

Infiltration of political meaning-production: security threat or humanitarian crisis?

The coverage of the refugee 'crisis' in the Austrian and Hungarian media in early autumn 2015

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Introduction

The following analysis investigates the media coverage in Hungary and Austria of three crucial events during what we will refer to as the ‘refugee crisis’¹, which took place during summer-early autumn 2015. The analysis covers a sample of mainstream news media: television stations, daily newspapers and tabloid newspapers. The research continues and extends on earlier research about the representation of refugees in political and media discourses which was conducted in January–March 2015 (Bernáth-Messing 2015).

Our aim was to investigate how different media outlets framed events related to the refugee crisis; which actors were allowed to voice their experiences and opinions; and what visual and narrative representations shaped the coverage of the events. The analysis finds that several patterns in these representations were primarily driven by political actors, and specifically in the Hungarian case by the government’s forceful anti-refugee campaign. Through our analysis of the media coverage of the crisis we were able to reveal the extent to which many significant elements of the Hungarian government’s propaganda (such as blaming the victims, inciting fear, framing the refugee crisis as a national security issue) came to dominate the Hungarian media coverage. Some media used such a framing uncritically in their texts and visual representations, but we will demonstrate that political meaning production infiltrated all media to some extent. Meanwhile, in Austria political actors and the media framed the crisis as a humanitarian issue and emphasized the civic engagement of Austrian citizens in a wave of solidarity with the refugees. Throughout the crisis, they blamed the inhumane circumstances refugees faced on the Hungarian government, portraying the government (and sometimes even Hungary in general) as evil. In short, the analysis of the Austrian and Hungarian media coverage will demonstrate that the Hungarian government’s anti-refugee campaign – through a combination of political acts and communication strategy – was so powerful in Hungary that no media outlet could stay completely free from it, while the Austrian media coverage was imbued with the discourse of a ‘Willkommenskultur’² which dominated the Austrian political and public spheres in late summer and early autumn 2015.

Throughout this paper we will use three key terms – frame (framing), discourse and narrative, and their use calls for some clarification. When using the term ‘narrative’, we refer to a given actor’s specific presentation of facts and events or his/her argumentation. We will use the term ‘frame’ to denote a presentation of facts and events that links the given phenomenon with social concepts, and pre-interprets them for audience’s perception (Moscovici, 1984). *Discourse* refers to a broader category, linked with modes of exercising power, such as power over interpretations of meaning (Holzscheiter 2005).³ Discourses are more than communicative acts, they are also linked with social practice -- such as political actions. Critical discourse analysis assumes a dialectical relationship between particular discursive practices and the specific fields of action (including situations, institutional frames and social structures in which they are embedded (Wodak and Meyer, (eds): 2001).⁴

¹ We will use the term ‘refugee crisis’ because it is the most commonly accepted term for the flow of events which took place in the late summer and early autumn of 2015 in South-East and Central-East Europe. We will do so in spite of our conviction that the primary cause of the crisis situation was not the arrival of the refugees, but rather the inability of the state, its institutions and the European Union to cope with it, and that it was therefore more an institutional than a refugee crisis.

² welcoming culture

³ Holzscheiter, A. (2005), *Power of Discourse and Power in Discourse. An Investigation of Transformation and Exclusion in the Global Discourse of Childhood*, PhD Thesis, Free University of Berlin, Berlin.

⁴ Ruth Wodak and Michel Meyer (Eds) (2001), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, Sage Publications

We identified a dominant role for two frames of interpreting the events of the refugee crisis: a securitization frame and a humanitarian frame. By the humanitarian frame we mean an approach which (1) often uses personalized narratives, (2) focuses on individuals and their needs, and often argues on moral commands, and (3) creates space for an emotional involvement of the audience, sometimes through dramatization (Benson 2013). By a securitization frame we mean an approach which systematically presents refugees as a threat to the 'host' population, the state and its institutions, whether in terms of a criminal threat, epidemic threat or security threat, while neglecting to recognize or present the refugees as individual humans, with human stories.

In the first part of the analysis we present results from a quantitative content analysis we conducted in relation to three events that occurred between 27 August and 16 September 2015.

In the second part of the report we present a close-up, qualitative analysis of the coverage of these events in four television news programmes (broadcast on ORF and Plus4 in Austria, and M1 and RTL Klub in Hungary). We expect the in-depth analysis of the characteristics of the coverage of these events to provide a deeper understanding of the different representations and the narrative and visual techniques used by editorial staffs.

In the last part of the report we present cross-cutting patterns of media representation, and try to identify discursive strategies of the Hungarian government as well as strategies and techniques of media outlets by which they either supported or resisted the fierce anti-refugee propaganda of the authorities. We wrap up our report with concluding remarks.

Context: the situation in the summer of 2015, Hungary

In June 2015, Hungary experienced a sudden increase in the number of people entering the country for the purpose of applying for asylum in the European Union. Several factors lead to this exponential increase in the number of people crossing into Hungary on their way to other EU countries, including the escalation of violence in Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq and parts of Africa, the increasing overcrowding of refugee camps in countries such as Lebanon and Turkey, policy announcements by EU member states such as the decision by the Hungarian government to erect a fence at the Hungarian-Serbian border, as well as favourable weather conditions in the Aegean.⁵ The overwhelmed Hungarian authorities lacked sufficient capacities to tackle the increasing number of asylum claims. The number of people gathering at Budapest train stations became overwhelming in summer 2015. Large groups sleeping rough in the street and at railway stations became a central issue for the media and civil society, and after a while in the political debate as well. By the end of July an estimated 1,000 people were waiting at the Keleti railway station and on nearby Pope John Paul II Square to pursue their travel to West-European countries such as Austria, Germany and Sweden (Kallius et al 2016). At the same time, attempts by refugees to break out of refugee camps and registration points (Röszke, Bicske) were persistent during the summer. Starting in June, the crowd of refugees grew day by day and the conditions at the main railway stations of Budapest became critical. The role of grassroots volunteer groups in organizing and distributing aid increased massively, as they provided food, water, other necessities and even medical

⁵ Statistics of the Immigration Office, www.bevandorlas.hu

help. Professional charity organizations and traditional churches hesitated to take action during the first weeks of the crisis (Bernát and Simonovits 2016). The deteriorating situation resulted at least in part in Hungary's failure to fulfil several international commitments on managing refugees, which provoked a wide range of criticism from international bodies like the UNHCR and European politicians.⁶ The government and its authorities argued that they only had a responsibility to provide for those refugees who had registered and stayed in refugee camps. Most refugees tried to avoid registration, however, or outright refused to register. They feared getting trapped in Hungary, as the Dublin agreement stipulates that claims for asylum status have to be registered, evaluated and decided in the country where the applicant entered the EU, and that the applicant stays in that country for the entire period of the procedure, which might take several months or even a year. They also feared being refused asylum in Hungary and then being expelled from the EU – not without reason, since Hungary's practices in awarding refugee status are rigid to the extent that it had the lowest rate of evaluating asylum requests positively in the EU.⁷

So-called transit zones were established at Budapest's railway stations in the beginning of August, where refugees could rest and civil supporters distributed food and other essentials, but the situation became increasingly chaotic by the end of that month. At the same time, authorities seemed to lose control of the situation on the southern border of Hungary, where they were unable to manage the entry of asylum-seekers and conditions in the transit zone at the Röszke border crossing, which had turned into a de facto refugee camp, deteriorated. The large numbers of people who had gathered at Röszke, where essential services were lacking, became increasingly anxious to leave. The situation also spun out of control in other refugee camps (Bicske, Vámoszabadi). At the railway stations in Budapest, the nervous crowds looking to continue their travel towards Austria were stranded in inhuman circumstances. (Kallius et al 2016)

Austria saw the number of asylum applications increase throughout 2015 as well, with an exponential increase in numbers as the summer months approached. The Austrian government seemed blind to the situation until mid-August 2015. In early August, reports of overcrowding in Austria's largest reception centre at Traiskirchen lead to its closure for new arrivals. The Austrian government took responsibility for the refugee situation only after aid organizations blamed the government for the inhuman conditions in Traiskirchen. At that time, however, the government took a public position which contrasted sharply with that of Hungary. It issued calls for international solidarity with refugees fleeing war and stringent requests to support a pan-European quota system of redistributing refugees. Nevertheless, the Austrian authorities received their own share of criticism, for example for their plan to accommodate newly registered asylum seekers in so-called 'tent cities'. They were also criticized for threatening to halt the registration of any new asylum requests until other European countries committed to taking in part of the refugees and Austrian states beyond Vienna and Lower Austria, which were accommodating the vast majority of refugees, agreed to take on a greater role.

⁶ UNHCR: *UNHCR calls on Hungary to protect, not prosecute refugees*, 8 May 2015, <http://www.unhcr.org/news/press/2015/5/554cc16e9/unhcr-calls-hungary-protect-persecute-refugees.html>

⁷ EUROSTAT statistics: Hungary's rate of positive evaluations of asylum requests was 9% in 2014, when the EU average was 45%, <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/asylum-and-managed-migration/data/main-tables#>

Timeline of significant events	
Date	Event
11 January 2015	Prime minister Viktor Orbán gives a speech in Paris after the Charlie Hebdo attacks, vilifying what he calls 'economic migrants'
12 January 2015	Austrian Federal President Heinz Fischer calls for international solidarity with refugees fleeing Syrian war in a New Year's address to the diplomatic corps
February–March 2015	Refugees from Kosovo arrive in large numbers in Hungary and Austria
Early May 2015	The Hungarian government launches a 'National Consultation on Immigration and Terrorism', which becomes an element of its anti-refugee campaign
Early May 2015	Austria calls for EU-wide refugee quota system to be implemented
End May 2015	Austria relegates refugees to temporary tent and container camps
13 June 2016	Austria stops processing asylum requests as a reaction to other EU countries not accepting more refugees
June 2015	The Hungarian government starts a billboard campaign on migration, expanding its anti-refugee campaign.
1 July 2015	Overcrowding reported in Austria's largest refugee camp at Traiskirchen
13 July 2015	Hungary starts building a fence on its border with Serbia
4 August 2015	Austria's Traiskirchen camp closes for new arrivals after conditions in the camp deteriorate
Aug.–Sept. 2015	Increasing numbers of refugees gather at Budapest's Keleti train station; trains to Austria are suspended
5–8 August 2015	Transit zones open at Budapest's Keleti train station
27 August 2015	71 migrants found dead in a van in Austria
31 August 2015	Refugees in Keleti train station are momentarily allowed to board trains leaving for Austria and Germany. A huge commotion ensues at the station, while thousands protest in Vienna in support of refugees
3 September 2015	Keleti train station opens again, but trains stop at the border with Austria; some people are taken to Bicske camp without their consent.
4 September 2015	A large group of refugees who had been staying at Budapest's Keleti train stations leave, marching in the direction to Austria
4 September 2015	Austria and Germany announce that they will receive migrants from Hungary because of an 'emergency situation'
5 September 2015	4,500 refugees are transported overnight to the Austrian border
6 September 2015	Austrian aid convoy heads to Hungary to help refugees travel to Vienna

Early September 2015	Hundreds of refugees in Budapest Keleti train station are boarding trains to Hegyeshalom, on the border with Austria, where they walk across the border
7 September 2015	Austria announces strengthened border controls with Hungary for car traffic in order to filter out human smugglers
13 September 2015	Germany introduces temporary border controls at its border with Austria
13 September 2015	Austria suspends train services to and from Hungary after migrant rush
15 September 2015	Erecting a fence, Hungary closes its border with Serbia
15 September 2015	'Legal border closure': new set of laws introduced in Hungary that declare Serbia a safe country, making asylum claims from people crossing over the border from Serbia inadmissible, and criminalize entering the country by breaching the fence
15–16 September 2015	Violent clashes between refugees and police at the Röszke border crossing
21 September 2015	The Austrian National Assembly decides on a 'Durchgriffsrecht' which allows the federal government to use federal property for refugee accommodation without acquiring permission from the municipalities
22 September 2015	Deutsche Bahn, the German railway company, suspends key services to Austria and Hungary
September 2015	More than 20 000 refugees enter Austria; the Austrian government appoints a refugee coordinator

Methods

We aimed to gain a closer insight into the differences in discourses on the refugee crisis in mid-2015, as well as the different strategies the mainstream media in the two countries pursued in covering events. For this purpose we selected three specific periods of media coverage for a more in-depth analysis, centred on a set of iconic events:

- 27–31 August: a period which followed the discovery of a van with 71 victims of human smuggling on the Austrian side of the Hungarian-Austrian border on 27 August.
- 4–7 September: a period during which media coverage was dominated by the refugee march on 4 September, when a group of refugees who had been stranded at Budapest's Keleti railway station decided to walk to Austria.
- 14–22 September: a period which followed the closure of the Serbian-Hungarian border on the night of 14-15 September and the clash between police and refugees at the border crossing near the southern town of Röszke the next day.

All these events affected Austria and Hungary directly, and we could presume that the media in both countries had covered them extensively. Each of the events provided opportunities for different

approaches in portraying the refugees: playing on sympathy or fear, covering refugees as active actors or as passive, needy victims, representing them as peaceful humans or as an illegal, violent crowd. Even as the events occurred within a month of one another, they did indeed showcase different, even contradictory approaches from both political and tabloid media.

We applied a multi-method approach, combining two types of analyses: a quantitative content analysis based on coded contents of the news and a qualitative analysis of television news programmes.

First, in the quantitative content analysis, we applied simple statistics as well as multivariate analysis (principal component) to identify the most significant frames in which news related to the refugee crisis was presented. We applied a coding book based on aspects of our previous research as well as a preliminary review of the media coverage. We used two coding sheets in order to treat two types of news separately. A detailed coding instruction sheet was applied for news that dealt with the actual events. Aspects of the analysis included subthemes that were discussed, actors and voices⁸, identification of the problem and its solution, descriptions and denomination of the refugees and the situation, and visual representations. In addition, we included an opportunity to record verbatim, not pre-coded information regarding the title, denomination of refugees, synonyms, expressions and adjectives used for the situation, which was analysed with qualitative methods.

In the course of the preliminary review of the coverage, however, we also found a large amount of news items in the same period which dealt with refugee-related matters even if they did not cover the events we specifically focused on. Since these items still provided important information concerning the extent and depth of coverage and the involvement of the media in the discourse on refugees, we decided to construct an additional, shorter coding sheet for such ‘contextual’ news, which included information about the publication date, length, and the topics they tackled.

A second segment of the research consisted of a qualitative analysis of television news programmes which were broadcast on the day the actual event occurred. In order to uncover the complexity of narrative, editorial and visual elements of the representation of events, we examined narrative strategies, the relation between titles and images, styles, editing strategies, and characteristics of visual representations beyond those coded in the quantitative analysis.

The selection of media outlets followed a number of criteria. The selected media had to cover a variety of types and political orientations; include press, online media and television news, and both public service media and commercial media; and extend across various genres (e.g. both political and tabloid newspapers), targeting a wide range of audiences. We eventually decided on the following selection:

- ☐ M1: Hungarian public service television channel with a strong governmental influence and a small audience⁹
- ☐ RTL Klub: national commercial television channel with the highest audience share in Hungary¹⁰

⁸ We coded all institutions and their representatives as well as individuals in any social role appearing in the report as actors. In addition, for each actor we coded whether he/she/it had a direct or indirect (being quoted) voice, or didn't have a voice at all.

⁹ The audience rating of M1 news was 4.1% in the second quarter of 2015.

¹⁰ The audience rating of RTL Klub news was around 15% in 2015 (Nielsen – AGB data, Hungary).

- Népszabadság: left–liberal Hungarian daily newspaper with a circulation of around 40,000 sold copies in 2015¹¹
- Magyar Nemzet: conservative Hungarian daily newspaper which became critical of the government during the first half of 2015, with a circulation of approximately 32,000 sold copies in 2015
- Blikk: largest Hungarian daily tabloid newspaper, with a circulation of 130,000 sold copies
- Index: Hungarian news portal with the largest readership
- ORF: Austrian public-service television broadcaster, with an audience share of around 35%¹²
- Puls 4: commercial television station in Austria, owned by [ProSiebenSat.1](#),¹³ with the largest audience share among commercial TV channels
- Die Presse: centre-right daily newspaper in Austria, with a circulation of 77,000 sold copies and an estimated reach of 295,000
- Der Standard: socialist-liberal daily newspaper in Austria, with a circulation of around 83.000 and an estimated reach of 396,000¹⁴
- Kronen Zeitung: daily tabloid newspaper in Austria with the largest audience among tabloids, with a circulation of approximately 810,000 sold copies and an estimated reach of 2,335,000¹⁵

While we applied both quantitative content analysis of news content and qualitative analysis of television news programmes, we did not have the resources to research the political discourses in the mainstream political arena (e.g. by analysing political speeches and debates). Without knowledge of these, however, it is hardly possible for a non-Hungarian reader to understand the dynamics and framing of the discourses around the crisis. Despite the lack of systematic analysis of political discourses, we will therefore nevertheless refer to political and governmental measures and statements when it is indispensable for the interpretation of the results of our analysis. We used both online sources and the main relevant academic publications on the Hungarian government's refugee policy (Haraszti and Gobl 2015, Haraszti 2015, Juhász et al 2015).

¹¹ <http://www.vg.hu/vallalatok/reklam-es-media/megerezte-a-mediahaborut-a-magyar-nemzet-456128>

¹² <http://der.orf.at/unternehmen/orf-english100.html>

¹³ <http://annual-report2015.prosiebensat1.com/combined-management-report/report-on-economic-position-the-financial-year-2015/group-environment/development-of-the-audience-market.html>

¹⁴ <https://images.derstandard.at/2015/12/17/DERSTANDARDFactsFigures151215.pdf>

¹⁵ Data on the press refer to 2015. Sources: for copies, Österreichische Auflagenkontrolle (http://www.oeak.at/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/OEAK_JS_2015.pdf); for reach, Österreichische Media Analyse (<http://www.media-analyse.at/table/2612>)

Chapter 1. Analysis of the news coverage of three symbolic events of the refugee crisis

The amount of news coverage which is devoted to a (series of) event(s) is by itself an informative fact. The sheer numbers of news items involved reflect the intense attention the media devoted to the refugee crisis and the key events we focus on. A total of 407 news items were coded that discussed the three selected sets of events in the time periods (of four, four and nine days respectively) we covered. They averaged out to 28 news items a day on the 'death van', 15 items a day on the refugee march and 25 items a day on the border closure and clashes at Röszke within the respective time periods in the eleven media outlets included in the analysis. In addition to news items covering these key events, an additional 1,691 news items were published in the selected time periods about any other matter related to refugees (such as political or public discourses, other events in the refugee crisis, the situation in other countries): 941 in Hungarian media outlets and 750 in Austria. In short, the media in both countries published an immense amount of news in relation to refugees and other issues related to the subject matter.¹⁶ (Appendix: Table 2)

The amount of attention that was paid to the individual events in the Austrian and Hungarian media was very different, however. Events which occurred in the given country or were directly related to it were given greater stress in the national media: the discovery of the death van was given greater coverage by the Austrian media, while the refugee march from Budapest and the closure of the Hungarian-Serbian border were covered more intensively by the Hungarian media. Different media outlets also dedicated very different amounts of attention to the key events, depending on the focus and especially the type of media platform. The online news site index.hu provided the most intense coverage, which is unsurprising given that an online portal does not need to deal with space limitations in the way both print media and television news programmes do. A comparison between news outlets of the same type can be more telling. In Hungary, the socialist-liberal daily Népszabadság published over twice as many news items as the conservative Magyar Nemzet or the tabloid Blikk. Such a difference in the extent of coverage was not found in the Austrian media, where the two political dailies covered in this research published close to the same amount of news items despite representing different political orientations. Among television channels, which have to cope with the strictest space limitations, we see less variation; all broadcasters reported about each of the three events every day, in at least one but usually several news reports, during the respective time periods.

We will analyse the most important characteristics of the three events separately, since the rather different nature of the events involved differences in terms of the actors, speakers and framing of the news. Tackling them separately helps prevent those differences from being submerged in averages.

¹⁶ A valid comparison of the Austrian and Hungarian media coverage can be made if online media are disregarded, since we only coded an online media outlet (index.hu) in Hungary. Focusing only on print and TV news media, 664 news items were coded in the Hungarian media, and 750 in the Austrian media.

1.1. The ‘death van’

On 27 August an abandoned van was found on the A1 motorway in Austria near the Hungarian border. The van had been parked there for some time when police were notified about the suspicious vehicle. When officers opened the van, they found dead bodies in the cargo hold. At first it was estimated that the number of bodies was around 20. The van had a Hungarian licence number but a Slovak label. It emerged later that Bulgarian human smugglers had left the van on the hard shoulder of the motorway after they discovered that the people in the hold had suffocated due to the lack of oxygen. A day later, after the van was taken to a refrigerated warehouse and examined, the number of victims rose to 59 men, 8 women and 4 children – a total of 71 individuals, primarily from Syria. The world was shocked. Leading politicians from Austria and the EU who were attending the Western Balkans Summit in Vienna, including the German and Austrian chancellors Angela Merkel and Werner Faymann and EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Federica Mogherini, expressed their sorrow and dismay. The perpetrators were arrested on 28 August by Hungarian police. The story was the first shocking news story about human victims of the refugee crisis in the centre of continental Europe. It pointed to the size and depth of the crisis, and the anxiety and determination of refugees to reach Western Europe.

The case was given great emphasis in both Austrian and Hungarian media. In the media covered by this study, 52 news items were published in Hungary and 62 in Austria. The Austrian media gave greater coverage to this event than either of the later events studied in this research. The Kronen Zeitung in Austria and index.hu provided the most coverage: both outlets published over 20 items during the four days covered in this analysis. The Austrian television channels provided greater coverage on the case than the Hungarian channels, but all channels aired at least one report about the case each day. In addition to news dealing with the discovery of the van, the Austrian media published or aired 139 news items, and the Hungarian media 178 items, which dealt with other matters related to the refugee crisis, such as government policy, political speeches, and routes taken by refugees.

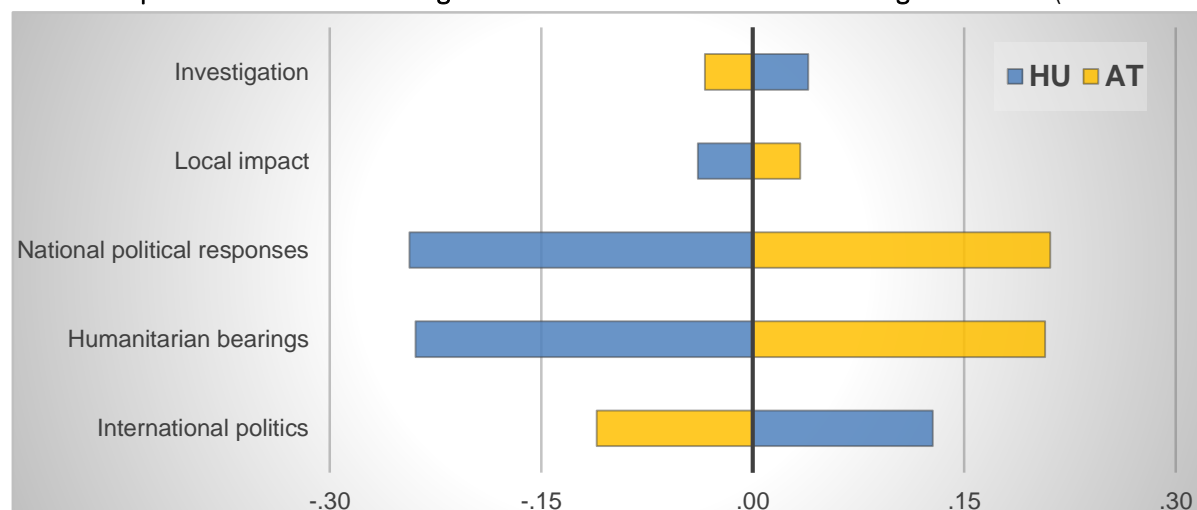
Hungary: isolated tragedy; Austria: manifestation of a systemic problem

News coverage of the death van discussed the tragedy and the particulars of the investigation, but, especially in Hungary, rarely went beyond that. The fact that human smuggling – both in its means and its extent – is greatly influenced by existing regulations on asylum was not focal to the Hungarian media coverage. It is possible, for example, that EU regulations such as those enshrined in the Dublin treaty have contributed to the increase of human smuggling by making it impossible for refugees to continue their journey to their desired destination by legal means. Likewise, the restrictions the Hungarian government introduced on the entry of asylum-seekers may have played such a role.

In addition to the relatively few pieces addressing relevant policies and regulations, we found that only two news items in the Hungarian media discussed the desperate situation in the home countries of the refugees (Syria, Afghanistan) and in Turkish refugee camps as a potential factor in their desperate decision to use human smugglers. In the Austrian media, on the other hand, 13% of the news items about the death van referenced the kind of situations the victims had been fleeing.

A multivariate (principal component) analysis of the topics of news items on the death van supported these findings. It found five major topical frames of discussing the news. The most significant frame focused on the investigation itself, by highlighting the police work and human trafficking.¹⁷ The frames of national political responses (e.g. the reactions of political leaders and their subsequent actions) and the humanitarian bearing of the tragedy (accounts about the situation in the home country and the desperation of refugees) were very focal in the Austrian news coverage. In Hungary, discussions of EU and international refugee policy and its potential role in the tragedy were given a relatively greater stress.

Chart 1. Topical frames in the coverage of the death van in Austrian and Hungarian media (factor scores)



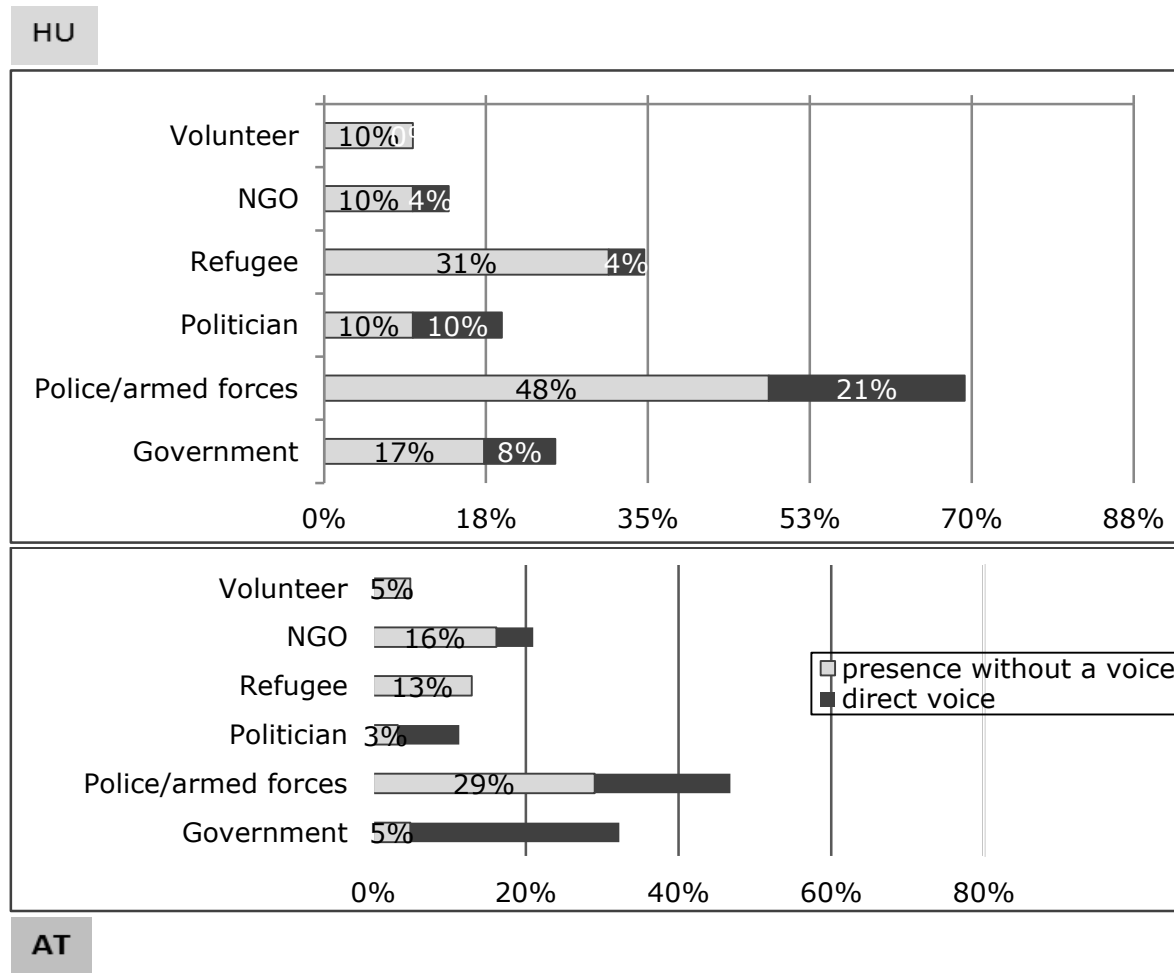
There were also important differences in the topical framing between media outlets. The two Austrian TV channels, die Presse, and the Hungarian commercial TV channel discussed the humanitarian bearing of the tragedy, while both the Hungarian political newspapers framed the ‘story’ in terms of international (and EU) refugee policies. M1, the public service TV channel in Hungary, uniquely gave significant attention to the local impact of the event – e.g. how traffic was stopped and the opinion of locals.

Actors, voices and attribution of responsibility

Analysing actors and their voices, we found that both the Hungarian and Austrian media were primarily occupied with what police and government officials were saying. The police had a dominant presence in the news and was also offered the strongest voice (both in terms of appearance and direct voice), especially in the Austrian media. In the Hungarian media, governmental officials were offered the greatest access of direct voice.

¹⁷ For the construction of factors, see Appendix 2.

Chart 2: Actors and their voices in the media coverage of the death van (% of articles)



A significant difference between the media reporting in the two countries was the portrayal of refugees. While 35% of the Hungarian news items (60% if index.hu is disregarded) featured refugees, only 13% of the Austrian news items did so. In both countries, however, they remained largely voiceless.

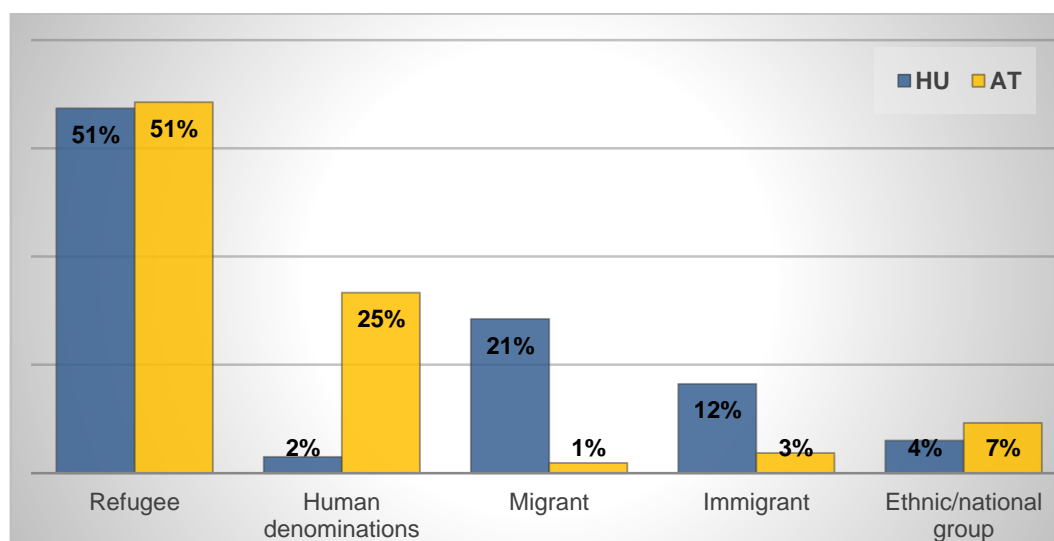
While there were no striking variations between the Austrian and Hungarian media in terms of actors and voices, an analysis of whom responsibility was attributed to by the actors revealed significant differences. The Hungarian media hardly raised the role of the government or its institutions in the tragedy, or in the increase of human smuggling more broadly; only 13% of all news items did so. In Austria, on the other hand, 53% of the news items discussed the role of the state, with many news items discussing not only the role of state institutions in the investigation of the tragedy, but also its capacity to prevent similar occurrences. This approach was in line with the responses by mainstream Austrian politicians, who framed the tragedy as a crime by human smugglers, enabled by poor regulation and insufficient policy responses to changing circumstances outside the EU. Chancellor Faymann, for example, declared on 27 August that ‘This tragedy has shown once more that it is necessary to save lives by fighting the crimes of the human traffickers. It shows that we have to take responsibility and grant asylum to people on the run’. While all media outlets in Austria discussed issues of responsibility and the role of the state, in Hungary the relatively small number of times these issues were raised by two media outlets: Népszabadság and Magyar Nemzet. At the same time, only a few news stories in the Hungarian media echoed the opinion expressed by government spokesperson Zoltán Kovács, in which he placed responsibility on the victims themselves: ‘After all, we have to agree: there is no war in

Greece. And there is no war in Macedonia, nor in Serbia. And there is no war here. There is nothing to flee from. From this point on, we talk about exploited people who became victims because of their own decisions'.¹⁸ Neither did many Hungarian media refer to the response by MPs from the Hungarian government party Fidesz, in which they blamed the death of refugees on 'irresponsible European politicians who entice migrants with the hope of a better life'.¹⁹

Naming the victims: when humanity is lost in terminology

How the victims were named is indicative of journalistic attitudes and editorial policies. The choice in the terminology was significant: in Hungarian, for example, 'migráns' is a foreign word which evokes essentially negative attitudes, while 'menekült' (refugee) is more likely to evoke sympathy, solidarity and the need to help. The two terms also have very different legal connotations: refugees are protected under international law and are provided assistance and services defined by international regulations, while migration is managed within the domain of domestic laws and policies. The choice of terminology therefore has very important attitudinal and legal implications. While half the news items in both the Hungarian and Austrian media referred to the victims as 'refugees', there were significant differences in the designations used in the other half. Hungarian news media referred to the death van victims as 'immigrants' or 'migrants', while this was very atypical for the Austrian news coverage. Instead, the Austrian press preferred to refer to them in terms of their humanity: men, women, victims, people, those who suffocated.

Chart 3: Denomination applied in the coverage of the death van (% of denominations)



This difference may be explained by the fact that the Hungarian government systematically replaced terms that trigger positive feelings or sympathy – such as 'refugee' – in its communications with legally neutral or even negative terms that were more likely to alienate the audience from refugees and increase their association with 'otherness' (e.g. 'migrant', 'entrants', 'trespassers'). This use of

¹⁸ http://index.hu/belfold/2015/08/28/kovacs_zoltan_a_menekulteket_hibaztatja/

¹⁹ 'Message to the leaders of the EU', by Hungarian MPs Mr. Rogan, Mr. Harrach, Dr. Gulyás, Mr. Tuzson, Mr. Németh, Mr. Völner, Mr. Bánki, Mr. Font and Mr. Móring, Nr. H/5984, <http://www.parlament.hu/irom40/05984/05984.pdf>

terminology affected public and media discourses. This was most evident in the case of the reports on public broadcaster M1, which extensively used the expression 'migrant': a reporter reporting live from the M1 motorway, for example, used the word 'migrant' twice and 'dead migrant' three times within 90 seconds. Governmental communications also included adjectives which problematize and criminalize refugees, such as 'welfare migrants', 'illegal immigrants' or 'those crossing the Hungarian border illegally'. The government's preferred terminology was so effective that even independent state actors and institutions, such as the police and the National Public Health and Medical Officer Service, applied them in their communications. The media became involved in this struggle around terminology, and largely failed to denominate the victims in terms of their humanity (Bernáth-Messing 2015). The Austrian government, on the other hand, framed the tragedy in terms of a humanitarian crisis. In its news coverage, the public service television station ORF did so as well, placing a very strong emphasis on commiseration and on presenting the human side of the tragedy, also in their use of terms (see also chapter 2.1). The only political actor in Austria which referred to the victims of the death van as 'migrants' or 'immigrants' was the far-right FPÖ, but it was given negligible media attention and voice during this period of the refugee crisis, in late August–early September.

1.2. The 'refugee march'

In the last days of August, a large and increasing number of refugees were waiting at Budapest's railway stations, especially at the Keleti Station, for any opportunity to board a train heading to Austria or Germany. They did not receive proper humanitarian assistance (food, sanitation) from the authorities, and for weeks it was primarily up to volunteers to try to ease their desperate situation (Kallius et al. 2016). Having been denied the possibility to board trains heading to Austria – and having heard about the group of refugees which was tricked by Hungarian authorities and the railway company the day before, when the train they were on was rerouted to the Bicske refugee camp – hundreds of refugees decided to walk to Austria, a hike of approximately 200 km. On 4 September they crossed Budapest during the day and headed westwards along the crowded M1 motorway. Police did not intervene and secured the route of the refugees.

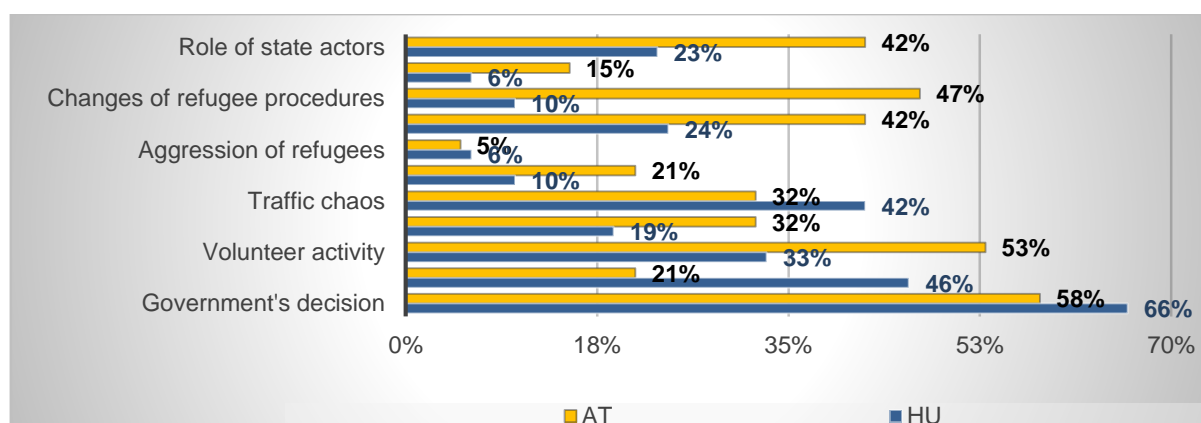
On the same day, several hundreds of refugees in the southern border town of Röszke broke out from the refugee camp there. Another group, which was heading to Vienna on a train but was detoured to the Bicske refugee camp, refused to leave the train. A fourth location of refugee unrest on the same day was Vámoszabadi, a small town near the Austrian border, where refugees broke out of the camp there and walked towards the border. These events represented a significant change: 'The nature of migrants' presence in urban space changed dramatically during the Budapest protest, from seemingly quiescent victims in June to powerful demonstrators by August' (Kallius et al 2016:27). They also brought about a radical change in the Hungarian government's refugee policy. Previously, the authorities had argued that they didn't help the refugees at locations like the train stations because they had to register and stay in refugee camps to be eligible for aid. After these events, however, the authorities started to organize bus transports to the Austrian border, without requiring any registration. The march was widely covered in the media, and political actors had to react.

In the course of four days (4–7 September), a total of 71 news reports was published about the refugee march alone. All Hungarian media outlets published several news items about the refugee march each day. In addition, the Hungarian media aired and printed an overwhelming number of news items (263 in all) which covered contextually related stories – primarily the other events concerning refugees that

occurred on the same day, political responses, and the refugee situation in other countries. The most intensive coverage was provided by the television channels, which aired 6-7 news reports on the march itself and further dozens of news items on other refugee-related matters in their evening news programmes. The Austrian media published fewer news items, but still a very significant number: 19 news stories on the actual march and a total of 160 contextual news items.

An important difference between the Hungarian and Austrian media coverage was that the Hungarian media (and actors appearing there) frequently framed the situation in the context of European refugee policy (in 46% of the news items), while the Austrian media did so significantly less frequently (21%).

Chart 4: Main themes in Austrian and Hungarian media coverage in relation to the refugee march (% of reports)



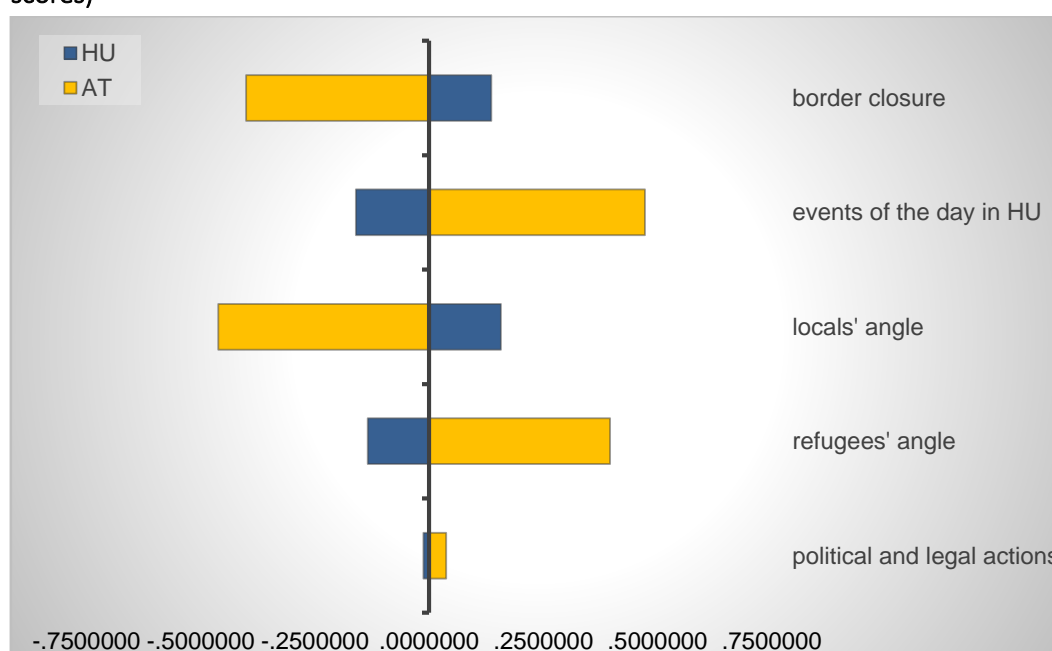
Another difference in the media coverage in the two countries concerned the extent to which news reports presented personal stories of refugees. In Hungary, just 19% of the news items did so, while 32% of the news reports in Austria included stories about their experiences. In addition, violence against refugees was less covered by the Hungarian media, even though refugees were threatened by extremist football fans in Hungary, at Budapest's Keleti railway station. The subject was more prevalent in the Austrian media, which also portrayed the Hungarian authorities as being violent towards refugees. The Hungarian police, for example, was frequently portrayed as malicious, and was described as having tricked refugees in the context of the train that was rerouted to Bicske. Similar to what we found regarding the death van story, the responsibility of regulations and state authorities in the development of the refugee situation was rarely discussed in Hungarian media reports on the refugee march and parallel events: only every tenth news item mentioned this aspect, whereas the Austrian media discussed the role and responsibility of state actors in almost half of its news stories. This is in line with the different positions the Hungarian and Austrian governments took on the role of the state. In contrast to the Hungarian government's position on its responsibility being limited to refugees who stayed in camps, in Austria the responsibility of state wasn't only understood in terms of providing support prescribed by international treaties, but also in terms of cooperating with aid organizations and volunteers who offered support on the ground, wherever refugees were.

The multivariate (principal component) analysis of the events discussed during the four days covered by the research found five thematic frames. The first frame focused on political and legal actions and reactions, including responses by politicians and changes in refugee policies and procedures nationally and in the EU. The second thematic frame placed greater emphasis on providing the perspective of

refugees: presenting personal stories, showing the distribution of humanitarian aid and the activity of volunteers, and recounting the threats refugees had to face (e.g. aggression directed against them, and specifically the attack by football ‘ultras’). A third thematic frame centred on discussing the effect the march had on locals, highlighting their reactions and issues like traffic disturbances. The fourth thematic frame discussed the march as one in a series of events occurring during the day, including refugees breaking out from the Röszke camp, the conflict in Bicske between Hungarian authorities and the refugees whose train was rerouted there, and police actions against refugees across the country. Finally, the fifth thematic frame focused on the border: the construction of the barbed wire fence, the physical and legal closure of the border for refugees, and how this pushed them towards using human smugglers.

The analysis supports our previous findings:

Chart 5: Topical frames in the coverage of the refugee march in Austrian and Hungarian media (factor scores)



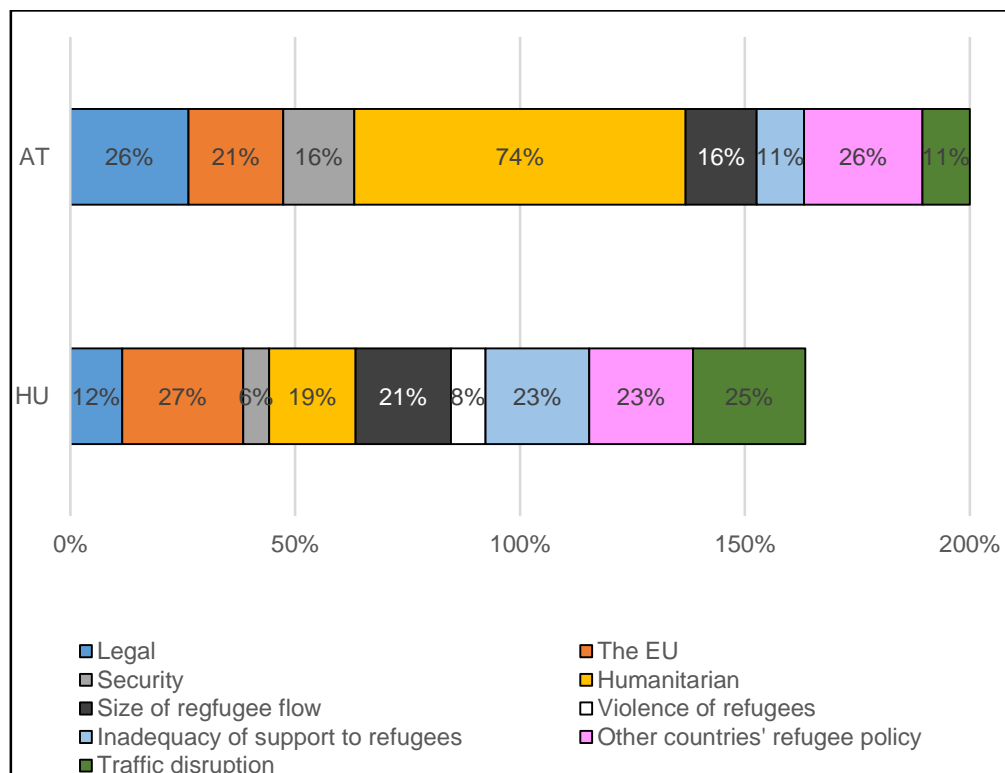
There were notable distinctions between the media coverage in Austria and Hungary. The Austrian media more frequently framed events in the context of all the events that occurred during that day, and also emphasized the perspective of the refugees more. The Hungarian media, on the other hand, focused more on the physical and legal premises of the closure of the Hungarian-Serbian border and the perspective of local residents.

What is the problem and who is responsible?

Disparities between Austrian and Hungarian media are no less apparent when looking into how media coverage identified the problem and its causes. The Austrian media dominantly (74%) framed the refugee march as a humanitarian issue, as they did with most news stories about refugees, and in terms of a failure of the refugee policy of the Hungarian state. The framing of news about the refugee march by the Hungarian media was much more diverse, and only 19% of news items applied a humanitarian

frame. A somewhat higher share of the news (27%) analysed the march in terms of discrepancies in EU policies, and 23% of the items included explanations which identified refugee policies in other countries as a cause or problem (by suggesting, for example, that the Austrian and German ‘welcome policy’ was making refugees head towards the West). A quarter of the articles described the event in terms of a traffic hindrance, emphasizing how the refugee march caused a massive obstruction of the regular traffic in Budapest and on the M1 motorway, which was in line with the government’s choice of narrative.

Chart 6: The refugee march: the nature of related problems as defined in Austrian and Hungarian news media (% of reports)



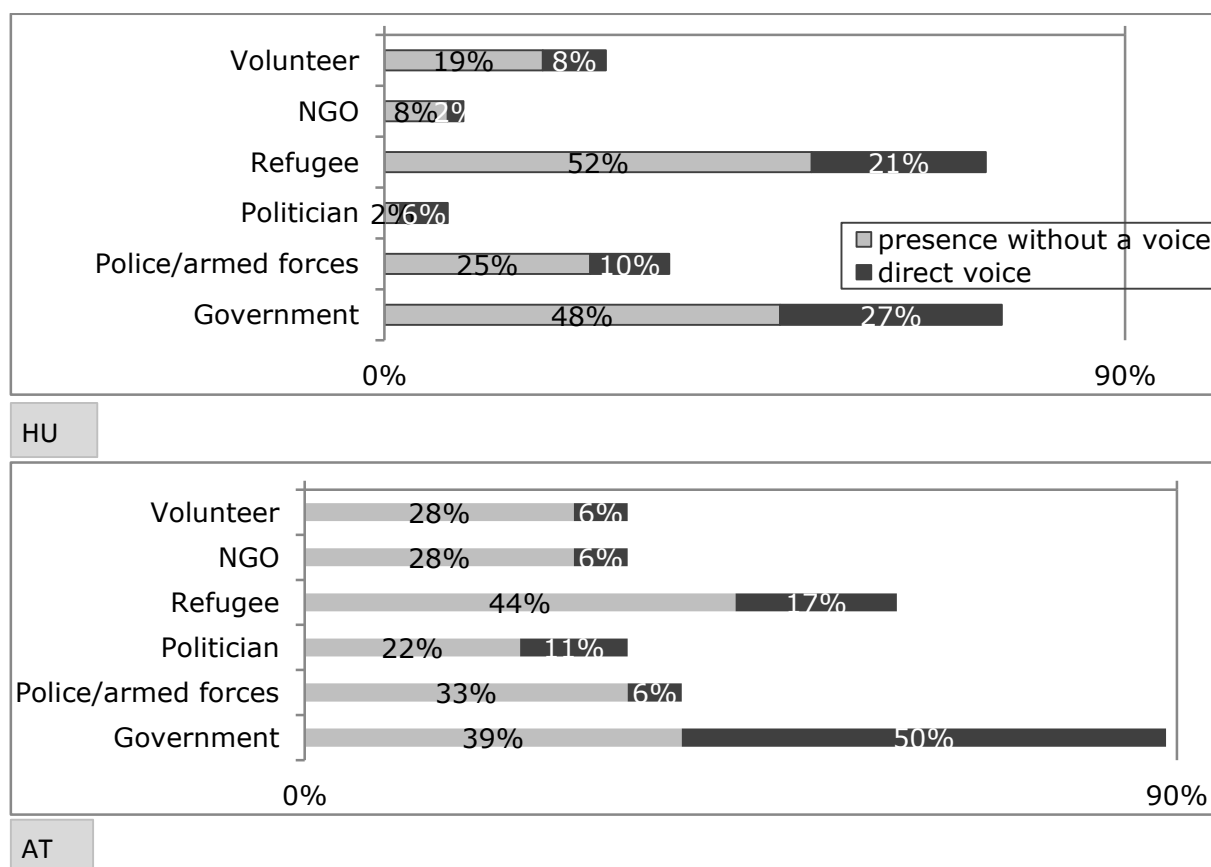
The refugee march constituted a turning point in events in Hungary because the framing strategies which the government had been applying when discussing refugee issues, presenting narratives of securitization, criminalization or health threats, did not seem to work on this occasion. By early September 2015 the securitization discourse had become insignificant in the Hungarian media coverage of the refugee crisis, which would only change again after 16 September when the clash between refugees and the Hungarian police at Röszke triggered its return. Earlier in the year, the number of refugees in Hungary had been small and they were invisible to the public, which made it easy to ‘other’ them. The government may have been able to construct an effective ‘anti-migrant’ campaign, representing refugees as a threat to Hungary’s security, culture and economy, in part because Hungarians had had little experience with refugees. In contrast, Austrians had experienced periods with large numbers of refugees and immigration previously, and those were also points of reference in the Austrian media coverage. But by August–September 2015 the situation in Hungary had changed dramatically. The number of refugees rose to its peak and they became very visible: on the streets, around the railway stations of Budapest, and in the media. As a result, the Hungarian government’s

construct of refugees was juxtaposed with experiences of seeing actual refugees, appearing as peaceful, human, vulnerable individuals.

Actors and voices

The most frequently portrayed actors in the Hungarian media coverage of the refugee march were refugees, government figures and institutions, and the police. Refugees were able to voice their opinion directly quite frequently, though evidently to a lesser extent than the government. The proportions were quite similar in the Austrian media coverage.

Chart 7: The refugee march: actors and voices in Austrian and Hungarian media (% of reports)

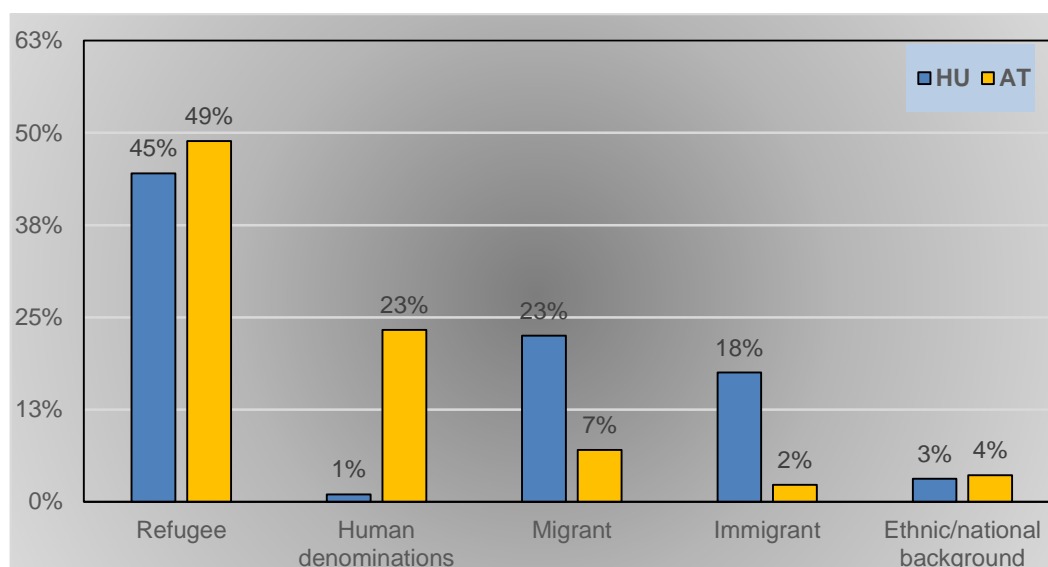


While there was no significant difference in the extent to which volunteers appeared in the Hungarian and Austrian media coverage (being featured in approximately one-third of the news items), there was a substantial disparity in the presence of established charities and NGOs. They were featured in 33% of the Austrian news items and only 10% of the Hungarian items. Both volunteers and NGOs supporting refugees suffered from unequal access to media voice.

Naming refugees

An analysis of the terminology that was applied to refugees revealed similar patterns as in the case of the death van. Again, categorical classifications like 'migrant' and 'immigrant' outnumbered denominations which referred to the individual, human character of refugees ('men', 'women') in the Hungarian media.

Chart 8: Designations of refugees in Austrian and Hungarian media coverage in relation to the refugee march (% of reports)

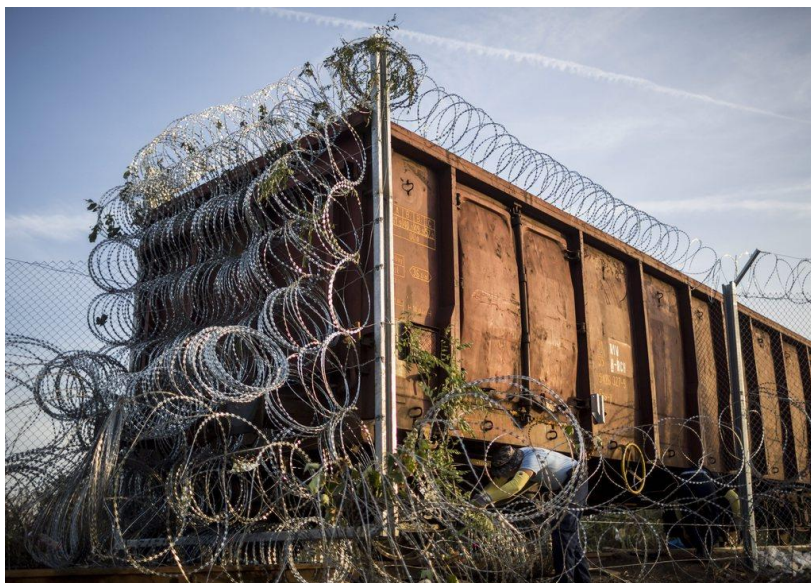


While media outlets in both countries used the words ‘refugees’ and ‘asylum-seekers’ in almost half the cases, further ‘technical’ terms like ‘migrants’ or ‘immigrants’ were also very widespread in the Hungarian media coverage. The Austrian media were much more likely to apply ‘human’ categories such as men, children, women, people, victims, and rarely used the term ‘migrant’ or ‘immigrant’. There were significant differences between Hungarian media outlets in this respect. While index.hu and RTL Klub preferred the term ‘refugee’ or ‘asylum-seeker’, Magyar Nemzet and M1 designated them as ‘migrants’ or ‘immigrants’ in 55-60% of their news items.

The use of adjectives may have further added to the construction of meanings: in contrast to Austrian news coverage, which frequently described the asylum-seekers as ‘war refugees’ (Kriegsflüchtlinge), the Hungarian public broadcaster M1 and the conservative daily Magyar Nemzet frequently labelled them as ‘illegal migrants’, in line with the government’s preferred choice of terminology.

1.3. The closure of the Serbian-Hungarian border and the clash at Röszke

On the night of 14–15 September, a last gap in the newly constructed barbed-wire fence between Serbia and Hungary, which had remained where a railway line crossed the border, was closed with a razor wire-topped rail wagon, ending all free entry to Hungary for refugees. It was ironically described as the ‘Mad Max wagon’ by some journalists.



The 'Mad Max wagon', used to close off the railway border crossing between Hungary and Serbia.²⁰

New amendments to the Criminal Code and the Asylum Law came into force on 15 September. The new provisions declared damaging the border fence and entering the country illegally by crossing the border fence criminal offences, punishable with a total of up to eight years imprisonment.²¹ At the same time, entering the country legally by applying for asylum became almost impossible: 'By declaring Serbia as a safe third country, the new law makes inadmissible the asylum claims of anyone who has transited through Serbia on their way to Hungary (and allows migrants to be deported) ... Migrants faced a catch-22: asylum claims are inadmissible, and any other type of entry into Hungary is illegal ([in] clear violation of international legal norms against criminalizing asylum seekers)' (Kallius et al. 2016:33). The Hungarian Helsinki Committee, a non-governmental watchdog organization, pointed out that 'Several elements of the new legislation and policy are in clear breach of EU law and/or go against the clear principles established by the European Court of Human Rights or UNHCR guidance'.²²

One day after the closure of the border, refugees on the Serbian side who demanded entry to Hungary clashed violently with Hungarian police under controversial circumstances. This event introduced new aspects and narratives into the media discourse as well, especially in Hungary. It was the first time aggression was observable on the part of the refugees. In the course of just ten days, most of the media redefined their discursive frames and the image they portrayed of refugees. Although only a small share of the refugees actively took part in the confrontation, the image of refugees as peaceful, vulnerable groups of people almost disappeared from the media and public discourse in Hungary.

To analyse these events we selected a longer timeframe: 15–22 September. The Hungarian media reported very intensively on them; we coded a total of 193 news items that were aired or published during those eight days about the actual events and a further 500 items that discussed other refugee-related news. Austrian media interest was also significant, but less intense: 29 news items covered the

²⁰ <http://nepszava.hu/cikk/1069873-mad-max-egy-langelme-kreaturaja-brutal-magyarorszag-szimbolum>

²¹ For more details on the new legal environment and its consequences see Amnesty International (2015)

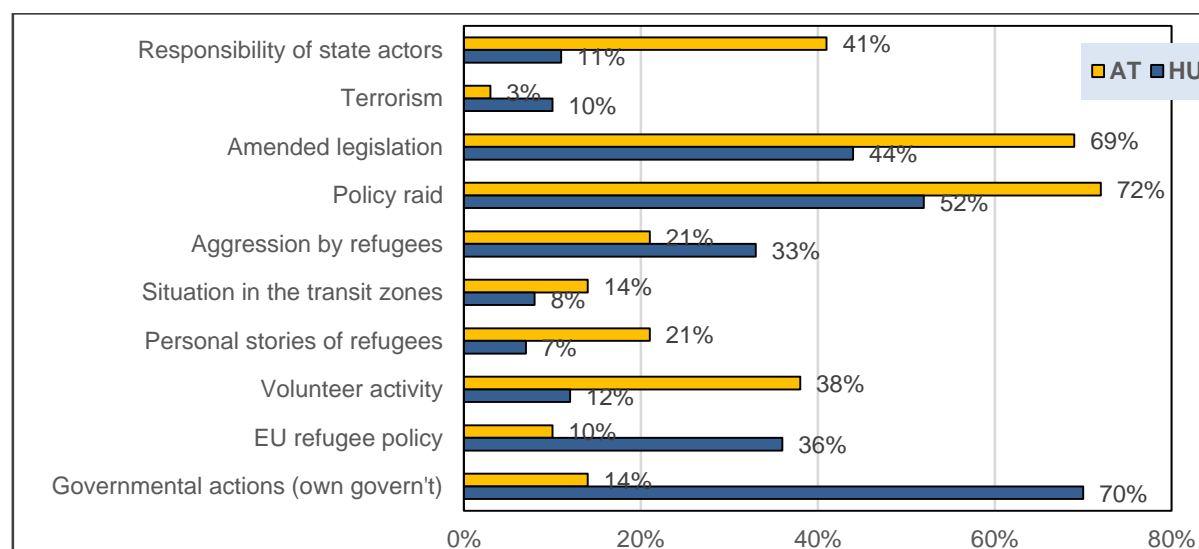
²² http://helsinki.hu/wp-content/uploads/HHC_Hungary_Info_Note_Sept-2015_No_country_for_refugees.pdf

events, specifically (5-7 in each media outlet), while a large number (451) of items was published on other refugee-related news, such as the refugee situation in Austria, Croatia, Serbia and Germany, EU negotiations, integration challenges, and the role of the wars in the Middle East in causing the refugee crisis. Among Hungarian media outlets, index.hu again published the highest number of news items about the events (84 items, or over 10 news items/day²³), but the print media outlets covered in this research also published 2-4 news items a day, on average. The two TV channels considered the events on the border extremely newsworthy as well: RTL Klub aired 17 news items on the issue, and M1 24 items.

Subthemes in Hungarian and Austrian media coverage: rule of law or state violence?

The subject matter which the Hungarian and Austrian media focused on differed significantly. The Hungarian media mostly covered police actions, governmental decisions and the construction and impact of the barbed-wire fence (which we included in the category 'governmental actions'), and refugee laws and policies (both domestically and in the EU). The Austrian media, on the other hand, were especially focused on police actions (and specifically, brutality on the part of the Hungarian police) and explaining the newly introduced regulations on border entry and asylum. They devoted a greater share of their coverage to both issues than their Hungarian counterparts. The Austrian news coverage also placed significantly greater emphasis during these eight days on the work volunteers were doing to help refugees.

Chart 9: Main themes discussed in Austrian and Hungarian media coverage in relation to the border closure and the Röszke Clash (% of reports)



Similar to what we found regarding the media coverage of the refugee march, the Austrian media discussed the role and responsibilities of state actors – in this case, the responsibility of the state to register refugees – with much greater frequency than the Hungarian media. While the Hungarian government had for some time implied that refugees should be feared, for example in the 'national consultation' it had launched in May and its accompanying billboard campaign (Szalai and Göbl 2015,

²³ Minute-by-minute news updates/live blogs were coded as one item.

Haraszti 2015), it had stopped registering refugees by the end of August and let them enter the EU Schengen Zone and cross the country without any control. This context, however, seemed to interest the Austrian media much more than their Hungarian counterparts. Whereas 41% of the news items in the Austrian media outlets discussed the issue of registration (or the lack thereof), less than 10% of the Hungarian news items mentioned this aspect.

The barbed-wire fence on the Serbian-Hungarian border and its construction became a symbolic focus for the Austrian media. Narratively, several reports made comparisons with the 'Iron Curtain' which had separated Hungary from the western world before 1989. A major argument forwarded in Austrian media coverage, often by migration experts, was that the fence was a waste of money, as it wouldn't be able to stop refugees from entering the EU anyway.²⁴ The Austrian media's coverage of the clash between police and refugees at Röszke also differed from how it was portrayed in Hungary. The violence by refugees proved to be a new turning point in Hungarian media coverage, as discussed above, and one-third of the news items in this period raised the subject. Austrian media, however, did not emphasize this aspect, instead focusing more on actions taken by the Hungarian police, and portrayed the conflict as one in which refugees were the victims of an attack by the police.

The Hungarian media mentioned terrorism in 10% of its news items. Most of these items centred on the claim that one of the refugees was a 'known terrorist', initially made in an announcement by the Hungarian police²⁵ and then reported by M1²⁶ and Magyar Nemzet. The information was later disproven²⁷: those who had been accused of terrorism committed their 'terrorist' act by trying to cross the Hungarian border and throwing objects in the direction of the police. The threat of terrorism in relation to the refugee crisis was played up by the Hungarian government and became a major topic in the coverage on M1, but received scant attention in the Austrian media. The court case against the individuals prosecuted for engaging in 'terrorism' at the Röszke clash is taking place as we write this report: the nine accused include a disabled man in a wheelchair, a disabled person using crutches, and an old lady with severe health problems.²⁸

Actors

One of the main differences between the media coverage in the two countries was that the Hungarian media featured governmental actors more frequently. Far-right parties were not given a voice: in only two (out of 193) Hungarian news items and none in Austria did politicians or spokespersons for those parties get to express an opinion. While Hungarian media provided greater presence to refugees themselves than ever before (over half the news items talked about or with them), the Austrian media gave them even greater visibility. The same is true for NGOs and volunteers. The Hungarian media, which traditionally prioritizes the voices of authorities and officials over those of civil actors, devoted considerable coverage to the relief work of volunteers and NGOs, but the Austrian media portrayed their activities in a more significant share (over one-fifth) of news items.

²⁴ For example: Der Standard, 16 September 2015

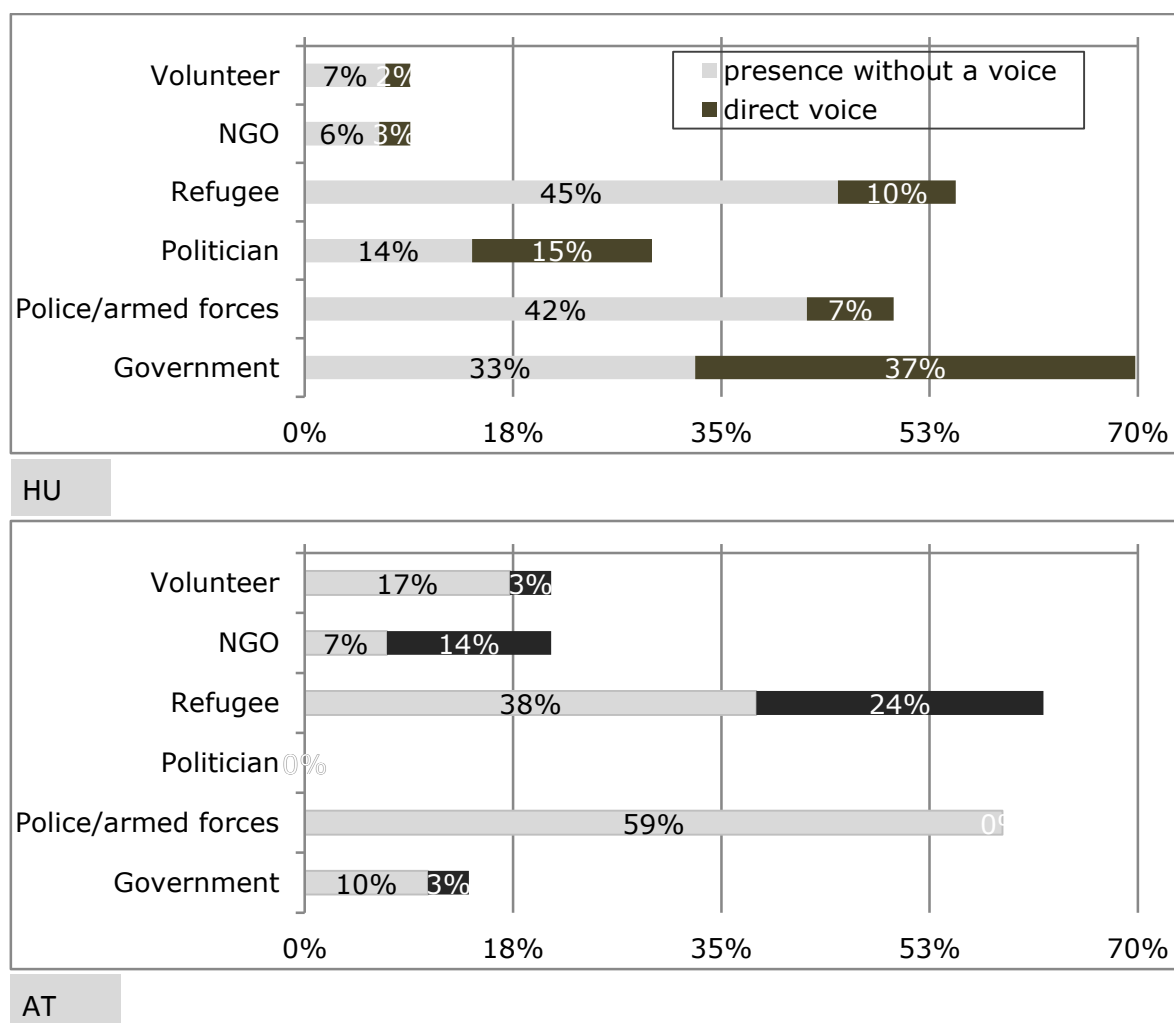
²⁵ <http://police.hu/hirek-es-informaciok/legfrissebb-hireink/bunugyek/kozlemeny-15>

²⁶ <http://www.hirado.hu/2015/09/22/terrorista-fedoszervezet-tagja-a-roszkei-tomegzavargas-egyik-gyanusitottja/>
<http://nol.hu/mozaik/tenyleg-talalhatak-terrorista-szalat-roszken-1564697>

²⁷ http://index.hu/belfold/2015/09/22/szir_menekult_terrorszervezet/

²⁸ http://index.hu/belfold/2016/04/28/roszkei_osszecsapas_rendor_tanuk_a_szegedi_migrans_perben/

Chart 10: Actors and their voices in Austrian and Hungarian media coverage in relation to the border closure and the Röszke clash (% of reports)

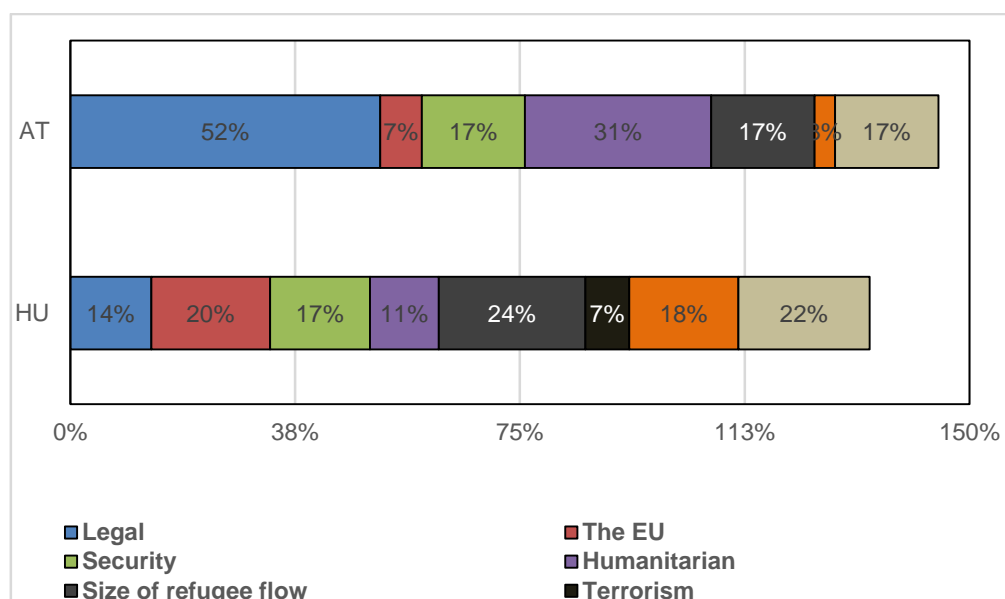


Among the Hungarian media outlets, the RTL Klub news broadcasts and Népszabadság provided significant attention to the activity of volunteers, but the public broadcaster M1 reported about their activities on only two occasions, while the conservative Magyar Nemzet did not portray them at all. Finally, the representation of the police and the border patrol forces of the military provides a telling story: while the media in both countries gave very significant coverage to police officers, a closer review revealed that the Austrian media covered police action in the framework of aggression by authorities and abuse of power, while the Hungarian news coverage was quite diverse (see qualitative analysis).

Problem attribution: build a fence, and humanitarian concerns disappear from sight

The most striking finding of our quantitative analysis is how the use of humanitarian discourse dropped off sharply in the media coverage after the closing of the border and the resulting disturbances. Whereas news about the refugee march had been reported within a humanitarian discursive frame in 40% of the Hungarian news items and 89% of those in Austria, just ten days later the images of violence after the border closure dramatically reduced the use of this frame. Only 11% of the Hungarian news items and 31% of the Austrian items defined the events at the border as a humanitarian issue.

Chart 11: Nature of problem as defined in Austrian and Hungarian news in relation to the border closure and the Rösztke clash (% of reports)



There were important differences in the frames which the news media in the two countries used. The Austrian media most typically contextualized the border closure as a legal issue – mostly in a negative way, as the result of wrongful and inhuman legislation. The Hungarian media, on the other hand, defined the background of the events at the border mainly as a European problem, created by the discrepancies between the refugee policies in different European countries, and as an issue of national security.

It appears that the new laws which criminalized crossing the razor-wire fence, as well as the construction of the fence itself, served to distract the attention of especially the Hungarian news media from the humanitarian crisis and refocused it on legal and security matters. Even though the humanitarian crisis did not, in reality, disappear at all, this shift in how events were portrayed deprived refugees from the more sympathetic hearing they'd been given ten days earlier.

The large number of refugees was mentioned in a quarter of the news items in Hungary and aggression on the part of refugees in 18% of them, helping to construct a threatening image. The Hungarian media also reinforced a securitization discourse when they voiced claims by the government about refugees having links to terrorism. The Austrian media did not bring up any possible link between refugees and terrorism in any news items.

Based on the analysis in this section, we would argue that there was a significant change in how the Hungarian media interpreted and represented refugee issues in the ten days between the refugee march and the events at the Rösztke border crossing. Several issues became important that hadn't been prominent ten days previously – and moreover, remained absent or much less dominant in the Austrian news coverage. This sea change was also reflected by an increasingly homogenized representation of refugees. The percentage of news items which included personal refugee stories radically declined, from 19% at the time of the refugee march to 7% in these ten days (compared with a decline from 32% to 24% in Austria). This tendency towards a homogenized representation was evident in the use of terminology as well: while the Austrian media used personalized denominations (men, women, children,

vulnerable people, victims) in one-fifth of their news items, the Hungarian media did so only in 1% of its stories, which instead applied more technical terminology (i.e. refugee, migrant, immigrant).

Research published earlier this year which analysed the frames used by online media in Hungary reinforces our finding that the gradually increasing prevalence of a humanitarian frame shifted back to the dominance of a criminalization or securitization frame (Barta and Tóth 2016). The authors observed how, by mid-August, grassroots volunteer groups and human rights organizations were able to significantly shape public and media discourses, and promote a humanitarian framing in discussions of the refugee crisis. However, they wrote, ‘during the battle at Röszke and the closing of the Serbian border, ... government agendas that focused on describing refugees as criminals, terrorist threats, carrying the risk of epidemics or on underlining their aggression regained their leading role.’ The authors attributed this change in online media frames to several intersecting factors. The criminalization frame gained ground after the amendments to the Criminal Code which made illegal border crossing a criminal act, and the government’s declaration of a state of emergency in several parts of the country. The centralized public service media system, which also includes the news agency MTI, forcefully transmitted this framing of the events. At the same time ‘oppositional and independent outlets did not have enough munitions to counter the governmental framing of the migrant crisis (Barta and Tóth 2016:134). In addition, by September grassroots organizations were supplanted by established charity organizations, whose agenda was more harmonized with that of the government.

1.4. Discursive frames of the refugee crisis: results of multivariate analysis

The quantitative content analysis revealed several frameworks which the news media applied in interpreting the events of the late summer and early autumn. In order to further identify the main discursive frames of the refugee crisis we also conducted a multivariate analysis, focused on the attribution of problem in the news. One item in our coding inquired about how news items (or actors voiced in those news items) formulated the core of the problem. The correlation matrix shows how different problems that were identified in the news were linked to each other.²⁹

²⁹ In the principal component analysis, we did not include those variables that had a frequency below 3% (very rarely mentioned). These were q12.3 (labour market), q12.4 (demographic), q12.8 (health risk), q12.11 (fear from refugees), q12.12 (xenophobia of the mainstream society), q12.13 (criminality of refugees), q12.18 (domestic conflict not related to the refugee crisis), q12.21 (traffic disturbances).

Table 2. Correlation matrix of problem identification

	problem: cultural	problem: economic (costs)	problem: legal	problem: EU	problem: security	problem: humanitari an	problem: country of origin	problem: human trafficking	problem: multitude of refugees	problem: terrorism	problem: refugees aggression	problem: other countries policies	problem: deficiency of services
problem: cultural	1	,134**	-,044	,114	,067	-,026	,160**	-,007	,115	,186**	,047	-,035	,027
problem: economic (costs)		1	,023	-,024	,036	-,020	,004	-,034	,124*	,075	-,029	-,063	-,064
problem: legal			1	,128**	,012	,169**	,022	,098	-,003	-,105	-,080	,076	,056
problem: EU				1	,055	,162**	,289**	,133**	,221**	,028	-,062	,115	-,014
problem: security					1	,026	-,022	-,094	,158**	,177**	,202**	,152**	,228**
problem: humanitarian						1	,191**	,097	,062	,003	-,077	,124*	-,053
problem: country of origin							1	,228**	,141**	,054	-,080	,121*	-,024
problem: human trafficking								1	,062	,024	-,114*	-,043	-,012
problem: multitude of refugees									1	,054	,075	,207**	,085
problem: terrorism										1	,206**	,029	,090
problem: refugees aggression											1	,064	,126*
problem: other countries policies												1	,082

Colors help to point out the significant linkages between problems that are represented together in the news. There are certain – strong – links that form ‘problem groups’: when the issue of security is raised, for example, it is often in combination with criminality, aggression, the high number of refugees, and terrorism. Presenting the problem as one of the European Union’s refugee policy and legislation is correlated with representations of the crisis as a legal problem or a problem caused by the high number of refugees, and an emphasis on the situation in their home countries.

In order to identify interpretative frames, we used a dimension reduction procedure (principal component analysis) that groups these problems together based on their correlations. The analysis identified five problem groups (or factors) constructed from the initial 13 variables³⁰ (see Annex 2, Table 5 and 6).

- The first problem group frames the events of the refugee crisis in terms of the *context of war and conflict* in the refugees’ countries of origin and focuses on its consequences, such as human trafficking and humanitarian emergencies. In this interpretative frame, significant weight is given to human trafficking, the conflicts in the countries of origin, the EU, and humanitarian issues.
- The second factor emphatically frames the events as an issue of *security*. In this factor, contexts and elements that are strongly present are security threats, terrorism, and aggression by refugees.
- The third factor utilizes a political and policy discourse to frame events as a *crisis caused by other countries and/or European refugee policies*. In this factor, the problem is identified in terms of the high number of refugees and the policies pursued by other countries. Austrian media coverage frequently blamed Hungarian mismanagement of the situation as a major cause of the crisis, while Hungarian media coverage provided a platform for governmental

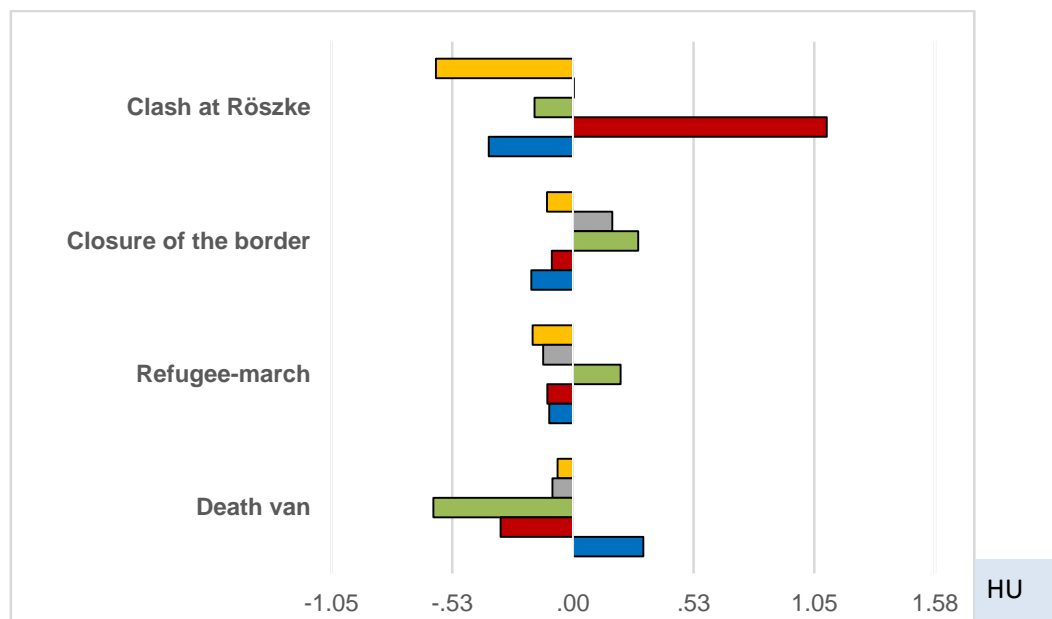
³⁰ The model based on these five variables explains 53% of the total variance of the initial 13 variables.

voices which attributed the blame for the crisis to the European Union refugee regime and the ‘open-arms’ communication strategies of the Austrian and German governments.

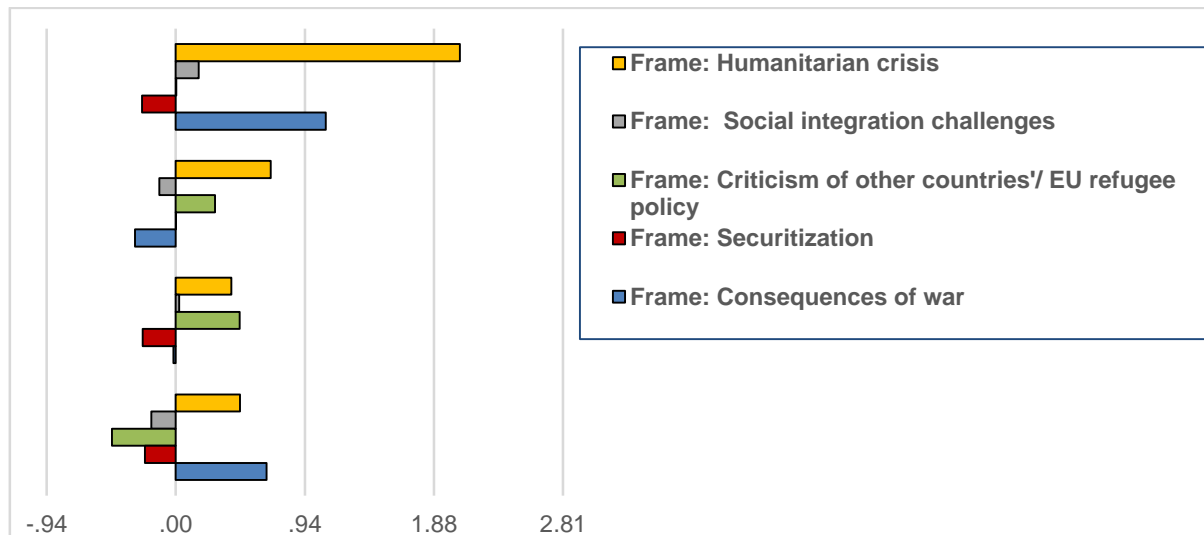
- The fourth factor seems to include those variables that relate to *challenges of integrating refugees*, and defines the problem as a cultural one or as an economic and labour-market inclusion challenge.
- The fifth interpretative frame includes those elements that contextualize the situation in terms of a *legal and humanitarian crisis*. The variables with the greatest weight in this factor define the refugee crisis as a humanitarian problem and as a legal problem (featuring references to the failing refugee regime in Europe, the Dublin treaty, or Hungary’s newly-adopted legislation on refugees), and highlight the deficiency of services available to refugees.

The next step of the analysis compared the presence of problem frames in the Hungarian and Austrian media coverage of each key event.³¹

Chart 12: Interpretative frames based on problem attribution in Hungarian and Austrian news media (factor scores)



³¹ Since the analysis we reported in the previous sections had suggested that there was a sharp turn in media narratives after the violent scenes in Rösztke, we decided to review the coverage of the border closure and the Rösztke clash separately.



AT

A very significant difference between the representation of the key events in the Hungarian and Austrian media concerns the presence or absence of humanitarian and securitization framings. This is in line with the findings presented in the previous sections, but the disparity is shown here even more clearly. While the humanitarian aspect was always the primary framing in Austrian media coverage, its presence was weak in the Hungarian media, which did not emphasize the humanitarian bearing of the events.

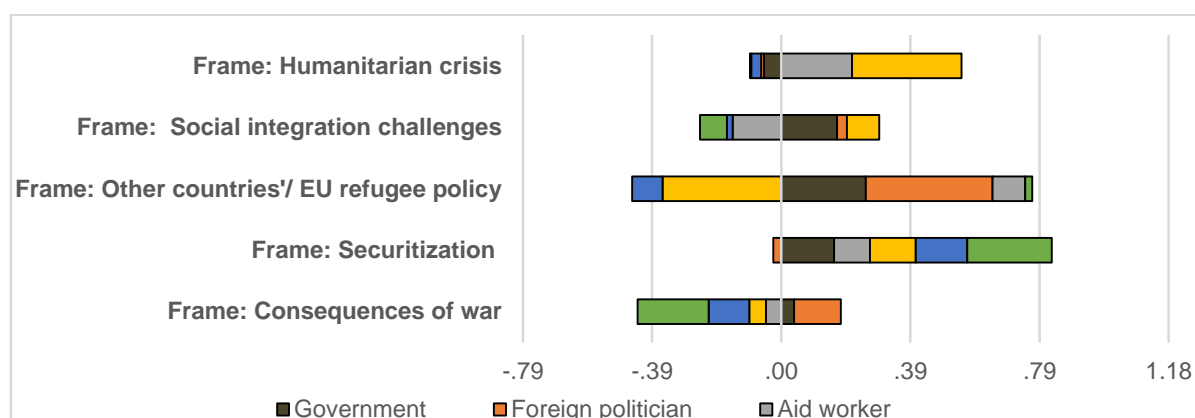
The discovery of dead people in the carriage of the death van on 27 August was framed primarily as a case of human trafficking (and indirectly, as a consequence of war) in the media of both countries, but the aspect of humanitarianism was heavily present in how the event was portrayed in the Austrian media. The refugee march and the closure of the Hungarian-Serbian border were presented as a problem related to the deficiency of refugee policies in the European Union and other countries by the media in both countries. As mentioned above, however, this category covered quite different perspectives. The line of reasoning that was most significantly present in Austrian media coverage blamed Hungary for mismanaging of the refugee crisis, specifically criticizing its refugee policy and humiliating treatment of refugees and the inhuman conditions in refugee camps. Conversely, when the cause of the refugee exodus was identified in the Hungarian media, a central argument that was presented blamed the EU's inadequate refugee policy and Germany's and Austria's 'Wirkungskultur', singling out the speeches by leading politicians in those countries who welcomed refugees from Syria with open arms. In addition, Austrian media coverage (but not Hungarian media coverage) placed significant emphasis on framing the march as a consequence of the humanitarian crisis. The greatest disparity between Austrian and Hungarian media coverage concerned the framings that were applied to the violent clash at the Röszke border on 16 September. The Hungarian media interpreted this event within the framework of a security threat. The Austrian media, on the other hand, defined the event in the framework of a humanitarian crisis, developing on the Hungarian-Serbian border in the wake of the border closure and the new legislation adopted by the Hungarian government which criminalized the damaging or crossing of the border fence.

Exploring differences between media outlets reveals little variation among the Austrian media: the humanitarian framing of the crisis was very explicit in all the examined media outlets, though Die Presse also emphasized a frame highlighting integration challenges in its reporting. There were much greater

differences among the Hungarian media, however. Public broadcaster M1 and the daily newspaper Magyar Nemzet both accentuated the security threat frame; M1 used this frame exclusively, while Magyar Nemzet also discussed events in terms of the cultural and labor-market integration challenges the arrival of the refugees would cause. Népszabadság and index.hu, however, did not at all emphasize the security aspect of the crisis; they primarily framed events in terms of the failure of the EU's refugee policy (index.hu) or integration challenges (Népszabadság).

Certain interpretative frames tend to portray different actors. The following chart shows that news items which presented events related to the refugee crisis as a humanitarian issue more frequently portrayed aid workers, volunteers and public servants.

Chart11: Weight of actors in interpretive frames (factor scores)

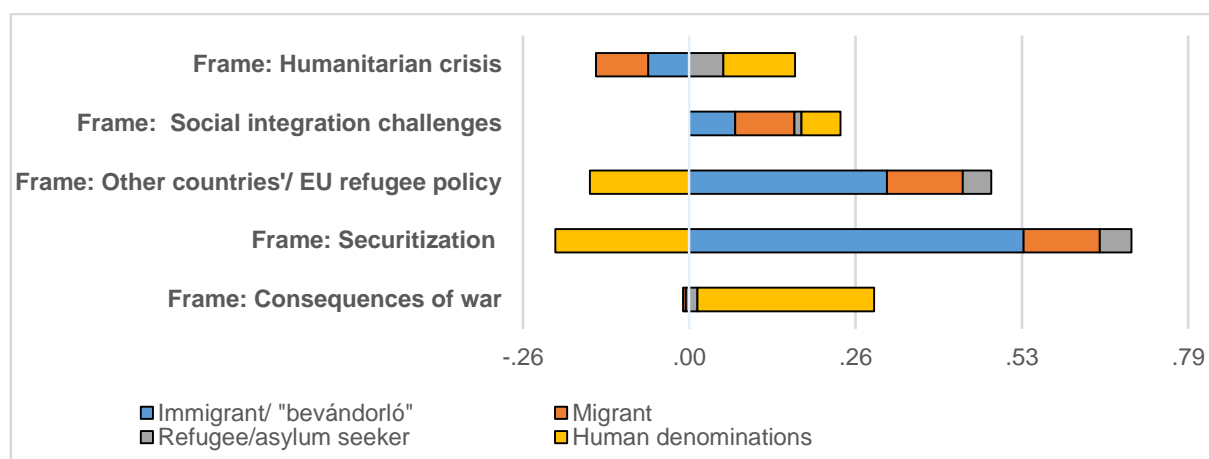


News coverage which framed the refugee crisis as an issue of integration most typically portrayed officials from the government and public institutions; actors who are in a position to serve as agents of the social integration of refugees. News items which framed the crisis as a result of inept policies of other countries and/or the EU gave greatest weight to foreign politicians and government figures, suggesting that this was primarily a discourse used by the political elite. The securitization frame, however, most prominently featured the refugees themselves, as well as the police and the government and their employees, though the refugees were portrayed as a problem group by invoking their large numbers and presenting them as a security threat.

We may also reverse these associations: the significant weight of certain actors in the news may support certain interpretative frames. A significant presence of aid workers, for example, reinforces a humanitarian framing of the events, while the presence of police and refugees as well as government officials/employees is more likely to support a securitization frame. The joint presence of foreign and national government actors may emphasize a political elite-based discourse which stresses the role of various governments or supranational bodies in the development of the crisis.

We also found that different labels and terminologies tend to be used depending on the frame being applied. The chart below shows what denominations are typical and atypical in news items applying different interpretative frames.

Chart 14: Weight of denominations of refugees in news applying various interpretative frames (factor scores)



The chart illustrates clearly how news coverage using a security threat frame or a refugee policy frame referred primarily to 'migrants' and 'immigrants', whereas news items that applied either a humanitarian interpretation of the crisis or explained events in relation to the war in the countries of origin referred to 'refugees' or used human denominations (men, women, children, victims, vulnerable people).

The quantitative content analysis we have presented in this chapter of the news coverage of the three key events of the refugee crisis has pointed out significant differences between Austrian and Hungarian media coverage, but also between different Hungarian media outlets. While the Austrian media and some Hungarian outlets framed events in terms of a humanitarian crisis, other Hungarian media outlets – most typically the public service television station M1 and the conservative daily Magyar Nemzet – framed them in terms of a security threat. The next section will present the results of a qualitative visual analysis, and demonstrate how certain visual representation and editing policies support one or another narrative frame and how their intersecting influences shaped the representation of the crisis.

Chapter 2. Qualitative analysis of television news programmes

In this chapter we will provide an in-depth qualitative analysis of the television news coverage of the same three events of the refugee crisis. We will explore the differences in narrative, visual and editorial strategies between the news programmes on the four television channels: the public service broadcaster ORF and the commercial TV station Puls 4 in Austria, and the Hungarian public service TV station M1 and the commercial broadcaster RTL Klub. We analysed, in their entirety, the main evening news programme on each of the four television channels on the days the events occurred – i.e. 27 August, 4 September, and 15 September – for a total of 12 entire news broadcasts.

2.1. The death van. Who deserve sympathy?

The case of the 71 refugees who suffocated in a van demonstrates how an apparently evident situation may be reported in radically different ways.

Reports of human tragedies are usually dominated by emotions, shock, and sympathy with victims. Any deviation from such framing implies a conscious editorial decision. The basic information on the case – images of the van and the investigation, police accounts, details that were revealed during the first day – was published in all the evening TV news programmes; there was no variation in this respect. Significant differences between TV news items related to the emotional atmosphere they created by expressing emotions like shock and sympathy and the narrative structures they featured about (political) responsibility.

All four TV news programmes presented the discovery of the van as leading news, narrated with dramatic words: ‘dreadful’ (M1), ‘shocking, horror’, ‘dramatic’ (Puls 4). ORF coverage of the news demonstrated outrage and grief through a combination of narrative and visual elements: as the narrator talked about ‘the van, which became a mass-grave’, the camera zoomed in on the padlock of the van and flies buzzing around it.



Dramatic close-up on ORF: buzzing flies

Initial news coverage followed the same patterns on all television channels: the news items recounted the information that had been discovered while showing images of the van standing on the side of the motorway and police investigating it.



Investigation on the motorway (Puls 4)

Variations in the coverage between the television stations were recognizable, however, when it came to the narration of the event and the cutaway shot that was used to illustrate the account. The two Austrian television news programmes continued their news with footage from the press conference by a police spokesperson and the Minister of Interior, during which they displayed deeply emotional reactions and highlighted the importance of the fight against human smugglers. On RTL Klub these images were preceded by footage of János Lázár, the Hungarian Minister of the Prime Minister's Office (hereafter: PM's minister), expressing his sympathy and sharing information with the press. In addition, ORF interviewed people on the street about their reaction, which also served to keep the focus on feelings of compassion.

Only M1³² diverged from this line of presenting the news. Its news broadcast talked about the death victims using the terminology of dehumanized, legal categories, and the first reference to feelings of shock came very weakly and only at the very end of their report, in a quote from the PM's minister's statement: 'this shocking case sheds light on the fact that the migration situation has deteriorated significantly in the last weeks ... victims are presumably illegal immigrants'. The channel didn't leave much time for feelings of sympathy either. Whereas the Puls 4 news broadcast, for example, proceeded to feature politicians talking about the need for harsher measures against human smugglers and the obligation to support refugees during their journey, the M1 news broadcast immediately guided its viewers to the broader controversy between Hungary and refugees, following up the initial news about the death van with an item on the migration situation in Hungary in which Hungary was cast in the role of the victim and the refugees in the role of invaders (see below).

While the news on three TV stations (ORF, Puls 4 and RTL Klub) presented the perspective of refugees in their reporting, M1 news never raised this aspect. News programmes also emphasized their approach by selecting which politicians they featured. RTL Klub, Puls 4 and ORF quoted Angela Merkel declaring at the Western Balkans Summit that the discovery of the van 'shocked all of us' and remarking on how the victims 'were dreaming of security and protection', or the Austrian chancellor arguing that 'it is our responsibility to give shelter to refugees', and portrayed a sense of unity and partnership between the two countries in coping with the refugee crisis in a humanistic manner. M1 did not quote either the German or the Austrian chancellor.

³² The evening news programme of the channel dedicated 27 minutes to the refugee issue, the first 7 minutes of which dealt with the death van tragedy.

M1: Anger-transmission

As mentioned above, M1 cut short the possibility for emotional identification with the victims by immediately following up its item about the tragedy with a harshly-worded report about the migration situation in Hungary. This report articulated the domestic context as one of increasingly critical conditions and discussed the lack of EU support for Hungary's efforts to defend the Schengen border, featuring the PM's minister János Lázár arguing at a press conference that 'the European Union is too weak to defend its borders', and it is therefore 'exclusively Hungary's task and responsibility to protect the state's external borders'.³³ The M1 news reporting that day applied a **framework of unstoppable flow**, warning that special provisions would be necessary because 6–8,000 refugees were approaching the border from Serbia. Extensive coverage was devoted to the remarks of the PM's minister, who emphasized that refugees didn't want to register, provide fingerprints or participate in preventive medical examinations, and warned that 'although there is no acute threat of an epidemic, certain diseases have appeared in Hungary which have never or not for decades been present'.³⁴

In short, the discourse that day on the public broadcaster clearly presented refugees as a threat to Hungary in various ways, and served to distract attention from the death van victims and any responsibility on the part of authorities. The news programme on RTL Klub also reported on the PM Minister's press conference, but it only quoted his expression of condolences and the most important pieces of information. It mentioned the increasing number of refugees arriving at the Hungarian-Serbian border only near the end.



Criminalization, resistance and danger: refugees on M1. 'János Lázár: The migrants don't cooperate with the Hungarian authorities'

Policies of visualization

The selection of images to illustrate a news item involves significant editorial choices. It is therefore useful to compare the cutaway shots that were used in the news broadcasts to illustrate statements on the death van. Editors had very few images to choose from: footage of the van and police officers examining it, a hearse and caskets, or politicians delivering a statement. The Austrian commercial broadcaster Puls 4 nevertheless made clear choices. It interviewed the police chief of Burgenland in

³⁴ M1 evening news, 27 August 2015

front of an impromptu memorial with candles and civilian demonstrators holding up a banner saying 'Refugees welcome'.



Puls 4: Special broadcast: Refugee drama in Burgenland

The broadcast applied various techniques to humanize refugees. They were mostly shown as individuals (rather than as part of a crowd) in footage of suffering children and parents, and the broadcast even featured a sequence of images in which images of the death van dissolved into images of refugees marching down the railway tracks.



Crying children and worn-out refugees on Puls 4

The dead and the living: sequence on Puls 4

On the two Hungarian channels, meanwhile, there were significant differences in the cutaways being used in the reporting on refugee-related issues that day. While the RTL Klub broadcast mostly featured close-ups of faces of children and women, the images used on M1 were dominated by crowds being shown from afar or in the dark, with unrecognizable faces. Such camerawork and editing has a distancing and dehumanizing effect on the subject.

RTL Klub versus M1: Individuals or an invasion?



RTL Klub



M1 Híradó

Who talks?

All TV news programmes that day, both in Austria and Hungary, gave voice to police spokespersons, government ministers and high-ranking politicians. A difference emerged, however, concerning the presence of civil volunteers and civil right activists. They appeared in the Puls 4, ORF and RTL Klub news programmes that day, but not on M1.

Both ORF and Puls 4 demonstrated strong emotional involvement in the tragedy by broadcasting newsroom interviews with their chief editors. They expressed their shock over the death van and raised the issue of responsibility in a very explicit manner. The news director of Puls 4 emphasized that it was naive to presume that finding the perpetrators would solve the problem: ‘as long as the borders are closed, human smugglers will take advantage of refugees’. ORF’s editor-in-chief highlighted the aspect of how profitable human smuggling was, surpassing even drug dealing in terms of the profits involved. He emphasized that legal pathways needed to be established for refugees and made a strong argument about the responsibility of policy makers concerning the death of refugees.

2.2. 4 September: Refugees marching from Budapest to Austria, detoured train in Bicske, unrest at Röszke

On 4 September, all four evening news broadcasts discussed the three major events which marked the refugee crisis that day as prime news, although the Hungarian news programmes dedicated more time to them than the Austrian stations. There were significant differences in terms of sub-themes, visual representations and the use of language, however, which helped to construct different framings of the events.

‘Pre-selected for you’: sub-themes and missing topics

M1 showed the greatest deviation from the general pattern in the television news programmes that night in terms of the themes that were discussed or omitted. The news broadcasts on RTL Klub and the two Austrian television stations highlighted the *difficult conditions for refugees at the Röszke camp* as the core reason for why the unrest broke out. They described the inhuman and untenable circumstances at the camp and registration points, which the ORF broadcast called ‘catastrophic’, explaining how hundreds of refugees were crowded into temporary tents with insufficient provisions and lacking information. They also explained that these people have travelled a long way from Syria and Turkey, felt trapped in the Röszke camp, and were afraid to get stuck there. The M1 news programme, on the other

hand, did not discuss these conditions. Meanwhile, both Hungarian news programmes mentioned the disruption of traffic caused by the refugee march, but while RTL Klub mentioned the fact, M1 explained it in great detail, placing blame on the refugees for obstructing the everyday life of Hungarians.

There were two other significant omissions in M1's reporting. Earlier in the day, preceding the resistance by refugees at Röszke and in Bicske, refugees with valid train tickets had boarded a train to the Austrian border only to see the train be rerouted by the police to the train station in Bicske, where one of the refugee camps is situated, but this was not mentioned in the M1 broadcast. In addition, all TV news programmes with the exception of M1's described examples of how the authorities impeded reporting about the events. When the situation at the Bicske train station attracted intensive media coverage, the journalists' view of the train with refugees was blocked by a strategically placed train wagon. In Röszke, journalists were not allowed to get close to the camp or the refugees, and the RTL Klub broadcast, for example, featured footage of police forcibly preventing a journalist from reporting.



The Hungarian State Railways, the police, and info-policy: Bicske

There were also differences between the Hungarian and Austrian TV news programmes in terms of the subjects they covered. Both Hungarian channels mentioned in detail that refugees camping at Budapest's Keleti railway station were threatened by extremist football fans, while neither of the Austrian stations reported on this. The two Hungarian stations presented this event in very different manners, however. In the RTL Klub broadcast, it was the opening news item: 'They [football hooligans] broke and smashed everything, even attacked the police. 100–120 football hooligans were preparing for the evening match in the city of Budapest'. The broadcast proceeded to explain that 'football ultras have attacked refugees'. Reporting on M1 was more indulgent of the football fans, blurring responsibility in the way it described the situation.

Responsibility game

In its coverage of the hooligans attacking the refugees at Budapest's Keleti Station, the narration in the M1 Híradó broadcast used a mild expression: 'they kicked up a row'. The commentary mentioned that football ultras had attacked refugees but the caption that was shown on the screen blurred responsibility: 'fans have clashed with migrants'. In a later live report from the train station, the narrator said that the day would have been calm if 'there hadn't been a small brawl between fans and immigrants'. The reporter on the scene did say that police were expecting football hooligans to provoke immigrants, but by sometimes implying a mutual fight and sometimes noting that football fans had attacked refugees, the report effectively shifted responsibility for the attack. This was also apparent when reviewing the visuals used in the item: even as the narrator explained that 'hooligans attacked' a Syrian boy, images were shown of an angry crowd of refugees shouting at the football fans.

Framing with titles

Different framings of the events were explicit in the main titles used and the narration of TV news.

Puls 4 narrative: 'Extraordinary situation in Hungary. ... The day of rebellion against conditions without precedents in Europe ... The situation in Hungary has gotten totally out of control. People have broken out from refugee camps, those trapped in Budapest started a march, walking in the direction of Vienna.' Visuals: Images showing refugees at Röszke about to break out from the camp and police trying to stop them.

ORF narrative: 'They are determined to walk to Austria and will not let the Hungarian authorities stop them ... Fear of being stranded in Hungary is huge because of the catastrophic conditions in refugee camps'.

RTL Klub narrative: 'Outbreak at Röszke; several hundred refugees broke out from the refugee camp in Röszke, where police take refugees who are caught on the green border. The police started a manhunt to return them'.

M1 narrative: 'Rebellion, rally and protest: migrants have departed to Austria. There is no stopping them!' 'EU – there is still no agreement on how to treat the crisis'. 'If these problems wouldn't be enough: football fans kicked up a row'. Visuals: fear-inducing images of shouting refugees; the refugee march only shot from behind.

An important difference between the news programmes on the Hungarian and Austrian television stations was that both Austrian broadcasters framed the day's events as a chain of events which resulted from the poor treatment of refugees and the failure of the Hungarian government's policy. The Puls 4 broadcast framed the major events of the day as interrelated consequences of the Hungarian government's refugee policy, reporting that 'we are not exaggerating if we say that the situation in Hungary is worse than anything we could have imagined: people in a desperate situation have taken their fate in their own hands; hunger strike in the train halted at Bicske; people breaking out from substandard refugee camps walk in the direction of Germany'. The narration explicitly added: 'The rally, the outbreak from the camp, and the hunger strike are all logical consequences of Orbán's policies that violated their rights'. In contrast, the Hungarian television channels discussed the main events as separate occurrences. RTL Klub's main explanatory frame focused on the humanitarian aspect of the crisis, emphasized in both narratives and images, but did not present the situation as a consequence of the government's policies.

In contrast, M1 coverage clearly assigned responsibility for the situation to the refugees, presenting the news with the headline 'Rebellion, rally and protest: migrants have departed to Austria. There is no stopping them!' In its reporting, M1 also suggested that refugees (or 'illegal migrants', as it called them) were actively and consciously preparing unrest: 'it has been apparent since Thursday morning that refugees are up to something. After waking up, some have started to stir up others'. Its narrative emphasized how many problems the refugees are causing the Hungarian government and authorities: 'they resist orders [to register]', 'they don't cooperate; they pretend to cooperate but then escape', 'paralysed traffic'.



Migrant makes his child suffer

It was also apparent that the reporting on M1 used patterns of stigmatization and victim-blaming to weaken the humanitarian frame. For example, the picture above illustrates one of the very few times the M1 broadcast featured a child. As the narration informed the viewers, ‘a man asked for help because his daughter was ill. However, he didn’t want to take her to the hospital. Police asked him to go to the refugee camp where the child would receive medical help, but he refused to go, even though the camp provides food, beds, clothing and even an interpreter and medical personnel.’ The report, in short, portrayed a refugee who was putting his child’s health and safety at risk. Other media reports (e.g. HVG³⁵), however, found that the father had good reason to be suspicious about the police offer: they wouldn’t let him back on the train where the other members of his family were. This pattern of M1 casting blame on refugees was also evident when its reporting emphasized that refugees refused to accept water, endangering their children in the heat. Puls 4, on the other hand, showed footage of refugees accepting water from police officers.



³⁵ http://hvg.hu/itthon/20150903_Leszallitjak_a_migransokat_a_soproni_vona



Refugees stretching out for a bottle of water, accepting water from police officers (Puls 4) versus refugees throwing water bottles back to the police (M1)

Actors, voices

RTL Klub and the two Austrian television stations gave voice to refugees. A refugee from Syria was interviewed in both the Austrian news programmes, and RTL Klub gave voice to refugees directly several times. In the M1 news broadcast, however, the only time refugees were given voice directly was when footage showed a protesting refugee shouting a few words. Instead of voicing the refugees at Röszke directly, M1 journalists tried to recount or interpret their intentions and actions, for example when the M1 reporter there said: 'I spoke to several of them and it seems that they in fact don't have a strategy'. He also explained why refugees who had broken out from the camp had returned by saying: 'It is quite likely that they have been sitting in the sun for hours and, in the end, got tired of it.'

Another significant difference between the two Hungarian television channels concerned other actors who were featured. Whereas the news on RTL Klub gave voice to volunteers at the Röszke border several times, as well as to aid organizations at the Bicske train station, the main actors in M1 reports were politicians. The news programme aired parts of the morning radio speech of the prime minister; reported at length about the parliamentary debate on the refugee bill, broadcasting parts of the speeches being made there; and aired press conference statements by the Immigration Office (BÁH) and the Police.

Images

The visual representation of **refugees** differed significantly between the broadcasters. Most of the images in the M1 news broadcast which showed groups of protesting refugees were shot from behind, making it impossible to identify with them. When they were shot from the front, they mostly showed shouting and protesting people. Few pictures showed women or men carrying their children. M1 was the only TV station which showed a lot of images of refugees that suggested criminality: being arrested, with their hands behind their neck, sitting with their hands handcuffed. The other three television broadcasts all showed images which allowed for some identification and sympathy with the refugees and their aims: they showed the march mainly from the front and zoomed in on images of children, women, families, and vulnerable people (e.g. a man in a wheelchair, other physically disabled refugees).

The images that were shown in reports about the situation in Bicske differed in similar ways. The news on M1 showed refugees mainly from a distance, stuck between the train and the fence, protesting and

shouting, or showed refugees refusing food being offered by police officers. In the other news programmes, both the narratives and the images served to humanize the refugees. The dominant images were those of vulnerable children, women, and families, shown from close enough to see their faces. A report about Bicske on RTL Klub showed photos taken by one of the refugees inside the train, revealing the desperation in the immensely crowded carriage and showing little children and their mothers suffering. The narration mentioned that children had gone hungry for more than a day. The two Austrian TV news programmes also focused on the vulnerability of refugees, showing crying women and suffering children in Bicske, or a little girl shouting from the window, 'Help! Help! Please help us!'

The **police** were represented in disparate ways as well. In the images and narratives they used, the Austrian news broadcasts represented the Hungarian police primarily as a tool of hegemonic power, for example in footage of fully equipped riot police in Röszke or Bicske, though Puls 4 once showed police officers giving water to refugees over the fence at the Bicske railway station. The RTL Klub news programme portrayed police forces in a nuanced way. On the one hand it gave direct voice to those who were in service at Röszke, and showed how police protected refugee marchers from traffic on the motorway. On the other hand it showed images of police violence – airing footage of police officers trying to capture refugees who had broken out while loudly cursing at them – and the major presence of special forces at Bicske, and recounted how the police hadn't allowed people to go to the bathroom for over 12 hours in Nagyszentjános.

Credibility issues



M1: Marcell Rádi and Marcell Rádi

One of the reports on M1 reported that neighbours felt disturbed by a tenant who regularly rented his/her flat to refugees for high profits. The report interviewed two affected individuals complaining about the noise and dirt, but both of them had the same name, casting doubt on the credibility of the report.

2.3. The clash at Röszke on 16 September

When entering Hungary had been made physically and legally difficult by the Hungarian government, as recounted in the Introduction of this report, refugees got stalled at the Röszke border crossing on the Hungarian-Serbian border, which led to a confrontation between refugees and the police on 16 September. The main confrontation at Röszke occurred after a group of refugees kicked and damaged

the frontier gate. According to some media reports,³⁶ the confrontation started after the wired fence was opened and refugees, who had been waiting for over a day, walked through shouting ‘Thank you! Thank you!’ Seconds later Hungarian counter-terrorism forces (TEK) attacked them with full force. All television news broadcasts provided extensive coverage of the clash, with rich visual material.

Sub-themes and interpretations: desperate refugees or invaders?

A comparison of themes discussed in relation to the events at Röszke shows a significant difference: whereas the news broadcasts on ORF, Puls 4 and RTL Klub all dedicated time to explaining the journey which the refugees had made and the reasons of their disappointment and desperation, this aspect was completely missing from the one-hour long M1 news broadcast. The ORF news report, for example, recounted how people’s emotions erupted over the construction of the barbed-wire fence because ‘they have been on their journey and walked for half a year’ and now couldn’t continue. The two Austrian television broadcasts explained that the refugees were trapped on the Serbian-Hungarian border because of the changes in Hungarian law, since the new, rigorous regulations left only nominal opportunities to cross the border legally. They reported, in addition, that refugees now faced a choice of either traveling down a much longer route through Croatia and Slovenia or applying for legal refugee status in Hungary, which would most likely be refused and lead to them being expelled from the entire EU. The RTL Klub, ORF and Puls 4 news programmes also explained that the route through Croatia was not only significantly longer, but dangerous as well, because of minefields that remain from the wars in the region in the 1990s. These pieces of information were not mentioned in the M1 news broadcast.



Refugees stuck at Röszke (Puls 4)



‘The new route leads through minefields’ (RTL Klub)

³⁶ For a detailed summary, see: <https://blog.atlatszo.hu/2015/09/furcsa-visszavonulással-keszitettek-elo-a-rendorattakot-roszkenel-kaptunk-egy-helyszini-felvetelt/> and <http://www.amnesty.hu/data/file/1792-hungary-briefing-final-embargo-081015.pdf?version=1415642342> (pp. 24–26)

The RTL Klub news broadcast stated that the clashes at Röszke erupted right after the Hungarian police opened the border gate and let refugees pass through the border crossing. The ORF broadcast referred to this sequence of events as well, but it was not mentioned in the M1 news programme. The presence or absence of this information underpinned contradicting explanatory frames. While ORF, RTL Klub and Puls 4 framed the events as a consequence of the Hungarian government's new regulations and as a humanitarian crisis, M1 presented the clash in terms of Hungary being attacked by invading refugees. All news items in the M1 broadcast were in line with this framing; even the way they presented those who were injured in the clash fitted into it. While two dozen policemen and – according to various sources – over one hundred refugees were injured in the clash, M1 referred to the actual numbers of injured only in the case of the police officers, and blurred the extent of injuries among refugees by merely saying that 'some were taken away by ambulance'.

Linguistic and visual representation of violence and its elimination

The narration of events varied significantly in style between the different television stations. The RTL Klub news broadcast applied an emotionless narration, while the Puls 4 news programme spoke of awful scenes and the news on ORF featured lurid descriptions of the Hungarian authorities: 'the police beat refugees whole-heartedly'. The narration on M1 presented the clash exclusively in terms of one-sided aggression by the refugees and the police serving as protectors. While all four news programmes reported on the violence by refugees, M1 was the only station not to draw significant attention to police violence as well.

The differences in narration were reinforced by differing uses of images. Each news broadcast featured footage of violence committed by refugees, showing them pushing and kicking against fences, throwing stones, and setting fires. The visual representation of the police, however, differed significantly. The Austrian TV news programmes did not show any close-ups of police officers, only fearsome images of massed riot police from afar – making it evident that a whole army of police was deployed. RTL Klub broadcast both close-up images of faces of police officers and images from a distance showing the size of the force. Meanwhile, M1 showed only close-ups of police officers from behind: no faces, just helmets. With this visual technique, they eliminated police violence (and even the magnitude of police presence) from sight, and implicitly evoked the sense that the police protect us, the viewers, from the refugees.



M1: Police in close-up and from behind; RTL Klub: police from the front

Images of the clash at Röszke: M1 and RTL Klub

Actors and voices

The disparities between the approaches of the different television broadcasters described above are reflected as well in the choice of actors being featured. The RTL Klub, ORF and Puls 4 news programmes interviewed refugees at Röszke, but M1 did not. Instead, in the twentieth minute of the program, a reporter asked a question of a migrant in Croatia, 200 km away. The uneven representation of volunteer aid workers in the Hungarian news broadcasts is also informative: while the RTL Klub broadcast quoted volunteers saying that refugees were hungry and thirsty, the reporting on M1 explained that volunteers were throwing water on the heaps of rubbish to prevent fire. An even greater difference was found in the representation of government narratives. Whereas Hungarian government officials did not appear in the Austrian news programmes, the RTL Klub broadcast quoted one of them, and M1 gave voice to four different government officials. The following discussion between the reporter and the news room provides an example of how the news coverage on M1 adopted the governmental discourse about the refugee crisis:

Newsroom: They [refugees] are resting. The big question is, are they resting because they want to regroup into a larger aggressive crowd to launch a new attack, or are they resting because they have had enough of the violence?’

Reporter: ‘I asked the authorities for their opinion on this issue and their opinions were split fifty-fifty between the prediction that the migrants are resting to gather strength, and this is only a calm before the storm, and those who think they are exhausted and gave up the fight.’

This conversation illustrates elements in the public service broadcaster’s reporting – such as broadcasting unconfirmed information and asking leading questions – which resulted in a simplistic account of the events, with refugees portrayed as the aggressors and police as the defenders.

We also observed other components that added to the criminalization frame – an element of securitization discourse – in M1’s reporting. The broadcast highlighted the mobilization of police forces in Croatia and Slovenia and the first court proceedings against ‘illegal entrants’. The reporting on those court proceedings featured cutaway shots typical for police reports (refugees in handcuffs, with a close-up of handcuffed hands), and images of police and court members wearing masks and gloves implied that the refugees constituted not only a criminal threat but an epidemic danger as well.

The qualitative analysis of the news coverage in this chapter further expanded our understanding of the differences in the reporting about refugees on the four TV stations we examined. We were able to show that the clearest divide was not between Austrian and Hungarian media outlets, but rather between the pro-government M1 and all other TV channels. We showed how M1 adopted the anti-refugee campaign of the Hungarian government in its framing of the news through editing, choice of titles, carefully selected images and selectively giving voice to certain actors while denying it to others. The Austrian TV news programmes followed a humanitarian frame in presenting the events. They emphasized accounts by refugees, volunteers and aid activists, and placed less stress on governmental narratives. They emphasized the humanitarian issues related to the crisis through visual representations as well, systematically portraying refugees and their vulnerability.

Chapter 3. Strategies of representation, recurring patterns and games

In our analysis we have identified distinct patterns that emerged in the media coverage of key events of the refugee crisis. Some of these motifs can be traced back to political communication strategies of different actors – primarily the Hungarian government – while others may be explained by the logic and mechanisms of media content production. In this part of our report we will present the most important recurring patterns of how the Hungarian government’s communication strategy infiltrated into the content of Hungarian media outlets. This is not to say that the Austrian political and governmental discourses have not influenced media representations. The Austrian government’s narrative in this period was primarily framed by a humanitarian approach to the crisis, as well as by presenting the Hungarian government’s legislative actions and its authorities’ responses as inhuman and malicious towards vulnerable refugees who needed to be rescued. In this chapter, however, we will highlight (and depart from) the Hungarian government’s narratives and demonstrate how they infiltrated into media discourses, because those narratives departed fundamentally from the mainstream European political discourses at this point of time (Holmes and Castaneda 2016, Kallius et al 2016).

3.1. Securitization

The practice of placing discussions of refugee/migration-related news in a national security framework has a long history, not only in Hungary and not only for radical right-wing actors (see for example Bigo 2001, Lahav and Courtemanche 2012, Jackson and Parkes 2008, Castles 2004). Bigo describes how media representations can contribute to the representation of refugees as a threat to security by presenting such news in the framework of securitization discourse:

...the repetitive pictures, slogans and headlines of the popular press and television news programmes are central to the framing of migration as a security issue. These media, and some politicians, from both the right and the left, have played upon people’s fears about demographics (invasion by floods of refugees, an ageing population, a gradual invasion due to differences in birth rates among various ethnic communities), urban insecurity (uncivilized and deviant behaviour, ‘decivilisation’), a decline in social rights (danger for social benefits, the attraction of countries with high levels of social security), Islam (replacing secularism and tolerance), transnationalism (destroying national values with Europeanisation, Americanisation and globalisation) and the connection between insiders and hostile countries (nuclear or chemical weapons secretly imported by foreigners) by focussing on images of immigrant and minorities” (Bigo 2001).

The Hungarian government’s anti-refugee campaign used many of these elements (Bernáth and Messing 2015).

Framing refugees as a threat to security serves to present them as a danger which ‘we’ have to defend ‘ourselves’ against, and to cast them in the role of scapegoats. The government’s rhetoric, echoed in an important part of the media coverage, portrayed refugees as a potential source of threat in various ways, as we demonstrated in the first two chapters. The application of this frame was not exclusive to the government party, however; it was used by the extreme right party Jobbik too, and was also present in the Socialist Party’s communications, for example when it formulated its criticism of the

government's refugee policy in a way that emphasized the security aspect of the crisis ('you are playing Russian roulette with the safety, health and freedom of the Hungarian people as well as with the lives of refugees'³⁷).

Refugees were presented as a threat in the government's discourse on different levels: as abstract threat (embodiment of different cultures), as potential threat (they bring 'diseases ... which haven't been present for decades') and as actual, tangible threat (aggressive crowd attacking the country's border).

In the analysis we presented in the previous two chapters we have shown how the securitization frame of explaining events related to refugees dominated the coverage of certain media – most importantly, the public broadcaster M1. But our analysis also revealed that this discourse affected all news media, since their reporting on government officials and authorities, quoting them and broadcasting their remarks, meant that the government's rhetoric was aired in all media outlets.

3.1.1. Potential health threat

A specific element of potential threat which the Hungarian government emphasized was the possibility of health hazards. On the day the death van was discovered, the Hungarian PM's minister told a press conference that those arriving at the borders were refusing to register and provide finger prints, and 'although there is no acute threat of an epidemic, certain diseases have appeared in Hungary which have never or not for decades been present'.³⁸ (This information was not confirmed by public health authorities.) The alleged threat of an epidemic was also reinforced visually: all police and border patrol officers interacting with refugees were dressed in masks and gloves. This is not atypical: 'medical discourses have long been important for the creation and legitimation of borders and for attempts to control the movement of people. ... But after taking a closer look at such pictures—for example, by analysing the TV newscast—it becomes clear that very often only some of the persons present wear a mask, while others, performing the same tasks and standing just as close to the immigrants, do not. People's motives for wearing a mask are thus not at all evident' (Falk, 2010). This was also the case in Hungary: none of the volunteers or aid workers wore masks or gloves.

3.1.2. The aggressor/invader

Other recurring motifs in government communications represent refugees as tangible threat as well. During the clash at Röszke, governmental narratives portrayed the violence as a mythical struggle: a clash between refugees who attacked the (body of) Hungary and those (police and border patrol) who protected it with their own bodies. According to the spokesperson of the government, 'police officers have protected our country with their bodies', while the Prime Minister declared that 'Hungary experienced an armed attack' but 'police have protected themselves and the country's border'. In this discourse, the bodies of police officers and the integrity of the country are interconnected.

³⁷ Intervention by Tamás Harangozó MP on behalf of the parliamentary representatives of the Hungarian Socialist Party during a parliamentary debate on 4 September, <http://orszaggyules.hu.sayit.parldata.eu/orsz%C3%A1ggy%C5%B1l%C3%A9s-2014-/96-%C3%BCl%C3%A9snap-20150904-felsz%C3%B3l%C3%A1sai/%C3%B6sszevont-vita-t5983-egyest%C3%B6rv%C3%A9nyeknek-a-t%C3%B6meges->

³⁸ M1 evening news, 27 August 2015

The use of military expressions constituted a related pattern in the same discourse. The police referred to a ‘besieged border crossing point’, while describing its own actions as coercive measures. The spokesperson of the government called the event a ‘brutal siege’ and an ‘unprecedented attack’. Responding to a journalist who remarked that one of the refugees, who had carried a megaphone and whom the police had identified as a main organizer of the event, had actually tried to calm down the crowd, the government spokesperson said that ‘Anyone who attacks the Hungarian border commits a terrorist attack. Even if this is committed by organizing the attack with a megaphone’. Soon after this statement, several people from the crowd who had been arrested were formally charged with terrorism.

3.1.3. The numbers game

Government officials further converted the sense of refugees representing an abstract threat into an impression of tangible danger by presenting them as an unstoppable and uncontrollable flow, analogous to a natural disaster, in phrases like ‘continuous stream of migration’ (népvándorlási áradat). Arguments focusing on quantities and numbers were present throughout the media coverage of the key events we analysed, and became an important element in the struggle around constructing hegemonic explanation and framing. Some media used vague and exaggerated phrases in their headlines: those in Magyar Nemzet and Blikk, for example, included phrases like ‘refugee flood’ or ‘torrent of refugees’. But M1 applied this framing most systematically, using the discourse of an unstoppable flow of migrants even in its news reporting on the day the death van was discovered. The public broadcaster emphasized this aspect in both its visual and narrative representation: news items on that day were illustrated with images of refugees (or ‘illegal migrants’, as M1 called them) crawling underneath the barbed-wire fence, a group of women and children walking across a corn field, and many images of crowds of refugees arriving at the border. These images were supported by the following narrative: ‘If no determinate measures are taken, the number of those trying to get to Western Europe through Hungary may reach 300 thousand, while migrants are less and less cooperative with authorities.’ (M1 evening news, 27 August 2016).



M1: Crowd and aggression. Caption: ‘Another torrent of migrants’

Later, in its reporting about the refugee march from Budapest’s Keleti railway station towards Austria, the M1 news broadcast also propagated the image of an overwhelming stream of refugees, and fitted this image within the government’s securitization discourse even as every other media outlet was contextualising the refugee march as the result of the miserable circumstances and inhuman treatment refugees were facing in Hungary. The anchorman in the newsroom asked, ‘and how many more are

coming, or willing to come, from the south?’ and later added that ‘Parliament has adopted legislative changes which the government parties expect will be able to stop the flood of illegal migrants’. Another report on the same day also reinforced this discourse: ‘More and more politicians in Europe have begun to recognize that we might be experiencing the start of a migrant invasion of several million people, the end of which cannot even be predicted yet’. In addition, the M1 news programme extensively aired remarks the Hungarian Prime Minister had made on the radio in which he linked the ‘flow of migrants’ with securitization arguments, saying that ‘Today we speak of only hundreds of thousands, but next week we will speak of millions. Migration has a limitless resupply’.

3.2. The production of meaning by linguistic structures

Our analysis of how key events in the refugee crisis were covered already demonstrated the manipulative strength of terminology, but we can identify several additional linguistic elements that were used, explicitly so in the case of M1, to support the government narrative.

3.2.1. Emphasizing or de-emphasizing actions and consequences: the barbed-wire fence

One of the patterns which emerged from the analysis involved downplaying any negative elements or consequences of government decisions. A striking example of this pattern could be found in the language Prime Minister Viktor Orbán used in a radio speech which was then quoted in the M1 news broadcast, in which he used overly mannered, almost genteel words to describe the newly established registration points on the Hungarian-Serbian border: ‘One needs to stroll over to the registration points, where clerks will take their papers and they can tell what they want’. This choice of language contrasted sharply with other government statements and the government’s billboard campaign in the spring/summer of 2015, which used a harsh and disrespectful tone with respect to refugees.³⁹

The deployment of a barbed-wire fence on the border was downplayed by using technical-sounding euphemisms such as ‘temporary security border closure’. Media outlets which criticized the fence also used linguistic tools, however – primarily irony – to ridicule the government’s actions. An article in *Népszabadság*, for example, mocked the fence as ‘chicken wire, completely harmonized with the 21st century’s info-technological revolution’ and referred to the razor wire-topped wagon that constituted the last piece of the border closure as a ‘barbed-wire wagon, rolling Lego-style into the European hole’.

European politicians who criticized the barbed-wire fence used a different frame, centred on emotion, for example by comparing it with the Iron Curtain which separated Austria and Hungary during the Cold War. Index.hu reported that Serbian Prime Minister Aleksandar Vučić⁴⁰ referred to Auschwitz in describing the fence, while French Foreign Minister Laurent Fabius said that ‘not even animals should be treated this way’.⁴¹

³⁹ The government billboard campaign used the following slogans: ‘If you come to Hungary, you can’t take jobs from the Hungarians!’; ‘If you come to Hungary, you have to respect our culture!’; ‘If you come to Hungary, you have to respect our laws!’

⁴⁰ <http://index.hu/belfold/2015/09/21/orban-viktor-keresztes-hadjarat-europa-kulpolitika/>

⁴¹ <http://index.hu/kulfold/2015/08/30/kemenyen-nekiment-a-francia-kulugyminiszter-a-magyar-keritesnek/>

3.2.2 Assigning or erasing agency and responsibility: the clash at Röszke

A related linguistic technique that was used in M1 news programming to strengthen the government's interpretation of the events involved erasing, blurring or playing up the responsibility of specific actors. When referring to violent actions by the police (or Hungarian authorities), M1 news reports frequently removed the agent from the sentences, dissolving responsibility. On 17 September, for example, M1's news report was titled 'crowd control in Horgos' (*tömegosztatás Horgoson*), and throughout the report sentences were structured in ways which avoided specifying an actor: 'response [to the attack] with water cannons', 'attempt to control the rioting refugees with tear gas', 'detention of several aggressive migrants'. Conversely, when the news report discussed actions by refugees, the actor was always figured strongly and linked to the (violent) action: refugees did not merely attack the barbed-wire fence or kick the gate but 'directly' attacked the police protecting the Hungarian people, and 'tossed whatever happened to be in their hands'. These linguistic patterns are very similar to those described by Trew in his analysis of the British media coverage of riots in Harare, Zimbabwe (then: Salisbury, Rhodesia) in the 1970s, in which he showed how language reproduces prevalent racialized power relations (Trew 1979).

Gaming with 'Europe' as metaphor

The Hungarian government creatively played with the meaning of 'Europe' in its communications, alternately associating it with positive and negative meanings. On the one hand, Prime Minister Orbán positioned Hungary (and its government) as a bulwark of Europe, which faced a 'brutal threat' from 'not hundreds of thousands, but millions of people who besiege the borders of Europe'. He also emphasized that 'Hungary was the only country which was protecting Europe's Schengen borders by taking the European Union's regulations seriously'.⁴² On the other hand, the government presented the refugee crisis as Germany's problem rather than a common issue for the EU. Most frequently, the government used the metaphor of Europe as a foil for Hungary's position: e.g. the only solution is to close the borders and not continue with the 'European blah-blah'.⁴³

The ways in which Austrian politicians and media invoked Europe as metaphor contrasted sharply with the discursive frames of the Hungarian government's communications. They referred to 'European' values of humanitarianism and providing opportunities to all, and presumed that such European values were evident and internalized by all. Whereas the Hungarian government presented the border fence as the ultimate tool to defend Hungary and Europe, Austrian media described it as 'un-European'. Another EU leader said in response to Hungary's decision to close the border: 'This is not the Europe we want to have'.

3.3. The construction and destruction of humanitarian framing

In addition to the discourse of securitization, the most significant narrative in the media coverage of refugee-related events applied a humanitarian framing.

Earlier in this report we showed that the Austrian media discussed the refugee crisis primarily as a humanitarian issue. In the coverage of each key event, this explanatory frame proved to be the strongest

⁴² Remarks as reported on Index on 21 September 2015,

http://index.hu/belfold/2015/09/21/orban_viktor_vezelyben_van_magyarorszag/

⁴³ Remark by the PM's minister János Lázár, reported by Index on 18 September 2015,

http://index.hu/belfold/2015/09/18/horvatorszag_belefulladt_a_menekultrizisbe_-_ez_tortent_csutortokon/

in all of the studied Austrian media outlets (see Chapter 1.4). The humanitarian framing of the refugee crisis manifested itself foremost in an emphasis on the *Willkommenskultur* of Austrians (and Germans), which brought together all democratic political powers and constituted a source of pride and positive identity for many Austrians during the late summer and early autumn of 2015. The Austrian media coverage placed a very heavy emphasis on reporting about volunteer aid and support provided by aid organizations, and it was often contrasted with the maltreatment of refugees by the Hungarian authorities. Reporting in Hungarian media was diverse in this respect: in some media outlets, the governmental anti-refugee narrative was countervailed by a humanitarian framing – especially in coverage of the death van and the refugee march. However, the governmental campaigns have served to erode the humanitarian frame in Hungary from the very beginning (starting as early as January 2015, well before the crisis came to a head), even as it remained the dominant framework in other European countries. Recognizing the strength of terminology from early on, the Hungarian government systematically replaced the term ‘refugee’ (*menekült*), which evokes sympathy and solidarity in the Hungarian language, in its communications with the term ‘migrant’ (*migráns*, a foreign word in Hungarian), and later introduced new terms such as ‘welfare migrant,’ suggesting that refugees come to Hungary (and Europe) to exploit its welfare system (Bernáth and Messing 2015). Later on, the government consistently used the terms ‘illegal migrant’ and ‘illegal trespasser’, which suggest criminality.

As demonstrated earlier, the clash at Röszke was the event that changed the dominant discourse from a humanitarian to a securitization framework in all Hungarian media. When (some) refugees in Röszke turned to violence, the Hungarian government’s narratives could be supported with images of fighting and the opportunity was used to discredit the humanitarian narrative. Governmental communications and pro-government media reacted forcefully to the events at Röszke, and a commentator in index.hu acknowledged that ‘after the broadcasts showing refugees attacking the Hungarian border and Hungarian police officers, it will be much more difficult to attack Orbán about why he isn’t showing more humanity and solidarity with people who aren’t even heading to us, but to the Germans’.⁴⁴

3.3.1. Projected violence

One way of weakening the humanitarian discourse is through the projection of violence, by presenting certain actors one-sidedly as aggressors. We found that M1 applied such a strategy already at the time of the refugee march, which was essentially a peaceful event. The clash at Röszke was presented as a matter of refugee violence by not just the government but a wider range of media outlets. M1 presented the event exclusively in terms of refugee aggression. The intro to the news set the scene: ‘Clash! – Refugees have attacked the police on the border; tear gas and water cannons had to be used’. The expression ‘had to be used’ implied that the police didn’t have a choice. In an extended news programme lasting over an hour, M1 posited the clash in several interpretative contexts of projected violence, introducing the notion of terrorism when a reporter said that ‘police might have found a known terrorist’. In spite of the information still being unconfirmed, the news programme reported that ‘We received information that the person was detained from the crowd and is an identified terrorist; it is conceivable that there are terrorists in this huge crowd of migrants, and it appears that they found one’. Further strengthening the narrative of limitless violence, M1 announced that police were

⁴⁴ http://index.hu/velemen/2015/09/17/menekultek_orban_viktor/

reinforced with new troops at the hot spots, but reassured viewers that ‘this didn’t mean that the fence remained unattended’.

In contrast to the coverage on M1, all Austrian TV channels dedicated part of their coverage to describing the role of police violence in the clash. Puls 4, for example, reported that ‘The Hungarian police didn’t hesitate long before deploying tear gas’. ORF showed refugees chanting ‘Open the gate!’, and reported that ‘The response was immediate: tear gas. The Hungarian police attacked refugees with tear gas and water cannons whole-heartedly’.

Engineering meaning through captions

The most telling examples of how media may frame a story are revealed when apparently very similar images are published in different media with captions or descriptions which present a very different narrative. One such set of ‘twin pictures’ was shot when the Hungarian Prime Minister observed the graduation of police academy cadets in Budapest during the refugee crisis. It shows well how the same image – depending on the caption – may frame the government as calm and in command or militaristic and authoritarian.



Orbán Viktor a Hősök téri beszélt a határrendészekhez. FOTO: SZÉKELY BALÁZS



Ungarns Ministerpräsident Viktor Orbán (Bildmitte) nimmt eine Parade ausgemusterter Polizeischüler ab. Er gilt wegen seiner autoritären Politik insbesondere gegen Flüchtlinge als „Pusztacaudillo“.

Serenity versus militarism

Magyar Nemzet (16 September), photo caption: ‘Viktor Orbán speaks to border police officers on Heroes Square’. Headline: ‘We are prepared for anything. The Prime Minister asked police for humaneness’

Der Standard (16 September), photo caption: ‘Hungary’s Prime Minister Viktor Orbán (in the centre of the image) observes a parade of police academy graduates. He is referred to as “Pusztacaudillo” because of his authoritarian policies, especially against refugees’. Headline: ‘The East-European crisis of shame’

3.3.2. Gaming the symbolic importance of children

A powerful strategy to humanize a story is to show that vulnerable children are involved. The image of an innocent child is strategically used in a wide range of media products, from commercials to political propaganda. The aim is usually to evoke sympathy and solidarity, and make the audience feel involved in the story or identify with the message. It is therefore not surprising that the representation of children became the object of intense symbolic contestation during the refugee crisis.

Most media outlets showed children in a way that generated positive emotions and nurtured feelings of empathy and an awareness of the refugees’ needs. Several media outlets such as Magyar Nemzet, index.hu, RTL Klub and the Kronen Zeitung featured children in over a quarter of the images they used

when reporting about the events. Most of these images showed children with their mothers or families, playing, smiling or crying. But this was not the only way images of refugee children could be used strategically: some Hungarian media outlets, most typically the M1 news programmes, either avoided featuring children (and other vulnerable refugees) altogether, or represented children as victims of their parents' negligence and ruthlessness. Although M1's management denied allegations about an internal directive to not show children in reports about refugee-related news, our analysis showed a significant underrepresentation of children in the station's coverage. An example of the ways in which M1 reporting used children to support its narratives (and divert attention from a humanitarian discourse) is how it spread unconfirmed governmental information⁴⁵ about refugees throwing their babies and children over the barbed-wire fence during the Röszke confrontation, using them as living shields.

An opinion piece by Magyar Nemzet journalist Csaba Lukács, headlined 'The child as weapon', presented the narrative of refugees using their children strategically in its most explicit form: 'An immoral war is unfolding now in Europe on the migrant front in which children are used as well, without any twinge of remorse. They sell them in the media and use them to get all kinds of advantages; but if the occasion arises, they throw them over the fence or leave them behind in the bushes. It doesn't hurt to keep these considerations in mind when we think about these issues.'⁴⁶ Magyar Nemzet published a relatively large number of images featuring refugee children, but they were often portrayed in ways which echo the message of this opinion piece, for example showing them being used as a living shield.



Using children in reporting the border closure: held up as a human shield, or as a plea for help

Magyar Nemzet: 'A new era on the southern border. Chanting refugees, blocked traffic – Report on the first day of the border closure'

Népszabadság: 'Rising tensions ... A father lifted his daughter, both of whose legs had to be plastered. He wanted nothing more than to continue his journey.'

3.3.3. Hacking volunteer aid

The large-scale grassroots organization of volunteer activity constituted a very significant development during the refugee crisis in Hungary. Thousands of people volunteered to support refugees trapped in Budapest railway stations (for a detailed study of volunteer activities and its coverage in the media, see Bernát and Simonovits 2016). In our quantitative analysis we have shown how the visibility of volunteers

⁴⁵ http://hvg.hu/itthon/20150922_Ujabb_ellentmondasba_keveredett_Bakondi_G

⁴⁶ <http://mno.hu/velemeney/a-gyermek-mint-fegyver-1305059>

and aid workers in media coverage functions as an integral characteristic of the humanitarian framing of the news (see Chapter 1.4). During the summer and early autumn of 2015, media coverage of the support from these citizens and the role which civilian aid organizations played in the distribution of aid among refugees strengthened the humanitarian framing of refugee-related events. However, several elements in the Hungarian government's response served to fuel a counter-narrative about these volunteers, contesting the humanitarian framing. One of these was to identify volunteers with violent refugee behaviour at the clash in Röszke (as described previously, the government powerfully framed the clash at the border station as one in which violent refugees attacked the border and the police). The minister for Foreign Affairs criticized volunteers – who did not participate in the clash – by saying that 'it is bizarre and stunning that some supported migrants who have been throwing stones at the Hungarian police for hours'.⁴⁷

Another government strategy focused on controlling or redirecting the flow of support. The Hungarian government only supported the large, traditional aid organizations, whose activity was focused on refugee camps while they remained mostly absent in the hot-spots of the crisis as it unfolded during the summer, such as the railway stations, Budapest's John Paul II Square and the border. As the grassroots volunteers attracted an increasing amount of media attention and sympathy, the government tried to convince Hungarians to donate to the large traditional aid organizations rather than the new, grassroots organizations, hoping to take the wind out of their sails. Judging on the decrease in the presence of volunteers in the Hungarian media coverage, these government strategies appear to have had an impact (see Charts 2, 7, 10).

Overall, considering the important role volunteers played in providing aid and relief to the refugees, their presence in the media coverage was modest. As we discussed in the first section of this report, our content analysis revealed that the presence of volunteers in the news was substantial only in the case of the refugee march, when one-third of the Hungarian news items and half of the Austrian news reports referred to their activity. We also showed that different media outlets dedicated very different amounts of coverage to the activity of volunteers: Népszabadság, index.hu and RTL Klub placed a large emphasis on covering their work, while Magyar Nemzet and M1 paid little or no attention to their role.

Images illustrating the work of volunteers constitute an important element of framing events as a humanitarian issue: pictures of local residents helping vulnerable refugees are at the core of the humanitarian narrative. The political consensus at this point of time about understanding the crisis in terms of a humanitarian duty is well reflected in the fact that the Kronen Zeitung, a tabloid paper, published short interviews with leading politicians from all the leading political parties, asking them: 'How did you help?'



⁴⁷ Press conference of the Foreign Minister on 17 September 2015.

3.3.4 Visuality of suffering

Individual stories of suffering are powerful elements in media reporting (Bleiker et al. 2013), and an important element of the humanitarian discourse was to show images of human suffering. The news items on the days we analysed included numerous examples of media reports which portrayed the suffering of refugees, showing them being captured by uniformed authorities (police, border patrol) or standing behind barbed-wire fences. There were differences in the frequency of such images, however: 10% of the Hungarian news items and 15% of the Austrian reports included images of crying, suffering refugees. Such pictures were most frequent in reports about the Röszke confrontation (27%), and appeared more regularly in tabloid papers (Blikk and the Kronen Zeitung) and television news programmes, while political dailies published very few photos of suffering refugees. Images of suffering faces of passive and vulnerable people may be one-sided in their own way, because they conceal agency (Falk 2010). The refugee march from Budapest towards Vienna was visually so powerful exactly because it altered the image of refugees passively awaiting their fate.

Media ethics

The Hungarian tabloid daily Blikk demonstrated a striking negligence of ethical considerations when it published a photo of a refugee mother breastfeeding her baby, her uncovered breast visible in the image. Especially considering most refugees come from Islamic countries, it would seem reasonable to expect media to exercise restraint in showing uncovered body parts of women. We looked up how the same newspaper covered a protest of Hungarian mothers who went to a McDonalds in Budapest to feed their babies⁴⁸ in May 2015 after a breastfeeding mother had been expelled from the restaurant. The comparison reveals a very different approach: in the case of the McDonalds protest, the focus was on the mother and child, without exposing nudity, while the image depicting the refugee mother and her child is centred on the woman's exposed breast, violating her dignity.



Blikk: breastfeeding during the refugee crisis and during a civil rights protest

3.4. The Hungarian government's visual policy: controlling and limiting media access

In their efforts to control the visual representation of refugees, the Hungarian authorities could also resort to limiting access to information and images in critical situations.

The most salient instance of this was the denial of media access to refugee facilities. While the Hungarian government propagated that refugees travelled to refugee camps and registered there, no

⁴⁸ <http://www.blikk.hu/aktualis/politika/szoptato-kismamak-tuntetnek-a-mekibol-kidobott-anyuka-miatt/ngypqm3>;
<http://www.blikk.hu/aktualis/szoptato-kismamak-leptek-el-a-nyugati-teri-mekit/w2gjp88>.

reports or images were written or broadcast about these camps because journalists were not allowed to enter these facilities. The scarce information that was relayed about the situation in the refugee camps came from an opposition MP who entered the refugee camp in Röszke, Tímea Szabó,⁴⁹ and from the UNHCR. They claimed unequivocally that the situation in the camps was substandard,⁵⁰ and this information also played an important role in Austrian political and media discourses, bolstering calls to open the border for unregistered refugees. ‘Sticking refugees in trains and sending them somewhere completely different to where they think they’re going reminds us of the darkest chapter of our continent’s history,’ said the Austrian chancellor Werner Faymann in an interview on Hungary’s refugee policy.⁵¹

Media access was also restricted in Bicske and Röszke on 4 September. Journalists were not allowed to contact refugees directly in Röszke, and they had to report from further away about the revolt in the refugee camp there.⁵² On the same day, refugees had been defying orders for over 24 hours to leave the train that had been rerouted to Bicske and go to the refugee camp there, but a freight wagon was placed on the track next to the refugees’ train to cut off the journalists’ view of the refugees. The images that had been shot there and broadcast in the international media, showing fatigued, weakened refugees – including many children and women – who were mostly peacefully waiting, yet resisting the authorities, contrasted with the government’s discourse about violent, dangerous and non-cooperative crowds of potential criminals or even terrorists. The harshest restrictions on the freedom of the media were imposed by Hungarian authorities during the clash at the Röszke border crossing on 16 September. Journalists were attacked by the police and their cameras and recordings confiscated. Some of them were injured while others were taken into custody. As a consequence, the media were unable to report freely about the events. International media as well as the UN’s High Commissioner for Human Rights and the OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media harshly criticized Hungarian authorities for their treatment of the media reporting on the refugee crisis.⁵³

⁴⁹ Atlatzso.hu published this report on her visit to the camp: <https://blog.atlatzso.hu/2015/07/racsok-kontenerek-satrak-a-roszkei-menekulttabor-es-a-szegedi-hatarrendeszet-belulrol/>

⁵⁰ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/11/refugees-roszke-hungary-police-food-camp>

⁵¹ <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-europe-migrants-idUSKCN0RCOGL20150912>

⁵² For a description of the events see p. 16

⁵³ OHCHR, *Hungary violating international law in response to migration crisis*: Zeid, 17 September 2015, <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=16449&LangID=E>. The OSCE representative on Freedom of the Media Dunja Mijatović said on 17 September, 2015: “I call upon Prime Minister Orban to instruct law enforcement to respect the rights of journalists to report on issues of public interest and ensure their safety”. She added: “Such behaviour is totally unacceptable, as it disregards the essential role of the media, and endangers the safety of journalists.” <http://www.osce.org/fom/182646>

Conclusion

The comparative analysis of Hungarian and Austrian media coverage in this report revealed significant differences in many of the characteristics of its portrayal, framing and visual interpretation of the individual events and their contexts. The news media in both countries reported intensively about events related to the refugee crisis in August and September 2015, dedicating a substantial part of their news content to refugee-related developments. In comparison to the Austrian news media, however, the Hungarian media displayed a strong emphasis on the governmental and political agenda. Hungarian media reports of all three key events covered actions and communications of the government especially prominently, and members of the administration were given a strong voice in all media outlets. Nevertheless, we also showed that there were substantial differences in these respects between media outlets in Hungary, especially between the public service TV channel M1 and politically independent and left-wing media outlets (RTL Klub, index.hu, Népszabadság). Both the Austrian and Hungarian news media gave a significant representation and voice to refugees. A substantial difference between the two countries' media coverage was observed in terms of the weight authorities and volunteers were given, especially in cases of conflicts. Even though volunteers received significant media coverage in both countries, Austrian news reports tended to represent volunteers even more emphatically and provided direct voice to them. Another clear difference between the media coverage in the two countries was the consistent and strong emphasis in the Austrian media on discussing the responsibility of the government (and state) for the situation. In Hungary, even the media outlets which were critical of the government's refugee policy didn't emphasize its responsibility for the development of the situation. Finally, Hungarian media coverage was marked by a near-complete absence of discourse about the social inclusion of refugees (Helsinki Bizottság 2014), whereas Austrian media frequently talked about *Willkommenskultur* and framed the refugee crisis also as an issue of social inclusion and integration, especially during the first two key events.

The multivariate analysis of frames identified five different frames of interpreting events and the sources of problems: the humanitarian crisis frame; the security threat frame; a frame centered on criticism of the refugee policies of the EU and other countries; a framing of events in terms of the consequence of war; and the integration challenge frame. The most salient difference between the Austrian and the Hungarian news coverage was that the humanitarian frame was unequivocally very significant throughout the entire time span of the analysis in the Austrian media, while it was not salient in the Hungarian news coverage, in general. Instead, the Hungarian media featured a security threat frame, which became dominant by mid-September – though there were important differences between media outlets.

The in-depth analysis of television news programs in Chapter 2 established that the greatest difference in the portrayal of events and actors of the refugee crisis was not between the two countries, but between the Hungarian public service broadcaster M1 and all other television stations. The analysis revealed a wide variety of elements of the securitization frame, which M1 applied in its reporting on all key events. Its broadcasts explained all developments in terms of a threat to national security, whether it be a health threat (epidemic), criminal threat (violent, aggressive crowd) or security threat (invasion of Hungary and the EU). Even in the case of the death van, M1 focused on the threat refugees pose to the country rather than on commiserating with the victims. In contrast, other television stations primarily applied a humanitarian discourse in presenting news on refugees at that time, portraying them primarily as people who fled from war-torn areas, vulnerable families with children who are in need of

support and sympathy. The analysis also revealed that the wide-spread, almost universal presentation of the refugee crisis as a humanitarian issue and a challenge to Europe changed in the course of a three-week period. While the death van tragedy on 27 August was exclusively presented in all TV channels except M1 as a humanitarian catastrophe, and the refugee march on 4 September was framed in a similar way in the Austrian and most of Hungarian television news programmes, the clash at Röszke on 16 September erased the humanitarian framing in the Hungarian news.

Our in-depth analysis in Chapter 2 demonstrated how the anti-refugee campaign of the government prevailed in Hungary. Even just by reporting about the speeches and actions of governmental actors, the media may have contributed to the dissemination of an anti-refugee agenda. We could see how the government's dehumanizing terminology about illegal migrants, welfare migrants and illegal trespassers, used only in Hungary, was reproduced in media reporting. Some of the media outlets (M1, Magyar Nemzet) used this terminology consistently, but it penetrated other media as well. These linguistic tactics created a terminological chaos that crowded out descriptions of the refugees which primarily referred to their humanity (men, women, people). The Austrian media, on the other hand, consistently used either the term 'refugee' or 'human' categories to describe the subjects of their reports. Our analysis of visual representations found that some media systematically illustrated news items with photos which humanized refugees by showing their faces, suffering and joy. Others – in particular M1 – reinforced the government's anti-refugee propaganda and alienated viewers from refugees by illustrating news reports with images dominated by faceless crowds, aggressive youths or people being arrested, and by avoiding images which portrayed children or human moments.

Several other aspects we have raised go beyond the analysis of media content itself, but nevertheless played a definite and lasting role in shaping what was said and shown about refugees on the TV screens and in the newspapers. Hungarian authorities blocked several locations where events were unfolding from the media and thus concealed certain images and information. By changing the law on asylum, the Hungarian state created criminals out of refugees. It was able to orchestrate visual representations that made refugees look like dangerous infection-transmitters by ordering police officers and other officials to wear gloves and masks when interacting with refugees. The state was also able to reshape humanitarian frames by supporting only those NGOs which didn't publicly criticize the governmental agenda. While there was no counterpart to this government campaign in Austria, the media coverage there showed tendencies towards simplification and emotional tuning, for example in representing the Hungarian state as evil and comparing the border fence with Auschwitz or the Iron Curtain.

Public opinion polls illustrate the impact of the Hungarian government's anti-refugee campaign, revealing that the level of xenophobia rose to higher levels than ever before.⁵⁴ We have also demonstrated that even in the midst of a government campaign aimed at controlling meanings there is a space for independent journalism. Non-media actors in Hungary like the grassroots volunteer groups also demonstrated in the course of this crisis that no one discourse can succeed in monopolizing the debate entirely. The refugee crisis is far from over, and has already revealed how the meaning of concepts like solidarity, humanity, Europe, security and tolerance can easily be relativized or inverted.

⁵⁴ http://hvg.hu/itthon/20161117_elkepeszto_az_idegenellenesseg_Magyarorszagon (downloaded on 07 December 2016)

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Appendix: Additional tables

Table 1: Number of articles published about the three events by selected media outlets

		death van	refugee march	border closure + Röszke	sum
Hungary	Népszabadság	11	12	36	52
	Magyar Nemzet	5	7	15	24
	Blikk	4	2	17	20
	index.hu	23	18	84	114
	RTL Klub	5	7	17	18
	MT1 Híradó	4	6	24	20
	<i>sum HU</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>193</i>	<i>297</i>
Austria	Die Presse	8	2	7	17
	Der Standard	12	1	5	17
	Kronen Zeitung	20	10	5	35
	ORF	13	3	7	23
	Puls 4	9	3	5	17
	<i>sum AT</i>	<i>62</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>110</i>
SUM		114	71	222	407

Table 2: Number of articles published about refugee-related news in the period of analysis (contextual news)

		death van	refugee march	border closure + Röske	sum
Hungary	Népszabadság	20	23	46	84
	Magyar Nemzet	16	20	73	104
	Blikk	8	14	15	37
	index.hu	67	74	136	277
	RTL Klub	24	57	79	160
	MT1 Híradó	43	75	151	269
	<i>sum HU</i>	<i>178</i>	<i>263</i>	<i>500</i>	<i>941</i>
Austria	Die Presse	21	29	55	105
	Der Standard	22	12	33	67
	Kronen Zeitung	39	52	119	210
	ORF	33	37	152	222
	Puls 4	24	30	92	146
	<i>sum AT</i>	<i>139</i>	<i>160</i>	<i>451</i>	<i>750</i>
SUM		317	423	951	1691

Table 3 and 4: Topical frames of news on the death van

Factor scores constructed in the course of principal component analysis

Rotated Component Matrix ^{a,b}					
	Component				
	1	2	3	4	5
	International politics	Humanitarian	National political response	Local impact	Investigation
DEATH VAN					
q9.3 Reference to national government's decision	,336	,107	,757	-,098	,063
q9.5 Reference to foreign political consultations	,759	,134	,016	-,006	,026
q9.6 Reference to other countries' refugee policies	,791	-,120	,047	-,004	,075
q9.7 Reference to EU refugee policy	,777	,150	,282	,076	-,050
q9.10 Reference to volunteers, civilians	,062	,062	-,250	,663	-,037
q9.13 Reference to traffic chaos	,174	,041	,110	,665	,012
q9.14 Reference to effects on the local population	-,080	-,113	,197	,760	,111
q9.19 Reference to barbed-wire fence, border closure	,549	,065	,006	,166	,218
q9.20 Reference to police action	,056	-,275	,013	,185	,618
q9.21 Reference to modification of regulations	,009	,048	,798	,131	,041
q9.23 Reference to situation in the country of origin.	,137	,883	,141	-,019	-,016
q9.27 Reference to role of the media	-,141	-,153	,252	,139	-,612
q9.28 Reference to state actors' role	,129	,408	,164	,063	,383
q9.30 Reference to war in the country of origin	-,007	,872	-,050	,001	,030
q9.18 Reference to human trafficking	,010	,114	,251	,013	,642

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
 a. Rotation converged in 5 iterations.
 b. Only cases for which news is about the death van = yes are used in the analysis phase.

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Loadings			Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	2,986	19,908	19,908	2,986	19,908	19,908	2,320	15,465	15,465
2	1,799	11,995	31,903	1,799	11,995	31,903	1,910	12,737	28,201
3	1,470	9,803	41,705	1,470	9,803	41,705	1,580	10,530	38,731
4	1,296	8,637	50,342	1,296	8,637	50,342	1,579	10,524	49,255
5	1,230	8,201	58,542	1,230	8,201	58,542	1,393	9,287	58,542
6	1,097	7,312	65,855						
7	,975	6,498	72,353						
8	,852	5,680	78,032						
9	,711	4,737	82,770						
10	,615	4,099	86,869						
11	,589	3,928	90,798						
12	,502	3,344	94,141						
13	,344	2,290	96,431						
14	,311	2,073	98,504						
15	,224	1,496	100,000						

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
 a. Only cases for which news is about the death van = yes are used in the analysis phase.

Table 5 and 6: Topical frames of news on the refugee march.

Factor scores constructed in the course of principal component analysis

Rotated Component Matrix ^{a,b}					
	Component				
	1	2	3	4	5
	political and legal	refugees' angle	locals' angle	of the day	border
q9.1 Reference to the refugee march	,011	,196	,068	,105	-,779
q9.2 Reference to bus transport to the Hu-A border	,494	,039	-,090	,057	-,431
q9.3 Reference to national government's decision	,769	,023	-,004	-,117	,039
q9.5 Reference to foreign political consultations	,759	-,220	,175	-,063	,065
q9.6 Reference to other countries' refugee policies	,717	,096	-,045	,102	,013
q9.7 Reference to EU refugee policy	,684	-,238	,279	-,060	,178
q9.8 Reference to the break out in Röszke	,039	,007	,195	,785	-,042
q9.9 Reference to event at Bicske railway station	-,037	-,169	-,003	,801	-,117
q9.10 Reference to volunteers, civilians	-,062	,753	-,079	-,131	-,102
q9.11 Reference to football ultras	-,044	,616	,068	,253	,152
q9.12 Reference to refugee's personal stories	-,091	,558	,285	,080	,047
q9.13 Reference to traffic chaos	,095	,056	,769	,080	-,170
q9.14 Reference to effects on the local population	,156	-,004	,838	,072	,031
q9.15 Reference to situation in the transit zone	-,163	,248	,576	,192	-,063
q9.16 Reference to aggression towards refugee	,057	,511	,053	-,129	-,146
q9.18 Reference to human trafficking	,115	,183	-,060	,004	,719
q9.19 Reference to barbed-wire fence, border closure	,388	-,164	-,247	,219	,481
q9.20 Reference to police action	,000	,364	,234	,573	,204
q9.21 Reference to modification of regulations	,475	,330	-,252	,304	,016
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.					
a. Rotation converged in 7 iterations.					
b. Only cases for which news is about the refugees march = yes are used in the analysis phase.					
Explains 56% of the total variance					

Table 7 and 8: Problem frames

Principal component analysis. Variance that the 5-variable model explains of the initial 13 variables (q12)

Rotated Component Matrix^a

	Component				
	1	2	3	4	5
q12.1dum problem: cultural	,286	,178	-,045	,569	-,231
q12.2dum problem: economic (costs)	-,178	-,109	,041	,825	,162
q12.5dum problem: legal	,078	,061	-,006	,038	,837
q12.6dum problem: EU	,550	-,035	,353	,083	,106
q12.7dum problem: security	-,108	,616	,309	,109	,096
q12.9dum problem: humanitarian	,343	-,091	,272	-,081	,346
q12.10dum problem: country of origin	,719	-,080	,193	,059	-,087
q12.14dum problem: human trafficking	,648	,003	-,300	-,079	,181
q12.15dum problem: multitude of refugees	,166	,107	,603	,296	-,023
q12.16dum problem: terrorism	,227	,530	-,106	,248	-,312
q12.17dum problem: refugees aggression	-,153	,553	,115	-,047	-,295
q12.19dum problem: other countries policies	,033	,108	,733	-,217	,042
q12.20dum problem: deficiency of services	-,019	,683	-,046	-,117	,252

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 9 iterations.

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	1,866	14,353	14,353	1,866	14,353	14,353	1,593	12,250	12,250
2	1,684	12,954	27,307	1,684	12,954	27,307	1,519	11,686	23,937
3	1,300	9,997	37,304	1,300	9,997	37,304	1,354	10,412	34,349
4	1,071	8,236	45,540	1,071	8,236	45,540	1,254	9,646	43,995
5	1,010	7,771	53,310	1,010	7,771	53,310	1,211	9,315	53,310
6	,947	7,283	60,593						
7	,873	6,717	67,310						
8	,807	6,205	73,514						
9	,771	5,930	79,445						
10	,730	5,612	85,057						
11	,688	5,295	90,352						
12	,680	5,229	95,582						
13	,574	4,418	100,000						

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.