

# “The Hungarians Have Decided: They Do Not Want Illegal Migrants” Media Representation of the Hungarian Governmental Anti-Immigration Campaign

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*Hungary faced a great influx of asylum seekers during 2015. As response to that the Hungarian government launched a controversial anti-immigration campaign, which consisted of two main elements: the National Consultation on Immigration and Terrorism and a connected billboard campaign. In this essay I have analysed this campaign and its mainstream media representation, which crucially shaped the perception of migration and asylum issues in Hungary. First, I will present those discourses, in which this campaign and the related media coverage could be positioned. Secondly, by applying quantitative and qualitative media investigation techniques and critical discourse analysis I will show that the media reflect the polarized nature of the Hungarian society and the various media outlets construct significantly different understandings of these cases. Furthermore, this case study is also able to reveal some media practices of misrepresentation of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers.*

**Keywords:** *migration, media representation analysis, anti-immigration campaign, minority representation, media practices, refugee crisis*

During 2015 migration suddenly became the most discussed issue and there is a high chance that it will continue to be one of the most important questions in the future. It is not surprising that radical and quite hostile voices have also appeared in such a heated debate. However, the extensive and controversial anti-immigration campaign that the Hungarian government launched in February 2015 as a reaction to the refugee flow was quite unexpected. The leading part of this campaign was the “*National Consultation on Immigration and Terrorism*”, which was a printed letter containing a prologue and a questionnaire. The National Consultation was sent to every adult Hungarian citizen and it was coupled with a governmental billboard campaign.

In a broader research I have analysed these cases and their mainstream media representation. As a conclusion, I could argue that the campaign was able to remarkably influence the perception of migration issues, it was based on bias and fuelled tension in the society. In this essay I will introduce the main findings of this detailed

case study. By analysing the mainstream media representation of these cases with quantitative and qualitative investigation techniques I will shortly demonstrate how the different media outlets constructed different understandings of these cases. Furthermore, I will delineate what misrepresentation and framing techniques can be discovered in the media coverage of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers in the mainstream Hungarian media in connection with these cases.

## The National Consultation on Immigration and Terrorism, billboards and counter-billboards

The *National Consultation on Immigration and Terrorism* was first publicly mentioned on 6<sup>th</sup> February 2015 as an immigration and asylum policy measure that could help to solve the problems and conflicts in connection with the migrant flow. On 24<sup>th</sup> April the Hungarian Post Office started to deliver the printed consultation letters to every Hungarian citizen above 18. The letter contained a propagandistic prologue and a questionnaire with 12 questions in connection with immigration *and* terrorism.<sup>1</sup>



Tisztelt Magyar Polgár!

Mi, magyarok 2010-ben úgy határoztunk, hogy minden fontos kérdést megbeszélünk egymással, mielőtt döntéseket hozunk. Ezért indítottunk nemzeti konzultációt többek között az ország új alaptörvényéről, mindannyiunk szociális biztonságáról, a nyugdíjasok helyzetének javításáról. És ezért indítunk most is nemzeti konzultációt a megélhetési bevándorlás kérdéséről.

Mint bizonyára emlékszik, Európát az év elején példátlan terrorcselekmény ráta meg. Párizsban ártatlan emberek életét oltották ki kegyetlen hidegvérrrel és ijesztő brutalitással. Mindannyiunkat megdöbbentette mindaz, ami történt. Ez az emberi ésszel felfoghatatlan szörnyűség ugyanakkor azt is megmutatta, hogy Brüsszel és az Európai Unió nem képes megfelelő módon kezelni a bevándorlás kérdését.

A megélhetési bevándorlók törvénytelenül lépik át a határt, és miközben menekültnek állítják be magukat, valójában a szociális juttatásokért és a munkalehetőségért jönnek. Csak az elmúlt néhány hónapban mintegy húszszorosára nőtt a megélhetési bevándorlók száma Magyarországon. Ez egy új típusú fenyegetést jelent, amit meg kell állítanunk.

Mivel Brüsszel kudarcot vallott a bevándorlás kezelésében, Magyarországnak a saját útját kell járnia. Nem fogjuk hagyni, hogy a megélhetési bevándorlók veszélyeztessék a magyar emberek munkahelyeit és megélhetését.

Döntést kell hoznunk arról, hogyan kell védelemezni Magyarországnak a törvénytelen határátlépésekkel szemben. Dönténünk kell, hogyan korlátozzuk a robbanásszerűen növekvő megélhetési bevándorlást.

Tisztelettel arra kérem, lépjen velünk kapcsolatba, mondja el nekünk is, hogy mit gondol a főtett kérdésekről, töltsse ki, és küldje vissza a kérdőívet. Számítok a véleményére.

Üdvözlettel:

Orbán Viktor

1 Figure 1 and Appendix 1.

## NEMZETI KONZULTÁCIÓ

### a bevándorlásról és a terrorizmusról

FELELŐS KÁRDÓ - MINISZTERELNÖKSÉG

**Töltse ki a kérdőívet!**

**1]** Sokféle véleményt lehet hallani az erősödő terrorcselekményekkel kapcsolatban. Ön mennyire tartja fontosnak a terrorizmus tényrészét és franciavárosi vétségét, az ISIS riasztó cselekményét) a saját élete szempontjából?  
 Nagyon fontos    Fontos    Nem fontos

**2]** Ön szerint az elkövetkező években lehet-e terrorcselekmény célpontja Magyarország?  
 Komoly esély van rá    Előfordulhat    Teljesen kizárt

**3]** Vannak, akik szerint a Brüsszel által rosszul kezelt bevándorlás összefüggésben van a terrorizmus tényrészével. Ön egyetért ezzel a véleményekkel?  
 Teljesen egyetértök    Inkább egyetértök    Nem értek egyet

**4]** Tudta-e Ön, hogy a megilletései bevándorlók törvénytelenszerű lépik át a magyar határt és az elmúlt időszakban hátszorosára nőtt a bevándorlók száma Magyarországon?  
 Igen    Hallottam róla    Nem tudtam

**5]** Sokféle véleményt hallani a bevándorlás kérdésével kapcsolatban. Vannak, akik szerint a megilletései bevándorlók veszélyeztetik a magyar emberek munkahelyeit és megilletésüket! Ön egyetért ezzel a véleményekkel?  
 Teljesen egyetértök    Inkább egyetértök    Nem értek egyet

**6]** Vannak, akik szerint Brüsszel politikája a bevándorlás és a terrorizmus kérdésében megakadott és ezért új megközelítésre van szükség ezekben a kérdésekben. Ön egyetért ezzel a véleményekkel?  
 Teljesen egyetértök    Inkább egyetértök    Nem értek egyet

**7]** Támogatná-e Ön a magyar kormányt, hogy Brüsszel megengedő politikájával szemben szigorúbb bevándorlási szabályokat vezessen be?  
 Igen, teljes mértékben támogatnám    Részben támogatnám    Nem támogatnám

**8]** Támogatná-e Ön a magyar kormányt, hogy szigorúbb szabályokat vezessen be, ami alapján őrizetbe vehetők a magyar határt törvénytelenszerűen átlépő bevándorlók?  
 Igen, teljes mértékben támogatnám    Részben támogatnám    Nem támogatnám

**9]** Egyetért-e Ön azaz, hogy a véleményével, hogy a magyar határt törvénytelenszerűen átlépő bevándorlók a lehető legrövidebb időn belül vissza kell fordítani a saját hazájukba?  
 Teljesen egyetértök    Inkább egyetértök    Nem értek egyet

**10]** Egyetért-e Ön azaz, hogy a megilletései bevándorlók, amíg Magyarországon tartózkodnak, saját maguk biztosítsák az ellátási költségeiket?  
 Teljesen egyetértök    Inkább egyetértök    Nem értek egyet

**11]** Egyetért-e Ön azaz, hogy a bevándorlás elleni küzdelem legjobb eszköze, ha az Európai Unió tagországai segítik azon országok fejlesztését, ahonnan a bevándorlók érkeznek?  
 Teljesen egyetértök    Inkább egyetértök    Nem értek egyet

**12]** Egyetért-e Ön a magyar kormányval abban, hogy a bevándorlás helyett inkább a magyar családok és a születendő gyermekek támogatására van szükség?  
 Teljesen egyetértök    Inkább egyetértök    Nem értek egyet

Figure 1: The National Consultation on Immigration and Terrorism

The consultation received a wide range of criticism. Primarily because it suggested that immigration and terrorism are inherently related issues. The prologue spoke consistently about “economic migrants,” who “cross our borders illegally” and just “present themselves as asylum seekers” but “in fact they are coming to enjoy our welfare systems and employment opportunities.” It also presents “illegal immigrants” and migration in general as a threat against which “Hungary should defend itself.”<sup>2</sup> Leading sociologists and pollsters criticized the questionnaire because it did not offer real answers and the questions themselves are capable of producing fear.<sup>3</sup> Zoltán Kovács, spokesperson of the government, reacted to these with a statement “this is not a public opinion poll (...); this is a political questionnaire (...), which asks questions in accordance with the government’s political intentions.”<sup>4</sup>

2 Appendix 1

3 *Ezt gondolják Orbán trükkjeiről azok, akik értenek a bevándorláshoz.* In: Magyar Narancs Online: <http://magyarnarancs.hu/belpol/ezt-gondoljak-orban-trukkeirol-azok-akik-ertenek-a-bevandorlashoz-94726> (31. 08. 2016.); HORVÁTH Bence (2015, April 30). *Társadalomkutatók szerint a bevándorlásról szóló konzultáció visszaél a közvélemény-kutatás módszereivel.* In: 444.hu: <http://444.hu/2015/04/30/tarsadalomkutatok-szerint-a-bevandorlasrol-szolo-konzultacio-visszael-a-kozvelemeny-kutatas-modszereivel/> (31. 08. 2016.)

4 RTL Klub Híradó, 06. 05. 2015, 32:43–35:33

The National Consultation cost 960 million HUF<sup>5</sup> and until the extended deadline, 15<sup>th</sup> July, only 1 million people from the 8 million recipients had answered and sent it back. Not surprisingly, more than two-thirds of the respondents agreed with the government.<sup>6</sup> Prime Minister Viktor Orbán himself announced these results in his speech at Bálványos Festival in Tusnádfürdő, Romania on 25<sup>th</sup> July 2015.<sup>7</sup> He commented the answers with that,

*“we have to talk about the clear connection between immigration and terrorism, immigration and unemployment, and the increase of criminality in connection with immigrants. (...) The Hungarians have decided. They do not want illegal immigrants and they are not willing to participate in the intellectual rampage of the European left wing politics.”*<sup>8</sup>

The government communicated the results through the media and through billboard advertisements as a huge success by using these slogans *“The Hungarians have decided: they do not want illegal migrants”* and *“The Hungarians have decided: the country should be defended.”*<sup>9</sup>

The National Consultation was coupled with a governmental billboard campaign launched on 1<sup>st</sup> June 2015. The government called it an “informational campaign” that presents the government’s opinion in questions related to immigration. This nation-wide campaign, which cost 381 million HUF, contained the following types of billboards.<sup>10</sup>



Figure 2: Governmental billboard: “If you come to Hungary, you must respect our culture.”

5 *Súlyosan demagógra sikerült a nemzeti konzultáció 12 kérdése.* In: hvg.hu: [http://hvg.hu/itthon/20150424\\_Sulyosan\\_demagogra\\_sikerult\\_a\\_nemzeti\\_kon](http://hvg.hu/itthon/20150424_Sulyosan_demagogra_sikerult_a_nemzeti_kon) (31. 08. 2016.)

6 *Hungarians have decided; they do not want illegal migrants.* In Website of the Hungarian Government: [www.kormany.hu/en/the-prime-minister/news/hungarians-have-decided-they-do-not-want-illegal-migrants](http://www.kormany.hu/en/the-prime-minister/news/hungarians-have-decided-they-do-not-want-illegal-migrants) (31. 08. 2016.)

7 This festival has a special importance in governmental and right-wing circles, partially because of the connection to the Hungarian community living in Romania. Viktor Orbán gave his controversial speech about Hungary as an illiberal democracy in 2014 on this same festival.

8 M1 Híradó, 25. 07. 2015. 00:50–06:11

9 *Nemzeti Konzultáció.* In the website “Nemzeti Konzultáció”: <http://nemzetikonzultacio.kormany.hu/> (31. 08. 2016.)

10 Figure 2–4.



Figure 3: Governmental billboard: “If you come to Hungary, you must respect our laws.”



Figure 4: Governmental billboard: “If you come to Hungary, you mustn’t take the Hungarian’s jobs.”

These lines seem to be addressed to the immigrants or refugees but they were written in Hungarian. When Prime Minister Viktor Orbán was addressed with the question, what the target group was, he said, “these billboards are addressed to everyone, but particularly to human smugglers.”<sup>11</sup> He added,

*“the governmental billboards are not problematic; their message is also positive (...). Their phrasing is rather moderate, because it emphasizes that Hungary is an open and friendly country. They do not tell that nobody can come here. They say, those who are coming here, have to take a few things into account.”*<sup>12</sup>

To express their disagreement, opposition party leaders and private individuals ruined, painted or tore off the governmental billboards from the day they appeared.<sup>13</sup> Governmental-party politicians considered this as an act of vandalism and several of the people who participated in these actions were arrested. However, on 7<sup>th</sup> July the Hungarian court declared that ruining billboards in these cases is under the protec-

11 TV2 Tények, 09. 06. 2015. 35:03–39:45

12 RTL Klub Híradó, 12. 06. 2015. 35:40–38:55

13 Figure 5.

tion of the freedom of expression; it is a form of expressing political opinion, therefore, the perpetrators cannot be penalized.<sup>14</sup>



Figure 5: Ruined governmental billboard. The remained sign says: "Hungary needs culture; Not consultation"

Moreover, a joke political party, the *Two-Tailed Dog Party*, and a political blog site, *Vastagbőr* launched a counter-campaign and asked for small donations from people. They collected more than 33 million HUF from small-amount donations and displayed more than 500 billboards<sup>15</sup> with humorous lines between 1<sup>st</sup> and 31<sup>st</sup> July nationwide.<sup>16</sup>



14 *Ha a szándék véleménynyilvánítás, mehet a gyűlölet-plakát rongálás a bíróság szerint.* In: Kettős Mérce Blog: [http://kettosmerce.blog.hu/2015/07/17/ha\\_a\\_szandek\\_velemenynyilvanitas\\_mehet\\_a\\_gyulolet-plakat\\_rongalas\\_a\\_birosag\\_szerint#gallery-1437127243\\_1](http://kettosmerce.blog.hu/2015/07/17/ha_a_szandek_velemenynyilvanitas_mehet_a_gyulolet-plakat_rongalas_a_birosag_szerint#gallery-1437127243_1) (31. 08. 2016.)

15 *Elkészült a könyvelés.* In: Vastagbőr: <http://vastagbor.atlatszo.hu/2015/07/13/elkeszult-a-konyvelés/> (31. 08. 2016.)

16 Figure 6–9.

“The Hungarians Have Decided: They Do Not Want Illegal Migrants”



Figure 6–9: Some counter-billboards displayed by the Two-Tailed Dog Party and Vastagbőr (sign on the first billboard: “Immigrants don’t work and take our jobs”)

Both the Consultation and this billboard war got significant media attention. Furthermore, in June the European Parliament released a joint motion, in which they denounced

*“the public consultation on migration and the related country-wide billboard campaign initiated by the Hungarian Government, and stressed that the content and language used in the particular consultation launched in Hungary, on immigration and*

*terrorism, are highly misleading, biased and unbalanced, establishing a biased and direct link between migratory phenomena and security threats; (...) called, therefore, for this consultation to be withdrawn.*<sup>17</sup>

## Social and political context and the Hungarian media landscape

In order to fully understand the results of this study I will shortly introduce the complex Hungarian social and political context and the significantly polarized media system.

Since May 2010 Hungary has a right-wing populist government with a great majority in the parliament.<sup>18</sup> The governing party, Fidesz-KDNP strongly opposes immigration to Hungary. Hungarian Prime Minister, Viktor Orbán is one of the loudest antagonists of the European Union's migration and asylum policy. However, the governmental and far-right anti-immigration efforts are not fully supported; the Hungarian society is politically divided. Furthermore, by the 15<sup>th</sup> September the government closed the southern borders of Hungary both physically with a fence and legally with the declaration of Serbia as a "safe third country".<sup>19</sup>

Hungary has never been a destination of major migratory movements. In January 2015 only 145,968 people from the approximately ten million population of Hungary did not hold a Hungarian citizenship.<sup>20</sup> Besides more than two-thirds of these people are European citizens and a significant part of them are from the neighbouring countries. Before 2015 the number of asylum seekers and refugees were also relatively low in Hungary. In 2014 42,777 applications for asylum were filed and only 503 people were recognized as refugees or became a beneficiary of subsidiary protection.<sup>21</sup>

In 2015 the situation of Hungary in connection with asylum issues significantly changed. 177,135 asylum applications were filed in 2015,<sup>22</sup> most of them in July

17 *Joint Motion for a Resolution on the Situation in Hungary*. In: The European Parliament : [www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+MOTION+P8-RC-2015-0532+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+MOTION+P8-RC-2015-0532+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN) (31. 08. 2016.)

18 Until 22<sup>nd</sup> February 2015 the governing Fidesz–KDNP coalitional party possessed more than two-thirds of the Parliamentary mandates, which made it possible to them to change or file any laws, including the constitution, without the approval of the opposition parties.

19 Hungarian Helsinki Committee (2015): *Building a Legal Fence – Changes to Hungarian Asylum Law Jeopardise Access to Protection in Hungary*. In: <http://helsinki.hu/wp-content/uploads/HHC-HU-asylum-law-amendment-2015-August-info-note.pdf> (31. 08. 2016.)

20 KSH (Hungarian Central Statistical Office), 2015, July 03. *Foreign Citizens Residing in Hungary by Continents, Countries, Sex 1st January (1995–)*. In: [www.ksh.hu/docs/eng/xstadat/xstadat\\_annual/i\\_wvn001b.html](http://www.ksh.hu/docs/eng/xstadat/xstadat_annual/i_wvn001b.html) (31. 08. 2016.)

21 BÁH (Office of Immigration and Nationality), 2015, February 10. *Statistics Issue 2013–2014*. In: [www.bmbah.hu/images/statisztikak/KIADV%C3%81NY\\_2013\\_%202014\\_INTER-NET\\_2015\\_01\\_16\\_ENG.xls](http://www.bmbah.hu/images/statisztikak/KIADV%C3%81NY_2013_%202014_INTER-NET_2015_01_16_ENG.xls) (31. 08. 2016.)

22 BÁH (Office of Immigration and Nationality), 2016, January 21. *Statistics Issue 2014–2015*. In: [www.bmbah.hu/images/statisztikak/160119%20KIADV%C3%81NY\\_2014\\_%202015\\_%C3%89VES%20angol.xls](http://www.bmbah.hu/images/statisztikak/160119%20KIADV%C3%81NY_2014_%202015_%C3%89VES%20angol.xls) (31. 08. 2016.)



(31,287)<sup>23</sup> and in August (47,094).<sup>24</sup> Most of the asylum seekers arriving to Hungary were from Syria (37%), Afghanistan (26%), Kosovo (14%) and Pakistan (8.5%).<sup>25</sup> The majority of the asylum seekers travelled on to Western Europe within a few days; more than the 152,000 asylum proceedings were suspended and only 508 people received refugee status or became a beneficiary of subsidiary protection.<sup>26</sup>

In spite of the low number of foreigners living in the country (or exactly because of the lack of own experience) a significant part of the population is considered as xenophobic according to one of the most significant social opinion poll institutes, TÁRKI Social Research Institute. They reported that "*in April 2015 the level of xenophobia was 46% (reaching an all-time highest level), by July it decreased to 39%, and by October there was a further and significant decrease.*"<sup>27</sup> TÁRKI explains this extremely high level of xenophobia in April with the governmental anti-immigration campaign.<sup>28</sup>

Similarly to the society, the Hungarian media system is also unbalanced and polarized, a strong right-wing dominance characterises it. The current governmental elite has a significant influence on the media through ownership and advertisements. According to the report of a leading media monitoring organisation, Mérték Media Monitor, the major characteristics of the Hungarian media in 2014 were "*centralization of state advertising spending, growing government pressure on the media market, overt political intervention in newsroom practices and forced removal of editorial teams.*"<sup>29</sup> Besides the public service media functions basically as the mouthpiece of the government. (Mérték, 2015, pp. 47-50.) These trends have a crucial role in a country where the media is the only source of information regarding migrants and refugees for a great part of the society.

## Theoretical background

In this section I will review the theoretical framework and the literature that shaped my understanding in the questions discussed below.

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23 BÁH (Office of Immigration and Nationality), 2015, September 15. *Statistics Issue July 2015*. In: [www.bmbah.hu/images/statisztikak/150915%20Mened%C3%A9kk%C3%A9relmek%20j%C3%BAlius.xls](http://www.bmbah.hu/images/statisztikak/150915%20Mened%C3%A9kk%C3%A9relmek%20j%C3%BAlius.xls) (31. 08. 2016.)

24 BÁH (Office of Immigration and Nationality), 2015, September 15. *Statistics Issue August 2015*. In: [www.bmbah.hu/images/statisztikak/150915%20Mened%C3%A9kk%C3%A9relmek%20augusztus.xls](http://www.bmbah.hu/images/statisztikak/150915%20Mened%C3%A9kk%C3%A9relmek%20augusztus.xls) (31. 08. 2016.)

25 BÁH (Office of Immigration and Nationality). *Statistics Issue 2014–2015, op. cit.*

26 *Ibid.*

27 TÁRKI (TÁRKI Social Research Institute): *Attitudes Towards Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Migrants – First Results (October 2015)*, 5, 2015. Source: [www.tarki.hu/hu/news/2015/kitekint/20151203\\_refugee.pdf](http://www.tarki.hu/hu/news/2015/kitekint/20151203_refugee.pdf) (31. 08. 2016.)

28 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

29 Mérték Media Monitor: *Gasping for Air – Soft Censorship in the Hungarian Media in 2014*, 2015. Source: <http://mertek.eu/en/reports/gasping-for-air-soft-censorship-in-hungarian-media-2014> (31. 08. 2016.)

I share the argument that the media do not only mirror the reality but actively construct it into meaningful wholes<sup>30</sup> and reproduce the dominant sense of reality.<sup>31</sup> The media have a gatekeeping function,<sup>32</sup> they create a new mediatized reality by arbitrary selection,<sup>33</sup> produce stories and social facts through narrativization and repetition,<sup>34</sup> that many accept as “how things are”.<sup>35</sup> However, in this constructed media reality certain social groups get significantly more time and attention while others become invisible.<sup>36</sup>

Subaltern groups usually cannot speak in the media;<sup>37</sup> and they are getting invisible through the practice of “whitewashing”; the media consider the minority issues not important enough to be reported about.<sup>38</sup> On the other hand, when minorities do appear in the media, it often leads to misrepresentation; the majority media represent the minorities through a “colonializing gaze”.<sup>39</sup> Therefore, I find it crucial to analyse the media representation of minorities; I argue that the mainstream media coverage is able to significantly shape the social attitudes towards minorities.

Because of the very low number of immigrants and refugees living in Hungary only few media representation studies focusing on migrant minorities were published during the previous decades in Hungary.<sup>40</sup> My approach and the findings of this essay strongly connect to these articles and especially to Gábor Bernáth & Vera Messing’s (2015) recent media content analysis study. They focused on the mainstream media news and political speeches connected to migration in January 2015 with the starting point of Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s speech after the terrorist attack against Charlie Hebdo. They originate from here the Hungarian moral panic about the migration

30 MILIVOJEVIC, Snjezana: *Media Monitoring Manual*. Media Diversity Institute, London, 2013, p. 15.

31 FISKE, John: *Television Culture*. Routledge, London, 1987, p. 23.

32 WILSON, Clint. C. – GUTIÉRREZ, Félix: *Race, Multiculturalism and the Media – From Mass Communication to Class Communication*. Sage Publications, London, 1995, p. 151.

33 VIDRA Zsuzsanna – KRIZA Borbála: *A többség fogságában – Kisebbségek médiareprezentációja = Etnicitás – Különbségeteremtő társadalom*. Ed. M. FEISCHMIDT. Gondolat – MTA, Budapest, 2010, 392–406. o.

34 Lentin & Titley, 2012, p. 128.

35 MILIVOJEVIC: *op. cit.*, p. 16.

36 VIDRA Zsuzsanna – KRIZA Borbála: *op. cit.*, p. 393.

37 SPIVAK, Gayatri C.: Can the Subaltern Speak? In: C. Nelson, – L. Grossberg: *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. MacMillian Education, Basingstoke, 1988, pp. 271–313.

38 VIDRA Zsuzsanna – KRIZA Borbála: *op. cit.*, 393–394. o.

39 CSEPELI György: Kinek a képe? *Jel-Kép*, 20(2001)/2., 4. o.

40 For example: TÓTH Judit: *Kína és kínaiak a magyar sajtóban = Táborlakók, diaszpórák, politikák*. Eds. SÍK E. – TÓTH J. MTA, Budapest, 1996, 139–158. o.; *Nyilvánosság Klub: A Nyilvánosság Klub Monitor Csoportjának jelentése = Idegenek Magyarországon*. Eds. SÍK E. – TÓTH J., MTA, Budapest, 1998, 129–135. o.; LIGETI György: *Kisebbségek és bevándorlók a médiában*, Médiakutató, 2007. Source: [www.mediakutato.hu/cikk/2007\\_03\\_osz/02\\_kisebbssegek\\_bevandorlok\\_media](http://www.mediakutato.hu/cikk/2007_03_osz/02_kisebbssegek_bevandorlok_media) (31. 08. 2016.); PRISCHETZKY Réka – SZABÓ Elvira: *Migránsok a magyar médiában 2011*. Magyar Helsinki Bizottság (Hungarian Helsinki Committee), 2011. Source: [http://helsinki.hu/wp-content/uploads/Migransok\\_a\\_magyar\\_mediaban\\_HelsinkiBiz\\_2011.pdf](http://helsinki.hu/wp-content/uploads/Migransok_a_magyar_mediaban_HelsinkiBiz_2011.pdf) (31. 08. 2016.); ZÁDORI Zsolt: *Pánik a sötétben – Migránsok a magyar médiában 2014*. In Magyar Helsinki Bizottság (Hungarian Helsinki Committee): [http://helsinki.hu/wp-content/uploads/P%C3%81NIK-A-S%C3%96T%C3%89TBEN\\_Migr%C3%A1nsok-a-magyar-m%C3%A9di%C3%A1ban-2014.pdf](http://helsinki.hu/wp-content/uploads/P%C3%81NIK-A-S%C3%96T%C3%89TBEN_Migr%C3%A1nsok-a-magyar-m%C3%A9di%C3%A1ban-2014.pdf) (31. 08. 2016.)

flow and the governmental anti-immigration media campaign, which includes the National Consultation and the billboard campaign.

Furthermore, there is a constantly growing tendency to connect immigration and terrorism, especially since the terrorist attacks of 11<sup>th</sup> September 2001. The inherent connection between "(Muslim) Immigrant" and "Terrorists" became an extremely common belief in the Western societies; the world is practically divided to "Us", non-immigrant citizens and the unknown, threatening "Others", in which all our fears are embodied. In this global risk society<sup>41</sup> fear becomes the central emotion, which dominates our decisions, attitudes and even policy measures. This fear is produced, shaped and managed by several actors, as Frank Furedi calls them, "fear-entrepreneurs";<sup>42</sup> including states, governments, media, advertising, arts, industrial companies and civil organizations of all kind. The National Consultation is a salient product of these processes.

## Media representation analysis

### *Methodology*

I have analysed seven Hungarian mainstream, nationwide news media outlets. The two most influential online news sites (*Index*, *Origo*), the two largest daily print newspapers (*Népszabadság*, *Magyar Nemzet*) and three television news programmes: the news programme of the public service television channel (*M1 Híradó*) and the news programmes of the two dominant commercial television channels (*RTL Klub Híradó*; *TV2 Tények*). By these choices my aim was to cover the main information sources that Hungarian people use every day. At the beginning of the research I categorized the media outlets as "government-friendly" (*M1*, *TV2* and *Origo*) or "government-critical" (*Index*, *RTL Klub*, *Népszabadság* and *Magyar Nemzet*) based on my preliminary knowledge of their ownership structure, major scandals<sup>43</sup> and other circumstances.<sup>44</sup> My hypothesis was that mainstream media would reflect the polarised nature of the Hungarian society and one can conjecture to certain media outlets' attitude to these cases from their ownership background.

I reviewed six months of articles and reports between 1<sup>st</sup> February 2015 and 31<sup>st</sup> July 2015. I analysed only those pieces of news that explicitly mentioned or dealt entirely with the National Consultation or the billboard campaign. Neither tabloid media nor smaller, more specified media outlets that produce longer reports were included. Therefore, those contents that reported about the migration, immigrants or

41 BECK, Ulrich: *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. SAGE, 19992.

42 Cited by STEARNS, Peter N.: *Fear and History*. *Journal of Social History*, 40(2006)/2., p. 24.

43 Such scandals were for example introducing an advertisement tax which disadvantaged *RTL Klub* over *Tv2*; removing the editor-in-chief of *Origo* after publishing an article about an extraordinarily expensive foreign trip of János Lázár, member of the cabinet; and the public confrontation of Lajos Simicska, owner of *Magyar Nemzet* and Prime Minister Viktor Orbán.

44 I am aware of the subjective nature of this classification and I only used it to create a hypothesis.

asylum issues in general and could also influence the audience's attitudes significantly were left out of this investigation. I used both quantitative and qualitative media-investigation techniques and critical discourse analysis during this research.

### *Quantitative analysis*

During my research I have examined 375 items (articles and television news blocks) published in the above listed media outlets. I have identified 208 pieces of news connected to the National Consultation and 167 pieces of news connected to the billboard campaign. From these 375 items altogether 33 pieces of news mentioned both the Consultation and the billboard campaign; this is less than 9% of the whole sample.

Interestingly, the case of the billboard campaign and the billboard war proved to be the more intensively discussed topic; within six weeks most of the media outlets published almost the same amount of news about it as about the National Consultation within six months.<sup>45</sup> The great majority of the investigated items were found in the home politics (or in similarly titled) sections, few in the foreign section, one on Index in the culture section and none in social sections. Consequently, the mainstream media considered the Consultation and the billboard campaigns as utterly political issues, not as social ones, which is notable, because they are inherently connected to social cohesion and the core questions of society and culture through migration.

*Table 1: Number of publications in each analysed media outlets*

<b>Media outlet</b>	<b>National Consultation</b>	<b>Billboard Campaign</b>	<b>Both</b>
Index (online)	48	41	1
Origo (online)	25	28	4
Népszabadság (print)	31	43	7
Magyar Nemzet (print)	36	19	9
M1 Híradó (TV)	37	10	5
RTL Klub Híradó (TV)	17	17	4
TV2 Tények (TV)	14	9	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>208</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>33</b>

<sup>45</sup> Table 1

### *Attitude analysis*

It was an essential part of the research to describe the attitude of the pieces of news to the National Consultation and to the governmental billboard campaign. A piece of news was considered positive (“+”), if the represented opinions dominantly claimed or suggested that the Consultation or the governmental billboards were good/useful/successful/necessary/valid etc. measures to handle the current migration/asylum situation. It was considered negative (“-”), if the represented opinions dominantly claimed or suggested that

a) the Consultation or the governmental billboards are bad/unnecessary/manipulative/maleficent/inefficient etc. measures; or

b) damaging the governmental billboards is a form of civil disobedience and/or acceptable; or

c) the counter-billboards are funny/necessary/effective/sympathetic etc.

However, the opinions that condemned the damaging of the governmental billboards or the counter-billboards as such cannot be considered as positive automatically, this does not inherently mean the approval of the governmental campaign. Furthermore, a piece of news was considered neutral (“n”), if it did not judge the Consultation, only delineated facts in connection with it or represented balanced opinions. These categories indicate the attitude of the media outlets but they could be fully understood only in the context of a more detailed qualitative analysis.

These evaluations<sup>46</sup> demonstrate that *Index*, *Népszabadság* and *RTL Klub* are the most critical media outlets regarding these issues, while *M1* and *Magyar Nemzet* seem to agree with the governmental standpoint, namely that the National Consultation and the governmental billboard campaign is a positive / good / useful measure. *Origo* could be described as moderately government-critical and *TV2* as moderately government-friendly. This is interesting, because the results regarding *Magyar Nemzet* and *Origo* are divergent from my preliminary expectations.

Table 2: Attitudes of the pieces of news to the National Consultation

Media outlet	Positive attitude	Negative attitude	Neutral attitude	Total
Index (online)	1	34	13	48
Origo (online)	6	10	9	25
Népszabadság (print)	3	17	11	31
Magyar Nemzet (print)	18	7	11	36
M1 Híradó (TV)	18	11	8	37
RTL Klub Híradó (TV)	2	9	6	17
TV2 Tények (TV)	8	3	3	14

<sup>46</sup> Table 2 and 3

Table 3: Attitudes of the pieces of news to the governmental billboard campaign

Media outlet	Positive attitude	Negative attitude	Neutral attitude	Total
Index (online)	3	30	8	41
Origo (online)	2	16	10	28
Népszabadság (print)	1	39	3	43
Magyar Nemzet (print)	5	12	2	19
M1 Híradó (TV)	2	0	8	10
RTL Klub Híradó (TV)	0	17	0	17
TV2 Tények (TV)	0	4	5	9

The general attitude of *Magyar Nemzet* in the issue of the National Consultation is worth to be highlighted. Its articles, especially editorials, criticized the Consultation as a measure, they found it useless and too expensive, and they argued that it is obvious without any consultation that nobody wants here, in Hungary refugees or immigrants (“illegal immigrants”); therefore the government should act instead of engaging in pointless discussions. This standpoint was also the basis of the criticism of the governmental billboard campaign, and not the billboards xenophobic nature criticised by other media outlets. Hence *Magyar Nemzet* criticized the governmental campaign itself, but not its aims or ideology.

One also has to underline that no critical pieces of news in connection with the governmental billboard campaign has appeared on *M1*. At the same time one could not find any positive news about this case either on *TV2* or on *RTL Klub*, and the latter one reported about it entirely critically. This sharp contrast between the public service television and the commercial television channels is very telling.

### Agenda setting

The agenda setting analysis<sup>47</sup> showed that the government’s agenda (e.g. launching the Consultation, reports about the number of respondents, launching the online version of the Consultation) dominated the media representation of these cases even on the critical media outlets. (For the chronology of events connected to the National Consultation and the billboard campaigns see in Appendix 2.)

However, the most striking result of the agenda setting analysis is that the public service television channel, *M1* did not say a single word about the counter-billboard campaign and *Magyar Nemzet* only marginally mentioned it two times. On the other hand, *Index* and *RTL Klub* reported in detail about the counter-campaign, following its every step, including the crowd-funding, billboard drafts and the event of in-

47 MCOMBS, Max E. – SHAW, Donald E.: The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36(1972)/2., 1972, pp. 176–187.

stallation of the first billboards. It is also very telling that all media outlets reported about that activists ruining governmental billboards, but *MI* never mentioned their motivation. Only *Népszabadság*, *Magyar Nemzet* and *RTL Klub* reported about the court ruling that declared that, in this particular case, ruining billboards is not simply vandalism but an act of expressing political opinion, therefore, protected by the right of freedom of expression.

## Terminology

Similarly to the findings of Bernáth & Messing’s study,<sup>48</sup> the terminological chaos is still a characteristic of the mainstream media reports connected to migration. All media outlets tend to use the terms “migrant,” “immigrant,” “refugee” and “asylum seeker” as if synonyms, and they do not even acknowledge that they blur important legal and social differences among these terms. It is also a common phenomenon that media workers use the umbrella term “migrant” for all these categories in order to avoid differentiation. The problem is that in the framework of the recent Hungarian governmental rhetoric, the originally neutral term “migrant” has been filled with derogatory connotations and due to the term’s foreign origins, it also could be alienating. Therefore, using this term should also require reflection from journalists.

However, one could encounter willingly used, pejorative terminology as well. *Magyar Nemzet*, *TV2* and *MI* consistently emphasized the illegal aspects of migration, generally used the term “illegal immigrants”, or sometimes the term “economic immigrants” and “for-profit immigrants” to describe those people who crossed the Hungarian border irregularly and filed asylum applications but usually without the intention to settle in Hungary. Moreover, *TV2* used several times the utterly meaningless “illegal refugee” term for these people. It was also characteristic of these media outlets to speak about “increasing migration pressure,” which is a prominent example of this panic-mongering terminology. The reporters spoke several times about “settlements near to the border that are threatened by migration” and all media outlets emphasized sometimes the “unstoppable flow” or “stream” of refugees, which is “beyond control”. These terms are able to intensify the general anxiety in connection with migration issues.

Two governmental narrative structures, which dominated the discussion, should also be mentioned here. At first, the governmental communication generated binary oppositions between “the Hungarian national interests” and “the migrants”. In this rhetorical construction everybody who helped refugees or argued against the governmental anti-immigration campaign confronted the Hungarian nation itself. Secondly, the government consider only those people as “rightful refugees”, who “flee for their lives”. However, people’s lives are not in danger in Serbia, therefore the vast majority of asylum seekers must be only “for-profit migrants”.

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48 BERNÁTH Gábor – MESSING Vera: Bedarálva – A menekültekkel kapcsolatos kormányzati kampány és a tőle független megszólalás terepei. *Médiakutató*, 16(2015)/4., 2015, 7–17. o.

## Voices

In every media coverage it is essential who is asked or permitted to articulate their opinion in their own voice. In the whole sample 186 different actors could be identified, including 146 individuals, who appeared altogether 796 times in the analysed 375 items. I have established the following categories to mark in which role these actors appeared:

- politician: governing party, opposition party, foreign/international politician;
- expert: migration expert; expert of other area (e.g. pollster, security expert);
- representative of authorities;
- migrant, refugee or asylum seeker;
- activist of the counter-billboard campaign or somebody who ruined governmental billboards.

Predominantly politicians could articulate their opinions: Hungarian politicians spoke or were cited 476 times and foreign / international politicians spoke or were cited 56 times. This is altogether 68.5% of all appearances.<sup>49</sup> The appearing politicians' party distribution was quite balanced in all media outlets. Although, some prominent governing party politicians appeared significantly more often than any other actors. Prime Minister Viktor Orbán was asked or cited 58 times and Zoltán Kovács, spokesperson of the government appeared in all media outlets regarding both topics, altogether 76 times.

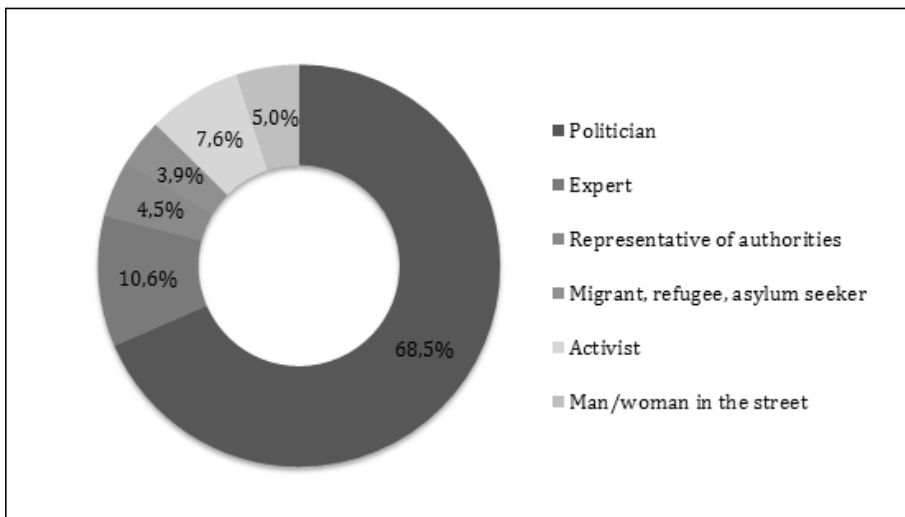


Figure 10: Appearances of actors in different roles

49 Figure 10



Experts could rarely articulate their opinion (82 times, this is 11% of all appearance), although questions like migration policy measures would require deeper professional discussions in the mainstream media. *Index* asked for an expert opinion the most often (26 occasions) and the fewest experts appeared on *TV2* (5 times). However, migration experts or NGOs focusing on migration were asked only 62 times (7.8% of all appearances); the others labelled as experts were pollsters, security, military or law enforcement experts and economists. This differentiation reveals that on the public service television channel (*M1*) no migration expert commented these cases.

Representatives of authorities or authorities themselves appeared 35 times, this is 4.5% of all appearances. The presence of these actors tends to lead to the “securitization”<sup>50</sup> of the issues in question (i.e. transformation of these issues into matters of security). What’s more, representatives of the police often commented on activists ruining the governmental billboards. This highlighted the criminal nature of these acts over their political motivation. The most representatives of authorities appeared in *Magyar Nemzet* (8 times) and the fewest on *Origo* and *RTL Klub* (both 2 times).

It is very telling that migrants, refugees or asylum seekers could only speak for themselves 30 times altogether (3.9%), although the discussion was about their role in society. Even local people and men/women on the street could articulate their opinion more often (39 times, 5%). The coverage of migrant voices are completely missing from *Magyar Nemzet* and asylum seekers could spoke only 3 times on *M1*. By a more detailed examination one could encounter that migrants appeared anonymously on all media outlets altogether 7 times; marked with only a forename one asylum seeker (“Jusuf”) and one migrant (“Melissa”) spoke together 3 times. Migrants with full name appeared 20 times but none of them was a recently arrived asylum seeker. Those who recently arrived in the country were almost completely silenced in mainstream media.

Compared to other categories, activists who took part in the counter-billboard campaign or ruined, painted, tore off etc. the governmental billboards could appear surprisingly often, altogether 59 times (7.6% of all appearances). However, this proportion is even higher when we count, more precisely, only the appearances connected to the billboard campaign, it is almost 17% of the 331 occasions. This is even more remarkable considering the fact that *M1* never mentioned them. These data indicates that the other media outlets found it important to represent the motivations and views of these activists.

## Visual elements

Nowadays visual presentation is becoming an increasingly important part of the media coverage, even in text-based genres. The visuals were also the elements that seemed the most problematic part of representing migrants, refugees and asylum seekers.

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50 BUZAN, Barry – WÆVER, Ole – de WILDE, Jaap: *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998.

In the majority of cases all media outlets avoided showing migrants, refugees or asylum seekers by using pictures about the Consultation letter and people who were cited. However, when migrants, refugees or asylum seekers appeared, they were generally represented in larger groups. One could rarely see the face of an asylum seeker but it was also problematic when the face of an asylum seeker was visible. They usually seem more threatening than friendly. This portrayal could easily alienate readers. It was also characteristic in all media outlets that asylum seekers were displayed accompanied with police officers. This practice tends to criminalize asylum seekers and portray them as a security threat. The visual representation of migrants, refugees or asylum seekers in *Magyar Nemzet* was exceedingly stereotypical and fear-mongering. In this newspaper the faces of migrants, refugees or asylum seekers were frequently covered as if they were criminals.





*Figure 11–14: Photos of asylum seekers published on Index (11–12), in Népszabadság and Magyar Nemzet*

All of the above mentioned practices were characteristic on the television channels, as well, with the addition that they used a small amount of different sequences of images. One could easily identify several, frequently repeated sequences, especial-

ly in connection with migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. Besides, most of the portrayed asylum seekers were young men.<sup>51</sup> The following sequences were characteristic on all television channels: barefoot asylum seekers sitting on the ground; a group of asylum seekers walking along the road; asylum seekers captured by a military night-vision camera; police officers at Budapest Keleti railway station and/or accompanied by asylum seekers; asylum seekers arrested by the police and waiting while sitting on the ground; official documents, clothes and waste left behind, allegedly, by asylum seekers; and asylum seekers running away somewhere close to the border. Moreover, the faces of asylum seekers were often covered intentionally and in certain cases all television channels illustrated the Hungarian issues with sequences shot at the Italian shores.<sup>52</sup> These portrayals are biased and they reinforce the existing stereotypes instead of dissolving them.



51 A document (444.hu, 25. 10. 2015.) was leaked from *MI* in August 2015, which stated that the management suggested not showing asylum seeker children in order “not to demonize” them.

52 Figure 15–22.

“The Hungarians Have Decided: They Do Not Want Illegal Migrants”





Figure 15–22: Characteristic portrayals and sequences of refugees and asylum seekers on the analysed television channels

The visual coverage of “the billboard war” also indicated the attitude of these media outlets. *Index*, *Népszabadság* and *RTL Klub* published several pictures and sequences not only about the ruined governmental billboards, but also about the activists “in action”: in the middle of painting or tearing a billboard off. I would argue that this practice shows that these media outlets were, to a certain extent, engaged in civil disobedience. Meanwhile, *Magyar Nemzet* did not publish a single picture either about the original governmental billboards or about the activists and it displayed only one picture about a counter-billboard in Felcsút.<sup>53</sup> It could be interpreted that *Magyar Nemzet* disagreed with both the governmental and the counter-campaign and did not support the civil disobedience of activist who ruined governmental billboards. It was previously highlighted that *M1* did not even mention the counter-billboard campaign. Consistently with that, they showed sequences only about the painted and torn off governmental billboards to illustrate this act of “vandalism”. Furthermore, it is remarkable that both commercial television channels used more diverse sequences to illustrate this spectacular billboard war than to portray refugees or asylum seekers.

53 Felcsút is the small town, where Prime Minister Viktor Orbán owns a house.



Figure 23–24: Photo of activists in action on Index and a frequently repeated sequence about a torn-off governmental billboard on RTL Klub

## Conclusion

In this essay I have presented the main findings of a detailed case study on *the National Consultation on Immigration and Terrorism* and the connected billboard campaign. This initiation was able to successfully shape the agenda of the Hungarian mainstream media for a remarkable period. I paid special attention to the media practices of representing migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, which may have influenced significantly the social perception of these issues.

I would argue that his anti-immigration campaign was based on the existing anxiety and xenophobic attitudes of the Hungarian society. It did not only reinforce prejudices, but also fuelled and increased them remarkably. I could also conclude that the media do reflect the polarized nature of the Hungarian society. The govern-

ment-friendly and the government-critical media outlets covered these stories differently; they constructed different narratives of the same cases as if they had been reporting about two different realities. However, the ownership background was not always reflected in the media coverage.

The results of the media representation analysis demonstrated that the media considered these two cases as political and not as social or policy issues. The media portrayal of migrants, especially the coverage of the recently arrived refugees and asylum seekers, was biased and stereotypical; and even the government-critical media outlets misrepresented these groups. Although the critical media outlets showed some effort to be politically correct and they pointed out several inaccuracies in the governmental anti-immigration rhetoric, this was still not enough to compensate the malicious anti-immigration terminology, which was able to dominate the whole media coverage of these cases. Hence the media failed to fulfil its integrative role, which would be crucial in the light of the recent worldwide challenges of migration.



## Appendix

### *Appendix 1: English version of the National Consultation on Immigration and Terrorism*

*Source: Hungarian Government. (2015d). National Consultation on immigration to begin (24. April 2015.) in Website of the Hungarian Government: [www.kormany.hu/en/prime-minister-s-office/news/national-consultation-on-immigration-to-begin](http://www.kormany.hu/en/prime-minister-s-office/news/national-consultation-on-immigration-to-begin) (31. 08. 2016.)*

#### **Dear Hungarian Citizen,**

In 2010 we Hungarians decided to discuss every important issue before decisions are taken. This is why we launched national consultations on issues which have included Hungary's new Fundamental Law, social security as a matter concerning us all, and the improvement of the situation of pensioners. And this is why we are now launching another national consultation, this time on the issue of economic immigration.

I am sure you will remember that at the beginning of the year Europe was shaken by an unprecedented act of terror. In Paris the lives of innocent people were extinguished, in cold blood and with terrifying brutality. We were all shocked by what happened. At the same time, this incomprehensible act of horror also demonstrated that Brussels and the European Union are unable to adequately deal with the issue of immigration.

Economic migrants cross our borders illegally, and while they present themselves as asylum-seekers, in fact they are coming to enjoy our welfare systems and the employment opportunities our countries have to offer. In the last few months alone, in Hungary the number of economic migrants has increased approximately twentyfold. This represents a new type of threat – a threat which we must stop in its tracks.

As Brussels has failed to address immigration appropriately, Hungary must follow its own path. We shall not allow economic migrants to jeopardise the jobs and livelihoods of Hungarians.

We must make a decision on how Hungary should defend itself against illegal immigrants. We must make a decision on how to limit rapidly rising economic immigration.

Please contact us and give us your response to the questions we are asking. Please complete and return the questionnaire. I am counting on your opinion.

With regards,

**Viktor Orbán**

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## NATIONAL CONSULTATION on immigration and terrorism

Published by the Prime Minister's Office

**Please complete this questionnaire.**

**1] We hear different views on increasing levels of terrorism. How relevant do you think the spread of terrorism (the bloodshed in France, the shocking acts of ISIS) is to your own life?**

Very relevant

Relevant

Not relevant

**2] Do you think that Hungary could be the target of an act of terror in the next few years?**

There is a very real chance

It could occur

Out of the question

**3] There are some who think that mismanagement of the immigration question by Brussels may have something to do with increased terrorism. Do you agree with this view?**

I fully agree

I tend to agree

I do not agree

**4] Did you know that economic migrants cross the Hungarian border illegally, and that recently the number of immigrants in Hungary has increased twentyfold?**

Yes

I have heard about it

I did not know

**5] We hear different views on the issue of immigration. There are some who think that economic migrants jeopardise the jobs and livelihoods of Hungarians. Do you agree?**

I fully agree

I tend to agree

I do not agree

**6] There are some who believe that Brussels' policy on immigration and terrorism has failed, and that we therefore need a new approach to these questions. Do you agree?**

I fully agree

I tend to agree

I do not agree

**7] Would you support the Hungarian Government in the introduction of more stringent immigration regulations, in contrast to Brussels' lenient policy?**

Yes, I would fully support the Government  
I would partially support the Government  
I would not support the Government

**8] Would you support the Hungarian government in the introduction of more stringent regulations, according to which migrants illegally crossing the Hungarian border could be taken into custody?**

Yes, I would fully support the Government  
I would partially support the Government  
I would not support the Government

**9] Do you agree with the view that migrants illegally crossing the Hungarian border should be returned to their own countries within the shortest possible time?**

I fully agree                      I tend to agree                      I do not agree

**10] Do you agree with the concept that economic migrants themselves should cover the costs associated with their time in Hungary?**

I fully agree                      I tend to agree                      I do not agree

**11] Do you agree that the best means of combating immigration is for Member States of the European Union to assist in the development of the countries from which migrants arrive?**

I fully agree                      I tend to agree                      I do not agree

**12] Do you agree with the Hungarian government that support should be focused more on Hungarian families and the children they can have, rather than on immigration?**

I fully agree                      I tend to agree                      I do not agree

*Appendix 2: Chronology of events connected to the National Consultation and the billboard campaign (own collection)*

Date	Event
02. 06. 2015.	Antal Rogán announces launching a National Consultation on immigration
02. 10. 2015.	Antal Rogán holds a press conference about the National Consultation at Budapest Keleti Railway Station, which is disturbed by counter-demonstrators
02. 11. 2015.	Zoltán Kovács announces that the government supports the launching of a National Consultation on immigration
02. 20. 2015.	Official debate in the Parliament about migration issues with the title "We don't need economic migrants"
04. 24. 2015.	Viktor Orbán introduces the questions of the National Consultation on Immigration and Terrorism in Radio Kossuth. It becomes public that the National Consultation will cost approximately 1 billion HUF
05. 05. 2015.	Zoltán Kovács holds a press conference; he announces that the questionnaires are getting printed. Richárd Barabás (Együtt, opposition party leader) disturbs the event.
05. 13. 2015.	It becomes public that the European Union plans to establish a quota-system to handle the migration crisis.
05. 18. 2015.	Viktor Orbán makes a speech in Debrecen, Hungary. He says that he would close the refugee camp in Debrecen instead of developing it.
05. 19. 2015.	The European Parliament discusses the situation of Hungary, including issues like migration- and asylum policy and the question of death penalty
05. 19. 2015.	Demonstration in Budapest against the National Consultation (organized by MigSzol).
05. 31. 2015.	Announcing that the National Consultation is available online
05. 31. 2015.	Governmental party politicians first mention that the government plans to launch an informational campaign connected to the National Consultation
06. 02. 2015.	The first draft of the governmental billboard campaign is leaked and published on Index.hu

“The Hungarians Have Decided: They Do Not Want Illegal Migrants”

06. 03. 2015.	The government confirms that the leaked draft is real and presents the other two billboard drafts.
06. 06. 2015.	The first governmental billboards are installed. Already on this day some of them are getting ruined, painted, torn off or rewritten.
06. 06. 2015.	It becomes public that the billboard campaign was conducted by HG360, a marketing company, which is owned by the neighbour and friend of Antal Rogán. Allegedly the company won the assignment without any competition. The campaign cost 360 million HUF.
06. 07. 2015.	Based on the information of activists, the media starts to report that the police is observing the governmental billboards operatively.
06. 08. 2015.	The “Hungarian Two-Tailed Dog Party” (MKKP) and “Vastagbőr” blog announce their counter-campaign and start asking donations for it. Their first billboard-drafts are published.
06. 10. 2015.	The European Parliament publishes its joint statement, which denounces the National Consultation and the governmental billboard campaign.
06. 10. 2015.	The UNHCR installs the organization’s billboards about integrated refugees living in Hungary. Originally this campaign was independent from the governmental campaign but inevitably got connected and compared to it.
06. 12. 2015.	Local MSZP (opposition party) leaders install counter-billboards in Szombathely, Hungary.
06. 17. 2015.	Official announcement of building a fence on the Serbian-Hungarian border.
06. 20. 2015.	World Refugee Day. The UNHCR organizes spectacular and popular press events. Dariush Rezai, a former refugee from Afghanistan, now citizen of Hungary guides through the journalists in Budapest.
06. 30. 2015.	Announcement of the extended deadline (originally 1st July) of the National Consultation: 15th July
07. 01. 2015.	MKKP and Vastagbőr install their counter-billboards.
07. 15. 2015.	Deadline of the National Consultation on Immigration and Terrorism. End of the governmental billboard campaign.
07. 16. 2015.	Launching a new governmental billboard campaign, at this time about the reforms conducted by the government.
07. 18. 2015.	Court ruling that in this particular case ruining, painting, ripping off etc. governmental billboards is protected by the freedom of expression; it is an act of expressing opinion.

07. 25. 2015.	Viktor Orbán first speaks about the results of the National Consultation and about migration issues in Tusnádfürdő, Romania
07. 27. 2015.	Official announcement of the results of the National Consultation on Immigration and Terrorism.
07. 31. 2015.	End of the counter-billboard campaign

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