A refugee crisis as a policy window: a case study on the Hungarian immigration policy change in 2015

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1 Introduction

The escalating conflict in Syria that started in 2011 would cause millions of Syrians to flee the country. It is estimated that as much as 7,6 million Syrians were displaced internally and 3,7 million externally. This initially caused an enormous pressure on neighboring countries were refugees were displacing to (Ostrand 2011: 1-2). Though as the years passed the large majority of externally displaced refugees stayed in the neighboring states, though this would change in 2015 (UNHCR 2013: 1-3). In the spring of 2015 several ships either sank or were abandoned in the Mediterranean resulting in fatalities. Though as an increasing amount of refugees reached the southern member states of the EU it created an immense pressure on the immigration handling processes of the affected countries such as Italy and Greece (Livingstone, Cerelus 2016). A large amount of refugees would then start moving up throughout eastern Europe towards northern countries such as Germany and Sweden. Though it won't be long until Hungary decides to fence in its southern border to prevent refugees from passing through the country. As criticism flourished from the EU, member states of the EU, and other organizations, Hungary did not alter its policy, but instead came to further deteriorate the relations by defending its political position (Than, Krisztina 2017). This was done even though Hungary is heavily dependent on monetary support from the European Union as well as access to its Schengen zone (European Union 2017). Little research has been done on this matter where countries such as Hungary, Poland and Slovakia amongst others have decided to challenge the basic principles of free movement and the Dublin treaty after the refugee crisis. This senior thesis aim to look at how Hungary could have been able to do a immigration policy change that stands in contrast to that of the EU while they are in many ways dependent on the Schengen zone and financial support from the EU.

1.1 Background

1.1.1 Hungary and the EU

Hungary joined the European union on the 1th of May in 2004 as a part of the so called "eastern enlargement" of the EU (Federal Foreign Office 2014). The country came to join the Schengen zone on the 21th of December 2007. As a result of joining the Schengen zone, border control was lifted towards Austria, Slovakia and Slovenia. Thus, Hungarian immigration policy came to be in line with the EU regulations set in the matter (BBJ 2014). Hungary is one the largest beneficiaries of EU funds with a total of 5.629 euro billions and a percentage of GNI on 5.32% (European Union 2017). The popularity of the European Union amongst the Hungarian population was during 2014 35% which is higher than the average country's in the EU which averages at 31% (Rácz, Gergő 2014).

1.1.2 Hungarian political situation during 2015

Hungary is a parliamentary representative democratic republic with a multi party system. Cheif of state and President is Janos Ader and Prime Minister Viktor Orbán. The largest political party is that of Fidesz-KDN Fidesz-KDNP 66.8% followed by Unity 19.1% and Jobbik 11.6% and lastly LMP with 2.5% (Central Intelligence Agency 2017). Jobbik came to support ruling party Fidesz, even though there exist no coalition between the parties, in votes to toughen laws on immigration and handling of refugees. By using Jobbik as a supporting party Fidesz gets a majority in the parliament (Eleftheriou-Smith, Loulla-Mae 2015)

1.1.3 Hungary during the refugee crisis

In April of 2015 refugees were starting to make their way through Europe. The number of refugees would steadily increase over the next coming months (Faiola, Anthony 2015). In late May, there are several refugees camp in the country and the Hungarian government declares that the largest one in the city of Debrecen will be forcibly closed (Kreko, Juhasz 2015). During June of 2015 the route through

Hungary is being progressively more popular amongst refugees making their way through Europe. Hungary now decides to stop participating in EU's Dublin Regulation (Than, Nasralla 2015). On June 17th 2015 Hungary closes its border towards Serbia and declares that they are starting to build a fence on the border towards the country (AFP in Budapest 2015). On the 13th of July, Hungary starts to build portions of the fence towards Serbia with the help of the military (Associated Press in Budapest 2015). On the 18th of August, Hungary sends police to the Serbian border and announces that a plan, to through legislation, make border crossings illegal is in progress (Reuters 2015). On September the 5th, after reaching a deal with Austria and Germany, thousands of stranded refugees are taken by buss to Austria (Graham-Harrison, Kingsley, Rawlinson, Murray 2015). The European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker announced on the 9th of September 2015 that a quota system of relocating refugees is planned (Regan 2015). On the the 15th of September, Hungary declares a state of emergency in the counties next to the Serbian border. Furthermore Hungary decided to enact a new tougher immigration law that made it illegal to cross the border as well as to damage the fence in any way (AFP, Reuters 2015). Hungary declared on the 16th of September that a plan to build a fence towards Romania is being reviewed (The Economist 2015). On the 21st of September Hungary's parliament allowed for police and military to use non lethal weapons to prevent immigrants from passing the border (Eleftheriou-Smith, Loulla-Mae 2015). On the 22nd of September EU's Justice and Home Affairs Council voted by a majority to relocate 120 000 refugees within EU. Hungary was one out of 4 states that voted against the relocation (Reuters 2015). On the 16th of October Hungary completed the construction of a fence towards the Croatian border and closed the border to the country at 24:00 (Radovanovic, Radul 2015).

1.2   Research problem

The 2015 European refugee crisis came to seriously affect many of the European countries. But as many countries struggled on how to handle the increasing amount of refugees seeking asylum, Hungary decided to close its borders in violation with the Schengen Treaty which prohibits border controls if not specifically, as a temporary exception, applied for (European Union 2017). This sparked an outrage from the EU and its member states. The EU has since then threatened to fine Hungary for its policy but this has not changed Hungary's stance in the matter (Reuters Staff 2017). This could though be seen as strange. Hungary is a mid sized country population and territorial space when compared to other European countries. As of 2015 EU spending amounted to 5,32% of Hungary's gross national income (GNI) which is a high percentage compared to other member states (European Union 2017). Thus, Hungary is in many aspects dependent on support from the European Union but still came to challenge the EU in a time of crisis.

1.3   Purpose and research question

The purpose of this study is to investigate how Hungary came to do a radical policy shift towards tougher immigration and asylum laws in the midst of the European refugee crisis in 2015. The study aims to contribute to already exisiting research within the field of securitization of refugees but with the addition to using the securitization theory to explain how this could have set the policy creating process in motion. Thus, how the refugee crisis could have been securitized and used as an incentive to speed up the formation of a new immigration and asylum policy, whilst at the same time violating several EU regulations.

The research question used in this senior thesis is the following:

How could the Hungarian decision to go against the EU regulations of the Dublin Treaty and open borders during the refugee crisis 2015 be explained using Buzan et al.'s perspective on Securitization and Kingdon's Multiple Streams theory?

1.4 Delimitations

In order to collect and utilize material within the chosen method, without creating a non realistic workload for the set time period, delimitations have to be set. Without these the study would not only be hard to perform, but it could also result in generic result if it is not clear what empirical data will be used. The central actor in this study will be the Hungarian Government. More specifically the data utilized in the analysis will be that of articles published on http://www.kormany.hu which is the official website of the Hungarian government.

This thesis aims to focus on the time period from April 1st until October 31th 2015, which will then include the acute phase of the refugee crisis, which definition will be discussed further down in the text. This time period was chosen after reviewing the available empirical material from the Hungarian Government's website kormany.hu. As described in the background section of this thesis the acute phase of the refugee crisis in Europe is considered to have started during the summer of 2015. After reviewing the available material before June 2015, which is the month when several larger ships carrying refugees sank, it revealed that the Hungarian government wrote little about refugees and migration before this date. As an example, only two articles mentioning refugees or asylum seekers were published before the month June. But to be sure that empirical data is not lost in the analysis, these two occurrences were included and it is possible that the Hungarian government somewhat knew what a surge of refugees could imply. Furthermore to clarify why the chosen time span was chosen empirical material, Hansen's and Hagström's (2004) definition of a crisis and its phases will be used. The first phase according to the authors include the factors and situation leading up to the crisis. The first phase is followed by the acute crisis phase where there is high insecurity and lack of time affecting decision making. The previous phase is followed by the normalization phase where organizations and decision makers slowly start to decrease their efforts. During this phase media cover of the crisis also deescalates. As the final phase there is the learning and accountability phase according to Hansen and Hagström. During this phase organizations and individuals are held accountable for their decisions during

the crisis as well as that lessons learned are processed. This phase can be prolonged for tens of years in some situations. (Hansen, Hagström 2004: 15-17). The decision to implement this way of describing a crisis has an impact on what material is used and processed. A crisis can in this case be seen both within the European union and within Hungary and its government. The EU had to handle the inflow of immigrants into its southern member states as well as the flow of immigrants across mainland Europe during a high insecurity of inflow volumes and available alternatives, during a short amount of time. Hungary in this case had to handle the inflow of immigrants into the country from the surrounding member states and how to best take care of these according to humanitarian and national interests. Therefore we have two separate crises that have phases spanning over different time periods. In this thesis, the Hungarian crisis will be reviewed from the acute phase that according to this thesis spans from June 2015 until October 2015, when the borders were completely closed. One could argue that the aftermath of the crisis, including the accountability phase where the relationship with the EU has somewhat deteriorated, should be included. But as this thesis aim to review the acute phase and how securitization during this phase could have helped in opening a policy window, in accordance with Kingdon's multiple streams approach, the following phase was not included. Thus, as the acute phase has been considered to have stopped in late October 2015, this will be the set end date for the collection of empirical material.

The majority of material utilized in this senior thesis will be that of communicational material published on kormany.hu. These articles are summaries and full text entries of speeches, remarks and actions made by the Hungarian government and Hungarian PM, Viktor Orbán. As these are published by press offices of official parts of the Hungarian Government, under the official site of the Hungarian government, they were assumed to be representing the sitting government view and values. But as these transcripts have been translated from Hungarian to English by the office in charge of publishing these it may be so that the translation has altered the texts initial discourse somewhat. This will be taking in consideration but it also seems unlikely that an official part of the Hungarian government would not thoroughly analyze how these articles could be analyzed and viewed by those who read it.

Furthermore, as this thesis will analyze communicational material from different parts of the Hungarian government it should be taken in consideration that these can have different ways of viewing a situation and also different agendas. Thus, combining these in the analysis and viewing them as representative for the Hungarian government could be argued against. Though, this thesis will treat them as representative for the Hungarian government as they are published by the official press office of the Hungarian government. But, to ensure data accuracy, an empirical statistical analysis will be done to see if there's a great difference in the amount of posts per government office.

2 Theoretical framework

2.1 Previous research

The research that inspired the creation of this thesis in the first place was *Disposable strangers: far-right securitization of forced migration in Hungary* by Cathrine Thorleifsson at Oslo University from 2017. The article take a social anthropology approach to how refugees have increasingly been described as "human waste", "terrorists" and non compliant with the Hungarian way of living. Though this research does not at all take Hungary's EU membership in account. In many ways it takes a national power centric approach. As the EU regulations regarding free movement affects all countries that have signed the Schengen treaty it is therefore of great importance to see how the policy change could have been made within the framework of being an EU member state. Furthermore no study has been made regarding if the Hungarian Government in fact has been securitizing immigrants according to Buzan et als securitization theory. Another study that will be used is the *From refugee to migrant in Calais solidarity activism: Re-staging undocumented migration for a future politics of asylum* by Naomi Millner which shows how the terms refugee and migrant can have very different impacts on how these are seen as a political problems. The author argues that the term migrant in contrast to refugee has much less solidarity attached to it, and it some ways the individuals classified as migrants are

also seen as those who could immigrate into a society rather than being helped as of they being refugees (Millner 2011: 321-323). This will play in later within the thesis as the code scheme is built. Furthermore the article Christian Lamour and Renáta Varga (2017): The Border as a Resource in Right- wing Populist Discourse: Viktor Orbán and the Diasporas in a Multi-scalar Europe will be used as it describes the rhetorics around Hungary's territorial borders, of prime minister Viktor Orbán, and their political impact on gathering voters and consolidating the party around new voter groups. The article analyzed some of Viktor Orbáns speeches to see how these were used to persuade citizens to support their politics. The article will be used as to explain that Fiedesz has been reviewed before when it comes to securitizing speech. Furthermore the article The European Union and the refugee crisis: Inclusion, challenges, and responses by Rahul Sambaraju and Chris McVittie argues that refugees are increasingly described in a problematic way. The authors argue that exclusion and distancing is becoming a all more apparent trait in European member state's asylum politics. They further argue that the discussions in media and in parliamentary settings often has notions of these traits and that they shape the policy setting of the nation's immigration and asylum politics which will be included in the analysis using Kingdon's MSA theory (Sambaraju, McVittie 2017). Lastly the research by Dan Vataman titled Migration and refugee crisis: A major challenge for the European union - Measures and possible solutions in the context of 2016 will be used to describe the backdrop of which the Hungarian Government made its policy change. Vataman argues that the refugee situation and the aftermath of it is the greatest challenge the EU has ever faced and the problem of getting member states to cooperate and understand each other should be a main focus for the union (Vataman 2016: 548). Though as the change of discourse regarding refugees has been discussed, no research has been found to review how countries such as Hungary, Poland and Slovakia came to toughen their immigration and asylum right policies whilst still being EU member states. The contribution of this thesis will be to somewhat answer to that gap in research.

2.2 Theoretical framework

This thesis will initially use Buzan et als perspective on securitization to define however the Hungarian government by itself is securitizing refugees. Securitization is a term originating from the Copenhagen School within international relations. It is defined by Buzan et al as an "intersubjective establishment of an existential threat with a saliency sufficient to have substantial political effects" (Buzan et al. 1998: 25). In other words it is when an actor through the discourse is describing and presenting an actor or object as a threat to the securitizing actors existence. (Buzan et al. 1998: 25). The authors furthermore specify the distinguishing feature of securitization as that of:

> "specific rhetorical structure (survival, priority or action "because if the problem is not handled now it will be too late, and we will not exist to remedy our failure)" (Buzan et al. 1998: 26).

So by labeling a problem as that of a threat to security it also gives the securitizing actor the allowance of acting with extraordinary means (Buzan et al. 1998: 26). Though the authors furthermore explain that securitization is not something that is made just by describing something as an existential threat but it also has to be accepted and understood by the audience that exist within the discourse. Furthermore the authors stress that even though the description relies on the formulation of an existential threat, it does not have to lead up to a state of emergency or other radical moves. A securitization has been accomplish when emergency measures could be legitimized as the audience has approved or accepted the discourse formulated by the securitizing actor. Therefore it is important to distinguish the terms *securitization* and a *securitizing move*. The authors describes it as:

> "securitization is not fulfilled by only breaking rules (which can take many forms) nor solely by existential threats (which can lead to nothing) but by cases of existential threats that legitimize the breaking of rules" (Buzan et al. 1998: 25).

Buzan et al. further explains that when reviewing speeches or other texts to look for signs of a move to securitize and issue three units have to be taken in consideration. The first one is the referent object which is the unit which is pictured as being existentially threatened by the issue. This has traditionally been the state but could in reality be everything that can be seen as if not something is done, it the object won't survive (Buzan et al. 1998: 36). Furthermore there is the securitizing actor. This is the group or individual responsible for the securitizing speech. Buzan et al. explains that these are usually part of the referent object, as they strive to ensure their own survival (Buzan et al. 1998: 40-41). Lastly there is the functional actor which the authors explains as an actor that is not directly threatened or participating in the securitizing speech. This is an actor that changes the dynamics of the situation but does not in itself participate in the securitization (Buzan et al. 1998: 36).

Furthermore Kingdon's theory of the Multiple Stream Approach (MSA) will be used to see however the securitized framing of the situation could be a part of the policy changing process. The reason for using MSA in combination with securitization is to see however the time period of which the decisions were taken within could have been an enabler for the Hungarian government to make a policy shift. Kingdon's MSA theory can be explained as a theory used for explaining why some factors and problems were considered when a decision was taken in a certain time period. Kingdon explains in his book Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies 2nd Edition that public policy making can be considered as a set of processes consisting of agenda setting, specification of alternatives, authoritative choice of alternative and lastly implementation of the decision. As of Kingdon's MSA theory it focuses primarily on the first two steps, setting of agenda and specification of alternatives, in the public policy process (Kingdon 2014: 2-3). Kingdon further explains that the agenda can be seen as a set of problems that a group of decision makers pay extra attention to and the set of alternatives are those alternatives that are considered to be most applicable to these problems (Kingdon 2014: 3-4).

Kingdon's MSA theory consists of three so called streams converging in a policy window. The three streams are according to Kingdon firstly the problem stream, political stream and the policy stream. Kingdon explains the first stream, the prob-

lem stream, as when a problem is focused on by decision makers and they see this as a clear difference from the ideal state of operations. According to the author, the problem stream is when a policy issue is believed to need attention (Kingdon 2014: 19). Which problems that get attention is largely due to how the problem is framed (Kingdon 2014: 212). The perception of the policy issue is therefore essential to its success. Which is largely due to that policy makers have to handle a large amount of policy issues. This is where this thesis aim to use the securitization. This is done as to show how refugees came to be securitized into an issue that resulted in a policy issue. Though for the policy window to open there has to be two other streams intersecting. Kingdon explains the following stream, the policy stream, as a "policy primeval soup" (Kingdon 2014: 19) where solutions and ideas are tried. The author explains the process as that of a biological selection in some ways where the strongest and best suited ideas survive the others (Kingdon 2014: 19-20). Finally the political stream is explained by Kingdon as changes in political landscape, including interest groups, a shifting "national mood" (Kingdon p. 20), change of the sitting administration and more (Kingdon 2014: 20). These three streams will intersect at certain critical moments where solutions and problems hatch on to each other and these are then joined to the political stream (Kingdon 2014: 20). The window which these intersect within and where a policy change is possible, is according to Kingdon caused by compelling problems alternatively new development within the political stream (Kingdon 2014: 20).

To be able to analyze this thesis' scientific problem and to answer its scientific question these two theories have to be combined. This will be done as that of using Buzan et al.'s securitization theory to prove that the Hungarian government did securitize refugees after the October 17th decision, which has not been proved by any existing research. This will be done by firstly looking at how keywords connected to securitization has been used within the time range. What this will indicate is how these keywords, connected to securitization by their discursive meaning have gained greater attention or less attention throughout the period chosen as time range. Following this the offices in charge of publishing the article on kormany.hu will be analyzed in keyword usage and number of articles in total. This connected to that

certain offices such as the Ministry of Defense, the military, and Ministry of Interior, police, has a securitized function. The arguing behind this statement is that these are in charge of maintaining security from external and internal threats.

3   Method and Empirical material

3.1   Method

The chosen method that will be used throughout the thesis is a quantitative textual analysis. A quantitative textual analysis or sometimes described as traditional content analysis is described by Olle Findahl and Birgitta Höijer (1981) as a way to describe and analyze a message, speech or other textual content in an objective manner free from the researchers interpretations and values. The description of the data is done through quantitatively analyze text to categorize the data. This is done to get an overview of how lingual elements such as words, sentences and paragraphs are used. The authors argue that to be able to get a high reliability a code scheme has to be used. This gives future researchers the opportunity to redo the whole process of analyzing the textual data (Findahl, Höijer 1981: 6-7). Furthermore, it has to be stated that a degree of qualitative analysis have to be done to set the appropriate codes, keywords, in the code scheme. These are chosen by combining Buzans securitization theory with textual elements. This is explained and accounted for in the chapter labeled *code scheme.* The quantitative textual analysis was chosen instead of the qualitative textual analysis as the number of textual documents amount to 232 individual articles. Qualitative textual analysis would in some ways give a greater insight into the actual meaning of each document but as this would create an all to extensive workload it was not used. Furthermore, as previously stated, the quantitative textual analysis will provide a greater reliability as the results easily can be scrutinized through using the same approach and technical tools used in this thesis. A downside by using the chosen method is that it only captures the numerical amount of keywords and that these are used to indicate a phenomena connected to the chosen theory. A usage of keywords are by themselves only a numerical sign of

how a word is used. This has to be set in relation with the chosen theories of this thesis to provide an understanding into the data and for this thesis to be able to answer it's scientific question.

A linear regression line or trend line will be used to show how the presence of keywords in the total amount of documents change over time. A so called r-squared value will be used to measure how close the available data points fit the regression line. A higher r-squared value indicates that the data fits the model better but as the empirical data of this thesis is that of textual documents written by humans a r-squared value lower than 50% can be expected.

3.2   Processing of textual data

The quantitative method will be used to analyze the selected empirical material, which is in the form of articles published on kormany.hu which is owned and operated by the Hungarian government. Each article published in the time range April 2015 to end of October 2015 will be analyzed in advance to see however these contain a main reference to refugees, immigrants and/or the refugee crisis. This is done by manually entering each article and briefly reading through the content. In the case of the article containing two references, the text referencing to the refugees/immigrants/refugee crisis has been gathered. The articles were then downloaded into txt files where they were rinsed of pictures and references to photographers. These were then split up by the author set title, text and publishing date and entered into an excel database. By using the formula *=SUMPRODUCT((LEN(cell)-LEN(SUBSTITUTE(cell,"text","")))/LEN("text"))* keywords can be searched for and counted in the text of each document. This is the equivalent of text mining done in the scripting language R, but with the benefit of it being compatible with the analytics software Tableau. The found data was then processed with the Tableau to generate visual charts and graphs.

Furthermore, a count of all articles during the time period has been done.

The following processing of gathered data will be done:

1. Percentage of total articles during the time period mentioning a keyword

2. Mentions per office in charge of publishing the article on kormany.hu

These findings will then be set in context with Kingdon's multiple streams theory to investigate however this enabled the opening of a policy window for Hungary within the EU. This will be done by combining the results of the quantitative textual analysis with a factual descriptions of the political landscape and events during the time decisions were taken.

3.3   Code scheme

The appropriate codes used to analyze the empirical material was used in accordance to Buzan et al's securitization theory. These have been chosen as to provide statistical material to be able to categorize the results. The first category containing *Refugee*, *Migrant* and *Immigrant* will be used to track the usage of these different terms over time. These in combination with the theory of usage of Migrant versus Refugee give an indication of the politicization of these individuals. The following category containing *Illegal*, *Threat*, *Military*, *Police*, *Risk*, *Terrorism* and *Destabilizing* were chosen as they are keywords connected to signs of threat, and unstable security.

Buzan et al. argues that to stage a existential threat it needs to be dramatized and described as a problem of outmost priority. But Buzan et al. further argues that it's not the actual meaning of the words used that is of importance, but it's the utterance in itself that creates a securitizing move. So by using words that could act in a securitizing way towards the issue, in this case refugees, they together creates a discourse that can be seen as a securitizing move (Buzan et al. 1998: 26). Therefore the words selected are those who could create a discourse centering around creating a problem or to highlight the problem in the medial discourse. These words were chosen according to the explanation next to the keywords explained below. One could argue that more keywords could have been chosen to give a greater understanding of the matter, but the scope of this thesis as described in the delimitations- and theoretical framework chapter is to look how the situation could have been framed as to be used within the policy creation process. Therefore these keywords were selected as they would give enough data to be able to make conclusions from.

Refugee - According to the previous research this keyword is connected to a feeling of people on the run from terrible things. The keyword is not politicized in the same way as it does not automatically connect the audience's attention to migration/immigration. In other words, individuals planning to settle in the country (Millner 2011: 321-323).

Migrant - The term migrant is according to the previous research connected to a discourse of individuals planning to settle in a country. It is more politicized than refugees as it has discursive connections to settling and immigration, which can be utilized by political parties and groups that view immigration as something that could be threatening (Millner 2011: 321-323).

Immigrant - Immigrants are defined as individuals that aims to permanently settle in a country. In contrast to migrants and refugees these individuals are connected to the context of an individual actually immigrating into the country and where migrants and refugees could be seen as people on the move (Merriam Webster 2017).

Illegal - Illegality can be easily connected to the destabilization of security and creating of a threat from criminals.
Threat - A keyword clearly connected to securitization. A believed threat is a key part of a securitization of a group or individuals.

Military - A keyword that signals the use of military as to maintain stability. Military is a tool that the state owns to create security from the use of armed forces.

Police - A keyword that signals the use of police as to maintain stability. The police is used by the state to maintain and create security and stability within the country to protect it from threats.

Risk - A keyword connected to security where it signals a potential threat to the

security of a state, group or individual.

Terrorism - A keyword connected to insecurity and instability. Terrorism is when a group or individual act with violence to create terror and to achieve political gains from it (MSB 2015).

Destabilizing - Keyword connected to destabilization of a situation or security.

3.4 Selection of empirical material

The empirical material used in this thesis will be that of articles including summaries, remarks and speeches by different parts of the Hungarian government on their official website http://www.kormany.hu. These articles vary greatly in layout, length and content but were all chosen as they somehow referenced the refugee situation during the time period April 2015 - October 2015. The total amount of articles chosen as empirical material amount to 232 individual articles. The articles do not have to primarily address refugees or the crisis, but should to some extent contain references or a connection to the ongoing situation. The articles were chosen by manually going through all articles from the beginning of 2015 to the beginning of 2016. The articles were chosen manually as it somewhat eliminates the possibility of missing articles of importance by missing a keyword. Therefore, machine shifting through the text will be done in the analysis portion of this thesis.

The data is distributed over 2015 in the following way:

Month	Docs. with ref.	Tot. docs.	%
April	3	136	2,2%
May	9	111	8,1%
June	19	129	14,7%
July	12	98	12,2%
August	9	85	10,5%
September	126	255	49,4%
October	46	201	22,9%

Furthermore, background material describing the political situation and events within Hungary will be used to describe how the possible securitization of immigrants could have interacted within the three streams described in Kingdon's multiple stream approach. These major events have been described in the background section of this thesis and will be used in relation to the findings from the text analysis.

4 Empirical analysis

4.1 Results from data analysis

4.1.1 April 2015

The month of April has been set as the start point for data collection as explained in the delimitations chapter of this thesis. As seen in the data, the month contains only three articles out of 136 connected to the refugee crisis. In these the most discussed keyword is that of migrants. Refugees are mentioned one time. As mentioned in the background section this is the month where the number of refugees reaching Europe start to steadily increase. The situation has not yet, as mentioned, come to affect Hungary in a larger scale.

	Month
	April
Immigrant percentage	0.74%
Migrant percentage	1.47%
Military percentage	0.74%
Police percentage	0.00%
Refugee percentage	0.74%
Risk percentage	0.00%
Terrorism percentage	0.74%
Threat percentage	0.74%

4.1.2 May 2015

During the month of May there are 9 references to the situation in the 111 documents released. The most discussed keyword is migrant (4,50%) followed by threat (3,6%) and immigrant (3,6%). During the month of may several refugee camps have been established in the country, and the Hungarian state will close the biggest one in the city of Debrecen.

	Month
	May
Immigrant percentage	3.60%
Migrant percentage	4.50%
Military percentage	0.00%
Police percentage	0.00%
Refugee percentage	1.80%
Risk percentage	0.00%
Terrorism percentage	0.90%
Threat percentage	3.60%

4.1.3 June 2015

During June, the migration route of refugees through Hungarian territory is growingly popular. Amongst the keywords used in the total of 129 articles, migrant is the most popular (11,63%) followed by refugee (10,08%) and immigrant (6,98%). During this month there is a total of 19 articles mentioning the situation. As of this point security governing organizations such as police (1,55%) and military (2,33%) are mentioned, but not in any larger extent. Furthermore the mentioning of threat appears in the articles. It is during the month of June that Hungary suspends its participation in the Dublin treaty as well as close their border towards Serbia.

Month	
	June
Immigrant percentage	6.98%
Migrant percentage	11.63%
Military percentage	2.33%
Police percentage	1.55%
Refugee percentage	10.08%
Risk percentage	0.78%
Terrorism percentage	0.00%
Threat percentage	2.33%

4.1.4 July 2015

In July the total amount of articles drop from 129 in June to 98. There is a total of 12 articles mentioning the situation. Amongst these migrant is the most used keyword, followed by police and refugee. It should be noted that the use of migrant (9,18%) and refugee (4,08%) in comparison to each other differ in a larger extent this month that during previous months in the data scope. The keywords of risk (3,06%), police (4,08%) and terrorism (2,04%) increase from the previous months.

Month	
	July
Immigrant percentage	2.04%
Migrant percentage	9.18%
Military percentage	1.02%
Police percentage	4.08%
Refugee percentage	4.08%
Risk percentage	3.06%
Terrorism percentage	2.04%
Threat percentage	1.02%

4.1.5 August 2015

In August the number of total articles are at its lowest of 85 articles in the data scope. There is a total of 9 articles mentioning the situation. The most used keyword is migrant (3,06%) followed by refugee. During this month migrant is once again more popular in use than refugee. Risk, terrorism and police are mentioned but not in a greater extent. There are no mentions of terrorism and military in the documents.

	Month
	August
Immigrant percentage	2.35%
Migrant percentage	8.24%
Military percentage	0.00%
Police percentage	1.18%
Refugee percentage	4.71%
Risk percentage	1.18%
Terrorism percentage	0.00%
Threat percentage	1.18%

4.1.6 September 2015

September is the month with most articles mentioning the situation as well as the month in the data range with the most articles in total. During this month almost a third of the articles mention migrants. Furthermore the keywords of refugee, police and immigrant were mentioned in a far greater extent than in the previous months. The keyword police is far more mentioned than the keyword military. Furthermore threat is mentioned in a 7,45 percent of the articles. It is in early September that refugees are voluntarily moved by busses and trains to Austria and when The European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker announced that a refugee relocation quota is planned. On the 15th of September Hungary declares a state of emergency in the counties next to the Serbian border as well as enacts a new tougher law on immigration and border crossings. On the 16th of September a fence is announced to be planned along the Romanian border and on the 21st a law was passed

to allow the use of non lethal weapons on refugees along the border. On the 22nd of September the Justice and Home Affairs Council voted by a majority to relocate 120 000 refugees within the EU.

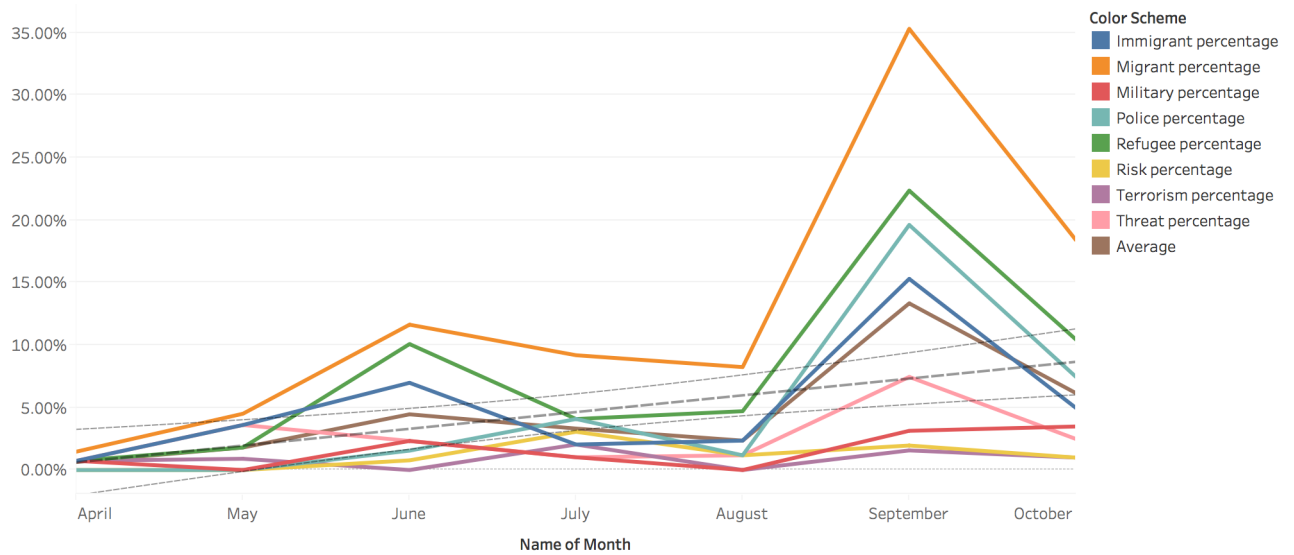|	Month
	Septem..
Immigrant percentage	15.29%
Migrant percentage	35.29%
Military percentage	3.14%
Police percentage	19.61%
Refugee percentage	22.35%
Risk percentage	1.96%
Terrorism percentage	1.57%
Threat percentage	7.45%

4.1.7 October 2015

October has the second most articles of the months in the data range with 201 articles and the second most documents referring to the situation, 46 articles. Migrant is the far most used keyword in the articles with a total of 16,42%. The mentioning of the keyword refugee is furthermore not used in the same extent as migrant. The percentual difference between the keywords police and military is not as extensive as in the previous month. It is during the month of October that Hungary complete the enactment of a fence on the Croatian border and on the 16th of October the border was closed at 24:00.

	Month
	October
Immigrant percentage	3.98%
Migrant percentage	16.42%
Military percentage	2.99%
Police percentage	5.97%
Refugee percentage	9.95%
Risk percentage	0.50%
Terrorism percentage	1.00%
Threat percentage	1.99%

4.2 Overview of data analysis

Presence of keywords in articles

$r^2 = 0,18$

Total mentions of keyword per month

	April	May	June	July	August	September	October
				Date			
Immigrant	1.0	16.0	27.0	2.0	2.0	78.0	16.0
Migrant	5.0	19.0	59.0	20.0	14.0	334.0	93.0
Military	1.0	0.0	4.0	1.0	0.0	8.0	7.0
Police	0.0	0.0	2.0	5.0	1.0	124.0	39.0
Refugee	4.0	8.0	31.0	4.0	13.0	159.0	47.0
Risk	0.0	0.0	2.0	4.0	1.0	5.0	2.0
Terrorism	2.0	1.0	0.0	4.0	0.0	6.0	4.0
Threat	1.0	6.0	3.0	4.0	1.0	23.0	8.0

4.3 Trend analysis

April to June - The use of keywords connected to securitization can be seen increasing from April to June. During this time the refugee crisis reach Hungary. Refugee camps are settled within the country's territory and in June Hungary suspends its

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participation in the Dublin treaty as well as closes the border towards Serbia.

July to August - The keywords can be seen in a lesser amount of articles during the months of July and August. The total amount of articles released during these months are also lower than during all other months in the time range. During these months Hungary starts building the fence towards the Serbian border, sends police to the border as well as announce that a new legislation toughening immigration laws is planned.

September - September as a month sticks out where the average keyword usage increases dramatically compared to other months. During the month we have a all time high within all keywords except for risk and terrorism. During this month refugees are moved voluntarily to Austria, The European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker announce that a refugee relocation quota is in planning, Hungary declares a state of emergency counties next to the Serbian border. Furthermore Hungary enacts a new tougher law on immigration and border crossings, announces that a fence is to be planned along the Romanian border, non lethal weapons are allowed for use by military and police and the Justice and Home Affairs Council successfully pass a vote to relocate 120 000 refugees within the EU.

4.4   Analysis of keywords per office

The total amount of articles per governmental office varies greatly when reviewing the collected data. The office with the most amount of articles containing a keyword is the Prime Minister's Office with 100 articles. This is followed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade with a total of 59 articles, MTI with 29 articles, Ministry of interior with 17 articles, Ministry of Human Capacities with 12 articles. The remaining are spread out on Ministry of Justice, 8 articles, Ministry of Defense, 5 articles and Ministry of National Economy, 2 articles. As described in the delimitations chapter this analysis has an important contribution to carry as to conclude how general conclusions for the entirety of the Hungarian government can be made from

the empirical data. As the majority of the articles are from the Prime Minister's office the discourse will be mostly of that office, but at the same time, all articles are published on the Hungarian Governments homepage which argues in favor of using the keywords to make a general assumption. Furthermore as discussed in the theoretical frameworks chapter, the offices of police and military discussing immigration and asylum could in itself be seen as a securitizing move. Though by looking at the analyzed data the two offices did not publish a large amount of articles on Kormany.hu during the time period. It should be noted that MTI is present within the data as a publisher on Kormany.hu. MTI is a state run Hungarian news broadcaster (MTI 2017). The fact that these do not come from a governmental office should be noted. Though at the same time they have been posted, by the staff running Kormany.hu where the content of the material from MTI should be in line with that of the government.

Articles containing keyword per office

Office	Immigrant test	Migrant test	Military test	Police test	Refugee test	Risk test	Terrorism test	Threat test	Number of Records
Ministry for National Economy	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0
Ministry of Defence	0.0	0.0	3.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.0
Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade	26.0	43.0	3.0	14.0	29.0	3.0	1.0	6.0	59.0
Ministry of Human Capacities	2.0	7.0	1.0	1.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	4.0	12.0
Ministry of Interior	6.0	11.0	2.0	8.0	5.0	1.0	0.0	3.0	17.0
Ministry of Justice	0.0	4.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	0.0	1.0	2.0	8.0
MTI	11.0	26.0	2.0	10.0	18.0	2.0	1.0	5.0	29.0
Prime Minister's Office	22.0	74.0	6.0	29.0	43.0	6.0	8.0	15.0	100.0

5 Analysis

When analyzing the data there is a clear increase in the use of keywords in the period between April 2015 and June 2015. The set time period starts when the refugee crisis of 2015 had its first larger impact on the European continent and this seem to be a reaction to a for Hungary more and more apparent problem. As of May 2015 the situation had reached Hungary and it can be seen in the keywords increasing. Though this does not definitely have to mean that there's a securitizing move done from the securitizing agent of the Hungarian government. These keywords can be discussed in a context where they are mentioned but not necessarily in a securitizing move. Although, the presence of the keyword threat throughout both April, May and June of 2015 indicates a connection discourse of threat throughout the articles. Furthermore, the use of Migrant instead of Refugee in a more extensive scale throughout the articles indicate a willingness to describe the individuals as those who may possibly settle in the country. Also, immigration is used throughout all three months indicating a discourse aiming to characterize the individuals as those who plan to settle in the country. A furthermore interesting observation is that Military and Police is not mentioned in a larger scale in April and May 2015. These keywords are both mentioned in <1 percent of the total articles of these two months. Though in June these keywords increase to just under 3 percent of the articles, indicating a discourse that's is somewhat connected to these security maintaining actors. The total amount of keywords during the month of July are discussed in a greater extent than in the previous month although the amount of keywords per total amount of articles drop somewhat. Interesting during this month is the increasing keyword usage of Police and Risk. Thus, the Police seem to play a vital role in the discourse in these articles comparing to the previous months, but where the military is mentioned in just 1 percent of the total amount of articles. In August the average keyword usage drop somewhat, and the variety of keywords is lowered. But as in all previous months, Migrants are discussed in a greater extent than Refugees. Though this will change in the month of September where the keyword usage increase dramatically both in average and in variety. In September more than 1/3 of the articles mention Migrants

and just under 1/4 mention refugees. Furthermore 1/5 articles mention Police which is a leap from the earlier usage of the keyword. Furthermore the usage of the keyword Threat increases from the previous months. In October the average keyword usage drops but almost 1/6 articles still contain the keyword Migrant and refugees are only mentioned in 1/10 articles. Furthermore either Police and Military are used in about 1/10 articles.

When analyzing the data it is interesting that the relation between the Hungarian government's use of the keywords Migrants and Refugees lean towards the use of migrant instead of refugee from the start of the crisis. When reviewing the previous research on the matter it could indicate an already existing idea of how refugees discursively should be observed by the audience. As previously explained, the term migrant is in a greater extent a politicized term, that could imply the individual planning on residing in the country or moving to find a new life somewhere else. The term refugee indicates a temporary commitment in contrast. Therefore it is of interest that it was used in a greater extent from the beginning and throughout the time period. This is interesting when applying the MSA theory, certainly within the problem stream. As stated in the theory chapter of this thesis the framing of an issue is essential for its success into being viewed as a policy issue that receives attention. By early on characterizing the influx of refugees into the region as a problem of migration and connected to keywords such as terrorism, threat, police and military, the overall discourse indicate an imminent or ongoing threat to the Hungarian state's existence. Though as stated in the theory section, an actor can't just "paint" an issue with a securitizing discourse, but it also has to be received by the appropriate audience. As to the Hungarian government using a securitizing discourse within the articles during the period, it is a securitizing move rather than a securitization.

The policy stream laches on to this matter. As stated in the theory section the policy stream could be seen as finding the solution to the problem that comes from the problem stream. Kingdon characterizes this as the policy primeval soup where ideas can be seen as floating around and where they are latched on to an issue as a solution. These ideas come from actors such as political parties, groups and so on. But as to find a solution to these an ongoing issue that receives attention is

often mandatory to be able to get the right amount of traction for the policy making. The securitization in this case latches on to this idea. As can be seen in the Empirical Analysis chapter, policy change into a national centric one in the form of enacting tougher immigration laws, building fences, closing borders and suspending treaties connected to immigration can be seen done as the securitizing keywords exist within the discourse. This is especially true in the month of September when the new refugee relocation quotas are announced and voted successfully in favor for by the EU. The keywords increased dramatically within this period which could be seen as a willingness by the Hungarian government to solidify refugees as a security problem when the EU in majority voted to force Hungary to accept refugees. This could be seen as the Hungarian government trying to soften up the debate in their favor. Though it also has to be looked at from the point of the EU during this time of the crisis. The vote was a way for the EU to force non cooperative states to accept refugees that member states such as Germany, Sweden and others had to struggle to accept while at the same time helping member states such as Greece and Italy to handle the large amount of refugees reaching their shores. At the same time, the EU felt oblige to handle the situation on the Mediterranean where thousands of refugees died as their ships sank. Thus, the EU had a crisis of its own in many ways where it is hard to believe that one specific country should be viewed as a source of primary attention. Therefore Hungary may not have needed to soften up the EU to accept their solutions to the believed problem of immigration. The securitization of refugees, especially in the month of September, could therefore be seen as a way for Hungary to communicate to the outside world that they would put their nation first and that they would do this as refugees threatened their security. Furthermore, the laws and fences were not given an end date. This could also be explained from Kingdon's MSA theory. The author explains that when a policy is proposed it often contains a wide approach to current and future problems. In Hungary's case it therefore seems apparent that this is the case. Law changes that toughen immigration laws in combination to a clear show of a nation first approach when the country closed borders and fence building may not separately have to be used to deal with future immigration crises but to solidify an anti immigration discourse that has been

existing in the Orbán government.

This is where the politics stream enters. Kingdon explains that for a policy to actually become a policy the policymakers have to be willing and see the benefit of creating a new policy. This can be done in numerous ways but Kingdon mentions the policy maker's perception of the "national mood" as a key factor. This latches on to the previously mentioned securitization. By successfully securitizing refugees the Hungarian government could have changed the national mood by persuading the public that refugees and immigration are a security issue. Furthermore Kingdon mentions political parties as who's viewpoints that have to be taken into consideration. When observing the political situation in Hungary in 2015 Viktor Orbán's Fiedezs was the largest party but in the parliament was also Jobbik which traditionally have a right wing, anti immigration policy. What could be seen during the refugee crisis was that Jobbik came to support Fiedezs in voting regarding tougher immigration laws etc. Therefore, the perception of immigration and refugees seemed to already have existed within the government. This can also be seen in the fact that the articles mentioned migrants in a higher extent than refugees. As previously mentioned this could in fact show that the immigration and refugees were already politicized when the refugee crisis had its start in 2015. Therefore one may assume that the securitization of refugees as seen from the result of this thesis could in fact have had its roots in persuading the public, but also to relay the message to the surrounding countries, and to the EU. In some way, it may be fair to assume that Hungary would want to send the message, Hungary does not obey to the EU and Hungary will not accept refugees.

6   Conclusion and discussion

Securitization of refugees can be seen in the way keywords were used throughout the crisis. Migrant to describe the individuals making their way throughout Europe was far more used than refugee and these were often described in the same discourse as that of a threat, need of police and military and terrorism. A clear indicator could be seen in the month of September when the securitizing discourse came to occupy almost a third of all articles published on Kornmany.hu. But all of this in itself do not answer the question how Hungary could have decided to do the policy change even though they're so heavily dependent on the European Union. This is where the combination of securitization theory and Kingdon's multiple streams approach play in. All three streams contain a link to the setting of a problem. For a problem in the policy stream to receive attention it needs to be framed so that it gets the attention it needs. In the policy stream, there has to be solutions that hatch on to a problem in the right time, and in this time, pushed on by the Hungarian Government and the politics stream needs politicians and policy makers of the motive and political viewpoint of wanting to push the changes in policy through. In Hungary's case when looking through the time period and the analyzed data it is stunning how many changes in law, free movement- and immigration policy were made during the 7 months analyzed. From the results of this thesis it seems like Hungary in a skillful way managed to utilize a securitized problem to create an attractive problem from the policy maker's viewpoint where framing and attention came to be in line with the motives of the decision makers. Also, the clear marking of that the refugees were migrants and the connection to the security maintaining agents of police and military came to set the national mood in such a way that changes in policy were made possible. Furthermore, the changes seem to have been made as permanent as possible. So Kingdon's argument on a willingness to reach wide reaching and long lasting solutions can be seen in Hungary's case during 2015. All of this came to allow Hungary to quickly change policy in a time when the EU was heavily pressured on numerous fronts. It therefore seems like the changes were made possible by Hungarian government being able to quickly make a securitizing move,

with the backup of the right-wing party Jobbik to essentially shift the policy under the radar of the overlaying problem of the refugee crisis. Therefore the study has been able to show how Hungary through securitizing the refugee influx situation and use that as an incentive to start a policy process which enabled Hungary to quickly change their immigration/asylum policy. The refugee crisis gave Hungary a problem stream that could quickly be processed within the Hungarian government where the political ecosystem already had the needed characteristics and way of thinking to make the decisions in a short amount of time. The chaos that the refugee crisis could also have made the policy and political stream more centered on a Hungarian level as the EU and its directed power was more or less centered on managing the crisis in its whole. Therefore, Hungary was able to make the policy change even though they in many ways are dependent on the European Union for economical support.

The findings in this study contributes to the research field as it has successfully combined securitization and Kingdon's MSA theory to explain why Hungary, a EU member state, could have used the refugee crisis as a policy window to push tougher immigration and asylum law. Earlier research has been mostly focused on if or how securitization has been done in regards to refugees and immigrants. As this thesis has used a for this crisis unique approach, it gives an idea of how future or similar situations can be analyzed to understand policy shifts where there is securitization present. The criticism that could be directed towards this thesis is that it first of all contains a very narrow time period. As explained in the delimitations section this was done as to not create a all too extensive workload. The most relevant keywords according to the author of this survey who acted as the coder were picked out according to one's interpretation of the securitization theory. Furthermore, the R-squared value is 18% which is fairly low. The reason behind this is probably that the data had such an extensive variation over time. Especially September stuck out which lowered the R-squared percentage. Though as this thesis do not rely solely on the data points to make conclusions, a trend can still be seen within the data. Furthermore, there is a possibility that articles were somehow missed. This has been double checked several time but there is still a possibility which should be taken in

consideration.

7 Future research

This thesis has managed to fill the void of how the actual policy setting process could have been looked at from the perspective of securitization. The study has used earlier research articles on securitization of immigrants and refugees in addition to the examining of the Hungarian government's articles during the time period April 2015 - October 2015 together with Kingdon's MSA theory to see how Hungary's decision to do the radical policy shift could be explained. This combination has the potential of being a further interesting approach to look at policy setting processes within immigration and asylum politics. This study has only approached the time period from April 2015 to October 2015 it may only answer to the policy formation within the time period. The issue of Hungarian and EU relations when it comes to immigration policy is still ongoing. One could therefore criticize this thesis for not including the time period 2015 - today. Future research could include the aftermath of the refugee crisis and how Hungary handled the EU relations. It would be of outmost interest to analyze the speech and writing between the European Union and Hungary during the time period. This would probably give a better idea of how Hungary decided to portray the problem towards EU and how EU then decided to interpret Hungary's description of the problem. Further criticism could be that of the use of keywords. To give a wider picture of securitizing written speech and text more keywords could have been included. This was not done as it would have been a too massive workload but could in future research be expanded. This thesis only focused on the acute phase of the crisis and on material from Kormany.hu and its where this thesis makes a contribution to the research field. Further research within the time period could include other sources such as actual speeches, parliamentary documents or other material connected to the Hungarian government which would give a better empirical framework to make more precise observations. Furthermore there has been numerous other states with similar policy shift like Poland and Slo-

vakia. A comparative analysis between these countries and how the EU came to approach the issue would be of outmost interest to further analyze how the refugee crisis was used as a policy window and could also point to however this could be seen as something that could be important for organizations such as the EU to take in consideration in future crises, to create a better unity.

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