilla groups, including the M-19, this group is calling for a reform of the Colombian Constitution in order to overcome the monopoly of the two traditional parties, conservative and liberal. The proposal was not accepted, but it is taken up and included in the Constituent Assembly elections. Given the importance of the results (2 million in favor out of 7.6 million voters), the Supreme Court approved a formal consultation during the next presidential elections on 27 May 1990. During this consultation, 86% of voters voted in favor. In this context, a discussion table was created in February 1991. In July 1991, the final draft Constitution was signed. It is within the framework of this New Constitution that the first advances in favor of the environment are made. Indeed, for the first time, environmental provisions such as the State's responsibility for the conservation and equitable distribution of environmental resources were included.

In addition, 2016 is a very special year for Colombia; after a long negotiation process, the Peace Agreement was signed with the FARC[1]. This document does not explicitly mention the CC, but its first point mentioned the "Integral Rural Reform", which "will contribute to the structural transformation of the rural space, by closing the gaps between the countryside and the city and by creating conditions of well-being and well-being for the rural population" in a perspective of integral rural development and sustainable development. The latter is defined in the document as "ecologically and socially sustainable and requires the protection and promotion of access to water, within the framework of an orderly conception of the territory". It should be noted that peace has been a key issue on the government's agenda during President J.M. Santos' two terms in office.

[1] Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia

Finally, "Colombia Sostenible", a post-conflict green fund, was launched in early 2017. This is an international economic support (from public and private entities) to promote resilient rural development and address CC issues, in areas affected by armed conflict. Moreover, the two themes of CC and peace/post conflict are articulated and constitute aims to meet for the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the INDC.

Travelling models and translation chains in the elaboration of climate policies

In this section, the results of the analysis of the translation chains that led to the current Colombian climate institutional framework are presented. Indeed, the policy window that allow climate issue to rise on the political agenda have conducted to the formulation and/or re-formulation of policy documents and instruments which should be analyzed.

Climate issue and solutions, a travelling model?

The claim is that climate as an issue and as a development paradigm constitute a "new" travelling model, which has been built, as Behrends et al., (2014) explain from ideas circulating globally and implemented locally (in countries). Thus climate as an issue has been promoted at international level so do as some solutions to address it.

Indeed, as we have seen, it is through international commitments (among other factors) that Colombia put climate on the agenda and then began to develop policies related to climate; first with mitigation focus (corresponding to the international agenda- Kyoto protocol, for instance) and then adaptation one (COP 21) to address that issue.

Thus, according to Behrends et al. (2014), the use of the analytical model of "traveling model" allow to study the particular assemblage of disparate elements to conform them into distinct models, their origin, the practices and institutions that legitimize them. In our case, the results are focusing on understanding how the distinct elements and actors that contributed to the policy window that foster the rise of climate as a prioritized issue in the policy agenda also contribute to shape the climate model in the specific case of Colombia.

The analysis of the occurrence of climate-related words in four policy documents; the PNACC[2] (2011), the PNACC roadmap (2011), the iNDC[3] (2015) and the PNCC[4] (2017) is a first illustration of the fact that climate issue is an evolving traveling model. While the words "risk management" (42 and 35 occurrences), "risk" (159 and 203 occurrences), "vulnerability" (66 and 67 occurrences), "threat" (41 and 49 occurrences), "disaster" (71 and 56 occurrences) are widely used in the first documents (PNACC, PNACC roadmap), the frequency of their mention is less important in the last produced documents (iNDC and PNCC). This illustrates how government members have given importance to some concepts and then redirected their attention to others.

Regarding adaptation, in the PNACC are mentioned different types of adaptation such as community adaptation (25 mentions), ecosystem-based adaptation (42 mentions), work-based adaptation (16 mentions). But this diversity of mentions disappears in the following documents to speak only of adaptation. Thus, the choice of the approach given to adaptation is left to the actors (as confirmed in the interviews).

[2] Plan Nacional de adaptación al Cambio Climático (PNACC) or National Plan for Adaptation to Climate Change
[3] Intended Nationally Determined Contributions
[4] Política Nacional de Cambio Climático (PNCC) or National Climate Change Policy

Finally, in the PNCC, the number of mention to the words "adaptation" (168) and "mitigation" (139) is similar, which is a sign of equivalent treatment of the two approaches, which follow the trend to approach CC in an integrated way (adaptation and mitigation). In the same way, the analysis Colombian MRV databases for the years 2016 and 2017 showed that sources of financing (international investments, departmental and municipal budget- and national budget), investments in 2017 are higher than those in 2016 (in terms of investment amounts and number of actions) and that if in 2016 the amount of investments was higher in mitigation-related actions in 2017, the amount of investments is more concentrated in adaptation-related actions and cross-cutting actions (mitigation and adaptation).

The elaboration of policies also illustrate how the governments followed international trends to elaborate climate related policy. For instance, The Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MADR), elaborated three distinct policy documents, first a mitigation action plan, then an adaptation plan and finally a comprehensive climate change management plan including adaptation and mitigation considerations.

Besides, interviews agreed on the fact that Colombian government followed international institutions on how to see and address climate issues. For instance, the Deputy Director of Environmental Studies of IDEAM commented "*The Convention [UNFCCC] has evolved over many years on mitigation issues. That is why Colombia, trying to meet the Convention's commitments, has also focused on mitigation issues"*.

Thus, climate as an issue (climate change, climate variability, risk…) and solutions such as adaptation, mitigation, disaster risk management are two aspects of the travelling model.

Mediators and translation chains

Indeed, for the climate model to travel, actors and their translation work are key. The journey of traveling models and their adaptation to the contexts in which they connect is called "translation" and is based on the work of Callon and Latour, as Bierschenk (2014) explains. For this author, just as models do not emerge from nowhere, translation chains have no end, but rather form connected networks.

The names given to Niña in 2010-2011 are an illustrative example. If first the climate event was called with a quite neutral expression "winter wave", as the Director of Climate Change and Risk Management of the MADS remembers, then people began to talk about the extreme phenomenon of Niña as an effect of CC on climate variability. In the same way, the first MADR's adaptation plan is called "Strategy for the adaptation of the agricultural sector to climate phenomena" (2011), whereas, latter, the MADR then explicitly refers to CC and CC adaptation it in its policy documents.

Thus, it is key to identify those mediators that translate from institutional organizations climate issue and how to address it from one side, but also the recipient of these translations at governmental level that turn these models into policies.

So, as described by many authors (Bierschenk, 2014; Lewis 2009; Mosse, 2005 ; Rottenburg, 2009) development arena is made up of distinct kind of actors such as international network of national and multinational organizations whose role is to finance (World Bank, FMI, UN agencies, OCDE etc.) or implement development actions (ONG, fundations from the North or from the South). Other key actor is the mediator or expert described by Behrends et al. (2014) and Mosse

(2008) which role is precisely to appropriate a model, relate it to one's own understanding of the model, its original intent and the situation in which it is supposed to connect according to Behrends et al. (2014). Bierschenk (2014) defines these development experts as similar to scientists because they have a university education, using scientific methods but different because, unlike scientists, their action aims to change practices. According to Bierschenk (2014), the southern states are other key actors in social engineering insofar as they are the main beneficiaries of state reform projects driven by global public policies. Thus, development policies are characterized by the co-production of public services (education, health, security, resource protection) by governmental, international and private actors (NGOs).

Indeed, in the case of Colombia, actors during interviews mentioned several strategy such as ecosystem-based adaptation, infrastructure-based adaptation, CSA and transformative adaptation... The dissemination of these concepts has been possible thanks to the "policy broker" that in the Colombian context were international cooperation consultants working with members of the government who promote them through technical and financial support. They shape the cognitive matrix around how climate issue should be seen and addressed in Colombia. Delazay (2014) refers to "hegemonic struggles for the imposition of legitimate knowledge and models of government". Because of their dual national (Colombians who have worked in ministries and/or in Colombia) and international (consultants from international institutions) membership, these actors play a key role in disseminating a model approach and standards on the CC (De Maillard and Hassenteufel, 2013). Thus, the benefit of this actor is to obtain compensation for his role in the transmission of information (Bierschenk et al., 2000), in our case for the management of the CC.

At governmental level, the members of DNP and the MADS (co-leading currently climate issue from CC perspective) stands for the state bourgeoisie mentioned by Dezalay (2014) that seeks external support through tactical alliances within a symbolic import-export market. Thus, this opening or tactical alliance is materialized by the technical and financial support provided by international cooperation on the one hand. The DNP is described by Mariño (2011) as an administrative and technical department that reports directly to the presidency (and above ministries) and that support the government’s decision making through the design, orientation and evaluation of Colombian public policies, the management and allocation of public investment and elaboration of plans, programs and projects. This entity is in charge of designing the country's climate change policy, through a document called CONPES (National Council for Economic and Social Policy[5]) (Mariño, 2011). Thus, their members, key actors in defining the CC agenda, are described as being largely populated by economists, often holding a doctorate and often accredited by American or European universities. Its members do not hesitate to present themselves as the elite of the Colombian administration and therefore as legitimate to deal with complex issues such as the management of the CC (Grajales not published).

As for the MADS, they co-lead the SISCLIMA with the DNP, where the role is to support the formulation of PIGCC at the territorial level. The MADS is also the institution leading the Colombian Carbon Reduction Strategy and the NDC development and monitoring process.

[5] "Official policy documents of the country, emanating from the National Economic and Social Policy Council, which present recommendations and institutional arrangements, and although they are not binding, they are usually respected. They are translated into plans, programs, projects, laws and legislative or executive actions" (Cardona, 2009: 3).

Besides, together with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the MADS is the interlocutor for the management of international cooperation related to CC. Moreover, it is interesting to note that by analyzing investment flows by sector (MRV 2016-2017), the results show that the sector receiving the most investment is the environment sector, followed by the energy sector and in third place in the agricultural sector. Before being called "Climate Change and Risk Management division", the body within the MADS in charge of climate issue was called "Climate Change Mitigation Group". The UNGRD is another key governmental body which used to be a division within the finance ministry. But, after the Niña event, the group gained power and is established as a sole entity located directly under the Presidency. But with the rise of CC as a new translation of the climate issue loose visibility. A member of the Risk Reduction sub-direction has been in charge of supporting the elaboration of CC national framework.

By adopting an historical perspective, it is possible to consider the evolution of these actors who are part of the network. For example, the person in the MADR planning office has worked for a long time in the DNP; a former USAID consultant is currently working in UPRA, a member of the DNP is currently working in CIAT, the person in UNGRD has held a position for many years in the MADS, the director of the DNP's sustainable rural development department has worked in CIAT... Thus the actors of this network have been part of several ministries or have experience with international institutions that ensures homogeneity in the heterogeneity of the network. Similarly, USAID's strategy of placing consultants within ministries erases differences between network actors: "*We were in the team of nine people, one consultant per ministry or vice-ministry, in mining there were two, in agriculture there were one, in DNP there was one initially. (...) at the beginning, we were 100% there and we worked directly in the department. We were one more person from the ministry*"[consultant USAID]. The proximity that exists between the actors of this network facilitated the adoption of the translation of traveling models. These interactions at several levels allow us to focus on the translation processes implemented by the actors (Behrends et al., 2014; De Maillard and Hassenteufel, 2013). Thus, in Figure 2, are presented the translation chains around climate issue in Colombia.

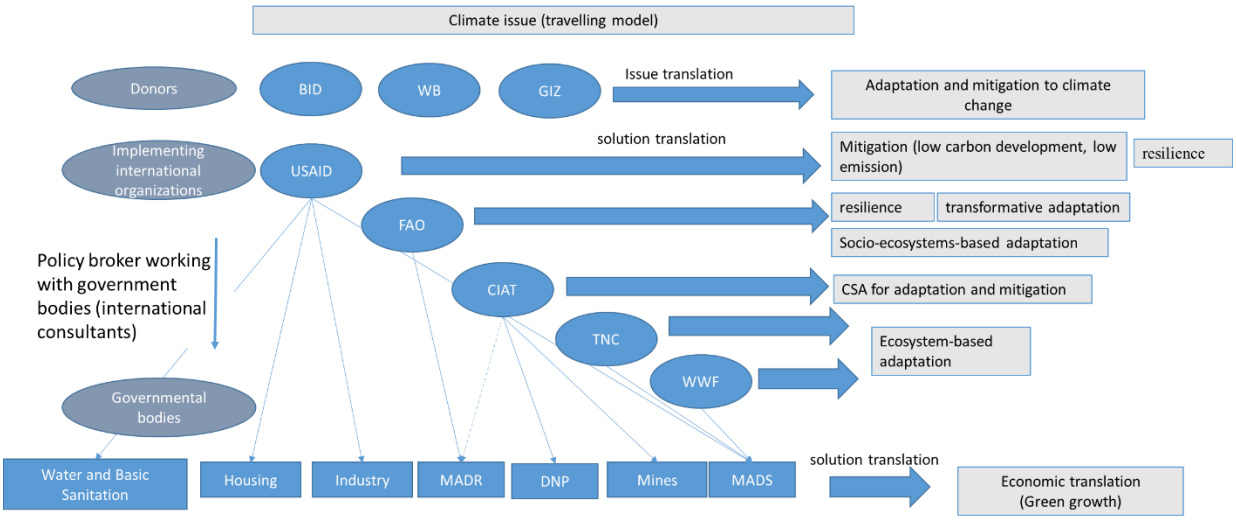

Figure 2: Translation chains from of the climate travelling model from donors to governmental bodies

During the interviews, actors used specific concepts related to climate issue such as climate change, climate variability, disaster risk and strategy to address it such as ecosystem-based adaptation, socio-ecosystems-based adaptation, transformative adaptation, climate smart agriculture (CSA), green growth and objective such as resilience, adaptive capacity. Actors also gave justification of why the concept mentioned were relevant for Colombian context (see Table 1).

Table 1: use of climate related concept and their justification by actors

Concepts	Ecosystem-based adaptation	Socio-ecosystems-based adaptation	Transformative adaptation	Resilience	adaptive capacity	CSA	Green growth	Climate variability/ disaster risk
Actors	MADS GIZ USAID TNC MADR	UNGRD FAO	FAO	FAO	IDEAM IPCC	DNP CIAT UPRA	DNP MADR	UNGRD
Justification	It is the competence of the MADS to promote such an approach. [MADS] The approach is the most relevant for the (complex) agricultural sector. [MADR] This approach is the most realistic in view of the country's limited budgets and relevant to the country context. [DNP]	Ecosystem-based adaptation excludes the human variable, which involves health variables, risk management, etc. [UNGRD et FAO]	Include social and economic aspects in the adaptation issue (and not only technical/technological)	Linked to socio-ecosystems-based adaptation	IDEAM is based on the concepts of IPCC reports for the preparation of national reports	The most relevant approach for agricultural planning in the country. [DNP]	For the DNP, green growth is in line with the CSA concept because it includes the productive aspect	Climate variability causes the most damage in the country (versus CC in the longer term).

Thus, depending on the actor, were mentioned certain climate related concepts which reveal how they translated the problem and see the solution to address it.

Alliances and negotiations are happening not only between mediators and governmental bodies but also between governmental bodies in interfaces in which network actors interact and in which various types of perceptions, discourses, interests, values, knowledge and power are confronted (Olivier de Sardan, 2001). Long (2001) defines a social interface as a critical point of intersection between worlds of life, social fields or levels of social organization where social discontinuities are more likely to be localized, based on differences in values, interests, knowledge and power. The actors involved in climate policy development have been identified both at the national level (DNP, MADS, MADS, MADR, IDEAM, UNGRD, finance...) and at the international level (FAO, USAID...); and at the governmental and private level (producers' federation) and at different levels

(international, national and local). It has been possible to identify key institutional interaction mechanisms between actors that can also constitute negotiation interfaces where actors with different visions, interests, objectives, knowledge and translations meet. This is the case of the Sistema Nacional de Cambio Climatico (SISCLIMA)[6] led by the DNP and MADS or the national Agroclimatic technical table led by MADR and FAO. In the first case, in the SISCLIMA are coordinated tasks that must take on the ministries involved (agriculture, mines and energy, transport, housing, industry, water) such as the elaboration of comprehensive climate change management plan- PIGCC, for instance, and where is established the links between international cooperation and ministries (MADS being focal point in the government in relation with climate related cooperation). However, decision-makers, within ministries, are not putting the same priority to achieve their tasks, and for instance, are putting more or less effort to produce documents. For a member of the UNGRD, the SISCLIMA is seen as competition that could question the leading role of the Unit. In the case of the national Agroclimatic technical table is produced monthly weather forecast which explicit objective is to produce agroclimatic recommendations for key crops based on the forecast. The implicit objective is to maintain the climate issue on the top of the governmental agenda through monthly meeting with national actors from governmental sector, national federation of producers, National Agricultural Research Center, meteorology institute, FAO, among others. Indeed, national bulletin elaborated presents long and general information that are difficult to act on. It should be mentioned that the Agroclimatic technical table has been created between the MADR and CIAT during the CIAT-MADR project on CC and thus with a CC adaptation approach. Thus, for these two key interfaces the vision of the issue is translated as CC and not disaster risk.

The use by interviewed of climate concept helped also to identify two main translations of the travelling model of climate or alliances between groups of stakeholders to promote a vision of how to address climate issue. Indeed, two visions or appropriation were formed and/or confronted with each other, opposing a risk management vision and a CC adaptation vision.

The first translation supported by the DNP and MADS have promoted the development of a multiplicity of documents in different sectors and territories, giving it an advantage in this struggle for visibility and access to power and financial resources. The strategic position of the DNP and the MADS, its positioning at the head of the SISCLIMA and its support for international cooperation have worked in favor of this institution. However, resistance reactions from some sectors (including the agricultural sector) suggest that the preparation of documents does not guarantee either their implementation or the transversalisation of the theme at sectoral and territorial level. The second translation led by the UNGRD is built in opposition to the CC one. And if have been powerful at some point (2011-2012) when is created the UNGRD and its elevation to depend directly on the presidency, is now quite isolated in term of allies.

[6] which purpose is to coordinate efforts and commitments at different scales (local to international), articulate initiatives, reduce vulnerability to the effects of climate change, encourage citizen participation, promote the implementation of measures and harmonize criteria and mechanisms to assess and monitor responsibilities and commitments in terms of adaptation and mitigation

Table 2: The two main translations of climate travelling model

	Translation 1	Translation 2
Governmental actors leading the translation version	MADS/DNP	UNGRD
External influence	Kyoto, COP	Hyogo
Vision of the climate problem	Adaptation to CC Preventive vision (building infrastructure resistant to climate variability events, promoting agricultural practices for crop adaptability), combined with a longer-term vision (integration of adaptation and CC over a longer term)	Disaster risk management/ climate variability management Reactive vision (reconstruction of what has been destroyed by climate variability) in the short term (not taking into account longer-term climate change)

However, at the end, members of the different governmental bodies interviewed, despite being influenced by distinct translations of the solution, all converge in having an economical translation of the solution. In this case, the idea is to see adaptation as an economical opportunity or as a strategy to avoid economical loss. Fressoz and Bonneuil (2016), within the Anthropocene era, environmental conservation, the environmental crisis and resource scarcity are presented as economic opportunities. Finally, the use of such or such a climate related concept is an opportunistic strategy carried on by governmental actors to access to international cooperation resources.

Discussion

The problematization and salience of climate issue

As in the case of nuclear waste studied by Barthe (2003) the problematization of climate in Colombian government evolved into different versions such as "climate change mitigation", "disaster management", "climate change adaptation" and finally adaptation and mitigation in an 'integrated approach'. Indeed, Barthe (2003) explains that public issues have trajectories made up of rise and fall in the agenda but also of formulation and re-formulation. Indeed, for this author "*cyclical changes*" can facilitate or prevent the rise of one topic.

In all cases, the economic considerations are identified as key arguments to prioritize the problem in the agenda. According to Pralle (2009), as economic problems often place environmental problems and solutions at the bottom of the list of priorities, the strategy deployed by policy entrepreneurs has been to focus on the economic gains associated with green technologies (Niña cost studies, CONPES document on green growth).

However, there are risks of a decline of the CC as a political issue on the government agenda. For the implementation of the law, it will be necessary to motivate more actors (beyond the DNP and

MADS), both at sectoral and territorial level. Another issue is the change of government (conflict between the outgoing president and the new president). As observed by Kingdom (1995), there a lot of problem competing for attention (climate issue) and an ambiguous policy process where a same issue can be addressed through distinct approaches (adaptation, mitigation, disaster risk management…). In addition, public support could be undermined by other issues considered to be of higher priority (food security, economic opportunity of fracking etc.). Indeed, the CC can be high on a government's agenda after natural disasters and then weaken as politicians become more interested in other issues (Pralle, 2009). And as an interviewed summed up, the uncertainty is high in a context where new president (in our case Ivan Duque) tends to seek to do the exact opposite of his predecessor (Juan Manuel Santos), which correspond to the non-rational nor linear decision-making processes highlighted by Kingdom (1995),

The rendering technical of climate issue and solutions

Our analysis has shown that climate issue and solution is a travelling model translated by various actors, using distinct concepts, at different scale using distinct concepts, but finally reaching a consensus at governmental level of an economical vision where adaptation can be seen as an economical opportunity or a way to reduce economical loss.

The fact that the first solution adopted by the country was related to mitigation with the justification given by several interviewed that at that time mitigation (unlike adaptation) were measurable is illustrative of the garbage can model (Cohen et al., 1972), often observed in the development world (Bierschenk, T., 2014). This model can be applied to the decisions of development agencies that problematize and propose solutions based on their working expertise. Thus, solutions proposed to government are first related to mitigation since international experts are able to work on it. The adaptation dimension of the CC issue came later in the discussion and in international and national climate agenda because there is not such a tool/method (unique and widely accepted) able to measure adaptation.

The consequence of this tendency is thus a merely technical vision of the problem only resolvable by international experts, and promoted (or conditioned or imposed) by donors, as shown by Rottenburg (2009) or Li (2007) with other developing models. Thus, are developed and promoted "*standardized development packages*" by the international organizations for the South countries with the risk of implementing interventions that "*bear little or no relation to economic and social realities*" as mentioned Ferguson (2006).

And as Mariño (2011) pointed out, organization such as the IPCC has achieved to be positioned as the main legitimate institution for the production of knowledge promoting a monopoly of climate expert on climate issue and were the discourse has evolved in a way that disagreement is seen as "*inappropriate*" or "*impossible*", since the expertise is technical and scientific. In that sense, IDEAM have taken over the definition of adaptation observed Mariño (2011), but also the concept related to the climate issue (adaptive capacity, vulnerability …). Besides, this discourse tend to avoid, according to Mariño (2011) and Fressoz and Bonneuil (2016) the uncertainty of the predictive global models of future climate scenarios from one side. Hence, the IPCC information on CC is not neutral but orientated to the technical aspect of the climate issue.

Thus, as noticed by Mariño (2011), and observed in our study, no consideration is made in the policy documents of local knowledge as a strategy to address climate issue. Local knowledge seen,

amongst others, by Mariño (2011) and Fressoz and Bonneuil (2016) as an opportunity to enrich the debate is invisibilized. Instead, the vision of interviewed is that climate issue has to be addressed by the government and through plans in a top-down approach and through technical solutions (promotion of adaptive practices).

Besides, the technical translation of the problem and solutions tend, as summed up by Mariño (2011), to generate a "*standardization of government actions according to parameters and methodologies imposed by international entities, altering the sense of national autonomy in the formulation and implementation of public policies*".

From etic to emic perspective; disaster risk management versus adaptation to climate change

Results on the analysis of the use of climate related concepts have shown the importance to pay on emic definitions (translation) more than etic ones, as recommended by Blundo and Le Meur (2009), to understand the local specificity of climate traveling model and also to understand actors' hidden interests beyond the elaboration of climate policies.

As we have seen, the use of climate related concept by actor is contextual, related to specific interests of specific actors. Thus the promotion by actors from the DNP of CSA is highly linked with the close relationship that exists between members of CIAT and DNP, their past collaborations, their project in formulations etc. Besides, the way is presented the concept by member of the DNP is putting emphasis on the productive aspect of the concept (more than on the mitigation and adaptative one).

The translations chains is also showing that they are no stable in time. Indeed, the member of the sud-direction of risk reduction (UNGRD) moved from positioning the Unit as leading risk management to be the one in charge of managing climate variability. The translation evolved in order to include the UNGRD within the CC discussion (more trendy). Thus the opposition remain between the two groups of actors (MADS/DNP versus UNGRD) but the opposition field evolved inside CC translation. The interest of UNGRD to adopt CC vision is that it gives to the Unit legitimacy for action. Thus, the last definition of a member of the UNGRD of climate variability as completely disconnected from the climate change, and as a much more urgent issue to address because at shorter term (then CC at longer term) constitute another adaptation, appropriation, translation of the concept to serve the interests of the Unity (visibility, access to resources, power…). Here is how the member of the Risk Reduction sub-direction of the UNGRD distinguished climate variability from climate change:

> "*We have the idea that when we talk about risk management we are talking about climate variability and not CC. Let's say that's the objective of the Unit. (...) The unit has promoted the idea that risk management processes are based on variability and not on CC. Why? First, it is the variability that causes the greatest disasters in the country: floods, landslides, droughts. Secondly, because the country's context makes it a permanent client of this climate variation, in particular the ENSO phenomenon [Niño/Niña phenomenon]. (...) Then, it was very important to work on the theme of CC but also on variability because it is the variability that will affect every 3-4 years whereas the CC scenarios are at 40 and 100 years*" [member of the Risk Reduction sub-direction- UNGRD].

Now, the question is, who between the members of the MADS/DNP and the ones from the UNGRD will achieve to influence (and keep influencing over-time) the rest of the actor to adopt their vision. Here, the notion of "agency" is useful. It characterizes the ability of actors to bring out the best in a situation (Olivier de Sardan, 1995; Long, 2001; Roncoli et al., 2009). As Long (2001) points out, it is not simply the result of possessing certain powers of persuasion or certain forms of charisma. The ability to influence others and get them to accept a particular message is one of the most important aspects of the translation process. In fact, the agency is essentially based on "*the action of a chain of agents, each of whom "translates" according to their own projects*" (Long, 2001).

Conclusion

The objective of this work was to analyze the context in which climate policies have been elaborated in Colombia since 1991 using an actor oriented, ideational and historical perspective.

Thus, through agenda setting (Multiple Stream Approach) and problematization of policies have been identified the external and internal factors that favor the rise of climate issue in the Colombian governmental agenda. Indeed, a policy window has been opened thanks to the niña event in 2010-2011, the availability at international level of solutions and the motivation of the DNP to position itself as a leader for this issue and the openness of the president in turn. The agenda setting of climate issue has also shown many links with the post-conflict issue.

Actors working on this agenda setting, first, and on the elaboration of Colombian climate policy have also been identified and their role and interests studied. Thus climate issue and solutions are approached as a traveling model that come from international contexts and is translated by several actors to become national policies. This approach allowed to identify the international consultants as policy brokers between international levels and governmental bodies with distinct translation of the problem and the solutions to adopt. Two main translations of the travelling model have been identified; “adaptation to climate change” in opposition to “disaster risk management”.

Thus our hypothesis have been verified. It has been a specific combination of external and internal factors that allow the rise of climate issue in the governmental agenda. Those factors helped, for instance, to understand why the country start to work on mitigation, then evolved toward a more disaster risk management and then to adaptation. The instability of this location in the agenda constitute a challenge for the next years.

Climate issue and its several translations (climate change, risk, climate variability) constitute a new idea on how to do development and is promoted through policy brokers. However these translations made by policy brokers are themselves re-appropriated in an opportunistic way by governmental actors. Indeed, they use climate issue to position themselves in the government and also to translate the solutions (received by brokers) into an economical vision of the solution. Indeed, climate is seen as an economical opportunity or as a strategy to avoid economical loss. This vision this vision also denotes a lack of consideration of local knowledge for the benefit of a technical globalized decontextualized knowledge. This could constitute a risk for the policy to achieve their objective in supporting farmers to face climate changes, for instance. This also constitute a challenge for the national autonomy of countries that are imposed at international level to see and act on a problem.

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Annex 1: list of interviewed actors

Position	Institution
Advisor on Climate Change and Biodiversity, participated in the development of the PNACC	DNP
CCAFS Regional leader, participated in the development of the PNACC.	CIAT, CCAFS
Consultant -Country support programme (strengthening of the implementation of the PNACC, formulation of plans)	USAID
Director of Climate Change and Risk Management DCCGR	MADS
Conseiller, Direction des changements climatiques et de la gestion des risques DCCGR	MADS
Risk Reduction sub-direction	UNGRD
Environmental Studies sub-direction	IDEAM
Deputy Director of Environmental Studies	IDEAM
Area of Efficient Land Use and Land Adaptation	UPRA
Advisory Office for Planning and Foresight (ex DNP)	MADR
Environment and Sustainable Development Department, PNACC coordinator	DNP
Environment and Sustainable Development Branch, Coordinator of the CC Economic Impact Study	DNP
National Coordinator, Programme for the Integration of Agriculture into National Adaptation Plans of Action (NAP-Ag), Natural Resources, Governance, Agroclimatic Risk Management and Resilience area	FAO
Senior Specialist in Risk Management and Resilience, Programme for the Integration of Agriculture into National Adaptation Plans (NAP-Ag) (Adaptation Plan in MADR), Natural Resources Area, Governance, Agroclimatic Risk Management and Resilience.	FAO
Risk Management Consultant, Natural Resources Domain, Governance, Agroclimatic Risk Management and Resilience	FAO
Working Group on Environmental Sustainability and Climate Change Innovation, Technological Development and Health Protection direction	MADR
Working Group on Environmental Sustainability and Climate Change Innovation, Technological Development and Health Protection direction	MADR
Deputy Director of Production and Rural Development, Sustainable Rural Development Department	DNP