

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### A. Background

The European Union faced an important problem of distributing 120,000 migrants from the Middle East region, a number that is three times the number of migrants crossing the Mediterranean in the first nine months of 2015. The large exodus had become a challenge that should be faced and solved by the European Union. The push factors of crisis refugees in Europe at that time were conflict, wars, and of course persecution that occurred in Syria. Those refugees were forced to leave their homes to find protection in European areas. These people decided to look for safer places, initially they were still looking for places in villages then to neighboring countries. However, neighboring countries can no longer control the entry of these people, due to the numbers were very large that they decided to find places in the European Union area. People who migrate from their country and look for safer places are called refugees. The concept of refugees was expounded in the 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees. (J.G.Starke, 2000). Afghanistan, Syria, and Iraq were the countries which have the largest number of people in the Middle East that applied themselves for asylum. Sweden and Finland received the largest number of applicants for asylum in the Nordic countries. Germany, Belgium and Austria in continental Europe, and the Czech Republic and Hungary in Central and Eastern Europe, with more than 2000 inhabitants per million. Sweden accepted the highest number of immigrants per population (Attila Juhász, Bulcsú Hunyadi, Edit Zgut, 2015).

In total, 162,877 applications for asylum were submitted in 2015, around 43 per cent of whom were children (more than half of which were unaccompanied). The phenomenon of the arrival of thousands of refugees to the European Region was attracting attention from various parts of the world, a very concrete and considered terrible reason that has accompanied the refugees to come to the European Union, thus that their hopes of living safely and peacefully envelop their lives. The main destination countries chosen by most of the refugees are Germany, the Czech Republic, Italy, France, and Hungary.

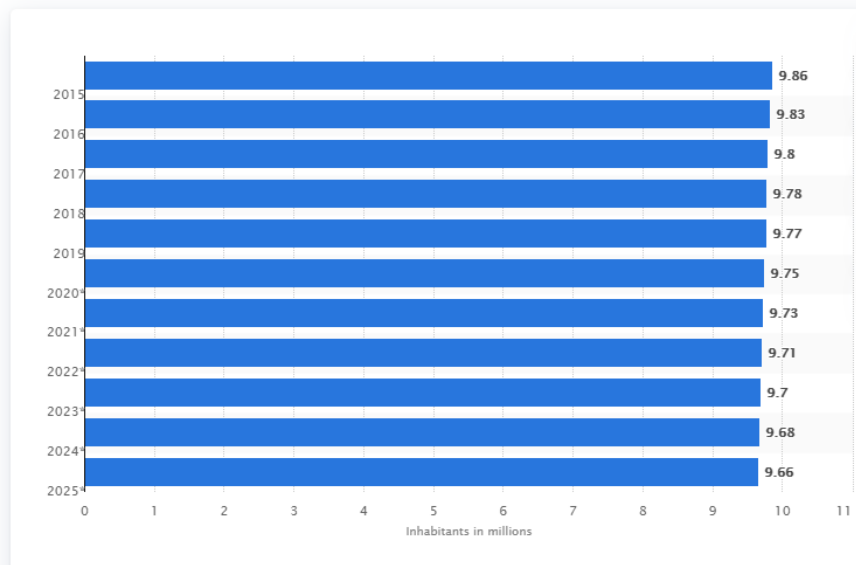
The invasion of the hundred thousand of examiners that came was one of the internal problems which was considered to threaten the integrity of this organization. This problem makes the European Union must change foreign policy and the policies related to national security. The refugee crisis is slowly beginning to threaten the goals of achieving an integrated the European Union goal. The European Union integration is evidenced by freedom of movement for the cycle of goods, services, capital, and European society. The purpose of integration is contained in the Schengen Agreement signed by the European Union member states in 1985. Unfortunately, the problem of the refugee crisis is not quickly resolved yet instead creates the wishes of the European Union countries which are manifested in the form of policies to limit by closing the access of refugees, thus that they were not free entering the European Union Regions. By the reason of the European Union countries decided to cancel the Schengen Agreement, thus that the goal of limiting the entry of refugees from the Middle East to stop as expected.

There are two main reasons related to the goal of refusing refugees with border closures, namely, first, political parties that are considered superior but anti-refugees can easily act hyperbole by exaggerating the numbers so that people are increasingly afraid of the arrival of foreigners or can be called "Xenophobic". Secondly, if the refugees are given rights and asylum, they will move easily which will cause various social, economic, cultural and security problems. To solve problems in the aspect of border security requires cooperation between the European Union member countries. The migrant crisis has undermined the confidence of the European Union community about the Schengen Agreement, that is, the difficulty of monitoring national territory due to the European Union is without border controls (Wangke, 2016).

**Figure 1.1 Total Population in Hungary from 2015 to 2025**

**Hungary: Total population from 2015 to 2025**

*(in million inhabitants)*



(Source: Statista, 2020)

Hungary is a country located in Central Europe. Located close to Austria and Germany, many refugees consider Hungary a strategic country, both as a sanctuary and as a transit country to Germany and other Western European countries. This is further clarified by the route taken by refugees from the Middle East to Europe (Attila Juhász, Bulcsú Hunyadi, Edit Zgut, 2015). In 2015, Hungary had 9,830,485 ended 2020 with a population of 9,739,000 people. In March 1989, Hungary became a signatory of the Geneva Convention of 1951 and the New York Declaration of 1967 addressing the status of refugees. Hungary made a territorial distinction while ratifying the Geneva Convention of 1951, as provided for in Article 1 B (1) (a) of the Convention. Such restriction means that cannot take advantage of the protection provided for in the 1951 Geneva Convention. However, Hungary has restricted legal commitments against non-European refugees under international human rights conventions, such as the European Convention for the Defense of Human Rights and Basic Freedoms (entered into force in 1994) and the United Nations Treaty against Slavery, Other Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Abuse or Punishment in March 1988 ((UNHCR), 2020).

Since 2014, Hungary had accepted those refugees. According to UNHCR, Hungary is ranked 9<sup>th</sup> as the 10 countries that receive the most refugees, with 41,400 asylum applications and the number continues to grow. Until 2015, Hungary became the second country in the European Union to receive the most asylum applications. In 2015, the number of asylum applications reached 174,435. The number of asylum applications in Hungary rose by 323% (Eurostate, 2016).

After the explosion of the arrival of refugees in Hungary, Hungary made a rejection of refugees and the solutions offered by the European Commission and the most surprising is Hungary as one of the countries that ratified the UN Convention 1951 about refugees, yet Hungary denied it and created new policies. The rejection was proven in a poll conducted by a political body that was quite close to the Hungarian government. Approved polling votes amounting to 65% of voters disagree with the quota program offered by the European Commission. The majority of the Hungarians agreed in an effort to eliminate refugees, one of which agreed that the fence in the Hungarian-Serbian border area would be maximized. In this case, the Hungarian public and government are actively engaged in campaigning and promoting a movement to encourage refugees from the Middle East (Parliament, 2017). Hungary was dominated also by the refugee crisis. The primary reason why Hungary is valued as a unique country, because Hungary is the front-line area, that is why those refugees like to move to Hungary. Hungary is similar to Greece, both of them are the front-line area in Europe. Hungary also initially opened its borders to migrants hoping that waves of people would flow to other countries, yet then closed the borders with barbed wire fences. At the same time, unilateral actions by countries such as Hungary, which are not ready to accept migrants even for transit, eventually choose to divert the flow of migrants. The fact is that refugees who come to the destination country do not all get good treatment from each country. Such as the case with refugees who come to Hungary.

In this research, the author is going to do a deep analysis regarding the securitization of refugees that come to Hungary, the reasons behind Hungary's betrayal of the regulation in the UN Convention 1951 in terms of refusing refugees and the new policies that have been made by Hungary's government.

## **B. Research Question**

How did Hungary construct the refugee issue into a security issue?

## **C. Theoretical Framework**

In writing this thesis, the author uses an international relation's theory such as securitization theory. One of the most contributing and distinctive thoughts from Copenhagen School is securitization. Securitization is a viewpoint on dealing with a problem or issue becomes a problem which poses a high security threat to a nation. The scientists such as Buzan, Waever, and Jaap de Wilde argued that securitization was a domain and an extreme political effort. Public issues that develop are divided into three scopes, namely: The first is non-politicized which means that the government does not participate in dealing with existing problems because these problems are not related to interests and debates that can be brought to the public sphere. Second, politicized which means a problem or issue in being part of the public sphere and the involvement of the government in handling it is needed. The third is securitized, meaning an issue that can be labeled as a security threat to a country, which inevitably requires emergency action by the government with the substance of political procedures (Barry Buzan, 1998).

The next is part of the theory of securitization offered by Buzan is a securitization actor, speech act, existential threat, reference object, and audience. Securitizing actor is an actor who plays a role in cracking down on securities, in this case the government can be the actor. The government will carry out speech acts that can usually be in the form of campaigns or speech acts about existential threats or threats that already exist and are campaigned to the public. Reference object which means something that is clearly declared threatened because of the existential threat. In the context of the refugee crisis, the security speech acts are the expression of a fear of states in their inability to manage a complex humanitarian crisis and to respond to the reactions of their people. The audience is the people who are the target of the speech act, which if their response is positive to the speech act, it means that the securitization action is arguably successful. The security of a state is not only related with military security, yet also there are some kinds of security such as, political security, economical security, as well as human and social security, or it can be mentioned as non-traditional security. Based on the Buzan perspective, human and social

security is hard to be separated from political security. It can be seen that social security there is an identity and national balance. The term of human and social security consists of constructive context that will appear when people talk about cultural identity. This thing is able to cause political discriminative (Buzan, Barry, 1990). It can be inferred from the reasoning of the theory of securitization that one of the key assumptions of the theory is illustrated by this speech act: the securitizers cannot regulate their people's reaction. There is no long-term perspective for their shift, yet just an electoral or demagogical perspective. Human rights may in this respect must be refused for electoral purposes. Denying refugee status to individuals from a war region means denying their right to life. This is a form of masked criminalization of a human right such as the right to seek asylum, which is determined also by a general psychosis of a terrorist threat.

The idea of human security emerged from the extension and development of the focus of the nation-state and the challenge of military aggression from conventional security. A definition of freedom from threats to human security is freedom from fear, free from desire, and a life of dignity (Noviana, 2018). According to the theory brought by Buzan, political threats were aimed at the stability of the country. The objectives can be different, ranging from pressing the government in relation to the policies it had been made to overthrowing the government, and interrupting the country's political structure to weaken. The essence of a state is its national identity and organizing ideology, and institutions are usually the main target of threats. Due to the state being a political entity, political threats are usually as feared as military threats. Moreover, if the target is a weak state. Buzan's perspective shows how it is possible to define political security, as well as how difficult it is to limit it, especially in relation to social and military security - social relations with national identity, the military with the use of its power (Buzan, Barry, 1998).

There are the advantages and disadvantages of securitization. The advantage of securitization is that this concept becomes a tool for holders of power in tackling a threat quickly (without going through political logic). Meanwhile, the weakness of this concept is that power holders tend to be able to abuse power when civil rights and opposition rights are suppressed due to reasons for overcoming threats through securitization.

To sum up this theory, the securitization process changes a problem into a security issue that relates to threat. Hence, the humanitarian issue is changed into a security issue. Securitization theory by Copenhagen School also adopts Speech act theory. Speech act refers to an effort to solve the security issue. If that issue is not solved as soon as possible it will have a bad effect for the country. Based on the Buzan explanation, in speech act, the actor should have an authority position to do speech act and the object should be a threat for its country. In this case, the Speech act can be found by public statements talking about the threat or priority action of good issues of European Union member countries. The subject is called a securitizing actor in this case is Hungary as a country that will conduct analysis toward the issue and it has a role to change the issue into a security issue. The object here is refugees, it means that refugees are something existentially threatened and have to be secured. Thus, in order to make securitization to be successful, the actors have to make an argument or speech act that should be accepted by the audiences. This can be used as an excuse to take emergency action to prevent or resolve the problem.

This theory is suitable with the case of refugees in Hungary. Where the Hungarian are afraid of the coming of foreign populations and toward the possibility that can happen as well as threat Hungary. The national security is really concerned by Hungarian government, thus they decided to create new policies to stop refugees entering Hungary.

#### **D. Hypothesis**

1. Hungary created the refugee issue as security issue due to the refugee's threat Hungary's economy aspect, political aspect, sosio-cultural aspect, and Hungary's national identity.
2. Hungary did securitization of refugees through construct refugees as the security threat, convincing the audiences, and speech act such as billboard campaigns and the Hungary's government rhetoric about refugees.

#### **E. Purpose of Research:**

The purposes of this research are to discuss the background of refugee crisis in the European Union Regions, the attitudes of the European Union and Hungary toward the flooding of refugees, the correlation between refugees' existence in Hungary and reasons

of Hungary in rejecting refugees, the effort of Hungary in securitizing refugees and to understand the new Hungary's policies in resolving the refugees in Hungary.

## **F. Research Methods**

This research is descriptive study; thus, the author uses qualitative methodology research. Qualitative research which aimed to gain in-depth insight into the history of the case, reason, and the factor of emergence of the new policies of refugees in Hungary. As primary data, the author uses data and information that would be found from Hungary's government official documents, the European Union, International Non-Governmental Organization (INGO) such as UNHCR, The 1951 Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees, The 1967 New York Protocol (Article 1 concerning the Status of Refugees), Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and Statute of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. This research also uses the secondary data coming from books, texts, journals, articles and electronic mass media such as the internet or writing reports about the related discussion of this research. Those data obtained would be analyzed using the basic framework of theory.

## **G. Scope of Research**

The author focuses on the beginning of refugee crisis in the European Region, the response of the European Union toward this case, securitization aspect, the actions taken by Hungary Government, policies that have been created by Hungary's Government to eliminate the huge number of refugees, as well as the reason and the impact of the wave of refugees from several countries in the Middle East that enter Hungary around 2015-2016.

## **H. Writing System**

In Chapter 1, the author explains the background, research question that relates with the background, theoretical framework to support the research, hypotheses, research methods, and writing system.

In Chapter 2, the author will explain about the large exodus entered European Union Region, the response of European Union, and Hungary's actions toward refugees.

In Chapter 3, the author will write a discussion regarding the impacts of the coming of large numbers of refugees as the indicator of the reasons of Hungary in refusing the



refugees and focus analysis on the securitization aspect in facing the refugee crisis in Hungary.

In Chapter 4, the author will close this thesis by writing the conclusion.