Policy Image in Urban Governance: Migration Crisis and the City of Zagreb

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Abstract
This paper questions the concept of policy image in terms of urban governance. Policy image is a key concept developed by Baumgartner and Jones in order to explain policy stability and punctuation in the context of punctuated equilibrium theory. When there is a single dominant policy image, it keeps policy in stability, but when there are one or more strong alternative images, it can create punctuation and drastically change certain policies. The author chooses to analyse this concept at an urban level of governance, specifically in the city of Zagreb in Croatia in relation to the migration crisis that occurred in Croatia in late 2015. By using qualitative methodology and a general inductive approach in analysis of interviews that were conducted with city officials and politicians, the author finds just one dominant policy image in terms of different categories which can be associated with the migration crisis and that image is mostly connected with a humanitarian approach. In conclusion, the author argues that this dominant policy image maintained governance in stability in Zagreb during the migration crisis, while stressing the hypothesis that this image was present at a national level of governance as well.

Introduction

Policy image is one of the main concepts developed principally by the American political scientists Frank R. Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones in the context of their punctuated equilibrium theory of agenda setting and the policy-making process in general (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993). It is one of the key theoretical terms which tries to explain how certain policies can be radically changed and shaped. In other words, policy image is a moment that can both maintain and break policy stability. The core of the term is based on empirical information and the emotional appeal which lies within policy actors but also within society itself.

The relevance of policy image doesn't simply lie in the theoretical aspect. We can perceive its current importance in the world, especially during the European migration crisis[1] in 2015 that managed to shake European countries and question the European Union's policies. In other words, there have certainly been numerous images that addressed the migration crisis, migration policy etc. However, the problem wasn't only present at a supranational level of governance such as the EU. The crisis also became a national problem, and in that respect it had a certain effect on local levels of governance, therefore establishing at least some kind of images among actors and society. It is safe to say that those images had to have had a certain impact on the way migrants were treated during their stay in European cities and territories when the crisis was at its peak in 2015.

We want to address policy image in terms of governance, which represents a "firmly established lens through which we can analyse the complexity of contemporary policy-making" (Capano, Howlett & Ramesh, 2015: 3). Our intention is to trace an urban level of governance, we thus decided to put the focus on the

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Croatian migration crisis that occurred in late 2015, with the emphasis on the city of Zagreb, capital of Croatia, which was faced with a crisis for a few days in mid-September 2015. With that in mind, our research question is: What kinds of policy images were created surrounding the migration crisis among executive and legislative policy actors in the city of Zagreb?

The research question arises from the fact that, at the national Croatian level, the rhetoric surrounding the migration crisis in government and media was predominantly positive (Rovny, 2016; Kovačević, Novak & Poljak, 2016), thus leading us to the reasonable conclusion that migration policy towards migrants during the crisis in Croatia was in stability, however, whether that was really the case remains unanswered empirically. Furthermore, there are still no papers that address the Croatian migration crisis of 2015 on an urban level.

The main goal of this paper is to test punctuated equilibrium theory at an urban level of governance using the concept of policy image. Our operational goal is to provide a qualitative approach when researching stability and punctuation in public policies, which has thus far been predominantly quantitative (Jones & Baumgartner, 2012: 13). In order to achieve our goals and answer our research question, we conducted six semi-structured anonymous interviews with city officials and politicians which we then coded by following a general inductive approach.

In terms of the structure of the paper, we will firstly provide a theoretical framework for policy image as a concept within punctuated equilibrium theory, and we will discuss its importance for studying urban governance. We will subsequently tackle the migration crisis on Croatian territory with a specific focus on the city of Zagreb. Finally, we will present the data and methods that were used during research, as well as the results which will be discussed.

Policy image

In order to understand policy image as a concept within political science, we first need to provide a brief overview of punctuated equilibrium theory, from which the concept originally derives. Punctuated equilibrium theory was developed by the American political scientists Frank R. Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones and it addresses agenda setting and policy-making processes with the focus on policy change. The main premise of the theory is that policies are usually faced with lengthy periods of stability and incremental changes, which are then radically changed, thus creating policy punctuation after which the new policy that has been established again enters into a long period of stability (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993: 3-4; Baumgartner & Jones, 2002: 3; True, Jones & Baumgartner, 2007: 155; Jones & Baumgartner, 2012: 3; Eissler, Russell & Jones, 2016: 98). Since the introduction of the theory in the 90s, it has managed to pave a "new tradition" in agenda setting studies (Green-Pedersen & Mortensen, 2014: 167).

Policy image is an important aspect of theory directly between policy stability and policy punctuation. In its definition, policy image would represent a "mixture of empirical information and emotive appeals" (True, Jones & Baum-

gartner, 2007: 161), which finds its basis in "collective understanding and ideas regarding the problems and issues at stake" (Boushey, 2013: 141). So we can say that the concept gathers different elements of a specific policy, from problem to formulation and implementation, in order to create a broader image about that certain policy, which in our case is policy image.

In other words, policy image is a powerful concept which tries to explain why policy stability breaks, therefore, making policy punctuation. The idea behind it is that policy image is completely different depending on whether the policy is in its stability or punctuation. During long periods of stability when the policy is faced with balance and only small incremental changes, the image of policy is dominant and unidimensional. On the other hand, during a short period of punctuation, when the policy is faced with destabilization and radical or revolutionary change, the dominant image of policy starts fading and thus showing alternative policy image. For example, in the past "the image of civilian nuclear power was positively associated with economic progress. Today, it is more likely associated with danger and environmental degradation" (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993: 26). The changes that occur with dominant policy image, such as nuclear which went from economic to environment, allows new actors to come to the scene in order to push forward new image and policy change.

This is where it is also important to stress policy monopoly which emphasizes the role of policy actors in policy change. The term represents actors who manage to establish a monopoly in particular policy area and are in other words true makers of dominant policy image. "The creation and maintenance of policy monopoly is intimately linked with the creation and maintenance of supporting policy image" (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993: 26). The change happens when new policy image is in play and policy monopoly starts losing its ability to maintain and keep one dominant image in the scene and within society. This results with "new spokespersons who throw a system into crisis and provoke change" (Zittoun, 2014: 39). Also, there are other elements in theory such as feedbacks which can be negative to keep the policy in stability or positive which can put a policy in punctuation (Baumgartner & Jones, 2002; Boushey, 2013) which can also have an impact on policy image.

Since the early 1990s punctuated equilibrium became one of the most important theories of explaining the policy-making process (see Sabatier, 2007). Therefore it was a subject of many research projects and empirical testings with the *Comparative Agendas Project*[2] being the most popular one. Although there are papers which address policy stability and punctuation on supranational (see Alexandrova, Carammia & Timmermans, 2012) and national (see John & Bevan, 2012) levels of governance, there are almost none key papers which would deal with this subject in terms of urban governance - except in a few exceptional cases (see Dziengel, 2010). Also, policy image as a concept has rarely been the main subject of punctuation and stability research in public policy field (see Poljak, 2016). The reason for this can be found in time series analysis of long periods that is mostly used in punctuated equilibrium research which doesn't allow researchers to explore policy image in depth and in a qualitative way. In a

sense, policy image was introduced as a theoretical qualitative concept that could give more meaning to quantitative results of punctuated equilibrium analysis.

So these are the reasons why we think it is highly important to address policy image as a concept of punctuated equilibrium theory and to test it within urban governance framework, especially because governance can be the perfect way to "analyse the complexity of contemporary policy-making" (Capano, Howlett & Ramesh, 2015: 3).

Migration crisis in Croatia and the City of Zagreb

In 2015, Europe was challenged with mass migration from the Middle East and North Africa which resulted in huge migration crisis that managed to shake Europe and question its unity, stability and especially, as mentioned in the introduction, policies of the European Union. Although researchers in Croatia have devoted a lot of time in analyzing migration crisis and policies on the European (Baričević, 2015; Popović, 2015) or Croatian level (Tadić, Dragović & Tadić, 2016: 15, 31-32), there are still no academic papers which addresses this subject on urban or local level of governance which also faced challenges of crisis itself.

On 15th September first migrants entered Croatian territory by crossing Croatian-Serbian border after Hungary decided to fully close its border with Serbia. Croatian Government prior to crisis reaching Croatian territory stressed that it is "ready to receive migrants or "direct" them to where they want to go" (bbb.com, 2015a). In this view, Croatia decided that it will become a transit route for migrants, affecting Zagreb as well to become a transit city for migrants during their stay in Croatia. In only three days since 15th of September, there have been more than 17.000 migrants on Croatian territory (bbc.com, 2015b) – and many of those migrants from that first wave passed through Zagreb.

Zagreb was chosen as a temporary place of stay for migrants in the first days of the crisis until other camps were put into a function such as the one in Slavonski Brod. Migrants were mostly boarded on trains and buses when they crossed Croatian-Serbian border and were then transported to Zagreb – the capital of Croatia (channel4.com, 2015; nytimes.com, 2015; smh.com.au, 2015; telegraph.co.uk, 2015a). "In and around Zagreb, reception and registration centers have been set up, including one at *Zagreb Fair*, an exhibition center" (telegraph.co.uk, 2015b). Although *Zagreb Fair* was the biggest one, many of the migrants were also stationed at the asylum center in Zagreb's neighborhood of Dugave (balkaninsight.com, 2015).

In the complex of *Zagreb Fair,* there were two pavilions set up for migrants coming from Croatian-Serbian border. Once the trains from border transported migrants to Zagreb's marshaling yard they were placed in public buses owned by *Zagreb Electric Tram* (jutarnji.hr, 2015b; net.hr, 2015) in order to be transported to Zagreb Fair or to asylum center in Dugave. Migrants were provided with *"*2600 mattresses, 40 portable toilets, 26 showers, 26 sinks" (vecernji.hr, 2015) and with meals as well (jutarnji.hr, 2015a). The complex was also secured with

police and civil protection for security reasons and to keep Fair's other activities in function (net.hr, 2015).

When migrants came to Fair, they were first registered by Croatian Ministry of the Interior, after which they were offered to either sleep through the night at the Fair or continue their journey (dnevnik.hr, 2015). While some stayed at Fair, most of them continue their journey to reach other European countries, specifically Slovenia from which they wanted to reach their final destination which was mostly Germany and Scandinavian countries. "Some bought tickets and went by train, some paid taxis, and some went on foot" (24sata.hr, 2015) while the city itself also provided buses for migrants to reach Croatian-Slovenian border.

This whole context leaves us with conclusion that despite the time when Croatia had to close its borders to maintain migration flow it generally had open-border and welcoming migration policy towards migrants coming mostly from the Middle East. We also see the same pattern in Zagreb that had open-city access toward migrants while also providing all the basic human needs necessary to them.

Nonetheless, there were statements in public discourse that were present at the time that thought differently about how to address and deal with migration crisis and migration policy, which were not specifically bounded to city governance of Zagreb. For example, leader of the opposition at the time, Tomislav Karamarko criticized migration policy of National Government stating that: "We have no definition of what is happening and what are the plans with these people" (telegram.hr, 2015). Unfortunately for the opposition, the government continued to pursue their positive rhetoric's when it comes to migration crisis (see Rovny, 2016).

As we stressed in the introduction, this all leads us to the conclusion that migration policy and policy towards migrants at the time of crisis was generally in stability both on the urban and national level, therefore, following punctuated equilibrium theory, establishing one dominant policy image. It is now time to empirically explore this idea on the urban level of governance.

Data and method

The quantitative methodology has been dominantly used in empirical testing of punctuated equilibrium theory. In this paper, we will take a different, qualitative approach which is always welcomed to take an "important part of public policy research" (Sadovnik, 2007: 424) and therefore in the context of governance research as well. Our view is that qualitative methodology is the best way to test policy image and its impact on stability or punctuality of certain policy in the context of governance. Even the original creators of the theory stress that it is important to take, in future, qualitative approach into account when testing punctuated equilibrium (Jones & Baumgartner, 2012: 13; Jones, 2016), because that is the only way to "increase understandings about what actually happens when the public agenda shifts" (John & Bevan, 2012: 105).

The method we decided to use for our research is elite interviewing (see Burnham et al, 2008: 231-233) because it allows us to see "interviewee's interior experiences, or inner experiences, in the sense of that which s/he perceived and how s/he interpreted this, and how it affected her/his thoughts and feelings" (Weiss 1994, quoted in Gubrium & Holstein 2002: 8–9 according to Zølner et al, 2007: 129). It is the ideal way to grasp policy image within policy actors, so we decided to use semi-structured interview while keeping in mind to tackle down two most important aspects: (1) Zagreb and Croatia in the context of migration crisis, (2) migration crisis and policies in general. In order to get the most truthful answers, we decided to conduct interviews anonymously and only asked subjects to give us permission to address their institution and political orientation.

We decided to put our focus on two key policy actors in the city of Zagreb – one from legislative level and the other one from executive level of governance. First, from the legislative branch, is Zagreb City Assembly from which we conducted four interviews with high profile representatives both from the left and right political specter. The second actor, from the executive branch, is Zagreb Administrative Bodies from which we conducted two interviews with high city officials that had to deal with migration crisis in Zagreb among other things.[3] In total, we did six semi-structured interviews with city officials and politicians to see what kinds of images exist within them concerning migration crisis.

After we transcribed all interviews, we thought that we lacked material from Zagreb Administrative Bodies, so therefore we decided to include in our sample media interview conducted by N1 Television with Zagreb Mayor Milan Bandić (hr.n1info.com, 2015). With all material gathered, we went to analytical phase in which we used general inductive approach. This approach is associated with inductive and open coding data analysis and it encompasses few phases in analytical process that begins with the reading of the raw material after which material has to go through several layers of coding in order to achieve "most important categories" (Thomas, 2006: 242). Because of the fact that "act of coding requires that you wear your researcher's analytic lens" (Saldaña, 2009: 6), the most important category that we want to reach is policy image.

In the first phase, we conducted interviews, after which we began to read through the transcripts, which was the second phase of research. Then, we decided that we will be coding each sentence from transcripts after we extracted ones that are not relevant to our research. In the third phase, we coded sentences by specific words, meaning and themes that were present in each sentence mostly trying to find what was subject referring to, addressing or emphasizing. For example, if the subject of the interview was referring to how did Zagreb organized itself during first days of migration crisis we were coding those sentences as *city governance* code, or if s/he was referring to how it is important to integrate migrants into society then this was coded as *integration*.

After that, we went to the fourth phase in which we were trying to reduce overlapping of certain codes by grouping the codes together in broader categories. We were focused on central core and narratives within different

codes that have the same premises or broader theme. That led us to finale fifth stage in which we wanted to see what were the most important categories – in our case, policy images about migration crisis among city politicians and officials. With this approach, we were able to see if we have only one dominant policy image (stability) or more alternative ones (punctuation). The results and discussion of results will be presented down below.

Results and discussion

In the first phase of coding, we found eleven dominant codes from coding each sentence that was relevant for this research and was given by subjects of the interview. As mentioned in the last part, these codes are the product of specific words, meaning, and themes that were present in coded sentences from politicians and officials that are engaged on the urban level of governance. They vary mostly from certain policies to different frameworks that can all be associated with migration crisis. We will present them in no particular order.

The first code worth mentioning is (1) *policy towards migrants*. Here, we were able to find subjects addressing the national level of governance and how Government treated migration crisis and migrants. All of the subjects that addressed this topic generally had a positive view, stating that Croatia "solve this crisis very well and on time" (Interview 3, 2016), it showed "effort to help the most that it can" (Interview 6, 2016) and that wherever migrants showed up "we treated them well" (Interview 1, 2016). Furthermore, one politician said that the point of Croatia's policy toward migrants "was to transfer migrants as soon and as painlessly to other states" and that it was "organized and handled ok" (Interview 2, 2016). Aside from that, one subject stressed that the border control at the time should have been more restrictive, by putting a fence on it in order to "prevent uncontrolled entry" (Interview 4, 2016) but not to close border itself for migrants.

After that, we have (2) *city governance* as code that brings the city of Zagreb in focus and how the city managed the crisis. Unanimously, all subjects believe that Zagreb handled crisis well and that the governance at the time was well organized and prepared, especially at the given circumstances. As Zagreb Mayor points out: "Zagreb is the most organized city in Croatia, we can respond to the task" (hr.n1info.com, 2015). This view is backed up by high actors from city's administrative with statements how "city provides all necessary resources" (Interview 6, 2016) and "without false modesty, Zagreb was ready for it as for anything else" (Interview 5, 2016). Toned down version of this perception can be found among politicians who say that Zagreb was "well prepared" (Interview 2, 2016), it "did what it could" (Interview 1, 2016) and that it was "well workable with police and all other bodies" (Interview 3, 2016) during crisis. Some also did question if circumstances were different (in terms of much more amount of migrants) how would Zagreb in that context handle crisis (Interview 2 & 4, 2016).

Moving on to (3) *migration crisis* as a code that addresses mostly a problem of mass migration that Europe is facing. Here, subjects discussed the Middle

East in terms of international relations. Therefore, one official pointed that the whole crisis is a "consequence of international relations that led to destabilization" (Interview 5, 2016). One subject stated that crisis would shape differently if global circumstances were different and if Germany did not invite so many migrants to its territory (Interview 2, 2016). Also, one politician said that "big power centers are definitely pulling the strings somewhere in the background" (Interview 4, 2016) while Mayor decided to describe migration crisis as a "movement of nations" (hr.n1info.com, 2015).

Aside from crisis itself, subjects also addressed (4) *migrants* as a group of people that are affected by the crisis. What we were able to find here is positive views of migrants, with subjects stating that from their point of view migrants are well educated and can speak other languages such as English (Interview 5, 2016). Also, for politicians, migrants come from "far oldest cultures and they bring knowledge and information that can be of our use" (Interview 4, 2016) and that they would not be migrants if the situation in their original country was any good (Interview 1, 2016). They also stressed that migrants shouldn't be blamed for the crisis (Interview 3, 2016).

(5) *Human rights* is a code that can be described more as a framework in which migrants are viewed by subjects. For example, one subject stressed that we should approach crisis from "human level" and remember the time when there was a lot of migrants from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina during Yugoslavian wars in the 90's (Interview 3, 2016). Also, Mayor stated that humanity is one of the main principals that we should take into account when discussing crisis (hr.n1info.com, 2015). Futhermore, one subject said that humanity is "certainly a significant segment" (Interview 6, 2016) while other addressed the whole crisis as a "basic question of humanity" while stating that most of the Croatian citizens showed their "human side" in crisis, including Croatian Government (Interview 2, 2016). One subject said that we should always "give the others what we want for ourselves" and that "every person has an equal right to life" (Interview 1, 2016).

Next, we have (6) *education* that is an important factor especially in terms of education policy that subjects view as a crucial part of migration policy and means of adapting migrants to a new society. Subjects stressed that "education is really the best way for someone to fully get to know you and then he can't be any longer afraid of you" (Interview 1, 2016). Also, one subject emphasized the importance of higher education that should be provided for migrants with good grades and that youth should really work on certain educational programs through volunteering that can be beneficial for migrants (Interview 3, 2016). Although, one subject took a broader view stating that it is a question of "comprehensive social policy which implies the inclusion of resources from other sectors" such as education as well (Interview 6, 2016).

Furthermore, (7) *integration* is a word that was commonly used by subjects. So far, asylum seekers in Croatia were really able to "integrate themselves very well" (Interview 2, 2016). Subjects stressed that integration should continue to be the most important aspect and goal when discussing migrants mostly because

"ghettoizing them would be the worst possible solution" and if migrants are distributed well across the state it is "the fastest way for them to assimilate" (Interview 4, 2016). The point was raised that "why wouldn't someone feel as a European or as a German regardless of where they come from" (Interview 1, 2016).

Also, we have (8) *terrorism* which is mostly associated with security. One subject pointed that there is a problem of terrorists who managed to slip through with the masses during crisis and they "deliberately came here to create bad security situation" (Interview 4, 2016) while others also stated that there could be a "few fanatics among millions of migrants" (Interview 1, 2016). This is also referred in a statement that migrants became "ideal part of the terrorist line and chain" (Interview 3, 2016). Nonetheless, one subject stressed that "terrorism cannot be prevented by barbed wire" and that "security aspect was present through the crisis" but it can mostly be associated with political opposition at the time (Interview 2, 2016).

Then, there is also (9) *fear* addressing mostly society's perception. There is one part of society that is "afraid of something unfamiliar" and that the "fear and panic was used by some" to make crisis look like it is chaotic (Interview 2, 2016). Some also believe that migration crisis could result in a "high criminal activity" and that there is a fear of health risk in terms of diseases as well (Interview 4, 2016). This can especially, again, be associated to society level according to one politician, because when migrants first came to Croatia people were "maybe in a little bit of fear and shock" (Interview 2, 2016) which could have resulted in "possible disputes and disorder" (Interview 6, 2016). One subject said that the "fear is the root of it all" by describing how migration crisis also had an impact on people voting for the United Kingdom to leave EU because people were afraid of the unknown (Interview 1, 2016).

In the code (10) *European Union* we mostly find problems connected to EU and its migration policies. For example, it is said that "each country in its own way dealt with the crisis" and that the fundamental problem of politics is that "there is not an agreement on the EU level" about the crisis (Interview 2, 2016). What's more, in term of numbers of migrants coming, comparing to a number of EU population, Europe shouldn't really have any problems with locating migrants evenly on its territory (Interview 1, 2006).

Lastly, we have (11) *Croatian politics*. At the time of migration crisis, Croatia was preparing for Croatian parliamentary election (November 2015) which resulted in the usage of Croatian migration crisis and migration policy as a means of political debate among major political parties (Interview 4, 2016). Although Zagreb Mayor stated that crisis "should not be used for election purposes" (hr.n1info.com, 2015), two subjects thought that Mayor (among others) actually used populism during the crisis (Interview 2 & 3, 2016). Furthermore, two subjects emphasized that the whole migration crisis is a political question (Interview 2 & 4, 2016) with one stating that political decision-making has an impact on security and humanitarian approach to the crisis as well (Interview 2, 2016).

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Once we established all the specific codes mentioned and described above, we were able to move on to the second phase of our coding in which our main goal was to reduce overlaps in all eleven codes. Therefore, again by going through the coded material, we wanted to grasp broader categories in which we could place all specific codes. From our analysis, we came to a conclusion that they could all be placed in four different types of categories.

Policy. First and foremost we have a policy as an individual category in its most basic formation: solving problems of society. Here we can mostly find (1) policy towards migrants, (2) city governance, (6) education and (7) integration. Therefore, this category addresses aspects of solving problems that are connected to migration crisis and migrants. There are a lot of positive views on how Croatia and Zagreb handled the crisis, and also a lot of recommendation how to integrate migrants, especially through education.

Politics. There is also a moment of politics, dominantly in codes (3) migration crisis (10) European Union and (11) Croatian politics. Here we have mostly negatives views in terms of foreign affairs that are blamed for the crisis but also EU that has not managed to find a solution for it. On a national level, the crisis was also used as a political debate by Croatian politicians during Croatian parliamentary election 2015.

Humanitarian. Next, actors used a lot of humanitarian discourse when discussing the crisis. This resulted in humanitarian category that brings mostly together (4) migrants and (5) human rights code. Subject addressed migrants in positive frameworks while stressing certain knowledge that migrants could bring to European countries. Above all, the crisis is dominantly seen as a question of human rights.

Security. Lastly, security is also present as a category that includes mostly codes (9) fear and (10) terrorism. Subjects talked about element of fear that is present in society and associated with the fear of unknown, crime and health risk. They also noted that terrorism is connected with the crisis in terms of terrorists who will use mass migration in order to reach a certain location where they could possibly do a terrorist attack.

All of the codes and categories that we managed to conduct with our method leads us to the final and most important stage of our research which is policy image or the "most important category". We would like to start this discussion by firstly stressing the fact that all of the codes can be divided to families of codes which are grounded in the categories that we managed to conduct (see *Table 1*). The main idea behind these dominant categories is to look for relations and dominant themes among codes from different families of codes. In the latter part, we will try to argue how there is a presence of one dominant policy image in analyzed data which is strongly connected to humanitarian approach. There is also a moment of another alternative and more security-related image which is not dominant as much.

Table 1: Dominant categories and codes in interviews

Policy	Politics	Humanitarian	Security
(1) Policy towards migrants (2) City governance (6) Education (7) Integration	(3) Migration crisis (10) European Union (11) Croatian politics	(4) Migrants (5) Human rights	(9) Fear (10) Terrorism

If we look at the first two categories we can see that all of the subjects in terms of policy aspect wanted to have an open border, with only one stating that it should have had been a bit more regulated. They mostly say that Croatia handled crisis well especially if we compare its policy with other states that faced a crisis. Same discourse is used for the city of Zagreb. Furthermore, it is also stressed how education is the key to perfect integration of migrants to our society. In the end, they are also critical of EU politics stating that it is disorganized on this matter, as well as Croatian politics that used the crisis for its purposes.

Then, we have two latter categories and they both represent lenses through which migration crisis can be seen. One is humanitarian which addresses and approaches migration crisis in a more micro level point of view. Subjects were talking about migrants really positively stressing that they are all human beings and that they have their own rights. On the other hand, we have security which takes more negative approach. What is interesting here is that these negative emotions are not really dominant in subjects' statements and they were focused on addressing security framework which is more present among society and political opposition.

Aside from the fact that subjects have more or less the same discourses in each code and category, they also, in the background, approach this crisis from the humanitarian point of view which also shapes our first and dominant policy image. This can be seen in policy aspect (policy category) in terms of willingness not to fully close borders and to really integrate migrants as human beings to our society and culture. They also don't give positive look at the usage of the crisis in daily politics (politics category), especially because they are talking about real human beings and not about political tools. This pattern is extremely seen in the latter categories, where people addressed the issue of crisis stating that it is a question of humanity and specifically addressing migrants with positive rhetoric's and human rights discourse (humanitarian category). Security is also present but it is not internally connected to crisis or migrants – quite the contrary, it is seen as a different problem that addresses terrorist groups (security category).

But, there is a moment of a different, alternative and not so much dominant policy image that is not explicitly connected to humanitarian approach. It is, in fact, an image that uses mostly security aspect, in terms of more restrictive border crossing (policy category), fear of migrants because they come from differ-

ent cultures and terrorism (security category). But this view can only be truly traced within one subject of the interview, and as some other subjects mentioned – this image is mostly connected to the political opposition at the time[4] and society. Nonetheless, this policy image that is oriented on security simply is not showcasing itself fully as we can see from the humanitarian view that is present among subjects – even the ones that were in political opposition at the time.

This case of one dominant policy image that can mostly be associated with the humanitarian approach is, therefore, leading us to say that we have stability during the governance of migration crisis in Zagreb. The basic premise in all categories is mostly dominant and subjects mostly take a humanitarian approach to the crisis. To conclude, we could say that this image is shaped in the humanitarian overview that has a positive view towards migration policies and negative views concerning politics, they see migrants as human beings and put them in humans' rights question while also mentioning security aspect that is not dominant but is present.

This argumentation also provided us with an overview that actors also formed policy monopoly in terms of urban governance since their image on the subject is dominant and mostly one-dimensional. We could say that they managed to maintain this image not allowing others to question or destabilize governance which was in its stability at the time, but these conclusions are not grounded in presented data.

Furthermore, these results are highly similar to the way Zagreb really treated migrants and migration crisis – with open city access and with humanitarian aspect of providing migrants with all the basic human needs. So it only leaves us with a solid conclusion that governance in Zagreb was in its stability (at least in policy image context) during migration crisis while also providing stable migration policy on the urban level as long as this image continues to be dominant.

Conclusion

In this paper, we wanted to address policy image as a concept of punctuated equilibrium theory on the urban level of governance. For our case, we decided to use migration crisis which managed to create certain images among policy actors and society. Therefore, by using the qualitative methodology and general inductive approach we interviewed politicians and city officials in the city of Zagreb to test whether there was a dominant policy image or more alternative ones among two key policy actors on an urban level.

Results presented in this paper showcase that there was a dominant policy image. This image is presented in one dominant narrative and argumentation within different categories which can be used to tackle down the migration crisis and are mostly associated with the humanitarian approach. The main premise of this image is an open border policy, migrants as human beings, migration as a question of humanity etc. With this one dominant image on urban level among politicians and officials from two key policy actors in legislative and the

executive branch, we can conclude this paper with a statement that Zagreb's governance during migration crisis was in stability and not punctuation.

With that in mind, we were able to test policy image as a concept on the urban level of governance and also approach this research in a qualitative way. In the end, we would like to propose a hypothesis that this dominant policy image was also present on the national level of governance as well. This conclusion comes from the fact that policy image is a strong concept that can certainly affect policy actors both ways–from urban levels all the way to national and even supranational levels. We believe that this could be the case with policy image of migration crisis in Croatia that went from top (national) level of governance to bottom (urban) level. Of course, this conclusion is yet to be theoretically operationalized and empirically explored.

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Notes

[1] This paper uses the terms migration crisis/migrants in order to refer to all people who leave their original place of residence. By using this term we include both refugees (people fleeing from war torn countries and territories like Syria) and economic migrants (people whose lives are not in danger but who are seeking a better socio-economic life).

[2] *Comparative Agendas Project* is a network of research projects in public policy field that brings together researchers from more than 20 countries in the world in analyzing public policies and political priorities in different countries. The project resulted in many academic conferences and publications (see for example Green-Pedersen & Walgrave, 2014), and was also conducted in Croatia (see for example Širinić, 2016 or Petek, 2017). The methodology behind testing policy agenda and punctuated equilibrium is grounded in longitudinal research design and quantitative methodology in a form of coding relevant agenda documents such as Queen's Speech in Great Britain or Congressional Hearings in the United States based on different policy sectors. As pointed by Eissler, Russell, and Jones, "the project continues to provide a quantitative foundation for punctuated equilibrium studies; and additional datasets offer indicators of institutional attention over time and throughout the policy process. The project also continues to provide a venue for assessing the episodic or incremental nature of policy change across issues" (2016: 100).

[3] It is important to stress that we contacted other high city officials from Zagreb Administrative Bodies but they were unwilling to give us any statement at all concerning the topic.

[4] Croatia held parliamentary election in November 2015 but the new government did not take office until late January 2016 in which center-left government was replaced with center-right one.