A Comparative Study: Was the 2015 Refugee Crisis Securitised in Hungary and Sweden?
A comparative constructivist study on the securitisation of migration

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Abstract

In 2015, Europe experienced the arrival of an unprecedented number of migrants and refugees. This sparked a crisis, as the European states struggled to cope with the influx. Moreover, tensions in the European Union arose due to the disproportionate burden faced by some states, therefore arguably leading to some countries securitising the issue. This thesis seeks to investigate how and to what degrees socio-political conditions and political leadership roles impacted the securitisation of the 2015 refugee crisis in Hungary and Sweden. The assessment of these questions was approached by this paper through the employment of a comparative study analysis and a qualitative content analysis of speeches held by the Hungarian and Swedish prime ministers. Additionally, this paper utilises a theoretical framework, based upon Finnemore and Sikkink’s social constructivism and the Copenhagen School’s securitisation theory. This paper argues that socio-political conditions and leadership roles, embodied by the prime ministers of Hungary and Sweden, significantly impacted the securitisation processes of the 2015 refugee crisis. Furthermore, political leadership roles are interconnected to socio-political conditions via the securitisation of political issues in the following way: socio-cultural aspects, paired with political interests, inform the political leaders that shape how and through which articulation securitisation occurs.

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1 Introduction

In 2015, Europe experienced an arrival of an unprecedented number of migrants and refugees. This sparked a crisis as the European states struggled to cope with the influx, creating divisions in the European Union (EU) over how to best deal with resettling people. Moreover, tensions in the EU have been rising due to the disproportionate burden faced by some countries. This has arguably led to some countries securitising the issue, now dubbed as the 2015 refugee crisis. This dilemma has been met with heated debates within the EU, and Sweden and Hungary can be seen as being on the opposite ends of these debates. Therefore, this thesis examines how this crisis shifted from a humanitarian crisis in which the purpose was to relocate displace people, to an issue of security in both states.

In Sweden, researchers have pointed towards a shift in the migration discourse. From a dominating discourse of inclusion and open doors to an acknowledgment of the crisis and their inability to handle it, and finally, to the changes in policy and legislation in the name of security (Dahlgren, 2016). Other researchers analysing securitisation of migration in Hungary, on the other hand saw the anti-migration discourse and actions of 2015 as an example of political opportunism from a government that was losing power (Nagy, 2016). Thus, there are different causes and explanations to why securitisation has occurred in Hungary and Sweden, but the prevailing fact is that there has been a shift in the migration discourse - from human mobility and humanitarian help to the securitisation of migration.

Thus, this raises questions about how this shift in migration discourse occurred and which factors impacted the securitisation of migration by state-actors. This thesis takes part in the discussion of the securitisation of migration by analysing how the socio-political conditions and political leadership roles within state-actors impacted the 2015 refugee crisis. This research focuses on Hungary and Sweden, as they are both EU member states and received similar numbers of migrants per capita. Furthermore, Hungary and Sweden were chosen due to their opposite ends of the debate on this crisis.

The securitisation of migration is an international issue, as it challenges international actors’ capacity to deal with integrally structural questions. Therefore, the securitisation of migration can be directly linked to the issue areas of global governance, international security, transnational social mobility, and the displacement of the most vulnerable. The issue of securitisation of migration in Hungary and Sweden is highly relevant to International Relations (IR) as the securitisation not only affects domestic politics, but it is also salient in the study of security. Security is an important aspect of IR, as a number of studies within the field of IR is dedicated to security issues.
1.1 Puzzle, Purposes, and Research Questions

It is clear that there are divisions and tension within the EU over how to best deal with the 2015 crisis. These divisions within the EU have presented themselves in the way in which individual member states have conceptualised and framed the crisis. Political leadership roles have become increasingly significant due to the rise of nationalism as a response to the crisis. This plays a part in the socio-political conditions which can influence how and why Hungary and Sweden have securitised migration. The overarching puzzle and purpose of this study therefore present themselves: “Why is it that migration is so highly securitised in Hungary but not in Sweden, given that both states received approximately the same number of asylum seekers and other types of migrants?” The purpose of this study is to examine how and what factors influenced the securitisation processes in the case of the 2015 refugee crisis. This subsequently, allowed for the generation of the following research question:

“What evidence is there to show that socio-political conditions and the political leadership roles have impacted the securitisation of 2015 refugee crisis in Hungary and Sweden?”

In order to answer the research question, this thesis employs a Qualitative Content Analysis to analyse speeches held by the Hungarian and the Swedish prime ministers addressing the 2015 migration crisis. Analysing the speeches by the political leaders allows for the generation of new qualitative data informing the analysis of this case. In addition, as securitisation theory in its core is about the social construction of security threats, this thesis uses social constructivism as the operational theory in order to further analyse how said construction happened. The aim of this research is to uncover how migration became a security threat in Hungary and Sweden, and how social constructivism can be used as the operational theory in order to understand the cultivation of the image of migration as a security issue in Hungary and Sweden.

1.2 Thesis Structure

The previous section briefly introduced the overarching context and theoretical basis of this study, as well as its purpose. The following paragraphs explore the existing academic discussion surrounding the issue of securitisation of migration. This chapter, then, seeks to outline and discuss the existing debate on the securitisation of migration.

Chapter 3 of this paper addresses the thesis’ ‘theory’ components. This section seeks to conceptualise and present the study’s theoretical framework.
Section 4 addresses the methods chosen for this thesis, in which qualitative content analysis has been selected for the generation of new data. Furthermore, this chapter addresses the choice to employ a comparative study and discusses the case selection for this thesis.

The analysis of the generated data in order to answer the research question will take place in section 5 of this study. This part of the thesis will explore the connections of political leadership roles and socio-political conditions of state-actors, in addition to their influence on the securitisation of the 2015 refugee crisis.

Section 6 addresses the ‘discussion’ of this study, in which the analysis findings and research question will be re-addressed. Moreover, in this section, the thesis reflects back onto the previously reviewed existing research, as well as theoretical foundations.

Finally, section 7 is the ‘conclusion’ within which, the overall results of this study are presented, and the research question is conclusively addressed. Furthermore, this section engages in a discussion on the relevance of this research to the field of IR as a whole, and outline suggestions for potential future investigations, in order to further develop the subject-area within which this paper is situated.
2 Literature Review

Issues concerning migration and asylum have gained increasing attention globally, and as these issues, to a large extent, have a political political agenda, academics and scholars are increasingly engaging in discussions linking migration and security. This is called the ‘migration-security nexus’ (Bourbeau, 2017; Faist, 2004; Miller, 2001; Tirman 2004). In line with this, a significant number of researchers have utilised the ideas of securitisation theory as developed by the Copenhagen School (Buzan 1991; Buzan, Wæver, and Wilde, 1998; Wæver, 1993; Wæver 1995). As a result of applying these ideas in their scholarship, these researchers have shone light on how international migration and security can be conducted to different political contexts (Léonard and Kaunert, 2020: 2). By political contexts, the scholars mean political forms of government such as liberal states versus authoritarian states.

Large numbers of earlier research papers discuss the link between migration and security. The process in which migration discourse has shifted towards an emphasis on security, is referred to as the ‘securitisation of migration’ (Ibrahim, 2005: 167). The core idea of securitisation theory is that there are no objective security issues that exist ‘out there’ (Buzan, Wæver, and Wilde, 1998). Political issues are constructed as security issues by being discursively linked to threats. Buzan and Wæver call this the securitisation process (ibid.). By analysing previously conducted research on the securitisation of migration, I will outline how securitisation theory has been used in earlier academia.

The literature review is structured as follows: first, this thesis will discuss the political context of the securitising actors. Secondly, I will examine how earlier academia has discussed the framing on migrants and how this impacts the migration discourse. Finally, I will focus on the national identities of the securitising actors that have been analysed within the issue of securitisation of migration.

2.1 The Contextual Political Framework in Securitisation

One of the most often discussed themes in the realm of securitisation of migration in Hungary and Sweden is the social and political context of the states - and how this affects policies and perceptions on international migration. Earlier research frequently analyses the political evolution of Viktor Orbán’s government in the attempt to understand the processes of its 2015 anti-immigration campaigns (Bocskor, 2018: 555). In line with this, scholars have examined the political context and its link to the securitisation of migration in Hungary. This also applies to academic
investigations done on Sweden, in which the developments of migration policymaking and how the government operates in securitising migration are analysed.

Securitisation, as conceptualised by the Copenhagen School is the discursive process in which an issue is ‘dramatized’ and presented as a ‘supreme priority. In doing so, the securitising actor, oftentimes the state, ‘claims a need for and the right to treat it by extraordinary means’ (Buzan et al., 1998: 26). Some researchers argue that securitisation is a context-dependent practice that brings a shift of focus to various institutional settings; the scholars emphasise the power relations between the securitising actor and its audience (Bocskor, 2018; Balzacq, 2005; Szalai and Göbl, 2015).

There is a need to analyse the interplay between the political elites, or the securitising actors and the audience. This is because political elites inhabit leading roles in their states. Their decisions regarding migration practices, and the way in which they portray migration, impacts how their audience responds to migration. There is a gap, however, in the literature which investigates the issues of how the socio-political conditions and political leadership roles impact the securitisation of migration. Hence, this thesis examines the political leadership roles in Sweden and Hungary and how they impact the securitisation processes.

When a certain political objective has been successfully securitised, the securitising actor gets the opportunity to take extraordinary measures to act. In these cases, the powers of certain governmental institutions can be temporarily ceased because the regular operation of procedures and jurisdiction can slow down action taken towards the threat (Cvrtila et al., 2019: 13). This may open up space for strengthening authoritarian forms of government, as well as for populist ideas that can weaken democratisation processes and political institutions (ibid.).

Earlier research extensively investigates how right-wing populism has had an impact on migration policies and the securitisation of migration. Based on multi-sited fieldwork in 2015 (Thorleifsson, 2017), it is argued that the mass influx of migrants from majority, Muslim countries of origin has been exploited by the governing radical right populist party Fidesz, the currently governing party in Hungary (Thorleifsson, 2017: 319).

Moreover, even Sweden, which has been dubbed as ‘exceptional’ for not having a strong right-wing party favoured by the population, has seen a rise of right-wing populism (Rydgren and van der Meiden, 2018). The right-wing party Sweden Democrats (Sverigedemokraterna) received 12.9% of 2014 election the votes, and in the 2018 parliamentary election the number was increased to 17.5% (Röster -Val 2018). This makes it clear that Sweden was no longer exceptional in not having had an electorally successful radical right-wing party (Thorleifsson, 2017: 440).
2.2 Framing of Migrants

The second prominent theme to surface in the literature surrounding the issue of the securitisation of migration in Hungary and Sweden is how migration has been framed in the first place. The population’s perception and attitudes towards migration are dependent on how it has been discursively produced and socially constructed in both international and domestic politics.

Political discourse on migration and the influence of mass media are two of the most significant factors to migration being framed as a threat. Political discourse and media frequently emphasise the connection of migration to terrorism, which some argue has an effect on the perception of public safety risks (Cvrtíla et al. 2019: 7). When international agents frame migrants as a public threat, there can be negative impacts on migration-related policies, which in turn shifts migration from the sphere of humanitarian crises towards that of security issues.

The literature gives us a better understanding of how the link between migration and security is the end result of how migration has been framed. In addition to international migration being framed as the threat of terrorism, migration is also treated as an event that results in war, instability, and ethnic tensions. Ibrahim argues that by framing migration as a phenomenon that arises out of a ‘social collapse’, this opens up space for an increasingly interventionist style of international relations and politics (Ibrahim, 2005: 171). She also notes that due to this type of framing, host states are threatened by the influx of migrants. This leads to the socially reconstructed image of the ‘regressive-migrant-producing countries’ which stems from an imperialist viewpoint (ibid.).

A world view that is based on the distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’ stems from the ‘Western civilisation’ creating a contrast between the western ‘us’ vs the non-western, and ‘uncivilised them’ (ibid.). According to Said, the framing of natives during colonialization was a means of legitimising the subornation and enslavement of the Global South (Said, 1978). This idea can be linked to how migration is framed in today’s political climate. When the securitising actors construct asylum seekers and migrants as threats to the public, they are legitimising the exclusion of migrants and inactiveness in providing refuge for individuals.

Huysmans argues that the connection of migrants to insecurity ‘sustains a radical political strategy aimed at excluding particular categories of people by reifying them as a danger’ (Huysmans, 2000: 771). Additionally, with the rise of right-wing populism in Europe and other parts in the world, these ideas have been further emphasised by media outlets. Right-wing populist leaders tend to securitise migration because they exacerbate the negative framing of international migration. They reinforce the spiralling of the securitisation of migration by generating more prejudicial attitudes, thus unfolding in a domino effect (Bello, 2020: 13). One of the most commonly used ways is media framing. This process, as is explained by Entman (1993), typically
involves selecting and highlighting: ‘framing means selecting certain aspects of reality and highlighting them by promoting a certain problem, a causative interpretation…’ (Entman, 1993).

Based on these previous academic debates about the securitisation of migration in Hungary and Sweden, it has become evident that to differing degrees, media and political discourse have dubbed migration into one category of people from war zones, or places that have experienced a ‘social collapse’ (Ibrahim, 2005). As mentioned before, this has had a harmful effect on the perceptions of all kinds of migration.

### 2.3 National Identity

National identity is a prevailing theme in nearly all of the reviewed literature discussing global migration and security discourses. Identity is the focal point among debates within the social sector, as it is a socially constructed concept. In line with this, security issues are too, socially constructed. Who or what is perceived as a threat depends on how the people, the society views the presented issues. Therefore, analysing the formation of identity and subsequently the concept of ‘othering’ is significant for this thesis, as political leaders often use national identities as a means to securitise an issue. The forming of identities and the framing of the ‘other’ in addition to creating ‘enemy images’, is ultimately social construction that guides public’s perception on international migration.

The majority of the reviewed literature on the securitisation of migration in Hungary and Sweden, discusses the concepts of national identity and ‘othering’ both implicitly and explicitly. The concept of ‘othering’ is related to the concept of national identity, as without the latter, there would not be a presence of the former. This is an important concept when analysing migration and security, as the most important premise for securitising migration is that migrants and asylum seekers are viewed as a threat to the established national security, in this case in Sweden and Hungary. Furthermore, Cvrlita et al. (2019:7) argue that when migration is securitised, migrants are often interpreted as a risk and threat to the survival of traditional identity values.

As migration increases multiculturalism in many European nations, some states and the majority of populations still make claims for the right to exclude migrants in the name of maintaining the dominant and imagined notions of national identity (Stokes-Dupass, 2017: 50). Additionally, in Sweden, as the public support for integration of contrasting cultures and identities began to wane, nationalistic viewpoints among Swedes and conservative political posturing emerged in the 1990s (ibid, 2017: 57). In Hungary, on the other hand, the emphasis on the protection of the ‘Hungarian national identity’ has prevailed, despite the lacking focus on the concern prior to 2015. The Hungarian the nationalistic party Fidesz made the ‘nation’ one of its
most central doctrines, and by doing so, they re-emphasised the existence of a homogeneous Hungarian nation that is based on ethnic, cultural and religious values (Bocskor, 2018: 557). Thus, as these nationalistic narratives and policies have surfaced in Hungary’s domestic politics, the attitudes towards migration and foreigners have become hostile (ibid.).

Huysmans considers that framing immigrants as a threat to social security ‘reproduces the political myth of the homogeneity of national communities or Western civilisation that existed in earlier and can be re-established through the exclusion of those migrants we identify as cultural aliens’ (Huysmans, 2000: 758). In the same vein, the concept of social security includes social welfare and social economic security as these are used interchangeably. Hence, we come across the concept of ‘othering’. It is the act of framing a group of people as aliens to a state that has their own distinctive ‘national identity’. By highlighting national identities, states are thus creating a space where othering of the migrants is made possible.

2.4 Development of the research question

In this section of the literature review, I outline how the reviewed research has influenced the formation of this thesis’ research question: ‘What evidence is there to show that socio-political conditions and the political leadership roles have impacted the securitisation of 2015 refugee crisis in Hungary and Sweden?’

As is outlined in the literature review, the socio-political conditions of the securitising actor play an important role in how securitisation processes occur. A large number of earlier academia on the securitisation of migration has focused on how political contexts matter in these securitisation processes. Similarly, political leadership roles and the socio-political conditions are often interconnected, as the leader may use these conditions to their advantage when securitising the 2015 refugee crisis.

The previously reviewed literature points towards the relevance of this thesis’ research question in two main ways: Firstly, it specifies the socio-political conditions that enable the securitisation of migration in both Hungary and Sweden. Secondly, it illuminates the paramount importance of political leadership roles within this process.
3 Theoretical Framework

In order to answer the research question “What evidence is there to show that socio-political conditions and the political leadership roles have impacted the securitisation of 2015 refugee crisis in Hungary and Sweden?” and subsequently the overarching puzzle: “Why is it that migration is highly securitised in Hungary but not in Sweden, given that both states received approximately the same number of asylum seekers and other types of migrants?”, it is necessary to discuss securitisation theory, developed by the Copenhagen School. This theory has been widely used in previous research concerning international migration, and therefore it is advantageous for this thesis to widen the understanding of how migration has been connected to security through the process of securitisation. Additionally, as securitisation theory is heavily influenced by social constructivism, one of IR’s ‘grand theories’, this thesis outlines the salient ideas of the social constructivists Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink.

This part of the thesis has two purposes: first, laying the foundation for this thesis’ operational framework and secondly, for the utilisation of it in the analysis of this paper.

3.1 Social Constructivism

In IR, the number of constructivist research has increased exponentially over the past decade, creating new and potentially fruitful connections within comparative politics (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001: 391). Social constructivism asserts that human interaction is shaped primarily by ideational factors, and not solely material ones; that the most important ideational factors are widely shared or ‘intersubjective’ beliefs; and that these shared beliefs construct the interests of purposive actors (ibid.).

According to Finnemore and Sikkink (2001: 394), by ontological assumption, constructivists understand that actors are shaped by the social milieu in which they exist, and thus the question which shapes constructivist research - and this thesis, is: ‘How does this shaping happen and with what results?’ During the time of the 2015 refugee crisis, Hungary and Sweden dealt with international migration in contrasting ways, and to an extent securitised migration to differing degrees, although they took in similar numbers of asylum seekers per capita. Thus, using constructivism, this thesis explores how this event was shaped into a security issue and how the social milieu of the securitising actors affects this social creation.

In order to explore social constructivism as the theoretical framework of this thesis, it is crucial to highlight the core ideas of the theory and explain how they are linked to securitisation theory.
One of the main components of constructivism is the notion that state identity fundamentally shapes state preferences and actions (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001: 398). Furthermore, constructivists agree that state identities are constructed within the social environment of both international and domestic politics (ibid.). However, some constructivists argue that identity is mainly a domestic attribute that arises from national ideologies of collective distinctiveness (Barnett, 1996; Berger, 1996; Risse-Kappen, 1996).

In the societal sector of securitisation theory, the threat identified by the securitising actor is aimed towards the established identity. Here, we see a clear connection of the constructivist thinking of identities and securitisation theory. Identities are socially constructed, but actors may take rational choices about how to construct their identities (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001: 410). Authors in constructivism further argue that actors construct or choose these identities from a variety of existing choices (ibid.). This means that it is merely only socially constructed but also consciously constructed.

Securitisation theory argues that there are no security issues that objectively exist ‘out there’ (Buzan, Wæver, and Wilde, 1998). Security, just as identities, are socially constructed and identified consciously by actors. Securitisation theory is ultimately constructivist, and in using securitisation theory, this thesis seeks to use the constructivist theory as the framework for securitisation theory in analysing how the 2015 refugee crisis came to be viewed as a security issue.

### 3.2 Securitisation Theory

Security is the act in which political elites and decision makers can move politics beyond the established rules and laws in the name of security. According to Buzan et al. securitisation can thus be seen as the more extreme version of politicisation (Buzan et al., 1998: 23). At its very centre, ‘security’ in securitisation theory is treated not as an objective condition but as the outcome of a specific social process: it is about the social construction of security issues - who or what is being securitised, and from what (Williams, 2003: 513).

In theory, any politicised or non-politicised issue can be securitised. This means that we begin with either a non-politicised or politicised issue, and move it under the realm of security, in which the issue is presented as an existential threat that requires emergency measures (Buzan et al. 1998: 24). Securitisation theory, however, is not only about analysing and describing the existing security issues, but it is rather the analysis of how security issues come into ‘being’ and whether it is successfully presented as such. In practise, an issue becomes a security issue, not necessarily
because a real existential threat exists, but because it is presented and constructed as such (Buzan et al. 1998: 24).

Moreover, a discourse that takes the form of presenting something as an existential threat to the referent object does not by itself present a security issue, rather it is known as the securitisation move, and the issue is only securitised if the audience accepts it as such (ibid.). Therefore, in analysing how migration has moved from a human mobility issue to becoming a security issue, it is appropriate to incorporate securitisation theory in making sense of how it happened and why it differs between Hungary and Sweden.

### 3.3 Migration and the Societal Sector

International security in International Relations shares some key characteristics with social security but international security has its own distinctive, more extreme meaning. Unlike social security that links matters of entitlement and social justice, international security is strongly rooted in the traditions of power relations (Buzan et al., 1998: 21). Therefore, security is ultimately about survival, which is traditionally deemed as a realist issue. According to the realist tradition of state survival, the referent object is traditionally the state or government. Securitisation theory, however, has outlined different security sectors as different threats of security affect the different sectors’ existence differently. Although all the sectors outlined in Buzan et al. (military, political, economic, environmental, and societal) overlap, international migration issues are often put into the societal sector.

It is for the possible identification of the threat, that securitisation theory tends to fix domains of insecurity around a threat that actively endangers a certain referent object (Huysmans, 2006: 80). Hence, there is an idea that migration has opened up a societal security sector that can be defined by how it threatens cultural identity, rather than the sovereignty of a political unit (ibid.).

Societal security is closely related to, yet still distinct, from political security (Buzan et al., 1998: 119). States are based on fixed territory and formal membership in the said territory, whereas societal integration is a wider phenomenon, that may translate to both smaller and larger scales (ibid.). Moreover, for international security analyses, the key to societies are the ideas and practices that individuals identify with and form social groups around. According to Buzan et al.: ‘Society is about identity, the self-conception of communities and of individuals identifying themselves as members of a community’ (Buzan et al., 1998: 119).

Within the societal sector, securitisation occurs when issues are accepted as threatening the existence of a group’s identity (Peoples and Vaughan-Williams, 2015: 98). For instance, an influx
of migrants who hold rivalling and potentially competing values could be presented by securitising actors as threatening their very ‘way of life’, a language, or their community (ibid.). Here, we can see a clear connection to social constructivism, as it is the accepted social construction that makes threats legitimate. Additionally, when states seek to define migration or asylum as an existential threat, they risk reducing the complex issue of migration and asylum seeking into merely a ‘national security threat’. Huysmans argues that such actions may reify migration and asylum as a driving vehicle of fear and insecurity around which a societal security sector is constructed (Huysmans, 2006: 81).

3.4 Securitising Moves and Speech Act Theory

When something is moved from the realm of ordinary politics to the realm of international and/or national security, this is known as a securitising move. According, Peoples and Vaughan-Williams, this speech act, through which the securitisation of a certain issue occurs: ‘a securitising ‘move’ develops when an issue not previously thought of as a security threat comes to be spoken of as a security issue by important political actors’ (2015: 94). Here, the Copenhagen School draws their ideas from speech act theory as formulated in the work of the philosopher John L. Austin (ibid.). Wæver argues that some utterances are equivalent to actions; when we say certain words or phrases, we also perform a particular action (1995). For instance, saying the word ‘security’ or ‘threat’, in itself, is an action.

Securitisation theory argues that securitisation processes in principle are completely open. This means that in theory, any securitising actor could use these methods to securitise an issue, in practise, this is not necessarily the case. There are certain requirements to performing a speech act and a securitising move. In order for a securitising move to work through speech act, for instance, there are certain conditions that must be met. The words have to be uttered by someone in authority, in the right context, and finally, it needs to be done in accordance with certain pre-established conventions (Peoples and Vaughan-Williams, 2015: 95). These are what are known as ‘felicity conditions’ in speech act theory – conditions required for the successful accomplishment of a speech act (ibid.). Not actors, however, are in equal positions to attempt a successful securitisation move, it is due to this that this thesis analyses the political leadership roles within the two chosen states. Furthermore, these concepts will be used as the framework for the analysis of this thesis.
4 Methodology

This thesis compares the securitisation of migration in Hungary and Sweden, which is a method in itself. Moreover, this thesis employs a qualitative content analysis, henceforth known as QCA, in order to analyse what evidence, there is to show that the leaders of Sweden and Hungary have securitised migration in their respective states through their speeches to the public. Thus, this part of the thesis presents the method chosen for data generation, the sources of this empirical data, and how the data shall be analysed and utilised in the analysis section of the thesis. Moreover, this research outlines the methods previously used in existing academia on the securitisation of migration. Additionally, this chapter discusses the issues of reliability and validity, alongside other concerns that may rise. The following paragraph of this paper justifies and explains the case selection.

4.1 Method Selection

Earlier research on the securitisation of migration in Sweden and Hungary has mostly used discourse analysis in order to analyse how the migration discourse moved from the realm of humanitarian issues and human mobility to the realm of security. Additionally, researchers also draw their analyses on the discourse-historical approach and critical discourse analysis, developed by the Austrian linguist Ruth Wodak and her colleagues at the University of Vienna (Wodak, 2015).

The reason this thesis chose not to utilise discourse analysis to examine the securitisation of migration in the previously stated countries, is that in order to achieve a comprehensive discourse analysis, the researcher must be able to fully and completely understand the political context of the event. Furthermore, discourse analysis is not simply the analysis of how something is represented by language, but it is also about how things are actually constructed by the ways in which it is intelligible and legitimate to talk about it in a particular time and place (Halperin and Heath, 2017: 337). Therefore, as a non-native to Sweden and Hungary, the chance of error is higher if this study were to conduct a discourse analysis.

4.2 Comparative Study

The comparative study method is one of most widely used methods in political research to study a wide range of political phenomena (Halperin and Heath, 2017: 211). Comparative studies can be an effective way to examine how and why states have securitised migration after the 2015 refugee
crisis, as well as explain why the political and social context matters in terms of whether or not a securitisation of migration occurs. By using a comparative method, this thesis seeks to analyse how the contexts of Hungary and Sweden impacted the securitisation processes during and after the 2015 refugee crisis.

Comparative studies include a wide range of methods and ways in which a researcher may conduct their research. This thesis, however, uses a small-N study in which the units of analysis consist of two countries: Hungary and Sweden. The justification to why this thesis has chosen to only examine two states, is due to the time constraints of the thesis. Furthermore, as this thesis analyses a political phenomenon (securitisation of migration) that has occurred in both nations, a comparative study may shed light on why said phenomena has occurred, yet developed differently in the respective countries.

This study is largely theory-based and utilises securitisation theory, thus, it is appropriate test this theory in two countries in which the phenomenon has occurred in differing degrees. The overarching puzzle of this paper outlines that Hungary and Sweden received approximately the same numbers of asylum and immigrants per capita in the 2015 refugee crisis. Sweden receiving 162,000 asylum seekers (Migrationsverket, 2020), with Hungary receiving 174,000 (pewresearch.org). However, the domestic discussions on the matter vary significantly. Therefore, by applying securitisation theory to both cases and comparing them, this thesis can explain why securitisation of migration has occurred in contrasting way.

4.2.1 Case Selection

As previously stated, this thesis employs a small-N comparison in which the two cases selected are Hungary and Sweden. The justification of this case selection lies in the inherent political differences between both states. The states have dealt with the 2015 refugee crisis in drastically different ways. Based on the reviewed literature on the securitisation of migration in Hungary and Sweden, Hungary has securitised migration to a higher degree than Sweden has. Furthermore, another significant difference between the two states are the political ideologies which the parties of the government hold. The governing party of Hungary (Fidesz) is a right-wing party, whereas Sweden is governed by a coalition government, consisting of the Social Democrats and the Green Party. Sweden’s political identity can be described as liberal, while Hungary is conservative.

The selected states for this thesis’ comparative study have some vital similarities. The similarity highlighted by this thesis, is that both Hungary and Sweden are part of the EU and ought to follow the EU laws and regulations on migration. Furthermore, as Hungary and Sweden are EU member
states, they have both agreed on and signed the Copenhagen Criteria, in which a part on the criteria demands that accession requires the state to have fulfilled ‘three criteria:— political: stable institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for minorities’ (Copenhagen Criteria, 1993). However, prior to the accession to the EU, the states had dissimilar experiences during the Cold War. Hungary was under the Soviet influence while Sweden had a non-alignment principle (Fischer, Aunesluoma and Makko, 2016).

Another important dissimilarity between Hungary and Sweden within the EU context is that Sweden is a net contributor while Hungary is a net recipient (Kovacevic, 2019). This difference becomes increasingly significant as it determines the economic capabilities of the states. A prominent similarity and justification for this thesis’ selection of Hungary and Sweden lie in the numbers of asylum applications, which the states’ received during the 2015 refugee crisis. By capita, the states were the highest asylum receiving states.

Based on the abovementioned characteristics of the states, this study chose Hungary and Sweden as the objectives for a comparative study conducted for this thesis.

4.3 Qualitative Content Analysis - QCA

The method chosen for the employment of this thesis is QCA. Content analysis is a systematic analysis of textual information, and moreover, it is an unobtrusive method of data collection (Halperin and Heath, 2017: 345). Unobtrusive methods are beneficial as they reduce bias. Additionally, obtrusive methods such as interviews or focus groups may be prone to the ‘Heisenberg effect’ (ibid.). Furthermore, given the nature of this research, by conducting a content analysis, I will be able to provide data that would otherwise be difficult or impossible to attain.

In order to answer the research question and subsequently the puzzle, qualitative content analyses are a more appropriate method than quantitative content analysis due to the interpretivist nature of the former method. As, in order to understand the meanings, motives, and purposes embedded in the text, quantitative content analysis lacks these characteristics. Thus, even without employing a discourse analysis to investigate these meanings, by conducting a QCA this thesis can still explore similar data, as well as offer an interpretivist assessment of the data.

In addition, QCA makes more inferences to context, authors, and recipients than its quantitative counterpart (Pashakhanlou, 2017: 449) Interpretation is central to QCA (ibid.). Additionally, with analysing latent meaning of the texts chosen for the data analysis, we can achieve an advantage in attaining validity qualitatively (Halperin and Heath, 2017: 345). Investigating latent meaning makes a qualitative content analysis more suitable for dealing with explanatory questions.
Furthermore, this thesis’ operational theory is social constructivism, therefore, this thesis asks explanatory questions, making the employment of this method appropriate for this study.

4.4 Data generation

This thesis will follow the steps of conducting a QCA outlined by Halperin and Heath (2017: 348). In this section I shall present how I am conducting a QCA for this thesis in order to answer the previously stated research question and the overarching research puzzle.

4.4.1 Ready, Set, Sample

The first step of conducting QCA is selecting the object of analysis. The material chosen for this QCA shall the political speeches by the leaders of both Hungary and Sweden. As with securitisation theory, the main focus is how the securitising actor is able to achieve a successful securitisation move via the use of language. By analysing the speeches by both leaders, this thesis will be able to see 1) whether or not the leaders have implicitly and/or explicitly employed language in such a way that would lead to a successful securitisation of migration, and 2) see a comparison between the two state’s leaders and the way in which they have used their influence to securitise international migration.

As a non-native to Hungary and Sweden, I shall use official translations of the speeches addressing migration and/or the 2015 refugee crisis. The official government websites offer English translations on the speeches by both Stefan Löfven and Viktor Orbán. By choosing to analyse already translated official documents, I will minimise the possible errors in translating them myself. Furthermore, as they are officially translated and documented speeches, this thesis will be able to provide an insight to how they have been translated and the message that the governments want sent to the international audience.

The sample selected for this thesis consist of speeches mentioning or regarding migration, dating back from 2015 until 2016. In the year 2015, Europe received the highest number of asylum seekers and refugees, and therefore, it is salient to choose to analyse data from this point onward. Although, the time period under analysis is relatively short, this thesis may still produce relevant and coherent data for the analysis section.

The sample chosen for a complete coding is two speeches from both states, making the full sample four texts under analysis. Additionally, in order to reduce selection bias of the samples, this thesis chooses the texts using a random number sequence. Although the sample is relatively small,
this opens up space for an in-depth analysis of the texts, in contrast to if the sample was larger, the analysis would only produce a surface-level analysis. Therefore, giving this chosen research method and sample high internal validity. Furthermore, as this is a QCA, choosing a smaller sample is appropriate for the type of data desired.

4.4.2 Categories

In order to systematically and qualitatively analyse, how the leaders have securitised migration in their respective states, I shall define the categories accordingly to which this thesis will be conducting the QCA on. The categories will highlight what the analysis of the texts is for, and the categories are derived from the previous chapters (section 2&3). The previous sections outlined and analysed the characteristics of how securitisation theory has occurred in earlier research, and these include a variety of specific concepts. Thus, in order to answers the research question, as well as the research puzzle, I will use these concepts as the categories chosen this research.

The first category shall be 1) self-representation. As previously outlined in section 2, framing and representation are significant actions and concepts in securitisation theory, and therefore, these shall serve as a category for this type of action. Positive representation of the self is highly important as it lays the foundation for the act of othering, which, in turn may compliment securitising moves.

As recalled from section 2 of this thesis, national identity is often highlighted by securitising actors. This is done in order to emphasise the contrast between the national population and the foreign migrants. In the same vein, in the societal sector of securitisation theory, migration is described as a threat to the already established homogenous identity (Peoples and Vaughan-Williams, 2015: 98). Hence, the second category shall be 2) national identity. Although within the societal sector, securitisation theory concerns itself with the issues that are seen as threatening the existence of a group's identity (ibid.), there is a link between the societal sector and economic security.

The societal sector, the group, and the group identity may only be secured if there is no outside threat to economical resources and social welfare. As stated is argues for case selection, net finances to the EU are significant in explaining securitisation of the 2015 refugee crisis because in order to secure one's identity and group, there needs to be a way to secure the economic environment in which the group lives, thus making the third category 3) economic implications.

Finally, within the EU context, both Hungary and Sweden must follow the EU regulations on international migration. Although, migration may be securitised to differing degrees in the respective states, they are obligated to follow the same laws on migration as they are both member states. Additionally, based on earlier research on the securitisation of migration in Sweden and
Hungary, a number of academic articles have connected the 2015 refugee crisis to the EU, and in certain extent ‘blamed’ the crisis on the EU. Therefore, the last category will be 4) image of the EU.

4.4.3 Recording Unit

A recording unit, according to Halperin and Heath (2017: 348), is ‘the portion or segment of text to which you [...] apply a category label’, therefore, making this step a crucial part of a QCA. As this thesis is conducting a qualitative analysis, it is appropriate to analyse the speeches in their entirety.

Although recording units with clear boundaries, such as sentences, individual words, or paragraphs are objectively easier to label as a certain specific category, they do generally not allow for further consideration within their respective contexts (Halperin and Heath, 2017: 348). Additionally, as speeches can send certain messages explicitly and implicitly, it is necessary to analyse the text as a whole. By analysing the whole texts, this thesis opens up space for an interpretivist approach. Thus, making the recording unit for the analysis the whole texts.

4.4.4 Coding

According to Halperin and Heath (2017: 349) the last step of a QCA is coding. This includes a variety of steps: a) creating a coding protocol for identifying the target variables and categories, b) creating codes that will signal their presence, c) coding texts using the protocol and codes.

The first part of coding is establishing a coding protocol. This has two purposes: firstly, it sets the ground rules for coding, and secondly, it records how the research was operated, as well as ensures that the researchers have been consistent in their research (Halperin and Heath, 2017: 349). Therefore, by creating a coding protocol, the researcher may ensure reliability in their work.

In order to strengthen this study’s reliability and the validity of this study’s results, the coding protocol will be organised following Riffe et al.’s (2019: 103) guidance: firstly, the protocol highlights the aims of this research, and introduces the major concepts of the study; the second part of the protocol defines the procedures governing how the content is processed; and lastly, the third part of protocol ‘specifies each variable used in the content analysis, and therefore carries the weight of the protocol’. The coding protocol is included in the appendix (See appendix 1).

The second part is selecting the codes (Halperin and Heath, 2017: 349). The short abbreviations for each variable can also be found in the coding protocol in the appendix. Lastly, the final step is the coding itself.
For this research, the coding will be conducted manually while also applying an electronic annotation aid (ibid., 2017: 351) NVivo 12. By using this program this paper benefits from digitally drawn inferences between the analysed variables, while still allowing for manual interpretivist analysis of the speeches. With manual coding, there is chance of coding bias, however, by strictly following the coding protocol this paper has addressed this possible issue.
This thesis seeks to answer the research question: “What evidence is there to show that socio-political conditions and the political leadership roles have impacted the securitisation of 2015 refugee crisis in Hungary and Sweden?” Additionally, this thesis aims to explore the puzzle: “Why is it that migration is highly securitised in Hungary but not in Sweden, given that both states received approximately the same number of asylum seekers and other types of migrants?”.

This following section will present and analyse this study’s generated data, and subsequently the findings of this thesis’ conducted research. The analysis and applied theoretical framework have been built and based upon the foundations established in the Theory, Existing Literature, and the Methods sections of this paper.

The analysis follows the format established in the methodology section, where this thesis outlined the categories according to which coding was to be conducted. The categories are closely related to the reviewed literature and the theoretical framework. Therefore, the subsequent analysis is structured as follows: Firstly, this thesis describes the generated data in an illustrative table in order to provide a visual illustration of the results of the coding. Secondly, this thesis presents and analyses the findings of the four categories (self-presentation, national identity, image of the EU, and economic implications). Additionally, the analysis of the speeches coded considers the context in which the speeches were delivered. There are two variables under this: domestic audience and international audience (Variable 2) (see appendix 1).

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Categories</th>
<th>Sub-categories</th>
<th>Number of speeches, where references were found in</th>
<th>Number of references found</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic Implications</td>
<td>Negative economic implications</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Positive economic implications</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Image of the EU</td>
<td>Negative image of the EU</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Positive image of the EU</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National identity</td>
<td>Emphasis on the threat to self</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Emphasis on national identity</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-presentation</td>
<td>Negative self-presentation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Positive self-presentation</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.1 Category 1: Self-Presentation

This research showed that there were several references that could be categorised under the category ‘self-presentation’; in fact, in all four of the speeches coded, the prime ministers of both Hungary and Sweden made remarks, in which they implicitly and explicitly presented themselves in a specific way. This research had two sub-categories under self-presentation, positive self-presentation (variable 3.2) and negative self-presentation (variable 3.1).

This research found that in both cases, the prime ministers presented themselves and their states in a positive light when speaking about migration. In fact, only once could this research find a negative remark about self: ‘But we must admit that, when we face reality, we find that we have plenty of heart and a loud voice, but we lack strength’ (speaker 2: Orbán, 2016). Here, he refers to the lacking capabilities of the EU to solve crises. Thus, although there is one reference to negative self-presentation, the leaders of Sweden and Hungary presented themselves, and their state, in a positive light for their audiences.

As in the research question stated, this thesis examines the political leadership roles of Hungary and Sweden and their impact in securitisation of migration. Self-presentation is a significant part in securitisation, as not only does it impact how the domestic audience will view their leaders, but it may also shape the way in which the leaders want to be perceived by the international audience.

The coding of the speeches found that there are observable differences in the way Orbán addresses migration in front of a domestic audience compared international audience. When addressing migration in front of the EU, Orbán has, in his speeches, divided the EU into ‘us’ vs ‘them’, in which he presents the ‘us’ as defenders of Europe in the matter of migration, and ‘them’, as the EU promoting migration. To illustrate, when he addressed the refugee flows from Turkey’s direction he said: ‘Hungary is able to defend the interior of Europe’ (speaker 2: Orbán, 2016). Here he is referring to Hungary’s attempt to secure borders, in order to stop the migration flow. In this reference, we can observe Orbán’s attempt to be viewed as the EU’s protector during the 2015 refugee crisis.

Furthermore, in his speech, he presents Hungary in a positive light in a more subtle way in contrast to when he is addressing his domestic audience. In a domestic context, (Variable 2.1) Orbán spoke in a significantly more nationalistic tone: ‘indeed, we too are a proud, self-confident and – at times – headstrong people, […] ; a nation which does not want to be either the master or the slave of any other people’ (speaker 2: Orbán, 2015). This differs from Löfven, as he maintains a relatively consistent tone in presenting himself and his nation in both of his speeches, although it must be noted that both speeches, chosen at random for analysis, were in the context of the EU (Variable 2.2). Löfven refers to himself and Sweden as ‘the leader of migration’ (speaker 1: Löfven,
2015). Which is in opposition to the way in which Orbán addresses his role, as he refers to himself as the defender of Europe against migration, whereas Löfven presents himself as the leader and advocate for migration during the 2015 refugee crisis.

Here, the context in which the leaders of Hungary and Sweden represent themselves in discussing migration issue, matter significantly. The way in which the prime ministers represent themselves and their states reflect the way migration is viewed in the states’ domestic politics and are translated into international debates about migration.

5.2 Category 2: National Identity

This study’s coding showed that there were several references that can be categorised as references made to emphasise one’s own national identity. Compared to the previous category, there were less references made in the speeches by the Hungarian and Swedish prime ministers. Correspondingly, to the previous category, this research divided this category into two sub-categories: emphasis on own national identity (variable 4.1) and emphasis on threat to nation’s identity (variable 4.2). It must be noted, however, that unlike within the previous category, the division was more even in the sub-categories.

This research observed that the Swedish prime minister Stefan Löfven made references to national identity in only one speech: in his speech at the European Parliament. Similarly, the Hungarian prime minister made remarks to his national identity in only one of the coded speeches, although this speech was delivered in a domestic context.

In securitisation theory and in social constructivism, identity is a significant concept as state identity fundamentally shapes state preferences and actions (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001: 398). Within the societal sector of securitisation theory, securitisation occurs when issues are accepted as threatening the existence of a group’s identity (Peoples and Vaughan-Williams, 2015: 98). Hence, when securitising actors emphasise their own national identity or emphasise the threat to national identity, they can be argued to be attempt a securitising move. Thus, making this category relevant for the analysis of how political leadership roles impact the securitisation of migration.

This thesis makes a distinction between when leaders refer to their own identity, and when they are addressing the threat that may come with international migration. This is important, as even when the ‘other’, or the threat of ‘other’, is not explicitly mentioned, but the mentioning of ‘self’ or own identity can be interpreted as implicitly, making a comparison between the state’s own national identity and the refugees’ identity.
In coding the speeches, this research found that when Löfven made remarks to identity, it was in combination of Sweden’s identity as the leader of migration and the ‘Swedish exceptionalism’ (Rydgren and van der Meiden, 2018), as well as the EU’s identity. For the latter, the Swedish prime minister did so by reflecting on the European values of democracy and cooperation: ‘...I know that the European Union can be a driving force to this end, if we stand up for three central values of our union: Democracy. Cooperation.’ (speaker 1: Löfven, 2016). In this, this research has observed that Sweden identifies with the European Union and perceives the values of the EU as in line with Sweden’s national identity. Additionally, in Löfven’s speech, his notions on national identity emphasise his own national identity, rather than emphasising the possible threat. It must be noted however, that this speech was delivered in an EU context, which can impact what message the Swedish prime minister wants to send.

In contrast to Löfven, Hungary’s prime minister made remarks emphasising both his own national identity and the threat to identity, caused by migration. The coding results found that when Orbán addressed the Hungarian national identity, he did so with less discretion compared to the Swedish prime minister. The reason for this could be that, unlike Löfven’s speech, Orbán’s speech was addressed to a domestic audience, his own party. Here, we can see that context matters when analysing how one used language in securitising migration. When making remarks about his own national identity, Orbán also emphasises the threat to the Hungarian identity:

Likewise, we cannot ignore the fact that this mass migration – the mass settlement in Europe of people coming from different civilisations – is a threat to our culture, our way of life, our customs and our traditions [...] They do not have the slightest intention of giving up their own, adopting ours and integrating into our society. (speaker 2: Orbán, 2015).

Here, he makes an explicit statement about the threat to the Hungarian identity that migration would impose. He emphasises the threat to Hungary’s culture and traditions, therefore excluding migrants from the distinct Hungarian population.

In terms of how the Hungarian prime minister views the EU identity in line with his own identity, his views differ from Stefan Löfven’s view significantly:

They do not want to think or speak about who they actually are, and as they do not acknowledge their own identity, [...] it is abundantly clear that Europe is ancient Greece,
not Persia; it is ancient Rome, not Carthage; and it is Christianity, not the caliphate (speaker 2: Orbán, 2015).

Here he is referring to the EU, although he does not explicitly mention the Union. There is a clear distinction to how the prime ministers view and align themselves with the EU. This thesis shall discuss this more in the following section of the analysis.

5.3 Category 3: Image of the EU

In line with the previous sub-section of the analysis in which this paper briefly discussed how the prime ministers of Sweden and Hungary have aligned themselves with the EU, this sub-section of the analysis will examine the image of the EU. This category too, was divided into two sub-categories: Negative image of the EU (variable 6.1) and positive image of the EU (variable 6.2). As both Sweden and Hungary are EU member states, it is important to examine how securitisation of migration has occurred in the EU context. This category was determined due to the combining similarity factor of both states. Furthermore, as they are EU member states, this means that there are certain migration regulations and norms that Hungary and Sweden are obliged to follow.

The coding of speeches found that the references made, in regards to how the states view the EU, were made in all but one speech, and the anomaly was the speech delivered by Stefan Löfven at the European parliament in 2016. Yet, it is a recurring theme in the speeches delivered by both prime ministers addressing the 2015 migration. Overall, the coding found that there are significantly more references made which can be categorised under the variable 6.1. In fact, the references made under the before mentioned category are more than triple the amounts of references made under the variable 6.2. Based on just numerical values of the coding, we can conclude that when it comes to the issue of migration, neither Hungary nor Sweden fully agree with the Union.

It should be noted that the majority of the references made under variable 6.1 fall under Viktor Orbán’s remarks about the EU. Based on previous research conducted before the coding of the texts, the literature already had pointed towards Hungary holding a more independent stance from the EU. It would be sufficient to argue that based on both previous literature and the results of the coding conducted for this study, Hungary holds an anti-EU stance when it comes to the issue of migration.

Although the analysis of the EU’s role on migration may not have a direct link to how Sweden and Hungary have securitised migration, it is necessary to examine this aspect as the states may
securitise migration through their interaction with the European Union. Furthermore, as most of the speeches are derived from the EU context, it is useful to see how by deviating from, or following the European Union’s migration policies, Hungary and Sweden have constructed themselves in their domestic migration policies.

This research showed that when Hungary and Sweden addressed the union and presented their views on the EU, they have also implicitly and explicitly presented themselves in a certain light and asserted their domestic political positions on migration. For instance, when Orbán addressed the issue of free movement of migrants waiting for their court appeals, he asserts Hungary’s stand on migration and their dissatisfaction with the EU:

Though at this point in time their actions are hindering rather helping, Brussels could help us in our efforts if they abolished some of the rules which have nothing to do with real life. I specifically asked Brussels to change the rules under which a migrant to whom we’ve denied entry and who exercises the constitutional right to appeal this decision in a court of law, may enter the territory of Hungary and freely move around the country until the court has ruled on their case. (speaker: 2: Orbán, 2016)

Here, the prime minister of Hungary asserts country’s political position and view on migration. He expresses his dissatisfaction with the EU and highlights the organisations failure to translate their policies to reality.

The coding for this research found that Stefan Löfven, too expressed his dissatisfaction with the EU, while also asserting Sweden’s position on the issues relating to the 2015 refugee crisis: ‘During a two-month period last autumn, Sweden took in 80 000 people at a rate that is equivalent to 25 million asylum seekers annually in the EU as a whole’ (speaker 1: Löfven, 2016). Furthermore, this study found that when the Swedish prime minister addressed the 2015 refugee crisis and the EU, the point of dissatisfaction for Sweden was the unequal distribution of refugees and asylum seekers across the EU countries. During the height of the 2015 refugee crisis, Sweden and Hungary received the highest numbers of asylum seekers by capita.

The positions held by both Hungary and Sweden in the 2015 refugee crisis deviate to some extent from the EU’s position. In the speeches coded, there were significantly more references made under variable 6.1 than under variable 6.2. Furthermore, the reasonings for such images of the EU may be connected to how Hungary and Sweden are able to financially deal with a sudden influx of migrants. The following section will discuss this further.
5.4 Category 4: Economic Implications

The fourth and last category set for the coding of the speeches is economic implications, and in a similar manner as the previous categories, this one was divided into two sub-categories: *negative economic implications* (variable 5.1) and *positive economic implications* (variable 5.2). In line with the previous section, this study found that there were significantly more references made under variable 5.1 than under 5.2. Thus, showing that during the 2015 refugee crisis, the leaders of Hungary and Sweden perceived the crisis as negatively impacting their economies. This category is important because it plays a part in the socio-political conditions of the securitising actors, hereby answering the research question. This thesis seeks to ask how the socio-political conditions impact securitisation of the 2015 refugee crisis, thus making this category crucial for this thesis.

The only references that can be categorised under variable 5.2 are traced back to the 2015 speech delivered by the Swedish prime minister. In his remarks, he talks about the positive aspects of circular migration: ‘…we should facilitate circular migration, and lower the cost of remittances. That’s why regular migration is key. And that’s why migration can be one of the strongest imperatives for development.’ (speaker 1: Löfven, 2015). In this specific passage, considering the context is important. This is because in the speech by the Swedish prime minister held in 2016, he changed his stand on the economic benefits of the 2015 refugee crisis. In his 2016 speech, he discusses the effects of Sweden receiving ‘80 000 thousand people’ (speaker 1: Löfven, 2016): ‘This brought our reception system to the brink of collapse…’ (speaker 1: Löfven, 2016). Thus, showing that both Hungary and Sweden viewed the 2015 refugee crisis as negatively impacting their states’ economies.

This study found that Hungary’s prime minister perceived the 2015 influx of different types of migrant to Europe as damaging to member states’ economies. The research shows that all the statements made by Orbán about possible economic implications can be categorised under variable 5.1. In his speech held for his party, he makes it explicitly clear that migration in his view is not in any way economically beneficial to the EU:

…it is quite clear to every reasonable person that Europe cannot support this many people, cannot provide the jobs, housing, social and health care, education, training and transport for this many people. Europe’s economy and welfare system will crumble under such an enormous burden – and sooner than anyone would think today (speaker 2: Orbán, 2016).

Further, in the abovementioned quote, it is observable that he has outlined migration as a threat to social welfare of Hungary, which can be linked to the societal sector of securitisation theory. In
addition to migration being presented as a threat to national identity (section 5.2). We can, therefore, observe that both prime ministers have treated the 2015 refugee crisis as a threat to their economy and thus a threat to the nations’ populations. This is due to the overarching theme in which in order to secure one’s identity and group, there needs to be a way to secure the economic environment in which the group lives.

5.5 The Securitisation of Migration in Hungary and Sweden

This thesis analysed the speeches by Sweden’s prime minister and Hungary’s prime minister in order to answer the latter part of the research question in which this paper asks: “What evidence is there to show that political leadership roles impacted the securitisation of the 2015 refugee crisis in Hungary and Sweden?”. However, during the conduction of the analysis, this thesis found that socio-political conditions of the securitising actors’ impact how political leadership roles present themselves in securitisation moves; this relates to the first part of the research question “How do the socio-political conditions …. impact the securitisation of the 2015 refugee crisis […]?”. By analysing the speeches in order to examine the leaders’ role in securitising the 2015 crisis, this thesis was able to shine light on to how political leadership roles and the socio-political conditions are interconnected.

The most prominent themes of the analysed speeches are national identity, economic concerns, and perceptions of the EU. National identity can be directly linked to the social aspects and conditions of the securitising states, as threats to identity are considered a legitimate security issue within securitisation theory. In the same vein, there is an idea that migration has opened up a societal security sector that can be defined by how it threatens cultural identity, according to Huysmans (2006: 80). Based on the analysis and foundational research done in reviewing earlier academia, Hungary can be characterised as significantly more nationalistic than Sweden. This factor is accounted for as part of the socio-political conditions of the securitising actors subjected for analysis in this thesis, as it describes the political condition and stand of the actors.

By the combining factors offered by earlier academia and this research’s findings, I argue that Hungary securitised the 2015 refugee crisis, whereas Sweden did not. Hungary securitised the 2015 crisis by relying on the perceived threat identity imposed by the asylum seekers entering during this period. Hungary’s leader makes it abundantly clear that he and his party view the events of 2015 as a security threat in his speeches. Although Sweden did not securitise migration immediately following the events of 2015, in the 2016 speech by Stefan Löfven, it can be observed that Sweden had become reluctant about possibly accepting more asylum seekers. When analysing the two
speeches by Löfven, one can also detect a slight change in Sweden’s stand on the 2015 refugee crisis.

This thesis shows that for Hungary, the referent object to which international migration poses a threat to is the ‘established’ national and cultural identity, whereas for Sweden it is the economic burden and social welfare. Both of these factors represent the socio-political conditions of the respective states. This paper thus argues that the socio-political conditions are factors from which the leaders derive their argument for the protection of referent object from migrants.

5.6 Concluding remarks on findings

Through analysing the findings of the methods chosen for this study, we can see that each pre-set category showed specific ways in which Hungary and Sweden have, to differing degrees, securitised the 2015 refugee crisis. Overall, the analysis found that Hungary’s prime minister did securitise the 2015 refugee crisis significantly more than Sweden’s prime minister.

Viktor Orbán securitised migration by relating the crisis as a threat to the Hungarian identity. He did so by using a combination of both addressing migration as a threat to their culture and values, as well as emphasising the ‘Hungarian way of life’. This research found that, when leaders emphasised their own identity or presented themselves in a positive way, they are explicitly putting their self above the ‘other’. Here, the ‘other’ is not reduced to being identified as the asylum seekers and refugees in the 2015 refugee crisis, but also the European Union. Sweden, on the other hand, used the negative economic implications that would come with accepting more asylum seekers as their reason for the hesitation towards migration.

The findings of this research serve as a great argumentation point in answering the research question, by showing that socio-political conditions are interconnected to the leaders and their interests and therefore, influence the objects chosen securitisation. However, with all research methods, there are some constraints. The limitation in the research method chosen for this thesis is that the number of speeches selected for coding is limited. Due to time constraints and limited access, this thesis was able to only code four speeches. This does not mean that the findings of this study are not valuable, what it does entail is that there is room to expand this research. Thus, this part of the thesis is followed with a discussion and theoretical reflections of the analysis’ findings.
6 Discussion and Theoretical Reflections

This part of the thesis has two aims: the first objective is to discuss and compare the findings of this thesis’ analysis with the existing academic debates concerning the securitisation of migration, achieved by reflecting back to the literature review (section 2), and the theoretical framework (section 3). The second aim is to assess and discuss the methodology, values, and limitations of this thesis. Further, it explores how the research question and corresponding puzzle relate to the broader academic field of International Relations. As they are the centre of this thesis, it is necessary to re-state the research question: “What evidence is there to show that socio-political conditions and the political leadership roles have impacted the securitisation of 2015 refugee crisis in Hungary and Sweden?” and subsequently the corresponding puzzle: “Why is it that migration is highly securitised in Hungary but not in Sweden, given that both states received approximately the same number of asylum seekers and other types of migrants?”

6.1 Comparison to existing academic debates

The findings of the analysis resulted in mostly similar conclusions as the existing academic debate concerning the securitisation of migration. The similarities between this thesis’ findings and the reviewed literature are the significance of the framing of migration, the emphasis on national identity in securitising international migration, and the impact with which the political leader has in securitising migration. Although, the findings of this thesis correspond to the conclusions and findings of the reviewed scholars’ research, there are some differences, such as the emphasis on the financial burden as a reason to secure the referent object, and the degrees in which each actor had securitised the 2015 refugee crisis.

One most significant similarity between this study’s results and the findings of the reviewed literature is the importance of the framing of migrants. Earlier research argues that when international agents frame migrants as a public threat, there can be negative impacts on migration-related policies, which in turn shifts migration from a sphere of humanitarian crisis towards the sphere of security issues (Cvrtila et al., 2019: 17). Ibrahim (2005) further argues that when securitising actors frame asylum seekers and migrants as threats to the public, they are legitimising the exclusion of migrants and legitimising the act of no action. This thesis found that the Hungarian prime minister securitised the 2015 refugee crisis by framing them as a threat to the public’s identity and way of life, showing results in line with the reviewed literature. However, this study’s analysis found that Sweden’s prime minister did not frame migrations as a threat to the public, instead he viewed the influx of migration as a concern for Sweden’s economy. Hence
showing that the conclusions found in the reviewed literature correspond only to Hungary and not Sweden.

The research found that the significant differences in framing practices by Viktor Orbán and Stefan Löfven stem from the socio-political contexts and conditions of the states. Hungary is a significantly more conservative state than Sweden and could be characterised as a more nationalistic state than Sweden. Furthermore, the results of this paper show that in the speeches held by both prime ministers, they implicitly address their political and social conditions. This can be interpreted as a factor for why the states have framed migration differently, despite receiving similar numbers of migrants in 2015.

Another accentuated similarity between the findings of this thesis and the conclusions in the existing academic debates about the securitisation of migration is the emphasis put on national identities. Identities are socially constructed concepts yet, some states make claims for the right to exclude migrants in the name of maintaining the dominant and imagined notions of national identity (Stokes-Dupass, 2017: 50). This study’s analysis found that both Sweden and Hungary use national identity and the protection of their national values to securitise the 2015 crisis, but in contrasting extent. This research shows that the Swedish prime minister did not use national identity as a means to securitise the 2015 refugee crisis, rather, he used it as a means to present Sweden in a positive light to a European audience, whereas Orbán, in his speeches used national identity to securitise the crisis. He did so in line with Bocskor’s argument (2018, 557), in which he argues that the nationalistic party Fidesz emphasises the existence of a homogenous Hungary based on ethnic, cultural and religious values to exclude migrants.

The most prominent difference found in this thesis’ findings and earlier academic research is the emphasis put on the state-actor’s economy. In reviewing the existing literature, it was found that there was only a limited emphasis put on how socio-economic conditions may have had an impact in securitisation of the 2015 refugee crisis in Hungary and Sweden. Based on the findings, this study argues that in Sweden particularly, this was an influencing factor. This plays into the socio-political conditions of the states objected for analysis as domestic economic conditions are significant to social well-being.

The existing academic debates highlight the importance of examining the political leadership within states and their interplay with the population (Bocskor, 2018; Balzacq, 2005; Szalai and Göbl, 2015). In this vein, this thesis’ analysis found that political leadership roles are a factor influencing the securitisation of the 2015 refugee crisis. In section 2, this thesis states that the literature in this has been limited and hence this thesis employed the investigation on the extent to which political leadership roles impact securitisation processes. The influence leaders have can be
linked to the political platform they possess. This research focuses on the impact in which the leaders of Hungary and Sweden had in securitising migration by analysing their framing practices. In line with securitisation theory, some actors have more legitimate authority and influence when performing securitisation practices and speeches, additionally, the securitising moves are only legitimate if they are conducted in a legitimate setting. (Peoples and Vaughan-Williams, 2015: 95). This study analyses speeches in which the felicity conditions were met and thus, it is found that both Stefan Löfven and Viktor Orbán had legitimate influence in the securitisation processes.

6.2 Theoretical reflections

This thesis utilises social constructivism and securitisation theory as the theoretical framework for its analysis. The findings of this study are closely related to the theoretical arguments outlined in section 3 of this thesis. The categories (self-presentation, national identity, image of the EU, and economic implications) are derived both from the previously reviewed literature, but more importantly they arise out of the theoretical framework.

Social constructivism asserts that human interaction is shaped primarily by ideational factors, and not only material ones; that the most important ideational factors are widely shared or ‘intersubjective’ beliefs; and that these shared beliefs construct the interests of purposive actors (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001: 391). Hence, the categories serve as the intersubjective beliefs which the securitising states use in order to protect themselves. These ideational factors are socially constructed by the actors and the findings of this analysis show that they observably shape the interests of Hungary and Sweden. Likewise, one of the very core ideas of constructivism is that identities are socially constructed, but actors may take rational choices about how to construct their identities (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001: 410).

By operationalising the concepts of constructivism as the categories, according to which the coding was conducted, this thesis’ findings show that not only are state identities significant factors in influencing the 2015 crisis, but that the actors – the leaders of Hungary and Sweden, consciously and rationally make choices on how they construct their identities. For example, to reiterate some of the findings: Stefan Löfven constructs Sweden as the ‘leader of migration (speaker 1: Löfven, 2015) and Viktor Orbán constructs Hungary as the defender of Europe, ‘Hungary is able to defend the interior of Europe’ (speaker 2: Orbán, 2016). Here we can observe contrasting identities that also shape the actors’ interests.
Securitisation theory is the focus of this study, as this thesis is concerned with the factors in which have influenced the securitisation of the 2015 refugee crisis. Securitisation theory and constructivism are closely related, because securitisation theory is based on the social construction of threats. In the findings of this thesis, we can observe that in the speeches analysed, the leaders have indeed constructed the refugee crisis as a threat. The findings of this thesis show that Löfven and Orbán describe migrants as a threat, but they do so contrastingly. What is more, the referent object to which the migrants are framed as a threat to are different. Securitisation theory is not about analysing or describing the security threats, rather, the theory is about how political issues come into being as security issues. Thus, securitisation theory served as the framework of the analysis.

Within the societal sector of securitisation, securitisation occurs when issues are accepted as threatening the existence of a group’s identity (Peoples and Vaughan-Williams, 2015: 98). To exemplify, the influx of migrants who embody competing and rivalling values are presented – by the securitising actor, as a threat to their own existence, a way of life, language and community. Hereby, highlighting the distinctions of the different groups. The findings of this study show that the Hungarian prime minister frames the migrants as a security threat to the existing group identity of Hungary and Europe. Huysmans, subsequently argues that such actions may reify migration and asylum as a driving vehicle of fear and insecurity around which a societal security sector is constructed (Huysmans, 2006: 81).

6.3 Assessment of methods and IR salience

This thesis seeks to answer the research question: “What evidence is there to show that socio-political conditions and the political leadership roles have impacted the securitisation of 2015 refugee crisis in Hungary and Sweden?” and subsequently the overarching puzzle: “Why is it that migration is highly securitised in Hungary but not in Sweden, given that both states received approximately the same number of asylum seekers and other types of migrants?”. This thesis employed a qualitative content analysis in addition to conducting a comparative small-N study in order to answer the research question above. This thesis chose to employ a QCA of the speeches held by the prime ministers of Sweden and Hungary from the time period of 2015-2016. Additionally, this thesis randomly selected four speeches altogether for the QCA. The short time period and small sample of the speeches may be the greatest limitation on this study. Despite the small sample size, this thesis was able conduct an in-depth analysis of the results which gives the findings of this thesis high internal validity.
The questions asked in this study are closely related to the field of International Relations, as they seek to examine the framing of global issues such as international migration. Furthermore, the securitisation of migration is closely linked to local effects and implementations of global governance, as can be seen in the findings of this thesis’ analysis, in which Sweden and Hungary have different approaches in said implementations. International migration is a globally discussed issue, and thus, by analysing how the socio-political conditions and political leadership roles impacted the 2015 refugee crisis, this thesis was able to shine light to the reasons why securitisation of migration may occur, and which factors influence this outcome. It is important to discuss these issues, as they affect the displacement of the most vulnerable and challenges individual states’ and intergovernmental organisations’ capacity to deal with such structural issues.

One of IR’s ‘grand’ theories, social constructivism has been utilised not only as the theoretical framework, but also as a method in analysis of the text, in addition to the development of the questions asked. Constructivism heavily influences the research question, as it asks about how something came to be a security issue, more specifically, how the 2015 refugee crisis was constructed as a security issue. This theory is a significant part of this thesis, as it helped demonstrate how state identity fundamentally shapes state preferences and actions in the analysis of this research. Furthermore, this theory serves as the framework in explaining how the social milieu of the securitising actors impacted the securitisation of this event.

The discussion and theoretical reflections, aimed to discuss how the findings of this study, relate to the existing debate on the securitisation of migration and further reflect how this research applies the theoretical arguments of constructivism and securitisation theory. Additionally, the discussion aimed to assess the limitations and values of this research, and how the questions and puzzles asked are linked to IR. The discussion found that the study’s results correspond to the existing literature about the topic significantly, and although the findings of this research deviate at times, the discrepancies point out that there is a need to further explain how domestic socio-political conditions and political leadership roles impact the international securitisation of migration. Thus, it can be concluded that this thesis’ research question is not only relevant to IR but could also be used to widen and expand the investigations for how socio-political conditions and political leadership roles impact international security.
7 Conclusion

This thesis aimed to answer the leading research question and corresponding research puzzle of “What evidence is there to show that socio-political conditions and the political leadership roles have impacted the securitisation of 2015 refugee crisis in Hungary and Sweden?” and “Why is it that migration is highly securitised in Hungary but not in Sweden, given that both states received approximately the same number of asylum seekers and other types of migrants?”.

The assessment of these questions was approached by this paper through the employment of a comparative study analysis and a qualitative content analysis, as well as a theoretical framework constructed based upon Finnemore and Sikkink’s social constructivism and the Copenhagen School’s securitisation theory. The data generated through these methods was coded and analysed in order to exemplify how the prime ministers of both Hungary and Sweden securitised the 2015 refugee crisis through the use of language and their roles as political leaders. The following section will present the conclusions and evaluations gathered from the analysis of this study.

Based on the analysis (chapter 5) and the discussions (chapter 6) on the findings of this research, it is argued that socio-political conditions and political leadership roles, inhabited by the prime ministers of Hungary and Sweden, have significantly impacted the securitisation processes of the 2015 refugee crisis. This research argues that political leadership roles are interconnected to socio-political conditions in terms of the securitisation of political issues in the following way: socio-cultural aspects, paired with political interests, inform the political leaders in a way that shapes how and in articulation securitisation occurs. This argument is aligned with the theoretical framework utilised for this study, in which it is argued that state identity fundamentally shapes state preferences and actions (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001: 398).

Additionally, this research argues that, when comparing the degrees to which this securitisation has occurred in Hungary and Sweden, there are compelling differences between the two cases. In the case of Hungary, the prime minister clearly underlines the national identity and values as being under threat from migrants. Therefore, he securitises migration through asserting that it poses a threat to the Hungarian ‘way of life’. Contrastingly, then, Sweden’s prime minister highlights the economic burden in dealing with an influx of migrants as the concern for Sweden.

The securitisation of migration is global issue since it challenges international actors’ competence to deal with integrally international and transnational questions. Therefore, by focusing on the securitisation of the 2015 refugee crisis, this thesis is able to connect the event to the IR-related issue areas of global governance, international security, and transnational social mobility. As is stated in the ‘discussions’ chapter, this thesis’ research question and puzzle are not only relevant to the discipline of IR. Moreover, they can also be used to kickstart further
investigations into research on which socio-political conditions and political leadership roles influence international security.
Bibliography


Appendix

Appendix 1: Content Analysis Coding Protocol

1. Introduction

This coding protocol addresses and analyses the use of language in speeches by the leaders of Hungary and Sweden; Viktor Orbán and Stefan Löfven. The coding protocol shall analyse the ways in which the leaders’ have or have not securitised migration by analysing the speeches that the leaders have held for either their domestic audience or international audience.

The content of the results will be used to evaluate how and to what extent the leaders of Hungary and Sweden have attempted to securitise migration by breaking down the content into four main categories.

2. Processing procedures

This study deals with the analysis of speeches by Hungary’s Prime Minister Viktor Orbán and Sweden’s Prime Minister Stefan Löfven between 2015 and 2016. These speeches have been sampled according to relevance (migration related) and randomly chosen in order to minimise bias (as is outlined in the methodology section). This has resulted in choosing four speeches for QCA; two by Hungary’s Prime Minister and two by Sweden’s Prime Minister.

A speech may NOT eligible for coding for the following reasons:
1. They do not fall in the time scope (2015-2016)
2. They do not address migration

3. Various variables and their respective operational definitions

V1: Speaker
This variable determines who held the speech that is to be coded. The variable can take the following characteristics:
1. Stefan Löfven
2. Viktor Orbán

V2: Context
This variable determines the setting in which the speech was held as well and the audience to which the speech was addressed. The variable can take the following characteristics:
1. Domestic setting
2 international setting

V3: Self-Representation
This variable is based on the pre-determined categories and specifies several factors that can be understood as encompassing presentation of self. The variable can take the following characteristics:
1 Negative self-presentation
2 Positive self-presentation

V4: National Identity
This variable is based on the pre-determined categories and specifies several factors that can be understood as mentioning, or referring to ‘national identity’. The variable can take the following characteristics:
1 Emphasis on own identity
2 Emphasis on the threat to identity

V5: Economic Implications
This variable is based on the pre-determined categories and specifies several factors that can be understood as addressing economic implications or economic factors. The variable can take the following characteristics:
1 Negative economic implications
2 Positive economic implications

V6: Image of the EU
This variable is based on the pre-determined categories and specifies factors that can be understood as describing the actor's perception of the EU. The variable can take the following characteristics:
1 Negative image of the EU
2 Positive image of the EU