

**HUNGARIAN POLICY ON THE REFUSAL OF REFUGEE IN EUROPE**

**2015 - 2017**

**UNDERGRADUATE THESIS**



**UNIVERSITAS  
ISLAM  
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**UNIVERSITAS ISLAM INDONESIA**

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Proposed to the Department of International Relations  
Faculty of Psychology and Socio-Cultural Sciences

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As a partial fulfillment of requirement to earn

Bachelor Degree in International Relations



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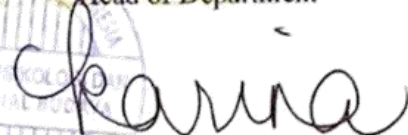
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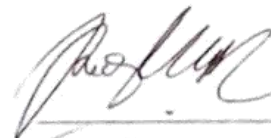
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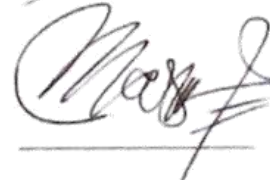
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No other materials are used other than those contained. I have read and understood the university's rules and procedures regarding plagiarism.

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A 10,000 Rupiah postage stamp from Indonesia, featuring the Garuda Pancasila emblem and the text 'SEPULUH RIBU RUPIAH', '10000', 'TEL. 20', 'METERAI', and 'TIMPEL'. The stamp has a handwritten signature in black ink over it. Below the stamp is a horizontal line.

*Della Putri Permatasari*

## **DEDICATION PAGE**

My gratitude goes to Allah SWT for His mercy and grace, which allowed me to finish my undergraduate studies. The writer wants to dedicate this entire study to my deceased parents, who I am sure have also contributed to the smooth writing of this study by praying for me. I also dedicate this research to my two older sisters and my brother-in-law, and I want to express my gratitude for their endless support. Also thanks to everyone who has supported the study of international relations, especially the 2018 international program class.

## **MOTTO PAGE**

“Another person's success should trigger inspiration within you, not insecurity”

**(Della Putri Permatasari)**

“Satisfaction comes from effort, not achievement, full effort is complete victory.”

**(Mahatma Gandhi)**

“The wind blows not to shake the trees, but to test their root strength.”

**(Ali bin Abi Thalib)**

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATION**

EU	:European Union
GDP	:Gross Domestic Product
IOM	:International Organization for Migration
ISIS	:Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
MSZP	:Magyar Szocialista Párt
OECD	:Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OSCE	:Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
UN	:United Nations
UNHCR	:United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee
V4	:Visegrád Four

## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis specifically analyzes the Hungarian government securitize refugees according to securitization theory. The problem of this research stems from the peak of the arrival of the dominant flow of immigrants from the Middle East to Hungary. This made the Hungarian government have to take a firm stand on this incident. The Hungarian government considers these refugees to pose a threat to national security, both from the economic and social sectors, and even threats to national identity.

The theory used as a frame of mind is the theory of securitization according to the Copenhagen School. The qualitative method is the research method used in writing this research. Data collection techniques were carried out through literature study by looking for data from books, articles from journals, and online official news. This research found that the Hungarian government securitize refugees through existential threat from the refugee crisis, emergency action of the government, breaking free of rules in Hungary.

**Keywords: Securitization, Refugee policy, Threats, Securitize, Refugee crisis**

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background

A refugee is a person who does not want to be protected by a country and is concerned about being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, affiliation, or a particular social group outside of their nationality, according to the Geneva Refugee Convention of 1951 (UNHCR, n.d.). When a refugee leaves their nationality, it means they leave their home, property, family, and life. These refugees cannot be protected by their nationality because they are forced to leave the country. Since the early 1980s the definition of refugee from the convention has increasingly provided a narrow interpretation. People are increasingly not seen as real refugees but as economic refugees / migrants. So, a refugee is someone who is forced to move, who must fight to be recognized as a refugee. Meanwhile, those who are included as migrants are usually those with economic reasons. Many industrialized countries have not agreed on the consensus on these refugees, or which country should be responsible for determining the fate of these refugees, or in providing protection and responsibility for refugees. Many countries have also adapted refugee laws to control migration, in which case they will more or less adapt to the presence of refugees (Dokter 1998).

African, Middle Eastern, and South Asian refugees and migrants arrive in Europe. In accordance to the International Organization for Migration, Europe is the most risky destination that illegal immigrants frequently bypass by crossing the world's most dangerous border, the Mediterranean. The political upheaval African, Middle Eastern, and South Asian countries has succeeded in reshaping the tendency to migrate to Europe. According to the reports from the European Union, the influx of illegal immigrants began in 2011, when

thousands of Tunisians landed in Italy as a result of the Arab Spring. The most recent surge according to the European Union was following then, the number of immigrants and refugees from Syria, Afghanistan, and Eritrea increased. The International Organization for Migration reported that around 464,000 migrants crossed to Europe by sea in 2015. Because of the huge amount of refugees, many European countries, including Hungary, have refused to accept them (Park 2015).

Hungary is a country located in central Europe. Located close to Austria, where Austria is close to Germany, many refugees think Hungary is a strategic area to serve as asylum or transit before going to other Western European countries or to Germany. The route for these refugees from the Middle East to Europe, namely from Turkey to Greece, passed through Serbia which finally headed for Hungary. Hungary experienced a surge in the number of refugees from conflicted countries, namely the Middle East, Africa, and South Asia (Juhasz, Hunyadi, and Edit 2015). According to the Hungarian police, since 2015 there have been 3,221 people entering Hungary through Serbia, which was a high number when the crisis started. In this case it means that many of these refugees are breaking and crossing the Hungarian border with Serbia (Waever 2015).

In 2015, the government under Prime Minister Viktor Orban stated that most of the refugees who came to Hungary were not refugees whose goal was to seek protection from a conflict or war, but economic immigrants. According to the Hungarian government, these refugees have successfully passed through safe countries, so they do not have to be called refugees (Juhasz, Hunyadi, and Edit 2015). With the terror acts in France at the end of 2015, the terrorism argument was more related to refugees. It is proven that in 2015 there were 1.2 million people registering as asylum seekers and most of them came from Syria, Afghanistan, and Iraq (European Commission 2016). This is a matter of concern for the people and government of Hungary, given the increasing cases of immigration in Hungary. Due to the

existence of terrorism cases that are often associated with refugees, the Hungarian government has treated refugees differently. The emergence of a campaign to isolate refugees and an increase in the quantity of refugees has had a significant effect in the measures implemented in Hungary (Juhasz, Hunyadi, and Edit 2015).

The large number of refugees that have arrived in Hungary during 2015 is a serious problem for the Hungarian government and society. Terrorism in France is becoming more related to the entry of refugees in Europe. The prejudice against minorities is growing in Hungary, given the terrorist acts in Europe. In such, the community will refuse the arrival of a group which is considered to be dangerous to the community itself. In this case, Hungary also rejected the presence of the refugees (Lodovici et al. 2017). In this matter, it is important to find out the implementation of Hungarian policy on the refusal of refugees in Europe and its strategy in dealing with the flow of refugees who come to Hungary and Europe.

## **1.2 Research Question**

How did the Hungarian government securitize refugee in Hungary?

## **1.3 Research Objectives**

The following are the study's objectives:

1. To analyze the increasing flow of refugees in Europe, especially in Hungary from 2015 to 2017.
2. To examine Hungary's policy on the rejection of refugees.
3. To analyze the Hungarian government securitize refugees in Hungary.

## **1.4 Research Scope**

To avoid a broad discussion of the main idea, this research has limitations on the policies that have been implemented by Hungary in dealing with the refusal of refugees in Europe in 2015 to 2017. The author only analyzes from 2015 to 2017. In 2015, The number

of refugees arriving in Europe from the Middle East rises significantly, which numbered 1.3 million people. In that year, there were three countries in Europe that received the most applications for asylum, one of which was Hungary. At the end of 2015, since the terrorist acts in France, the refugees are often associated with terrorism.

In this case, it is certainly very disturbing for the people and the government of Hungary. As of 2015, refugee cases have become the biggest problem faced by Hungary. In that same year the community and government began to issue statements regarding refusal of refugees in Hungary. Since Hungary took over the alternating presidency from the Visegrad Group (V4) on July 1, 2017, security policies regarding the refusal of refugees are becoming increasingly important in Hungary. The execution of Hungary's security strategy in settling the displaced person emergency depends on the guidelines or reports from both the Hungarian Service of International concerns and the Visegrad Gathering.

## **1.5 Literature Review**

The policies of Hungary implemented as a result of the surge of refugees entering Europe have been the subject of some prior research. The first is a book written by Edit Zgut, Bulcsu Hunyadi, and Attila Juhasz (2015). In that book, it is explained that the increasing crisis of migration in Hungary cannot be separated from the xenophobia of Hungarian society that cannot be changed. Since the rampant cases of terrorism in Europe, the public has been more open to criticize the refugees and support the issuance of policies regarding refugees. The refugee crisis in Hungary can affect domestic politics as well as international politics which will threaten the European integration.

In the context of domestic politics, the Viktor Orban Administration has an initiative to promise protection for Hungarians and an increase in borders outside the European Union sees an increase in migration flows. The growing criticism of cases of corruption,

government failure and dispute within the parties are focused on the fact that refugee and migration problems have dominated the political agenda. Like other Eastern European nations, Hungarian society is primarily hostile to migrants and refugees. Not only because of the Xenophobic attitude, but also because the result of the anti-refugee and immigrant propaganda campaign makes people even less aware of the arrival of the refugees.

The Hungarians had no experience living with outsiders and the absence of data was getting more grounded. Inside Hungary, the Orban government exists as a defender of Hungarian culture and at the global level, it likewise goes about as a protector of the European country. The Hungarian government counted the votes after the migration crisis, indicating that anti-immigration sentiment was growing and that right-wing populist parties would gain power. Today, Europe is facing its greatest integration challenge. The European Union is considered to lack the tools to handle the refugee cases (Juhasz, Hunyadi, and Edit 2015).

The second literature is a journal by Boldiszar Nagy. Nagy discussed Hungarian policy before and after the Hungarian border fence was built. The journal uses an international relations perspective and is combined with an international legal perspective that discusses the Hungarian government policies in dealing with cases of refugee arrival. The journal also discusses the policies taken by the Hungarian government in accordance with their obligations as a European Union member.

This research has something in common with Nagy's research, namely the researcher examines what policies or strategies the state is taking in overcoming the increasing influx of refugee arrivals in Hungary. Hungary is on the Schengen area's border with Serbia, which was once the main destination for refugees on routes from the Western Balkans. Hungary's actions in closing the border fence, transferring responsibility for carrying out the procedure

for determining refugee status which will provide protection or transfer people who do not need protection to other member countries, is a propaganda of hostility carried out by Hungary against migrants and other people who cross the border (Nagy 2016).

In the Eurasian Journal of Social Sciences by Zeinab A. Ahmed, it also explains its focus on the discussion of Hungarian policy on migration problems using a securitization perspective based on the concept of security in international relations. A political issue can be a threat to the security of a country if it has endangered, disturbed, and threatened an actor in state security. As Europe's refugee and migrant population has risen, many European Union countries have implemented policies to deal with their arrival.

European Union (EU) leaders have focused on a security perspective and linked it to the existence of cases of terrorism and the instability of economic and political conditions. As a result of the rise in asylum seekers in Europe, numerous policies have been implemented to deal with the issue. In fact, EU members have decided to transfer the burden of migration to third parties by sending asylum applications to third countries that are not EU members in order to establish an asylum system within the EU. According to the journal, Hungary's refugee policies have all reflected the securitization theory. Among other EU nations, Hungary is the most conservative country which is very anti-migration.

Some of the reasons why Hungary is so conservative and strict are first, Hungary has no experience with immigration issues, especially since the government of Viktor Orban from 2010. He belongs to a national conservative party that strongly opposes immigration. Consequently, he went against the appearance of refugees and the progression of relocation, particularly from the Muslim nations. In addition, the disagreement that exists between the government of Hungary and the right-wing political party Jobbik serves as the foundation for a policy in Hungary that restricts immigration(Ahmed 2020).

Member countries of V4 or Visegrád Group, which have Central European members (Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, and Slovakia) are also working together in dealing with the increasing issue of migration in Europe. In terms of migration, Hungary became one of the countries that opposed the required quota scheme for migrant redistribution in 2015, even before it was agreed at the level of the European Union. Prime Minister Orban described the quota program as inappropriate and unfair. In Hungary, the opposition to the Law in Europe and the refusal of the entry of refugees were strongly supported by the policies of the government. The arrival of the refugees in Hungary has been linked to government terrorism.

The rejection of this mandatory quota is still a priority for the Hungarian government. In a long term perspective, politics in Hungary has refused to handle cases of refugees or migrants in Europe. As Hungary faces the largest number of migrations in a V4 country context, Hungary has chosen a conservative strategy in addressing the crisis caused by migration. The strength of this migration rush was due to Hungary's location, which led to Western Europe, mainly in Germany. Due to the strength of this migration process, Hungary was unable to handle it logistically or administratively.

This is explained in the journal *Politics in Central Europe* by Helena Bauerova (2018). The steps taken by the Hungarian Government are an effort to protect Hungary and the Hungarian Border. Special refugee trains were sent directly from Hungary to Western Europe as a consequence of Germany's withdrawal from the Dublin system for Syrian refugees, where the refugees did not have appropriate documents. Germany was also accused by a Prime Minister of accelerating the migration wave to Europe (Bauerova 2018).

Hungarians were shocked toward the end of 2015 when a large number of Muslim refugees and asylum seekers disembarked at a train station in Budapest after crossing the Hungarian border. Since many of these refugees have fled the war-torn nation, Hungarians

perceive this as a threat. Viktor Orban claims that the influx of Muslim refugees was an invasion of Muslims, not a humanitarian issue. This also indicates that the Hungarian government must respond appropriately, specifically with a refugee policy. The Hungarian government's actions are still regarded as inadequate.

Hungary recruits about 3,000 people to guard the border. The influx of refugees in Hungary in 2015 is true that some jihadi terrorists entered through Hungary. The government also uses the arrival of these refugees as a means of strengthening the Christian stigma against refugees as terrorists. Migration has been correlated with the Ottoman period in the conservative media, where Hungary was the foundation for defending Christianity from Muslim hordes. Related to this, the former foreign minister also told the Hungarian people to give birth to many babies because they thought that the Islamic party would destroy European culture through polygamy. This objective is carried out to counter the negative effects of strong in-migration flows. This statement is explained in the journal *Central and Eastern European Migration Review* by Elzbieta M. Gozdziaik and Peter Marton (2018) (Gozdziaik and Marton 2018).

In this research, the author focuses not only on the impact of the arrival of refugees to Europe on the political aspect, but also on the anti-refugee policy in Hungary. In addition, this study will focus more on migration in one country, namely Hungary, not on Europe in general. This means that only the reasons behind the government implementing a refugee rejection policy was discussed. Likewise the impact of migration to Europe on Hungarian society itself.

## **1.6 Research Framework**

This research will employ securitization as a theoretical framework. This is a theory developed by members of the Copenhagen School, including Jaap de Wilde, Ole Waeber, and

Barry Buzan. Securitization is a point of view that raises an issue that will pose a high security threat to a country. According to the theory of securitization, the perspective of threats and security depends more on how the actors understand and shape these threats than on the actual conditions. In the theory of securitization, an actor who plays a role in policy making can manipulate politics by linking it to a very emergency situation, so that the chord is likely to violate the existing rules (Buzan, Waever, and Wilde 1998).

Security threats in a country do not only cover the military and political fields, but security threats in a country can take the form of threats in the economic, social, and other fields. Buzan claim that social sector security threats are the ones that get the most attention among other fields, because in the social sphere it cannot be separated from the political sphere as well. Identity and balance in a country can be seen in this social field. A dominant nation that is weak in its security will be very worried about the issue of identity, which is considered a threat to its country's security. According to Buzan, the social sector has more to do with the identity and cultural aspects of a country that are subjective and constructive. In such, there will be political issues of discrimination as well as exceptions or exclusion (Stone 2009).

According to Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, and Jaap de Wilde the involvement of three units in security analysis is required for the success of a securitization. Existential threats, emergency acts, and breaking the rules. Community security faces danger when the collective identity changes by internal or external pressures, often known as existence threats. An issue is emphasized and portrayed as the top priority in security discourse. Security is defined as a perceived threat to one's survival. In other terms, an existential danger is one that actors address while discussing an issue. This is accomplished through rhetoric, which is referred to as a speech act. This speech act often discusses survival, which is ultimately a priority

activity that must be carried out since failure to do so would have a negative consequence. This existence threat designation requires emergency or special action and acceptance of that designation by a significant audience. Following that is breaking away from rules, which is a state in which securitization agents claim to have the power to deal with problems that go beyond typical limitations, justifying breaking the rules (Buzan et al., 1998).

Buzan stated that the success of the securitization process can be demonstrated from the construction of threats through speech acts carried out by actors and which are acceptable to the public. Securitization is achieved not simply by breaking the rules or by threats to one's existence, but by existential threats that can justify the act of breaking the rules. Many actions or backgrounds, however, take this form. For example, a family securing its lifestyle as dependent on holding a certain job, and thus using a dirty trick in a competitive company. This security concept is very clear about what it is interested in.

In terms of security, an issue can be defined as a security problem if it is more important than other problems and must be given full priority when encountered with an existential threat. If this problem is not resolved in securitization, the actor will not be free to deal with it in his own way. As a result, the actor has asserted the right to handle the situation in an unusual manner, such as by breaking political rules. Securitization is thus a security issue in practice because it is confronted with such threat. Violation of this rule is an act of security, and the basic motivation for such securitization is fear that other parties will allow us to collapse or not survive as subjects. In a securitization situation, a unit will not rely on other resources, but will rely on its own resources and assert its right to organize actions based on its own priorities (Buzan et al., 1998).

## 1.7 Provisional Argument

How the Hungarian government securitizes refugees may be formed by existence threats, emergency measures, and rule breaches, according to the explanation of the background and explanation of the theory according to the theory of securitization by the Copenhagen school. The rising influx of refugees into Hungary undoubtedly presents an existential danger to various industries. The refugee danger to Hungary is classified into three categories. The first is the economic threat posed by refugees in Hungary, which includes threats to economic development and job opportunities. The second is the threat posed by migrants to Hungary's social and political sectors, which includes xenophobia, Islamophobia, and threats of crime and terrorism.

The third threat posed by migrants in Hungary is to the sector of national identity, which encompasses risks to Hungary's values, religion, and culture. As a result of this, the administration displayed threats to the Hungarian people by speech acts. One example of a speech act is *“Our borders are under threats, our life is based on a respect for laws...and the whole of Europe. We are being run over.”* This speech act was delivered by the Prime Minister of Hungary, Victor Orban, in front of all Hungarian governments in Budapest in September 2015. As a result of the threat, the Hungarian government took forceful emergency measures, including the building of a border barrier with 24-hour border control by the Hungarian police and army, as well as the establishment of a system for processing asylum applicants.

In this scenario, Hungary established two transit zones for entering the country. Refugees do not require proper documentation to reach these two transit zones, but they will be questioned about credible reasons for leaving their country of origin. The last criterion is rule-breaking, which is a circumstance in which securitization actors, or in this case, the Hungarian government, have the authority to deal with problems beyond usual limitations,

justifying rule-breaking. In this case, the Hungarian government rejected the rules of the European Union regarding quotas for accepting refugees and UN regulations on refugees.

## **1.8 Research Method**

### *1.8.1 Type of the Research*

This type of research methodology is qualitative. In qualitative research, the data obtained is in the form of descriptive, theory, and analysis from other authors relevant to this topic. In this research, in order to generate new perspectives on the issues posed, the authors will develop from these data with research from the author's own perspective. The author would also discuss the causal relationship of this problem with this form of research related to how one event can influence other events, and also analyze the effect of these problems in the future in the descriptive method by solving problems that are thoroughly discussed based on the facts of the causal factors.

### *1.8.2 Subject and Object of the Research*

The subject of this research is a country, which is Hungary. While the object of this research is the refugees who came to Hungary. In this subject and object, it is elaborated on how these objects can influence or interact with the subject, namely how the refugees who came to Hungary responded to the Hungarian government itself. The object in the research here or the refugees will be examined to find out how they could influence the Hungarian government, so the Hungarian government issued a policy of refusing refugees in Hungary. Subjects and objects in this research are elaborated on how an object can influence or interact with the actor.

### *1.8.3 Method of Data Collection*

In data collection techniques, the author uses the literature study data collection method. According to Kumar, the data collection technique using the literature study method is carried out by collecting and analyzing data obtained from several literatures such as journals, articles, books, papers, or newspapers that can support this research (Kumar 2019). In this research, a number of books, journals, and newspapers were used related to the issues raised. In this research, the data source used is a secondary data source. Secondary data is the data that has been obtained or successfully collected by people who conduct research from pre-existing sources.

### *1.8.4 Process of the Research*

In this research, the author uses a process of research that starts with an idea or a general assertion, followed by a detailed description in the form of specific facts, proof, examples, responses, and so on. With a theory that is relevant to this issue, this research is analyzed on the basis of this theory. From the data that has been collected and analyzed, the author examines this issue from the problem's background, the research questions that will be elaborated on in the discussion, and discussion on the basis of the existing theory which is divided into several sub-chapters from introduction to discussion.

## **1.9 Thesis Outline**

To explain this research, the writer will describe the outline of each chapter. The background, research objectives, research significance, research scope, literature review or previous research related to the topics in this research, conceptual framework, provisional arguments, and research methods are all described in Chapter I. The data analysis used to generate the study's findings is described in Chapter II. The results of a study based on the

research methods described in Chapter I are described in Chapter III. Chapter IV summarizes and recommends the overall conclusions of the discussion.

## CHAPTER 2

### ACTOR AND MEDIA IN SECURITIZATION PROCESS

#### 2.1 Securitization actor

The securitization actor in concern here is one who carries out securitization issues by declaring something, in this case stating something that is threatened with extinction. The government is generally the securitizing actor in the case of a country. When there is worry that the government itself is threatened, a government will frequently utilize security considerations relating to a country (Buzan et al., 1998). This might happen in terms of both external and internal dangers. In this situation, national security may be defined essentially as the protection of the components of the state from outside dangers and intervention that may be intolerable in some cases and endanger the majority of the people, such as the threat of migration. In this Hungarian issue, the actor of securitization is the Hungarian government.

#### 2.2 The Hungarian government's efforts to address refugee concerns

The Hungarian government decided to block Hungary's southern border with Serbia on September 15, 2015. As a result, migrants attempting to travel from Hungary to Germany were stranded in Serbia. The disagreement at the *Horgo-Rösztke* border checkpoint sparked a brawl, exacerbating the already dire situation. Prime Minister Viktor Orban proposed building this barrier after becoming aware of the rising number of unauthorized migrants entering the Schengen zone. According to the Dublin Regulations and the Schengen Agreement, this is Hungary's job and responsibility (Romania Insider, 2017).

At the same period, a barrier was constructed along the Serbian-Hungarian border. Finally, the government decided to construct a four-meter-high barrier made of chains, iron, and wire above and below the fence. The quick erection of the fence demonstrates that

Hungary considers this a vital matter. Due to increasing "migration pressures," Orban declared in August 2016 that Hungary will construct a new border barrier on the country's southern border (Feher, 2015). Hungary implemented a stringent refugee admission permission system after having strong physical boundaries. For migrants entering Hungary, the government established two transit zones. The number of people acquiring entrance permits in these two zones has decreased. With the help of translators, interrogations are carried out where asylum applicants must provide credible reasons for their decision to leave their country of origin (Dunai, 2017).

Those who arrive with their families typically choose this approach of applying for asylum, but those who come alone prefer the illegal route and employ the services of smugglers. The Transit Zone at the border is where asylum applicants are initially screened and interviewed. Few asylum applicants remain in Hungary until their claims are processed. Nobody could leave for months at a time unless they wished to return to Serbia. The quantity of people getting section licenses in these two zones has been brought down. From 100 every day, it drops to 10 every day, with 0 passes on ends of the week and public occasions. The Migration and Haven Office (previously known as the Movement and Identity Office) said that the decrease in the number was made in line with the public authority (Kekesi, 2017).

Finally, the majority of those who passed through the Transit Zone departed Hungary for Western Europe. This is a risky situation. According to Dublin Regulations, these immigrants can be deported at any moment if their fingerprints are captured in Hungary. However, there are several general practitioners in the Transit Zone. If the asylum seeker's illness necessitates additional testing or treatment, he will be sent to a hospital in Hungary, outside the Transit Zone, which will take time. By holding lawful asylum seekers, Hungary unwittingly complicates their position where it is manifestly unnecessary (Koves, 2017). Despite the fact that lawful asylum seekers are prepared to follow the relevant

procedures and protocols. Only some groups, like as charitable organizations, are permitted to enter the Transit Zone and communicate with asylum seekers. The majority of these groups are religious in nature and have tight links to the government (Kekesi, 2017).

### **2.3 Channel and media securitization on Hungarian issues**

The Hungarian government shapes public perceptions of the refugee crisis as a security concern by constructing threats through speech acts. Speech acts may also be used to describe the many types of government campaigns carried out in Hungary. A speech act is anything uttered by someone that includes not just information or words, but also the action that is expected in response to the utterance (Nordquist, 2020). The Hungarian administration developed these arguments not just for national security reasons, but also because the rhetorical process raised the subject of risks to state security. The Hungarian government issued the "National Consultation on Immigration and Terrorism" in April 2015. This consultation took the form of a questionnaire sent to Hungarian residents aged 18 and over (Szabolcs, 2015).

Residents are urged to complete and submit this form as soon as possible. The goal of distributing this questionnaire is to impose tougher immigration laws. The questionnaire questions were derived from arguments and remarks made by Prime Minister Orbán and the Hungarian government, who felt threatened by the presence of migrants in Hungary (UNHCR The UN Refugee Agency, 2016). A sample question from the questionnaire says, "In your opinion, will Hungary be a target for terrorist attacks in the next few years?" and "Do you agree that illegal immigrants who cross the Hungarian border should be returned to their country of origin as soon as possible?" (The Orange Files, 2015).

The questionnaire is intended to shape public opinion rather than elicit genuine responses from Hungarians. Aside from that, the government conducts numerous efforts,

such as the billboard campaign against the European Union's quota system. In Hungary, the government also controls both public and commercial media. The billboard campaign includes slogans printed in Hungarian, including: 1.) If you come to Hungary, you must respect our culture; 2.) If you come to Hungary, you must respect our laws; and 3.) If you come to Hungary, you may not work in Hungarian society (Juhasz et al., 2015). Furthermore, there is a billboard campaign that states, "When you come to Hungary, you must obey our laws." As a result of the security danger posed by the entry of migrants from different origins and cultures than Hungarian society, Hungary adopted laws addressing the European refugee crisis.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT SECURITIZE REFUGEES THROUGH SECURITIZATION

The refugee crisis in Hungary has also posed concerns in a number of areas. The Hungarian government displayed the development of this danger through speech actions to shape Hungarian public opinion against migrants. From this, Hungary's government developed policies surrounding the rejection of refugees. The notion of securitization will be used to examine this refugee rejection policy. Securitization is a phase in the politicization process in which a problem is framed as a security concern and presented as an existential threat necessitating emergency action and acting outside the regular bounds of political procedure. The notion of securitization also defines three components of analysis: existential threats, emergency measures, and breaking free of rules (Buzan et al., 1998).

#### **3.1 Existential threats of refugee in Hungary**

An existential threat, according to Buzan, Waever, and Wilde, is a threat mentioned by actors while assessing a problem. According to securitization theory, the perspective of risks and security is determined more by how the players comprehend and shape these threats than by the actual situations. In this Hungarian case, the Hungarian government constructed a threat through a speech act. The threat posed by these refugees affects several aspects of life in Hungary (Buzan et al., 1998).

##### **3.1.1 The threat of refugees in Hungary to the Hungarian economy**

###### *3.1.1.1 Threats to Hungary's economic growth*

The arrival of refugees in Hungary certainly poses a threat to the economic sector. One of which is economic growth in Hungary. The Hungarian economy actually began to

decline during the global crisis in 2008, but it declined again in 2015. In that year, the flow of refugees increased dramatically due to the entry of refugees into countries that required them to make short-term expenditures to help refugees in humanitarian matters, such as temporary shelter, food, and income to support their daily needs. It is hoped that with this government investment, the refugees will be able to contribute significantly to the country of asylum. The government's expenditures on these refugees vary as well.

The amount of this allowance is determined by the country of asylum and the conditions of residence occupied by the refugee. Generally, the government incurs costs ranging from €8,000 to €12,000 to accommodate refugees (Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development 2014). Refugees also require additional assistance in order to integrate into the labor market and society. Even in 2015, when the flow of refugee arrivals peaked, Hungary was one of the main countries affected by the arrival of refugees, adding to the cost of government spending. Hungary, as a Schengen transit country, clarified that GDP expenditure increased by 0.1 percent (Hungarian Central Statistical Office 2017).

The purpose of this additional spending is to cover the costs associated with the arrival of the refugee influx. Hungary's Prime Minister, Viktor Orban, has consistently stated that refugees are either economic immigrants or legal immigrants. Orban stated that the people who came to Hungary were actually people who fled their home countries for economic reasons and disguised themselves as refugees. According to Prime Minister Viktor Orban, the increasing number of economic immigrants poses a threat to the stability of Hungary's economic growth; refugees, he claims, will exploit the country's economy by risking people's jobs and destroying everything the government has built over the last decades (Ceylan 2018).

### *3.1.1.2 Threats of jobs in Hungary*

The peaking influx of refugees not only threatens the stability of Hungary's economic growth, but it also threatens the stability of Hungary's employment opportunities. They will, without a doubt, try to find work and take jobs from Hungarians. The government issued a national consultation on immigration and terrorism in May 2015. The consultation paper, as well as a Viktor Orban's letter, were delivered to nearly 8 million constituents (Juhasz 2017). National consultation is an essential element of Hungary's illiberal democracy. It is used to replace referendums by wielding the same power as government supporters.

This questionnaire contains populist campaign propaganda. They serve as metaphors for the supporters to shape public opinion, and are frequently used to gain broad support from the government policies in opposition to its criticism of refugees. The language used in migration consultations is also a securitization framework developed by the political party Fidesz, in which migrants are presented as terrorists who pose economic and cultural obstacles. The billboards for the campaign also represent migrants negatively, with statements such as "If you arrive in Hungary, you must obey our laws or culture, and you cannot work for Hungarians"(Szalai and Gobl 2015). In the letter, Orban referred to the terrorist attacks on media personnel in early 2015.

Aside from the threat of terrorism, Orban emphasized that immigrants who cross borders illegally while pretending to be refugees in order to obtain social benefits and job opportunities. The government of Hungary has linked migration to terrorism, criminal activity, and unemployment. Officials in Hungary say that the migrants are stealing jobs, spreading disease, and committing crimes. As a result, Orban claims that they pose a threat to people's jobs and livelihoods in Hungary (Juhasz 2017). The Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey found that 82% of Hungarians thought refugees were a burden since they took employment and social benefits from the country (Wike, Stokes, and Simmons 2016). On

September 15, 2015, at a Fidesz party gathering, Orban delivered his speech with the main point of using strategy in the rhetoric of his efforts to criminalize refugees through characterizing them as a threat to the Hungarian people.

“...We previously discussed internal identity crises: The Christian personality emergency, or the public character emergency. However, Ladies and Gentlemen, the liberal identity crisis is currently taking place. According to this viewpoint, the entire issue of economic migration, mass migration, and asylum is nothing more than a crisis of liberalism's identity.” (Mendelski 2018)

The issue of mass migration and asylum is presented by Orban as a crisis of liberalism. In general, all migrants are linked to their economic status. This draws attention to the threat that migrants may pose to the local economy, such as threatening local employment opportunities or adding to the burden on the receiving nation's social assistance system. (Szalai and Gobl 2015).

### **3.1.2 Threat of Refugees to Hungary on social and political sectors**

#### *3.1.2.1 Xenophobia*

The Hungarian people are known for their strong prejudices against minority groups. Since the regime change, Hungary, like other Eastern European countries, has been extremely intolerant of immigrant groups. This is linked to the threat of existence. People cannot tolerate groups that are perceived to be a threat in general. As a result, an anti-immigrant campaign will gain widespread support in Hungary. The refugee crisis has influenced Hungary's xenophobic environment, where previously there was distrust of potential future arrivals, but now there is a real focus on xenophobia.

Xenophobia and fear-based prejudice are socially understandable phenomena, particularly in Hungary, where the population has had little experience with immigration. The level of xenophobia peaked in April 2015, with 46 percent of respondents being xenophobic. According to a survey conducted by the social organization Tarki, it had decreased to 36% in October 2015, but this was only a temporary decrease (Szalai and Gobl 2015). At the start of the 2016 survey, 53% of respondents said they would not allow refugees to enter Hungary at all. According to recent research, 60 percent of Hungarians are xenophobic toward refugees (Simonovits et al. 2016).

As of January 2017, a majority of Hungarians publicly rejected all asylum seekers, with only a few considering accepting them. In Hungary, political parties play a significant role in shaping xenophobic attitudes. Xenophobia is overrepresented among Jobbik voters, moderately represented among Fidesz voters, and underrepresented among MSZP voters. (Simonovits et al. 2016). Education and age are also important factors in xenophobic attitudes. The same holds true for another measure of prejudice in Hungarian society, where less educated people, particularly those who have only completed primary school, are more likely to be xenophobic than more educated people.

Hungary's prime minister, Viktor Orban, stated in 2015 that Hungarian society was hesitant to accept individuals of all ethnicities and cultural origins in order to protect Hungary. He characterized refugees as a threat to European countries. Orban saw himself as a fighter who stood up for fundamental European values. He did, in fact, vowed to protect his own people from groups of people with different cultures and customs who were unable to integrate (Gigitashvili and Sydlo 2019).

Hungary's Prime Minister, Viktor Orban, has declared that Hungary is not effectively prepared to deal with migrants because the country has no experience with multiculturalism.

In addition to establish a fence along Hungary's border with Serbia and rejecting the European Union's migrant quota, the Orban government has demonstrated a xenophobic attitude toward the refugee crisis, launching a national anti-immigration campaign that included campaigns and billboards throughout Hungary admonishing refugees that the Hungarian state is a country for the Hungarian people. One of the poster quotes states, " If you enter Hungary, you have to honor our culture as well as our laws". This clearly indicates the existence of a Fidesz political strategy known as the National Consultation for Immigration (Juhasz, Molnar, and Edit 2017).

The national consultation is a questionnaire that was sent to every household in Hungary in July 2015 with the goal of gathering data on Hungarian attitudes toward refugees (UNHCR The UN Refugee Agency 2016). This aggressive stance has been complemented by Orban's rejection of the EU refugee quota for each member country in order to more evenly distribute the burden of finance and infrastructure. Furthermore, Orban refused to transfer refugees to Hungary in accordance with Dublin regulations. However, Orban only used the opportunity of the migration crisis for manipulation, in the sense of tightening control over Hungary in order to consolidate his own power. Political hostility toward refugees was preceded by a long history of animosity toward certain sub-groups in Hungary, namely the Romans and Jews. This hostility has only grown since the rise of the far right and Fidesz's xenophobic fervor in an attempt to defeat Jobbik (Bozoki and Cueva, n.d.).

### *3.1.2.2 Islamophobia*

Due to the small size of the Muslim population in Hungary and relatively low political and public interest in issues concerning Islam prior to the 2015 migration crisis, they have a high level of Islamophobia, which can be explained by a lack of contact and media misrepresentation. According to the survey, the impact of the migration crisis and anti-

Muslim attitudes causes Islamophobia in Hungary to be higher than in other European countries. Hungary sees refugees as a greater threat than the rest of Europe. In a 2017 survey taken, 64 percent of respondents in Hungary agreed that all migration from Muslim countries should be stopped. According to another survey, the migration crisis in Hungary is less likely to accept Muslim refugees than Christian refugees. This anti-Muslim narrative is dominated by government rhetoric related to its political interests (Vidra 2017).

Eastern and Central Europe as a stronghold of Christianity is very much against Islam in the region. The point is that the enemy is not on the border, but rather outside of it. This is reflected in the fact that, while anti-Muslimism physically targets the enemy on the outside, the Muslim community in the country is still feeling the effects of the hate campaign. The Muslim community claimed that their relationship with the state had deteriorated as a result of the hate campaign that had become public discourse. The Islamic community in Hungary revealed some violations against Muslims, such as verbal abuse and removal of the headscarf, but the majority of these violations went unreported. The president of Hungary's Islamic community has written to the prime minister, requesting that mosques and families be protected in the face of rising hate speech and physical threats (Bayrakli and Hafez 2017).

The government is using the migration and refugee crises to foment a new enemy. When the number of refugees was still low in early 2015, the government's official narrative emphasized economic migration rather than refugees. The narrative also emphasizes that the mass migration poses a security risk to Hungary. As the tide of migration began to rise, the rhetoric began to shift, and the narrative of economic migration began to emphasize security threats and strong identities.

Throughout the campaign, there was no distinction between economic migration, refugees and asylum seekers, as well as legal and illegal migrants, which provides additional

reasons to criminalize migrants. The prime minister, his government, and the media have made the relationship between migrants, Islam, and terrorists a dominant discourse. Security in relation to (Muslim) terrorism has since become a political narrative that determines how the refugee crisis is interpreted. With its rhetoric of invasion and a focus on crime and terrorism, Eastern Europe's anti-Muslim stance is primarily sectarian (Haraszti 2015).

The anti-Muslim narrative that has now become a political discourse stems primarily from right-wing discourse, which claims that Islam is framed within the context of a cultural war between western Christianity and the Muslim world. Both the right and right-wing populists frequently regard Islam as a violent religion. The terms fundamentalist, jihadist, and terrorist are frequently used by pro-government and right-wing media to describe Islam. Fidesz and other far-right actors have linked Muslims to terrorism and frequently assume that Islam is a colonial religion seeking to seize the European continent by establishing an Islamic caliphate.

References to Hungary's 14th-century defensive wars against the Ottoman Empire and the Ottoman Empire's occupation in the 16th and 17th centuries lend credence to this narrative. Fidesz argues that Hungary has once more evolved into a Christian Europe stronghold that is safe from Muslim invasion. Since the beginning of the refugee crisis, Jobbik has viewed the threat posed by migration as the end of Christianity in Europe. When Fidesz took the initiative on migration, Jobbik shifted his staunchly anti-Islamic organization. Our Homeland, a new right-wing party founded by the former vice chair of Toroczkai, has continued to oppose Islam. Toroczkai thought that Hungarian culture was incompatible with Islam and that Islamization was a threat to national security because white, Christian, and Hungarian people should be kept alive (Kreko, Hunyadi, and Szicherle 2019).

### *3.1.2.3 Crime and Terrorism*

Since the peak of the refugee influx in 2015, the government has regarded the issue of refugees and migration as a terrorist threat. According to Prime Minister Viktor Orban, the European Union does not see the arrival of refugees as a threat to Europe because of the quota set by the EU to accept as many refugees as possible. Furthermore, an increase in the number of refugees entering Hungary may increase the threat of crime and invite terror attacks (Nagy 2016). The Hungarian National Assembly convened a meeting to discuss the refugee crisis in early 2015, through to the Fidesz party's initiative. The meeting's theme was that Hungary does not require economic immigrants.

During the meeting, parliamentarians from the Fidesz party also used arguments regarding general prejudices that are commonly used when viewing refugees. They believe that immigrants posing as refugees have broken international law, caused chaos (because they are suspected of setting fire to a public place in Sweden), committed crimes, and stole (Szabolcs 2015). Based on these arguments, the Hungarian government finally issued a national consultation on immigration and terrorism in April 2015 (Index 2015). The consultation is in the form of a questionnaire, which is mailed to all Hungarian residents over the age of 18. The goal of distributing this questionnaire is to establish stricter immigration policies.

The refugee crisis in Hungary was explained at the beginning of the questionnaire, and then citizens in Hungary immediately answered the questions that had been provided and were then asked to return them to the Hungarian government (UNHCR The UN Refugee Agency 2016). The questions in the questionnaire were inspired by Prime Minister Viktor Orban's arguments and statements, as well as statements from the Hungarian government, which felt threatened by the presence of refugees in Hungary. Question 3 on the questionnaire is an example " Some people believe that terrorism is connected to the issue of

immigration, which is being handled improperly in Brussels. Do you concur with this assertion?".

In addition, the questionnaire includes a question that asks, " Do you think that in the coming years, terrorist attacks will target Hungary? Additionally, "do you agree that illegal immigrants who cross the Hungarian border should be immediately returned to their country of origin?" The Hungarian government also inquired as to whether the government should impose even stricter regulations on these illegal immigrants (The Orange Files 2015). The government continues to use the term immigrant rather than refugee in the questionnaire, implying that those who come to Hungary are economic immigrants. The terminology employed in the immigration discussions reflects Fidesz's securitization framework, in which migrants are described as terrorists and a cause of economic and cultural threats (Szalai and Gobl 2015). The Hungarian government's fear of terrorist attacks by refugees was bolstered in 2015 by terrorist attacks in Brussels and France.

### **3.1.3 The threat of refugees to Hungary against Hungarian national identity**

Prime Minister Viktor Orban participated in the Charlie Hebdo commemoration in France in March 2015. He stated to the media that immigration is terrible for Europe because it will destroy European society. "We Hungarians don't want any minorities with various cultural characteristics and backgrounds," says Prime Minister Viktor Orban. We simply want Hungary to be Hungary". The following day, the Fidesz party's parliamentary speaker declared that Muslim groups in Hungary were destabilizing the "Christian Europe" national order and that the acceptance of economic migrants from completely different backgrounds was beyond Hungary's interests (Rettman 2015).

With the government's opinion like that, they also carried out campaigns in various forms, such as a summer billboard campaign and a campaign against the European Union's

quota system. Hungary's public and private media have also been under government control. The Hungarian-language billboard campaign, which began in June 2015, featured messages such as "1.) You must respect our culture if you come to Hungary 2.) You must adhere to our laws if you come to Hungary" 3.) In the event that you come to Hungary, you can't take a Hungarian work" (Juhasz, Molnar, and Edit 2017).

Viktor Orban described refugees as a threat to Europeans, their way of life, and existing values. As a result, he sees himself as a fighter and a keeper of European (Christian) values. Prime Minister Viktor Orban swore to protect his people from groups of people from different cultures and customs that threaten the homogeneity and distortion of Hungarian culture, such as Hungarian ethnicity, religion, and culture (Gigitashvili and Sydlo 2019). The Hungarian government's arguments and campaigns demonstrate that security issues can become a serious problem not only because the state has a national interest, but also because current rhetoric poses a threat to state security. Furthermore, the Hungarian government formed a discourse on how to deal with the security issues caused by these refugees through the speech act.

### **3.2 Emergency action from the Hungarian government in dealing with refugee issue**

According to securitization theory, the concept of an existential danger is then examined in order to provide an acceptable policy framework to legitimate emergency actions. An emergency action is a compulsory and emergency action taken by a securitization actor in the face of an existential threat. According to Buzan, Waever, and Wilde, in securitization, an issue is exaggerated and portrayed as the highest problem, giving actors the authority to manage the situation beyond its bounds (Buzan et al., 1998). The following will discuss Hungary's emergency response to the refugee crisis, which began with the construction of a border barrier.

### *3.2.1 The construction of a border fence between Serbia and Hungary*

The construction of a border fence between Serbia and Hungary is one of the policies. Viktor Orban, Hungary's prime minister, made the announcement in June 2015 that a 175-kilometer fence would be built along Serbia's border with Hungary. Steel is used to build the fence, with barbed wire at the top and bottom. This border fence cost a total of 30 million Euros to build (Feher 2015). In 2016, Prime Minister Viktor Orban made the announcement that he would construct a border fence in southern Hungary due to the growing pressure from these refugees. This second border fence is built with more sophisticated technology than the first. Electric wires, loudspeakers, and motion sensors are included in this fence. The construction of the second fence was completed successfully in the spring of 2017 (Dearden 2017).

### *3.2.2 Border Control*

Since 2016, people who enter Hungary without proper documentation, such as permission to seek asylum, have been arrested and deported back to their home country. According to Hungarian authorities, these asylum seekers were not expelled from Hungary because, despite being removed from the border fence, they remained on Hungarian territory (BBC News 2017). The Hungarian border fence is monitored 24 hours by the Hungarian army and police. Border Hunters were recruited and trained by the police in August 2016, as officers are not generally trained to oversee such complex borders. However, Border Hunter recruitment is not going well because many prospective Border Hunters do not meet the qualifications (Cummins 2017).

### *3.2.3 The asylum seeker acceptance system*

Hungary established two transit zones near crossing points in 2015, where asylum seekers can enter the country and apply for protection. The number of people permitted to enter these two transit zones has been reduced from 100 per day to 50, 30, 20, and now 10 per

day on weekdays and 0 on holidays. According to Hungary's immigration and asylum office, the decrease is due to government requests (Kekesi 2017). To enter the transit zone, asylum seekers do not need any documents, but they will be interrogated to provide valid reasons for leaving their country of origin. The interview and admission process for asylum seekers is non-transparent because no independent organization oversees these activities.

### **3.3 Breaking free of rules of Hungary**

Breaking of the rules is a circumstance in which securitization actors pretend to have the right to control topics beyond usual bounds, justifying rule infractions (Buzan et al., 1998). Actors generally break this guideline because they regard threats as something that no one can fix in general. This rule-breaking attitude is also known as a security action since it is founded on the fear that other parties would allow life as a subject, which is the primary incentive for carrying out these acts.

#### *3.3.1 Hungary's asylum policy*

In 2015, Hungarian law provided for the detention of asylum seekers and immigrants in detention centers for up to 12 months for problems that never materialized (Amnesty International 2016). This detention center was originally intended for people who had illegally entered or left Hungary. This occurs, because immigrants who come to Hungary do not have valid documents and visas. They leave their home country under duress and in haste, so they are unable to leave legally. Because Hungary did not improve the facilities of the asylum reception center, they were also placed in a detention center similar to a prison (UNHCR The UN Refugee Agency 2016).

Several international human rights organizations, as well as intergovernmental human rights bodies such as the UN Refugee Agency, the Council of Europe, and the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, have criticized Hungary's asylum policy.

According to UNHCR, the detention center's conditions for asylum seekers are appalling. The detention center guards verbally and physically abused the asylum seeker. They were also handcuffed when leaving the detention center, for example, to go to the bank or the post office (UNHCR The UN Refugee Agency 2016).

In January 2015, the Fidesz party asked the Hungarian government to tighten the laws governing refugees. The only law governing refugees is Act LXX 2007 On Asylum, which was amended by the Hungarian parliament in 2015. According to the amended law, the government has the authority to issue a decree listing countries that meet the Hungarian authorities' safe criteria (National Authorities 2016). This rule is intended to make it easier for Hungary to turn away refugees, asylum seekers, and immigrants. Weeks after Prime Minister Viktor Orban expressed his opposition to refugees in January, the deputy chairman of the Fidesz party urged Hungary's parliament to expedite asylum admission procedures and the issue of a decree listing Hungary's safe countries.

The Fidesz party's parliamentary body also proposed what the legislature could do to stop economic migrants. The parliamentary body proposed immediately expelling illegal immigrants if their asylum application was denied and keeping them in detention during the process. The legislative body is considering the policy proposals to amend the asylum law (Act LXX 2007 On Asylum). The amendment was ratified on July 6, 2015, and it went into effect on August 1, 2015.

### *3.3.2 Refusal to increase the quota of immigrants*

Immigrant quotas are strongly opposed by Central European nations. Following a gathering held in Prague on 4 September 2015, the heads of the four nations in V4 gave a joint explanation that they wished to make a move as per the European Association on the issue of foreigners and that "any recommendations that set forward long-lasting quotas won't be accepted". Programs aimed at tightening border controls on Balkan routes are said to be

supported by the four nations' leaders. Türkiye neglected to restrict the passage of refugee searchers into their country (Gotev, 2015).

V4 nations oppose a binding and permanent refugee quota mechanism and other changes to the Common European Asylum System, particularly the Dublin system, as well as anything else that might reduce the competence of EU member states to deal with this issue. V4 nations actually want to give help to non-industrial nations and reinforce participation in tackling migration issues to the roots. The four nations place a strong emphasis on security throughout the European Union and at the Schengen area's outer borders (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, 2017).

## CHAPTER 4

### CONCLUSION

#### 4.1 Conclusion

The increased flow of the refugee arrivals to Europe became a new challenge for Europe in 2015. Western European countries, including Central European countries such as Hungary, are also overwhelmed in dealing with this problem. Hungary, which in 2015 became the second country after Germany as the country with the highest number of asylum applications in Europe, was confronted with unprecedented challenges. The Hungarian government, for its part, felt unprepared to deal with the refugee crisis. The securitization actor in concern here is one who carries out securitization issues by declaring something. The government is generally the securitizing actor in the case of a country.

The Hungarian government's efforts to address refugee concerns The Hungarian government decided to block Hungary's southern border with Serbia on September 15, 2015. Prime Minister Viktor Orban proposed building this barrier after becoming aware of the rising number of unauthorized migrants entering the Schengen zone. For migrants entering Hungary, the government established two transit zones. The Transit Zone at the border is where asylum applicants are initially screened and interviewed. If the asylum seeker's illness necessitates additional testing or treatment, he will be sent to a hospital in Hungary, outside the Transit Zone, which will take time. Only some groups, like as charitable organizations, are permitted to enter the Transit Zone and communicate with asylum seekers.

The Hungarian government shapes public perceptions of the refugee crisis as a security concern by constructing threats through speech acts. Speech acts may also be used to describe the many types of government campaigns carried out in Hungary. The questionnaire questions were derived from arguments and remarks made by Prime Minister Orban and the

Hungarian government, who felt threatened by the presence of migrants in Hungary. Furthermore, there is a billboard campaign that states, “When you come to Hungary, you must obey our laws. As a result of the security danger posed by the entry of migrants from different origins and cultures than Hungarian society, Hungary adopted laws addressing the European refugee crisis.

Hungary's government developed policies surrounding the rejection of refugees. The notion of securitization will be used to examine this refugee rejection policy. Securitization is a phase in the politicization process in which a problem is framed as a security concern and presented as an existential threat necessitating emergency action and acting outside the regular bounds of political procedure. The notion of securitization also defines three components of analysis: existential threats, emergency measures, and breaking free of rules. Security threats here are divided into several factors. The first is into economic factors, social and political factors, as well as national identity factors. The Hungarian government used construction threats with emergency measures.

The emergency measure taken by the Hungarian government was to create a border between Hungary and Serbia. The second is border control which is carried out 24 hours by the Hungarian police and army. The third is the asylum acceptance policy where the government issued a policy by reducing the number of asylum acceptance in Hungary. The last one is breaking the rules. Here, the Hungarian government sets the rules through legal amendments to Act LXX 2007 On Asylum, which contains that the government has the authority to fully regulate refugee policies in Hungary. From here, the government can easily return refugees, immigrants and asylums to their countries of origin. Then Hungary and the V4 countries, rejected the quota system provided by the European Union. They refused because they thought it was to protect the population in Europe.

## **4.2 Recommendation**

From the author's personal experience, there are still difficulties in this research, particularly in locating sources and data related to Victor Orban's billboards, advertisements, and speeches. Because of the numerous references to the Orban's speech, billboards, and polls conducted in Hungarian. This makes it difficult for the writer to understand some of the sources of this research, especially the prime minister's speech, billboards, and polls that use the native Hungarian language. In this case, a suggestion for future researchers interested in researching Hungary's policy of rejecting refugees is that future researchers examine more sources and references related to Hungary's policy of rejecting refugees so that their research is better and more complete. Furthermore, future researchers are expected to be more prepared in terms of data collection and processing so that the research can be conducted more effectively.

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